A semi-diplomatic edition of

*Jane Anger her Protection for Women*

with introduction and annotation

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- Bibliographical description

Jane Anger, *Jane Anger Her Protection for Women.*

Title: *Jane Anger | her Protection | for VVomen. | To defend them against the | scandalous reportes of | a late Surfeiting Louer, and all otherlike | Venerians that complains so to bee | ouercloyed with womens | kindnesse.*

Colophon: *Written by Ia: A. Gent. | At London | Printed by Richard Jones, and Thomas | Orwin. 1589.*

Collation: pot 4° in twos and fours, *A² B-C⁴ D²*, 12 unnumbered leaves. Signatures on B1 – B4, C1 – C4 and D1 [textura quadrata, but B2 and B4 in Roman], probably stamped since stamp-lines are visible in B2 and their alternating positions on the leaves. Also D1 is different from the rest for its punctuation marks in front and after the numeral (D.1.). Catchwords at the bottom of all pages, except for title page (A1r), first two forewords (A2r and A2v), last page of the prose (D1v), and verse pages (D1v and D2r). Binding in blue morocco by Charles Lewis in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Paper with watermarks in quires A to C, watermarks in B are of a pot, those in A and C are indistinct.¹ Original not inspected by me. According

¹ The pot was a very common watermark in the sixteenth century.
to the curator of the Hunting Library, the text is in good condition. The title page is somewhat soiled and has a small repaired hole in a blank area right over a section of the watermark. The last page is torn, missing a horizontal strip and some type. Some of the leaves have unclear print and decorated initials do not fit the space that was reserved for them, which points to quick or careless printing practices. Dimensions: 14 x 18.4 cm. Text block: 8.7 x 16.4 cm.


ii
Type: 38 lines of textura quadrata on a busy page, but the font sometimes changes in size and type (e.g. on B2r both Roman type - for verse - and Gothic textura quadrata - for prose- are present, the verse at the bottom of the page is larger than the verse at the top of the page). However, most prose in the Gothic textura quadrata typeset. Roman type is used for proper names (also for nouns sometimes, when a personification is intended or could be intended, or for emphasis), the first preface on A2v (“To the Gentlewomen of England”) the verse on D1v and D2r and the Latin sentences used by the author. Notably, the title page is all in Roman type, except for the name of the author (“Written by Ia. A. Gent.”)


Provenance: The pamphlet was originally acquired by William Fitch (1792 – 1859), origin unknown. He sold a whole collection, including Jane Anger her Protection for Women, to George Daniel in 1830 (see image 1). The collection then went to Thomas Thorpe and then to Richard Heber (1773 - 1833), who connected his name to the collection. Jane Anger her Protection for Women was then sold in a Sotheby auction on 10 April 1834 to W.H. Miller. Next, the pamphlet, along with the rest of the (then Heber) collection was sold to the Christie-Miller family of Britwell Court Buckinghamshire, to whom it grants its current name. American bookseller George D. Smith bought the Britwell Collection for the American Henry E. Huntington at the

Image 1: Provenance of the Britwell collection. Illustration accompanies the collection in the Huntington library. Source: [http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/provenance2](http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/provenance2)

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2 Fitch was a known thief according to Janet Freeman on Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

3 Presence in the Sotheby auction can be proven by the entry from the Sotheby catalogue of the library of the Bibliotheca Heberiana, 159: “3040: Jane Anger her Protection for Women, etc”.
Britwell Court sale on 12 March 1923. This is why Jane Anger her Protection for Women is currently residing in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

- Text

Jane Anger her Protection for Women is the only known work of this author (no other copies or reprints exist) and is believed to be the first pamphlet attributed to a female polemicist in the literary Renaissance debate about the nature of women. The text is mainly in prose, but at the end of the text there are two poems: “A soveraigne Salve to cure the late Surfeiting Lover” and “Eiusdem ad Lectorem de Authore”. The first poem consists of six stanzas and is in the Hymnal Measure, with the rhyming pattern of ABAB in which A is in iambic tetrameter and B is in iambic trimeter. Within the A-lines there is also an internal rhyme where the first and second part of the line rhyme as well, as can be seen in the following example:

If once the heat, did sore thee beat,

of foolish love so blind:

Sometime to sweat, sometime to freat,

as one bestraught of mind.

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4 As can be found in the entry from the 1923 Britwell court auction Catalogue of Sotheby’s.
In the shorter second poem, “Eiusdem ad Lectorem de Authore” (trans. To the same reader, from the author) there are no stanzas. It consists of 20 lines and is written in the Common Measure rhyme scheme of ABCB, which also has alternating iambic pentameter and iambic trimeter. Some of the A – and C lines also have internal rhyme, but not all of them. What is also striking about this poem is that at times the word “anger” is completely capitalized, probably indicating the noun “anger”, which differs from the times when only the first letter of the word is capitalized, indicating the surname of the author or the personification of the emotion.

- Author

The author of the text is, as is printed on the first page, assumedly a woman named Jane Anger. She is presumably a gentlewoman - this is also indicated on the first page of the pamphlet - but this is not the only indication of her status; the rest of the text is highly allusive and rhetorical in content, so much so that it could not be written by a common unschooled female, or male for that matter, as writing such a text would require formal schooling only available to the upper class men, and some women, of the sixteenth-century English society.  

she was even a woman.\textsuperscript{7} This despite the fact that two Jane Anger’s have been discovered to live in the area at the time.\textsuperscript{8}

Although the author could have been a woman, there are several reasons for questioning the gender of the author. Firstly, the pamphlet discussed here is the first pamphlet attributed to a female writer in England. There were earlier pamphlets for the defense of women, in what is today known as “the formal debate concerning the Nature of Women of the Sixteenth century”, but these pamphlets turned out to be written by men defending women. The author of \textit{Jane Anger her Protection for Women} was progressive in taking on a female speaker who is addressing her fellow women. Since this was such an uncommon feature (women were not known to do this) many believe that the author is a man writing as a woman, testing a new format.

This brings me to the second reason for doubt; the aforementioned custom of well-educated men to write as women in playing, what Joad Raymond calls, the “humanist literary game, an exercise in defending the absurd”.\textsuperscript{9} Nicholas Breton clearly describes this phenomenon in describing his own motives for writing his \textit{The

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{8} The surname Anger was not uncommon in England (in Berkshire, Cambridge, Cornwall and Essex it was widespread in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century even, and according to Helen Andrews Kahin (‘John Lyly and Jane Anger’, 1947) p.31, Ruth Hughley discovered two Jane (or Joan) Anger’s living in England in 1589, one of whom could have written the pamphlet.
\textsuperscript{9} Raymond, 283
\end{flushleft}
Will of Wit (1580) when saying that “men conventionally turned misogynist after an unpleasant experience with one woman” but that he himself “turned defender before a pleasant experience with one woman”. “The fact that the pleasant experience is only anticipated, that the treatise itself is a means to its consummation, makes this work a species of masculine wiles, a seduction by defense”, according to Breton.¹⁰ This renders a clear explanation of why men would write as women, and indicates that it was clearly a writing convention at the time. Francis Utley stresses that in this convention “the opposition was fictional; the pretense that the eagerly listening women who were a conditioning factor of satire must be elaborately apologized to or deprived of a view of the sinning poem was pretense and nothing more”.¹¹ Women, in this setting, were to be “active and good-humored participants in a controversy about women which was a very courtly game”, according to Utley. Although Linda Woodbridge is opposed to this view, believing that women had a more serious role than Utley describes, she does agree with Utley that the formal controversy about women was indeed a literary game “with very tenuous roots in real contemporary attitudes”.¹²

Apart from writing-conventions and being the first woman to write a pamphlet to women, questions about education play a big role. Although middle- and upper-class women were taught to read and write, it would take an unusually

¹¹ qtd. in Woodbridge, 5
¹² Woodbridge, 6
thorough academically schooled woman to know all the Greek and Roman figures mentioned in the text, not to mention other renowned historical and mythical leaders (e.g. Boleslav, the first king of Poland). Although it is very unlikely that one woman knew all this, it would still have been possible for her to write (i.e. compile) the work since a lot was copied from other works. But this, of course, is mere speculation.

The reasons addressed above explain why scholars are right to question the gender of Jane Anger, but apart from speculations there is no real evidence to prove whether the author was a man or a woman. For the rest of this dissertation I will therefore refer to the author as ‘the author’ and ‘she’, going along with the gender of the literary persona of the text.

- **Audience**

As can be seen on the first two pages of the pamphlet, the author clearly and directly seeks to address her fellow women, seeing as her first preface to the text is titled “To the Gentlewomen of England” and her second preface is directed to “all Women in generall, and gentle Reader whatsoever”. This clearly indicates that she focuses mainly on the female readership, no matter their status. Naomi J. Miller appropriately identifies this as the author constructing a “community of ‘we women’ whose shared experiences of masculine misogyny implicitly serve to validate the
deliberate excess of her rhetoric”.  

This choice to address women seems interesting in a time when the readership available to her was mostly male, middle- and upper-class women were also being educated and could read it if they had access to texts.

According to Raymond, the “double prefaces accent a feminine readership, and while they do not exclude men, they place them in the category not distinguished by status. A dual readership is created, a device characteristic of women’s public writings”.  

This can also be seen in the fact that women are referred to in the first person plural pronoun and men in the third person pronoun, as can be seen these lines on lechery: “It defileth the body and makes it stink – and men use it. I marvel how we women can abide them but that they delude us as, they say, we deceive them with perfumes”.  

I agree with Raymond when he mentions that this use of pronouns causes the text to function as a “semi-private exchange with [the author’s] female readers”. The author even directly mentions this feature when asking her female readers to “let us, secretlye our selves with our selves, consider howe and in what, they that are our worst enemies, are both inferior to us, and most beholden unto our kindenes”.  

This would cause the male readers to feel as unwelcome intruders to the text, causing women to gain the upper hand on men directly from the text’s early onset.

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14 Raymond, 282  

15 Jane Anger her Protection for Women, f. C4r  

16 Ibid, f. C1r
• Influences

*Jane Anger her Protection for Women* identifies itself in the text as a reaction to a book named *Boke his Surfeit in Love*, (full title: *Boke his Surfeit in love. With a farewell to the folies of his own phantasie*) published in 1588 and accredited to printer Thomas Orwin. The title of Orwin’s work is mentioned twice in *Jane Anger* pamphlet (C3r and C4r), and many puns are made by the author on the word *surfeit*, which comes from Orwin’s title. Betty Travitsky and Simon Cullen opt the possibility that Orwin hired the author posing as Jane Anger, in order to comment on his book for the purpose of receiving more attention for it.\(^{17}\) Evidence for this, according to Simon Shepherd who agrees with Travitsky and Cullen, is found in these following lines from *Jane Anger*:

> “Now sithence that this overcloyed and surfeiting lover leaveth his love and comes with a fresh assault against us women, let us arm ourselves with patience and see the end of his tongue, which explaineth his surfeit. But it was so lately printed as that I should to the printer injury should I recite but one of them, and therefore, referring you to *Boke: his Surfeit in Love*, I come to my matter”. (C2v)

In these lines it becomes obvious that the author does not want to reveal too much of the contents of Orwin’s book, because then it would not be worth buying or reading anymore. Other references occur in the text, the author repeatedly mentions that she now directs her attention back to Orwin’s book, which she abbreviates as “the

Surfeit”. Shepherd argues that in mentioning the book *Boke His Surfeit in Love* so often, the author provides strong evidence that the pamphlet is set up by Orwin for promotion.\(^{18}\) The fact that Orwin himself is responsible for printing *Jane Anger* contributes to this allegation.

Regrettably, no copies of Orwin’s work have survived, which is, to say the least, inconvenient for researchers of *Jane Anger*. The only prove of its previous existence is its presence in the Stationer’s Register, a charter kept by the Stationer’s Company trade guild, used to keep track of all the printed works in London from 1577 onwards.\(^{19}\) The absence of Orwin’s work makes it difficult to verify whether, and to what extent, the author of *Jane Anger* reacted to this text. Raymond finds the title of Orwin’s work and the *Jane Anger*’s author’s reaction to the work a good indicator that it was a text full of complaints about the nature of women, and “self-mockingly acknowledged his own excesses and frustrations in love”,\(^{20}\) but there is no way of truly verifying this.

Apart from the apparent influence of Orwin’s *Boke his Surfeit in Love* described above, there are also scholars who believe there are other sources which could have been of influence on *Jane Anger*. One of these influences could have been Margeret Tyler, a contemporary of the author of *Jane Anger* and writer/translator of the first known feminist (but overall religious) tract in English, published around 1578.

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\(^{19}\) Travitsky and Cullen, ix

\(^{20}\) Raymond, 281
Although, as Ferguson observes, Tyler’s text is very different in focus and manner of conduct, it “possessed a similar sense of women’s rights, fostered in part by the presence of a woman ruler and Renaissance humanist idea about learning”. It can be noted that Elizabeth I’s rule influenced the way women thought about education and rights for themselves; if the Queen could read and learn from texts and make her own decisions, then they must also be able to do so. Whether the author of Jane Anger read Tyler’s text is unsure, but the existence of Tyler’s text and, later on, the text Jane Anger indicates the onset of feminist writing, possibly influenced by a female monarch. Later on, under the reign of the misogynist King James I, such female deviances were inhibited, but it did not prevent women from writing their defenses, as can be seen in the ‘responses and reactions’-paragraph below.

Raymond argues the author’s writing is very much influenced and comparable in style to Thomas Nashe’s Anatomie of Absurditie, which was printed in 1589; the same year as Jane Anger. Both denounce the opposite sex in a similar structure; first listing corrupted examples of the opposing gender, citing authorities and continuing to moralize their own gender. This could indicate that both Nashe and the author of Jane Anger were influenced by the same earlier work, but it remains unsure which text that could be. Lynne Magnusson suggests that the “surfeiter’s arguments that Anger refutes bears a close resemblance to parts of the 1586 English

21 Ferguson, 9
22 Balmuth, 19
23 ”James I, the misogynous son of Mary, Queen of Scots, put legislation in motion to curb these gestures of female defiance”. Ferguson, 2.
edition of Pierre de la Primaudaye’s *French Academie* (1577, translated into English by Thomas Bowes in 1586).\(^{24}\) Another possible influence is indicated by Utley: a poem by the name “Ye are to yong to bring me in: An old lover to a yong gentilwoman”, from *Tottel’s Miscellany*, printed around 1577.\(^{25}\)

Other very influential texts are those by John Lyly (1554 - 1606). It is obvious that *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit* published in 1587, was of great influence to the author of *Jane Anger*, perhaps even without the interference of Thomas Orwin’s *Boke his Surfeit*.\(^{26}\) As can be seen in this edition of *Jane Anger*, a lot of *Euphues* can be found in the text, both from the *Anatomy of Wit* and from *Euphues and his England* (1580). Helen Andrews Kahin believes that *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* (1587), was of very big influence to *Jane Anger*, but comparison shows that the former two *Euphues*-texts show more similarities. Kahin attributes this *Euphues*-text to John Lyly, but it is actually written by Robert Greene (d. 1592) who tried to copy the style of Lyly’s *Euphues*-series.\(^{27}\)

The references to Greek, Roman and other historical and mythological figures can come from numerous sources, as do the proverbs mentioned by the author. However, it can hardly be a coincidence that at least nine of the fifteen exemplary women named in the text can be found in Richard Hyrde’s *Education of a Christian Woman*, printed in 1540 (an English translation of Juan Luis Vives’ *De institutione*...\n
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\(^{24}\) Travitsky and Cullen, ix  
\(^{25}\) Ferguson, 58  
\(^{26}\) Andrews Kahin, 32  
It is highly probably that the author of *Jane Anger* used this as a source, since, according to Virginia Walcott Beauchamp et al., the book was enormously popular in England in the second half of the sixteenth century.\(^{28}\)

The many references of animals and proverbs can be found in either one of the two *Euphues*–texts by Lyly. The editors of these two texts have found out that the animals are mainly taken from Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* (c. 79 AD) and the proverbs from Erasmus’ *Adagia* (1500) or *Similia*.\(^{29}\)

- **Reception and reactions**

  The pamphlet *Jane Anger her Protection for Women* might have been of some influence on both male and female authors in later years. Nicholas Breton’s *Praise of virtuous Ladies* (1599) appears to have passages which are directly copied from Anger.\(^{30}\) Apart from this work, it would appear that, as Shepherd mentions, “*Jane Anger*’s pamphlet seems to have provoked little response”, which is true when searching for other direct contemporary responses to the text. Nevertheless, it appears that the *Jane Anger* pamphlet did open up the genre of defending gender for female pamphleteers. A few decades later several other female pamphleteers, who unlike the author of *Jane Anger* can be confirmed to be female, wrote texts denouncing the male slandering of women. Examples of these female texts are Rachel Speght’s *A Mouzell for Malastomus*.

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\(^{30}\) Travitsky and Cullen, ix - x
(1617), Constantia Munda’s The Worming of a Mad Dog (1617, Contantia Munda is a known pseudonym of Rachel Speght) and Ester Sowerman’s Esther hath hanged Haman (1617). These pamphlets were written in reaction to the very misogynist pamphlet The Arraignment of Lewde, idle, froward, and unconstant women (1615) by Joseph Swetnam, which re-opened the debate about the nature of women in the early seventeenth century and actually used some quotes from Jane Anger.

- **Social context - Querelle des Femmes**

As mentioned, Jane Anger is a reaction to the literary attacks on the nature of women, which was a popular genre in the early Renaissance in England. This genre was a continuation of the literary humanist debate about the “status and nature of women” which started on the European continent and was there known as the The Querelle de Femmes.31 Linda Woodbridge calls the continuation of this debate in the English Renaissance the “Formal Controversy about Women”, since it was very controversial of women to finally defend themselves through polemics. In the words of Raymond, this debate “provided an opportunity for women’s entrance into printed prose controversy. The debate occasioned scholarly rhetorical performances, contending women’s inferiority, and railing against the defects of the feminine sex”.32 Woodbridge adds that humanism gave the debate “its characteristic Renaissance form, most evident in its rhetoric, its humanist arguments, and its addition of

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31 Raymond, 279
32 Ibid
classical material to the characteristic set of exempla. In most later Renaissance works, biblical and classical exempla are mixed, reflecting the Christian / humanist synthesis”.

Authors who earlier discussed this topic on the continent were Boccaccio (Concerning Famous women, 1380), Christine de Pizan (The Book of the City of Ladies, 1405 – which according to Katherine Romack via Malcolmson and Ferguson “inaugurated” the debate on the continent) and Cornelius Agrippa (Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex, 1509). These texts, however, were translated into English much later, which is the reason for the rather late rise of the debate in England. The earliest English works on the subject is by Edward Gosynhyl, and includes two related poems: “The prayse of all Women, Called Mulierum pean” and “Here Begynneth the Scole House of Women: Wherein Every man may Reade A Goodly Prayse of the Condicyons of Women”, both dating from 1542. On this work many reactions followed, both in defense and in support of Gosynhyl’s views.

For a long time, men could make texts and pamphlets such as the ones named above and need not fear any literary reply from the women they accused since there were scarcely any literate women around. When education for women started to increase, around 1580, the first female pamphleteers appeared to give “response to

33 Woodbridge, 14
35 Raymond, 279
derogatory writing about their sex, and they anticipate subsequent patterns of female authorship".\textsuperscript{36} Perhaps, \textit{Jane Anger her Protection for Women} one of the first responses by these female pamphleteers.

- **This edition**

In this edition of \textit{Jane Anger her Protection for Women} I have taken a semi-diplomatic approach. I am not the first to make an annotated edition of this text; Simon Shephard has made a modernized edition in \textit{The Women’s Sharp Revenge} (1985) and in \textit{The Broadview Anthology of Sixteenth Century} (2011) this is also done by Marie Loughlin, Sandra Bell, and Patricia Brace. Contrary to these editions, I chose to stay close to the original spelling and syntax of the pamphlet, in order to give readers (mainly students of Renaissance texts) a view on the use of the English language at the time. Staying close to the original spelling could also help readers of the original pamphlet to read the text, since the Gothic typeset can be difficult to read in the beginning (an indication of folios can be found in the text, in order to indicate where a new page starts so it can easily be compared to a facsimile). For these same readers, who are possibly also unfamiliar with the sixteenth-century lexicon and punctuation, I aim to improve the understanding of the text by providing annotated footnotes for explaining the meaning of archaic and out-of-use words and biographical information concerning the historical and mythological figures featured in the text. Although some words and figures are explained in the other two editions mentioned

\textsuperscript{36} Raymond, 277
above, this edition provides an abundance of additional information not found in the previous editions, making this edition a more elaborate, more complete and therefore very useful edition of *Jane Anger her Protection for Women*.

In order to keep the text legible to the reader, I have chosen to make the following silent alterations and standardizations to the text:

- *vv* has been made *w* everywhere
- long *s* has been made into a modern *s* everywhere
- *u*, where indicating *v*, has been changed to *v* everywhere
- standardization and modernization of punctuation where needed
- capitalization where needed and appropriate in modern spelling. This includes the removal of some of the capitals for nouns. Where a personification of the noun (e.g. *Fidelity, B2*) is given, the capital remains, but for nouns where this is not the case (e.g. *aire C3*) the capital is removed.
- deletion of hyphenation where needed
- deletion of catchwords on the bottom of the pages
- Abbreviations were written in full. The added letters were typed in italics, indicating the addition. Abbreviations featured often in the text are:
  - Using a macron for omitting ‘n’ or ‘m’. (e.g. *Gentlewomé A2*)
Sporadic use of a symbol for ‘and’, similar to the Tironian symbol for ‘and’ but with an extra down stroke.37

Gent. for gentleman.

Abbreviations for ‘the’ ˙ and ‘that’ ˙

Abbreviations for ‘with’ with this symbol ₋

- In the original, prose is printed in the Gothic textura type, whereas verse, proper nouns, the first preface and the Latin phrases are printed in the Roman type. In this edition, I have made as little alteration between types as possible, italicizing only the Latin phrases since these are proverbs in a different language. The verse and proper nouns are kept in the same type as the rest of the text, for the Roman type had no clear function in the original text except possibly to improve legibility of these names between the sometimes difficult to read Gothic typeset. For the title of Boke his Surfeit in Love, sometimes abbreviated in the text as His Surfeit, I have used italics as is done in modern texts to indicate a book title.

In the annotated footnotes I have used some abbreviations to shorten long book titles that recur throughout the edition. The abbreviations used are:

- EB: Encyclopedia Britannica
- BG: Bible Gateway

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37 Examples of abbreviations are taken directly from the Jane Anger her Protection for Women copy from Early English Books Online.
For all the words that are glossed I have used the Oxford English Dictionary Online. If a word could not be found there, I have mentioned the source in the annotation.
IANE ANGER
her Protection
for Women.

To defend them against the
SCANDALOUS REPORTES OF
a late Suffering Louer, and all other like
Venerable that complain to to bee
outrayed with womens
kindnesse,

Written by Ia: A. Gent.

At London
Printed by Richard Ione, and Thomas
Orwin. 1589.
JANE ANGER
her Protection
for Women.

To defend them against the
scandalous reportes of

a late Surfeiting Lover¹, and all other like
Venerians² that complaine so to bee

overcloyed³ with womens

kindnesse.

Written by Ja: A. Gent.⁴

[illumination]

At London
Printed by Richard Jones,
and Thomas Orwin. 1589.

¹ A pun on the book Boke his Complaint on Love by Thomas Orwin. surfeiting: indulging
² Venerians: Persons influenced Venus and are therefore inclined to wantonness
³ overcloyed: satiated
⁴ Jane Anger, Gentlewoman
To the gentlewomen of England, health.\(^5\)

Gentlewomen, though it is to be feared that your setled wits wil advisedly condemne that, which my cholloricke vaine\(^6\) hath rashly set downe, and so perchance\(^7\) Anger shal reape anger for not agreeing with diseased persons: \(^8\) Yet (if with indifferencie of censure\(^9\) you consider of the head of the quarell\(^10\)) I hope you will rather shew your selves defendantes of the defenders title, then complainantes of the plaintifes wrong. \(^11\) I doubt judgment before trial, which were iniurious to the Law, \(^12\) and I confesse that my rashnesse deserveth no lesse, which was a fit of my extremitie. \(^13\) I will not urge reasons because your wits are sharp and will soone conceive my meaning, ne\(^14\) will I be tedious least I proove too too troublesome, nor over darke in my writing, for feare of the name of a ridler. But, in a worde, for my

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\(^5\) health: a salutation expressed for the reader’s welfare.

\(^6\) chollerick vaine: having choler as the predominant humor. In early medicine it was thought that four fluids determined a person’s physical and mental wellbeing; choler, blood, melancholy and choler. An excess of the latter caused anger in a person. (EB) vaine: character, i.e. chollerick vaine: angry character.

\(^7\) perchance: perhaps

\(^8\) diseased persons: meaning misogynist men who write against women, misogyny being the disease. Especially the author is identifies the writer of Boke his Surfeit in Love, Thomas Orwin, of whom she later on mentions: “You must beare with the olde Lover his surfeit, because hee was diseased when he did write it” D1. The “reap what you sow” proverb is also found in John Lyly’s, Euhpeus: The Anatomy of Wit (EAW), 77: “as thou hast reaped where another hath sown, so another may thresh that which thou hast reaped”.

\(^9\) censure: disapproving expression (the author uses this expression a lot)

\(^10\) you consider of the head of the quarrell: the main subject of the quarrel between men and women.

\(^11\) defendantes of the defenders title, then complainantes of the plaintifes wrong: defenders title would here be the goodness of women. The author here states that women are not victims, but should be proud to defend their good honor.

\(^12\) Anger speaks about the law continuously, which also occurs in EAW, e.g. : “She endeavoureth to sette downe good laws”. (179)

\(^13\) a fit of my extremitie: an uncontrollable attack of her extreme anger

\(^14\) ne: nor
presumption I crave pardon, because it was Anger\textsuperscript{15} that did write it; committing your protection and my selfe to the protection of your selves, and the judgement of the cause to the censures of your just mindes.

Yours ever at commandement,

Ja: A

[ A2\textsuperscript{*}]

To all women in generall, and gentle reader whatsoever.

FIE\textsuperscript{16} on the falsheode of men, whose minds goe oft a madding\textsuperscript{17} and whose tongues can not so soone bee wagging, but straight they fal a tatling.\textsuperscript{18} Was there ever any so abused, so slandered, so railed\textsuperscript{19} upon, so wickedly handeled undeservedly, as are we women? Will the Gods permit it, the Goddesses stay theyr punishing judgments, and we ourselves not pursue their undoinges for such divelish practices?\textsuperscript{20} O, Paules steeple and Charing Crosse.\textsuperscript{21}

A halter\textsuperscript{22} hold al such persons. Let the streames of the channels in London streates run so swiftly, as they may be able alone to carrie them from that sanctuarie. Let the stones be as

\textsuperscript{15} Anger: throughout this first preface there is a difference here between three Angers: anger as an emotion, the personification of Anger, and Anger as the supposed name of the author.
\textsuperscript{16} Fie: beware
\textsuperscript{17} goe oft a madding: often show mad characteristics
\textsuperscript{18} fal a tatling: gossiping, speaking ill. See also EAW 118: “When the babe shall nowe beginne to tattle and call hir Mamma”.
\textsuperscript{19} railed: criticize
\textsuperscript{20} pursue their undoinges for such divelish practices: do wrong as they do
\textsuperscript{21} O, St Paules and Charing Crosse: only found proverb means: as old as St. Paul’s steeple and Charing Cross. St. Paul’s steeple was destroyed in 1561 and Charing Cross dates from 1290, so they are both old. Here this would indicate that women who are doing wrong as a reaction to men who are doing wrong (“pursue their undoinges for such divelish practices”), are a problem that has been going on for a long time and is becoming tedious, old. Found in In William Carew Hazlitt’s \textit{English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases}, (1907), Web.
\textsuperscript{22} halter: horse riding halter
ice, the soales of their shooes as glasse, the waies steep like AEtna,\textsuperscript{23} and every blast a whyrlwind puffed out of Boreas\textsuperscript{24} his long throat, that these may hasten their passage to the Devils haven. Shal Surfeiters raile on our kindnes, you stand stil \textit{and} say nought,\textsuperscript{25} and shall not Anger stretch the vaines of her braines, the stringes of her fingers, and the listes\textsuperscript{26} of her modestie to answere their surfeiting? Yes truly. And herein I conjure all you to aide\textsuperscript{27} and assist me in defence of my willingnes, which shall make me rest at your commaundes.

Fare you well.

Your friend,
Ja. A.

[B1']

\textbf{A Protection for Women, etc.}

The desire that every man hath to shewe his true vaine in writing is unspeakable, and their mindes are so caried away with the manner, as no care at all is had of the matter: they run so into rhetorick, as often times they overrun the boundes of their own wits, and goe they knowe not whether. If they have stretched their invention\textsuperscript{28} so hard on a last, as it is at a stand,\textsuperscript{29} there remaines but one help, which is to write of us women. If they may once encroch\textsuperscript{30} so far into our presence, as they may but see the lyning of our outermost garment,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[23] \textit{Aetna}: Latin name for Mount Etna, a volcano in Sicily, Italy, known as the tallest volcano in Europe, which would make its ways the steepest. EB.
\item[24] \textit{Boreas}: Greek god of the North wind. EB.
\item[25] \textit{nought}: nothing
\item[26] \textit{listes}: edges
\item[27] \textit{conjure all you to aide}: call together conspiringly
\item[28] \textit{invention}: rhetoric arguments
\item[29] \textit{a last, as it is at a stand}: a last is a model of a foot used by cobblers, a stand is the shape of the stretched leather used for making the shoe. Here: men stretch their argument until they have reached their desired proof.
\item[30] \textit{enroch}: intruding the territory of others
\end{footnotes}
they straight think that Apollo\textsuperscript{31} honours them in yeelding so good a supply to refresh their sore overburdened heads through studying for matters to indite\textsuperscript{32} off. And therefore that the god may see how thankfully they receive his liberality, their wits whetted\textsuperscript{33} and their braines almost broken with botching his bountie,\textsuperscript{34} they fall straight to dispraising and slaundering our silly\textsuperscript{35} sex. But judge what the cause should be of this their so great malice towards simple women. Doubles the weaknesse of our wits and our honest bashfulnesse, by reason wherof they suppose that there is not one amongst us who can or dare reproove their slanders and false reproches: their slanderous tongues are so short,\textsuperscript{36} and the time wherein they have lavished out their wordes freely have bene so long, that they know we cannot catch hold of them to pull them out, and they think we wil not write to reproove\textsuperscript{37} their lying lips. Which conceites have already made them cockes, and wolde, should they not be cravened,\textsuperscript{38} make themselves among themselves bee thought to be of the game.\textsuperscript{39} They have bene so daintely\textsuperscript{40} fed with our good natures that like jades\textsuperscript{41} (their stomackes are grown so quesie)\textsuperscript{42} they surfeit of our kindnes. If we wil not suffer them to smell on our smockes\textsuperscript{43} they will snatch at our petticotes, but if our honest natures cannot away\textsuperscript{44} with

\textsuperscript{31} Apollo: the Greek and also Roman god of the sun, music, wisdom and prophecy. EB.
\textsuperscript{32} indite: dictate
\textsuperscript{33} whetted: sharpened
\textsuperscript{34} botching his bountie: clumsily repairing his virtues
\textsuperscript{35} silly: helpless, defenseless
\textsuperscript{36} their slanderous tongues are so short: meaning that words roll of their tongues easily.
\textsuperscript{37} reproove: rebuke
\textsuperscript{38} cravened: rendered spiritless through fear
\textsuperscript{39} Clear similarity with EAW, 92: “Though he be a Cocke of the game, yet Euphues is content to bee crauen”.
\textsuperscript{40} daintely: luxuriously
\textsuperscript{41} jades: Worn out horses or horses of inferior breed
\textsuperscript{42} quesie: squeamish. Clear similarity with EAW, 23: “to the stomach quatted with dainties all delicates seem queasy”
\textsuperscript{43} smockes: women’s undergarment (a smell-smocke is a man nosing for sex)
\textsuperscript{44} cannot away: cannot deal with
that uncivil kinde of jesting [B1\*] then we are coy.45 Yet if we beare with their rudenes and be som what modestly familiar with them, they will straight make matter of nothing, blazing abroad46 that they have surfeited with love, and then their wits must be shown in telling the maner how.

Among the innumerable number of bookes to that purpose, of late (unlooked for) the newe surfeit of an olde lover (sent abroad to warne those which are of his own kind from catching the like47 disease) came by chance to my handes. which, because as well women as men are desirous of novelties, I willinglie read over. Neither did the ending thereof lesse please me then the beginning, for I was so carried away with the conceit of the Gentleman as that I was quite out of the booke before I thought I had bene in the middest thereof. So pithie48 were his sentences, so pure his wordes, and so pleasing his stile. The chiefe49 matters therein contained were of two sortes: the one in the dispraise of man's follie, and the other invective50 against our sex, their folly proceeding51 of their own flatterie joined with fancie,52 and our faultes are through our follie, with which is some faith.

The bounteous53 wordes written over the lascivious54 kinge Ninus55 his head, set down in this olde Lover his Surfeit to be these ‘Demaund and have’,56 do plainly shew the

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45 coy: instigating or stirring up action. Likeness with EAW, 95: “If she be chaste then is she coy, if light then is she impudent”.
46 blazing abroad: proclaiming to everybody who will hear
47 like: same
48 pithie: full of strength or vigor
49 chiefe: main
50 invective: abusive
51 proceeding of: Following
52 fancie: delusive imagination
53 bounteous: plentiful or many
54 lascivious: lustful
55 King Ninus: mythical king of Assyria, was lustful for Semeramis who was the wife of one of his officers. He married her and asked the officer to kill himself.
56 Demaund and have: seems like an indication of a chapter in Boke his Surfeit in love.
flatterie of men's false heartes: for knowing that we women are weake vessels\textsuperscript{57} soone overwhelmed, and that Bountie bendeth everie thing to his becke,\textsuperscript{58} they take him for their instrument (too too strong) to assay\textsuperscript{59} the pulling downe of us so weake. If we stand fast, they strive;\textsuperscript{60} if we totter,\textsuperscript{61} though but a little, they will never leave til they have overturned us.\textsuperscript{62} Semeramis\textsuperscript{63} demaundted, and who would not if courtesie should be so freely offered? Ninus gave all to his kingdome, and that at the last: the more foole he.\textsuperscript{64} And of him this shal be my censure (agreeing with the verdict of the surfaiting lover, save\textsuperscript{65} onely that he hath misplaced and mistaken certaine wordes) in this maner:\textsuperscript{66}

Fooles force such flatterie, and men of dull conceite.\textsuperscript{67}

Such phrensie\textsuperscript{68} oft does hant\textsuperscript{69} the wise. (Nurse Wisedom once rejected)\textsuperscript{70}

Though love be sure and firm: yet lust fraught\textsuperscript{71} with deceit,

And mens fair wordes do worke great wo, unlesse they be suspected.

\textsuperscript{57} we women, are weak vessels: after 1 Peter 3:7: “Likewise, husbands, live with your wives in an understanding way, showing honor to the woman as the weaker vessel”. BG.

\textsuperscript{58} Bountie bendeth everie thing to his becke: generosity bends everything to his command

\textsuperscript{59} assay: try

\textsuperscript{60} strive: try hard

\textsuperscript{61} totter: falter

\textsuperscript{62} overturned: defeated

\textsuperscript{63} Semeramis: wife of King Ninus of Assyria.

\textsuperscript{64} the more foole he: he was the more foolish one

\textsuperscript{65} save: except

\textsuperscript{66} he hath misplaced and mistaken certaine wordes: indicating that Orwin did not copy the story correctly perhaps.

\textsuperscript{67} dull conceit: dim wit

\textsuperscript{68} phrensie: mental derangement

\textsuperscript{69} hant: haunt

\textsuperscript{70} Nurse Wisdom: Taken from EAW, 84: “Ah foolish Euphues, why didst thou leave Athens, the nurse of wisdom, to inhabit Naples, the nourisher of wantonness”. This, in turn, could be a reference to Proverbs 1:20-33 (Wisdom’s Rebuke), where a female personification of Wisdom who calls out to mankind for being foolish and mocking. (BG)

\textsuperscript{71} fraught: loaded
Then foolish Ninus had but due, if I his judge might be,

Vilde are mens lustes, false are their lips, besmear’d with flatterie.

Himselfe and crowne he brought to thrall which passed all the rest

His foot-stoole match he made his head, and therefore was a beast.

Then all such beastes such beastly endes, I wish the Gods to send,

And worser too if worse may be: like his my censure end.

The slouthful king Sardanapalus with his beastlike and licentious deedes are so plainly deciphered, and his bad end well deserved, so truly set down in that Surfeit, as both our judgments agree in one. But that Menalaus was served with such sauce it is a wonder.

Yet truely their sex are so like to bulls that it is no marvell though the gods do metamorphose some of them to give warning to the rest, if they could thinke so of it, for some of them will follow the smocke as Tom Bull will runne after a towne cowe. But least they should running slip and breake their pates, the Gods, provident of their welfare, set

[82] **vilde:** vile
[73] **thrall:** into bondage or subjection
[74] **His foot-stoole match he made his head:** he brought his head to as low as a footstool, and animals were low, so he was an animal.
[75] **Sardanapalus:** legendary last king of Assyria, very effeminate and caused the downfall of Assyria. Described by the Greek Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC). EB.
[76] **licentious deedes:** deeds that are and excessive assumption of liberty
[77] **deciphered:** laid bare
[78] **Menelaus:** Husband of Helen and cuckolded by Paris (causing the Trojan War). EB.
[79] **served with such sauce:** to be subjected to the same kind of usage as Sardanapalus
[80] **like to:** similar
[81] **metamorphose some of them:** in Greek mythology many men were changed by the gods as punishment for their misdoings.
[82] **Tom Bull:** a name signifying maleness, also again referring to the metamorphosing done by the gods.
[83] **pates:** heads
a paire of tooters\textsuperscript{85} on their foreheads, to keepe it from the ground, for doubtles so stood
the case with Menalus, hee running abroade as a smel-smocke\textsuperscript{86} got the habit of a
coockold,\textsuperscript{87} of whom thus shall go my verdicte:

The Gods most just doe justly punish sinne
with those same plagues which men do most forlorn,\textsuperscript{88}
If filthy lust in men to spring begin,
That monstrous sin he plagueth with the horne,
their wisdome great wherby they men forewarne,\textsuperscript{89}
to shun vild lust, lest they will weare the horne.

Deceitfull men with guile\textsuperscript{90} must be repaid,
And blowes for blowes who renders\textsuperscript{91} not againe?
The man that is of coockolds lot\textsuperscript{92} affraid,
From lechery he ought for to refraine,
Els\textsuperscript{93} shall he have the plague he does forlorne,
and ought ,perforce\textsuperscript{94} constrain’d, to wear the horne.

\textsuperscript{84} provident: having foresight
\textsuperscript{85} tooters: horns
\textsuperscript{86} smel-smocke: Licentious man
\textsuperscript{87} coockold: A man whose wife is unfaithful
\textsuperscript{88} forlorn: abandon
\textsuperscript{89} forewarne: warn beforehand
\textsuperscript{90} guile: treachery
\textsuperscript{91} renders: repeat
\textsuperscript{92} lot: fate
\textsuperscript{93} els: otherwise
\textsuperscript{94} perforce: forcibly
The Greeke, Acteon's badge did weare, they say,
And worthy too, he loved the smocke so wel,
That everie man may be a Bull I pray,
Which loves to follow lust (his game) so well,
For by that meanes poore women shall have peace
and want these jarres. Thus doth my censure cease.

The greatest fault that doth remaine in us women is that we are too credulous, for could we flatter as they can dissemble, and use our wittes well as they can their tongues ill, then never would any of them complaine of surfeiting. But if we women be so so perilous cattell as they terme us, I marvell that the gods made not Fidelitie as well a man, as they created her a woman, and all the morall vertues of their masculine Sex, as of the feminine kinde, except their deities knewe that there was some soverainty in us women, which could not be in them men. But least some snatching fellow should catch me before I fall to the grounde, (and say they will adorne my head with a feather, affirming that I rome beyond reason, seeing it is most manifest that the man is the head of the woman, and

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95 Acteon’s badge: The Greek Acteon spied on the goddess Diana bathing and consequently was turned into a stag and killed by his own hounds (EB). badge – symbol or sign, here being the horns of a stag.
96 want these jarres: do without these disturbing sounds
97 dissemble: disguise the semblance of one’s character
98 perilous cattell: unthreatening property
99 terme us: call us
100 Fidelitie: personification of the virtue of fidelity, according to Shepherd almost always portrayed as woman.
101 soverainty: supremacy
102 snatching: grabbing
103 adorne my head with a feather: a feather was the badge of a fool. See also John Lyly’s Eupues and his England (EHE) 201: “There is nothing lighter than a feather, yet is it set aloft in a woman’s hat”.
104 manifest: obvious
that therefore we ought to be guided by them), I prevent\textsuperscript{106} them with this answere. The gods knowing that the mindes of mankind would be aspiring,\textsuperscript{107} and having thoroughly viewed the wonderfull vertues wherewith women are inriched, least they should provoke us to pride, and so confound us with Lucifer, they bestowed the supremacy over us to man, that of that cockscombe\textsuperscript{108} he might onely boast, and therefore for gods sake let them keepe it. But wee returne to the \textit{Surfeit}.

Having made a long discourse of the gods censure concerning love, he leaves them (\textit{and} I them with him) and comes to the principall object\textsuperscript{109} and generall foundation of love, which he affirmeth to be grounded on women. \textit{And} now beginning to search his scroule,\textsuperscript{110} wherein are tauntes\textsuperscript{111} against us, he beginneth and saieth that we allure their hearts to us. Wherein he saieth more truly then he is aware off: for we woo them with our vertues \textit{and} they wed us with vanities,\textsuperscript{112} and men being of wit sufficient to [B3'] consider of the vertues which are in us women, are ravished \textit{with the} delight of those dainties,\textsuperscript{113} which allure \textit{and} draw the sense of them to serve us, wherby they become ravenous haukes,\textsuperscript{114} who doe not onely seize upon us, but devour us. Our good toward them is the destruction of our selves, we being wel formed are by them fouly deformed. Of our true meaning they make

\textsuperscript{105} man is the head of the woman: from Corinthians 11:3: “But I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a wife is her husband, and the head of Christ is God”. BG.
\textsuperscript{106} prevent: here probably theological language, meaning: to go before (a person) with spiritual guidance and help
\textsuperscript{107} aspiring: eager to get ahead
\textsuperscript{108} cockscombe: a cap resembling a cock’s comb, worn by professional fools
\textsuperscript{109} principall object: main
\textsuperscript{110} scroule: scroll or book, here the author means Boke his Surfeit in Love.
\textsuperscript{111} tauntes: jests
\textsuperscript{112} vanities: worthless things
\textsuperscript{113} dainties: pleasantries
\textsuperscript{114} haukes: hawks
mockes, rewarding our loving follies with disdainful floutes. We are the grieve of man, in that we take all the grieve from man: we languish when they laugh, we lie sighing when they sit singing, and sit sobbing when they lie slugging and sleeping. Mulier est hominis confusion, because her kinde heart cannot so sharply reproove their franticke fits as those madde frensies deserve. Aut amat, aut odit, non est in tertio: she loveth good things, and hateth that which is evil; shee loveth justice and hateth iniquitie; she loveth trueith and true dealing, and hateth lies and falsehood; she loveth man for his vertues, and hateth him for his vices; to be short, there is no medium between good and bad, and therefore she can be, In nullo tertio.

Plato his answere to a viccar of fooles which asked the question, being that he knew not whether to place women among those creatures which were reasonable or unreasonable, did as much beautifie his devine knowledge as all the boakes he did write. For, knowing that women are the greatest help that men have, without whose aide and assistance it is as possible for them to live, as if they wanted meat, drinke, clothing, or any other necessary; and knowing also that even then in his age, much more in those ages which shold after follow, men were grown to be so unreasonable, as he could not discide whether

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mockes: mocking jokes
disdainful floutes: contemptuous mockery
languish: weaken
Mulier est hominis confusion: Latin: “Woman is man’s ruin”. Common idea and phrase in medieval poetry (e.g. Chaucer’s Nun’s Priest’s Tale, 223, where it is translated wrongly by Chauntecleer to Pertilot as “Woman is all of man’s delight and his bliss”).
franticke: rantingly mad
Aut amat, aut odit, non est in tertio: Latin: either she loves or she hates; there is no third possibility.
iniquitie: unrighteousness
In nullo tertio: Latin: no third, meaning that a woman cannot be in between good and bad.
men or bruite beastes were more reasonable.\textsuperscript{123} Their eies are so curious as, be not all
women equall with Venus for beautie, they cannot abide\textsuperscript{124} the sight of them; their
stomackes so queasie as doe they tast but twice of one dish they straight surfeit, and needes
must a new diet be provided for them. Wee are contrary to men, because they are contrarie
to that which is good. Because they are spurblind\textsuperscript{125} they cannot see into our natures, and
we too well (though we had but halfe an eie)\textsuperscript{126} into their conditions, because they are so
bad. Our behaviours alter daily, because [B3\textsuperscript{v}]
men's vertues decay hourely. If Hesiodus\textsuperscript{127} had
with equity as well looked into the life of man, as he did presisely search out the qualities of
us women, he would have said that if a woman trust unto a man it shal fare as well with her
as if she had a waight of a thousand pounds tied about her neck, and then cast into the
bottomless seas. For by men are we confounded though they by us are sometimes crossed.
Our tongues are light because earnest in reprooving\textsuperscript{128} mens filthy vices, and our good
counsel is termed nipping injurie\textsuperscript{129} in that it accordes not with their foolish fancies. Our
boldnesse rash for giving Noddies nipping\textsuperscript{130} answeres, our dispositions naughtie for not
agreeing with their vilde minds, and our furie dangerous because it will not beare with their

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\textsuperscript{123} Plato his answer to a Vicar of fooles: In Plato’s Republic V, Socrates answers to Glaucon
that women are, although not equal to men, worthy of being educated. Since Glaucon is
described in the introduction of the 2008 edition by Sue Asscher and David Widger as an
“impetuous youth” who “has a difficulty in apprehending the higher education of Socrates”,
he can be identified as a vicar of fools, also since he sees himself also as a great philosopher.
\textsuperscript{124} abide: last, they want to move on to the next woman as soon as possible.
\textsuperscript{125} spurblind: completely blinded by love
\textsuperscript{126} had but halfe an eie: proverb: to give a casual or careless glance. Merriam-Webster
Dictionary online).
\textsuperscript{127} Hesiodus: Greek poet, 8\textsuperscript{th} century BC. (EB). Probably wrote the Catalogue of Women, but
also claims in his Theogony that women were sent by the gods as an evil to men (Shepherd
47-8).
\textsuperscript{128} reprooving: to prove again
\textsuperscript{129} nipping injurie: a stinging or sarcastic insult
\textsuperscript{130} giving Noddies nipping answeres: giving fools stinging answers
knavish\textsuperscript{131} behaviours. If our frownes be so terrible, and our anger so deadly, men are too foolish in offering occasions of hatred; which shunned, a terrible death is prevented. There is a continuall deadly hatred betweene the wilde boare and tame hounds, I would there were the like betwixt\textsuperscript{132} women and men unles they amend\textsuperscript{133} their maners, for so strength should predominate where now flattery and dissimulation\textsuperscript{134} have the upper hand. The lion rageth when he is hungry, but man raileth when he is glutted.\textsuperscript{135} The tyger is robbed of her young ones when she is ranging abroad, but men rob women of their honour undeservedlye under their noses. The viper stormeth when his tail is trodden on,\textsuperscript{136} and may not we fret\textsuperscript{137} when all our bodie is a footstoole\textsuperscript{138} to their vild lust. Their unreasonable mindes which knowe not what reason is make them nothing better then bruit beastes. But let us graunt that Cletemnestra,\textsuperscript{139} Ariadna,\textsuperscript{140} Dalila,\textsuperscript{141} and Jesabell\textsuperscript{142} were spotted with crimes: shal not Nero\textsuperscript{143} with others innumerable, and therefore unnameable, joine handes with them and lead the daunce? Yet it greeves me that faithful Dejanira should be falsely accused of her husband Hercules death, seeing she was utterly guiltlesse (even of thought) concerning any

\textsuperscript{131} knavish: vulgar

\textsuperscript{132} I would there were the like betwixt: I wish there was an equality between

\textsuperscript{133} amend: correct

\textsuperscript{134} dissimulation: hypocrisy

\textsuperscript{135} glutted: full of greedy food

\textsuperscript{136} The viper is also mentioned in several of John Lyly’s writings. (EAW 44 and EHE 349).

\textsuperscript{137} fret: be annoyed or irritated

\textsuperscript{138} footstool: here, an aid to support their lust

\textsuperscript{139} Clytemnestra: in the legend of the Trojan War, Clytemnestra was the wife of Ageamemnon. While she was away she had an affair with Aegisthus, and when Agamemnon returned, both lovers murdered him. EB.

\textsuperscript{140} Ariadne: helped the Greek mythological hero Theseus escape the Labyrinth on Crete, but afterwards was abandoned by Theseus and hanged herself. EB.

\textsuperscript{141} Delilah: biblical Philistine woman with whom Samson fell in love, but who was bribed to find out how Samson got his strength and afterwards betrayed him to the Philistines. Judges 16. BG.

\textsuperscript{142} Jezebel: wife of the biblical Ahab of Ormi, who killed many of God’s prophets and who threatened Elijah when he came to bring Ahab the word of God. 1 Kings 16:31-21:14. BG.

\textsuperscript{143} Nero: Roman emperor (37 A.D. – 68 A.D.), known for debauchery and murdering. EB.
such crime. For had not the Centaure falshood exceeded the simplicitie of her too too credulous heart, Hercules had not died so cruelly tormented nor the monsters treason been so unhappily executed. But we must beare with these faultes, and with greater then these, [B4⁺] especiallye seeing that hee which set it downe for a maxime was driven into a mad mood through a surfeit which made him run quite besides his booke, and mistake his case: for wher he accused Dejanira falsely he woulde have had condemned Hercules deservedly.

Marius daughter imbued with so many excellent vertues was too good either for Metellus or any man living: for thogh peradventure she had some smal fault yet doubtles he had detestable crimes. On the same place where doun is on the hens head, the combe grows on the cocks pate. If women breede woe to men, they bring care, povertie, grieve, and continual feare to women, which if they be not woes they are worser.

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144 In Greek mythology Deianeira was the wife of Hercules. When she was assaulted by the centaur Nessus, Hercules slew him, but when he died he told Deianeira that his blood was a love potion. She kept it and later on smeared it on Hercules’ clothes when he was in love with another woman. The blood turned out to be poison, and Hercules died. (EB). The author here claims that Deianeira was innocent of his death, since she did not know the blood was poison.

145 maxime: a proposition expressing a general rule or law, here: a fact.

146 case: as a law case, made the wrong judgment concerning this case.

147 Marius daughter: Gaius Marius was a Roman general (157 – 86 BC). It is only reported that he had a son, but this son, Gaius Marius the Younger, was married to Mucia Tertia, making her his daughter-in-law. When her husband was murdered, Mucia Tertia was then married to Pompey, who later on divorced her on suspicion of adultery with Ceasar. EB.

148 imbued: saturated

149 Metellus: Roman general and supporter of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who was an enemy of Gaius Marius. EB.

150 thogh peradventure: although perhaps

151 doun: down, soft feathers

152 breede woe: breed grief
Euthydomus made sixe kinde of women, and I will approove that ther are so many of men: which be, poore and rich, bad and good, foule and faire. The great patrimonies that wealthy men leave their children after their death make them rich: but dice and other marthriftes happening into their companies, never leave them til they bee at the beggers bush, when I can assure they become poore. Great eaters being kept at a slender diet never distemper their bodies but remaine in good case: but afterwards once turned foorth to liberties pasture, they graze so greedilie as they become surfeiting jades and alwaies after are good for nothing. There are men which are snout-faire, whose faces look like a creame-pot, and yet those not the faire men I speake of, but I meane those whole conditions are free from knaverie, and I tearme those foul that have neither civilitie nor honestie. Of these sorts there are none good, none rich or faire long. But if wee doe desire to have them good, we must alwaies tie them to the manger and diet their greedy panches, other wise they wil surfeit. What shal I say? Wealth makes them lavish,
wit knavish, beautie effeminate, povertie deceitfull, and deformatie uglie. Therefore of me
take this counsel:

Esteeme of men as of a broke reed,\textsuperscript{164}
Mistrust them still, and then you wel shall speede.\textsuperscript{165}

[B4\textsuperscript{e}] I pray\textsuperscript{166} you then, (if this be true, as it truely cannot be denied) have not they reason
who affirme that a goose standing before a ravenous fox is in as good case as the woman
that trusteth to a mans fidelitie? For as the one is sure to loose his head, so the other is most
certaine to be bereaved\textsuperscript{167} of her good name, if there be any small cause of suspition. The
fellow that tooke his wife for his crosse\textsuperscript{168} was an Asse, and so we wil leave him: for he loved
well to sweare on an ale pot,\textsuperscript{169} and because his wife, keeping him from his dronken vain,
put his nose out of his socket,\textsuperscript{170} he thereby was brought into a mad moode in which he did
he could not tell what.

When provender prickes the jade will winch,\textsuperscript{171} but keepe him at a slender
ordinarie\textsuperscript{172} and he will be milde enough. The dictators sonne\textsuperscript{173} was cranke\textsuperscript{174} as long as his
cocke was crowing, but prooving a cravin\textsuperscript{175} hee made his maister hang downe his head.

\textsuperscript{164} \textit{broken reed}: grass reed. Biblical reference from 2 Kings 18:21, where the king of Assyria
speaks to King Hezekiah of Judah: “Look, I know you are depending on Egypt, that splintered
reed of a staff, which pierces the hand of anyone who leans on it!” BG.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{speede}: prosper
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{prey}: ask
\textsuperscript{167} \textit{bereaved}: deprived
\textsuperscript{168} \textit{took his wife for his crosse}: i.e. burden
\textsuperscript{169} \textit{ale pot}: beer cup
\textsuperscript{170} \textit{put his nose out of his socket}: broke his nose
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{When provender prickes, the jade will winch}: proverb: a galled horse will wince. After
\textit{EAW} 107: “for well I know none will wince, except she be galled, neither any be offended
unless she be guilty.” when the supplier wounds, the horse will kick.
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{ordinarie}: diet
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{The dictators sonne}: Unclear which dictator’s son is meant here.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{cranke}: possibly: feigning sickness in order to move compassion and get money.
Thales \(^{176}\) was so maried to shamefull lust as hee cared not a straw for lawfull love, wherby he shewed himselfe to be indued\(^{177}\) with much vice and no vertues: for a man doth that often times standing of which he repenteth sitting. The Romain\(^{178}\) coulde not (as now men cannot) abide to heare women praised and themselves dispraised, and therfore it is best for men to follow Alphonso his rule\(^{179}\): let them be deafe and mary wives, that are blind, so shal they not grieve to heare their wives commended nor their monstrous misdoing shall offend their wives eiesight.

Tibullus, setting down a rule for women to follow,\(^{180}\) might have proportioned this platform\(^{181}\) for men to rest in. And might have said: Every honest man ought to shun that which detracteth\(^{182}\) both health and safety from his owne person, and strive to bridle his slanderous tongue. Then must he be modest and shew his modestie by his vertuous and civil behaviours: and not display his beastlines through his wicked and filthy wordes, for lying lips and deceitful tongues are abominable before God. It is an easie matter to intreate a cat to catch a mouse, and more easie to perswade a desperate man to kil him selfe. What Nature hath made, Art cannot marre,\(^{183}\) (and as this surfeiting [C1'] lover saieth) that which is bred

\(^{175}\) **cravin:** acknowledged coward  
\(^{176}\) **Thales:** Greek philosopher (640 BC). Lustful stories of him could not be found.  
\(^{177}\) **indued:** endowed  
\(^{178}\) **the Romain:** unclear, could be any Roman.  
\(^{179}\) **Alphonso his rule:** Possibly Alphonso X (1221 – 84), since he is the only famous historical Alphonso found (EB). He was King of Castile and compiled many laws. Shepherd observes that the rule that follows after resembles a proverb: A good marriage would be between a blind wife and a deaf husband (often attributed to be said by Michel de Montaigne who was a contemporay of the author).  
\(^{180}\) **Tibullus:** Roman poet (c. 55-18 BC) who wrote love elegies. In these elegies, he falls in love with two women who both deceive him with other men (EB). No clear rule could be found, but the message in his books is that women should not deceive their men, that could be meant by rule here.  
\(^{181}\) **proportioned this platform:** shaped this possibility, or set this stage.  
\(^{182}\) **detracteth:** rejects  
\(^{183}\) **marre:** hinder
in the bone will not be brought out of the flesh. If we cloath our selves in sackcloth and trusse up our hair in dishclouts, Venerians wil nevertheless persue their pastime. If we hide our breastes it must be with leather; for no cloath can keep their long nailes out of our bosomes.

We have rowling eies and they railing tongues: our eies cause them to look lasciviously, and why? Because they are geven to lecherie. It is an easie matter to finde a staffe to beate a dog, and a burnt finger giveth sound counsel. If men would as well imbrace counsel as they can give it, Socrates’ rule would be better followed. But let Socrates, heaven and earth say what they wil, ‘mans face is worth a glasse of dissembling water’. And therfore to conclude with a proverbe: ‘Write ever, and yet never write ynough of mans falsehood’, I mean those that use it. I would that ancient writers would as well have busied their heads about disciphering the deceites of their owne Sex as they have about setting downe our follies; and I wold some would call in question that nowe which hath ever bene questionlesse. But sithence all their wittes have bene bent to write of the contrarie, I leave them to a contrary vaine, and the surfaiting Lover, who returnes to his discourse of love.

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184 *bred in the bone:* an old proverb, (also found in John Heywood's *Dialogue of Proverbs*, 149, dating from 1546), meaning that character cannot be concealed. With this the author is repeating what has said before in the proverb about nature and art.

185 *sackcloth:* fabric made out of coarse bag-textile

186 *truss up:* bundle up

187 *dishclouts:* dish cloths

188 *Socrates rule:* Socrates was a Greek philosopher (470 – 399 BC). Diogenes Laertius in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (book 2, chapter 5, 32)describes that Socrates used to say that ‘he knew nothing except just the fact of his ignorance’ (R.D. Hicks ed.). Shepherd (48) proposes this as Socrates’ most famous rule.

189 *Mans face is worth a glasse of dissembling water: dissembling:* changing. Proverb clearly meaning: men cannot be trusted.

190 ‘it’ here indicates men’s falsehood.

191 *sithence:* since
Nowe while this greedye grazer is about his intreatie\(^{192}\) of love, which nothing belongeth to our matter: let us secretye, our selves with our selves, consider howe and in what they that are our worst enemies are both inferiour unto us \textit{and} most beholden unto our kindenes.

The creation of man and woman at the first, hee being formed \textit{In principio}\(^{193}\) of drosse\(^{194}\) and filthy clay, did so remaine until God saw that in him his workmanship was good, and therefore by the transformation of the dust, which was loathsome, unto flesh, it became putrified.\(^{195}\) Then lacking a help for him, God making woman of mans fleshe, that she might be purer then hee, doth evidently showe how far we women are more excellent then men. Our bodies are fruiteful, wherby the world encreaseth, and our care wonderful, by which man is preserved. From woman sprang mans salvation.\(^{196}\) A woman was the first that beleeved, \textit{and} a woman likewise the first that repented of sin.\(^{197}\) [C1\(^v\)] In women is onely true fidelity: except in her, there be constancie,\(^{198}\) and without her no huswifery.\(^{199}\) In the time of their sicknes we cannot be wanted, \textit{and} when they are in health we for them are most necessary. They are comforted by our means; they nourished by the meats we dresse,\(^{200}\) their bodies freed from diseases by our cleanlines, which otherwise would surfeit unreasonably through their own noisomnes.\(^{201}\) Without our care they lie in their beds as

\(^{192}\) intreatie: treatment

\(^{193}\) \textit{In principio}: Latin: in the beginning, also the beginning of the Bible.

\(^{194}\) drosse: garbage or remainder of the melting process of metals

\(^{195}\) putrified: A note at the end of the text, on D2, mentions that this word should be ‘purified’, instead of ‘putrified’.

\(^{196}\) From women sprang mans salvation: Man’s salvation is Jesus, who was born out of Mary.

\(^{197}\) A woman was ... repented of sin: Mary Magdalene was the first one to see and believe that Jesus had risen from the grave. Mark 16:9. BG.

\(^{198}\) constancie: regularity or steadfastness.

\(^{199}\) huswifery: the act of being a housewife, household management.

\(^{200}\) meats we dresse: food we make

\(^{201}\) noisomnes: noxiousness
dogs in litter, and goe like lowsie mackerell swimming in the heat of sommer.\textsuperscript{202} They love to go hansomly in their apparel, and rejoice in the pride thereof, yet who is the cause of it but our carefulnes to see that every thing about them be curious. Our virginitie makes us vertuous, our conditions courteous, and our chastitie maketh our trueness of love manifest. They confesse we are necessarie, but they would have us likewise evil.\textsuperscript{203} That they cannot want us I grant:\textsuperscript{204} yet evill I denie: except onely in the respect of man, who (hating all good things, is onely desirous of that which is ill, through whose desire in estimation of conceit we are made ill). But least some shuld snarle\textsuperscript{205} on me, barking out this reason: that ‘none is good but God, and therefore women are ill’, I must yeeld\textsuperscript{206} that in that respect we are il, and affirm that men are no better, seeing we are so necessarie unto them. It is most certain, that if we be il they are worse: for *Malum malo additum efficit malum peius*:\textsuperscript{207} and they that use il worse then it shold be, are worse then the il. And therefore if they wil correct Magnificat, they must first learn the signification therof.\textsuperscript{208} That we are liberal, they will not deny sithence that many of them have (*ex confessionio*)\textsuperscript{209} received more kindnes in one day at our hands then they can repay in a whole yeare; and some have so glutte d the m’selves with our liberality as they cry “No more”. But if they shal avow that women are fooles, we may safely give them the lie: for myself have heard some of them confesse that we have more

\textsuperscript{202} *go like lowsie mackerell*: the mackerel swims in shoals when the mate in summer, perhaps the author means that men go in groups to find a mate.

\textsuperscript{203} *They confesse ... likewise evil*: ‘Women are necessary evil’s’, a common Christian proverb, also found in Erasmus’ *Adagia* (translation by Robert Bland, 1814), 263.

\textsuperscript{204} *grant*: agree

\textsuperscript{205} *snarle*: growling and showing teeth, as dogs do.

\textsuperscript{206} *yeeld*: declare

\textsuperscript{207} *Malum malo additum efficit malum peius*: Latin: Evil added to evil make a worse evil.

\textsuperscript{208} *Magnificat*: Luke 1: 46 – 55: the Magnificat is the Virgin Mary’s hymn of praise for being chosen to bear Christ (EB). The author here indicates that if men want to change women, since Magnificat is that song of Mary, i.e. the song of women, they should first understand how honorable women are (since Mary was chosen by God to be the mother of Jesus).

\textsuperscript{209} *Ex confession*: Latin: out of their own confession
wisdome then need is, and therfore no fooles: and they lesse then they shold have, and therfore fooles. It hath bene affirmed by some of their sex that to shun a shower of rain and to know the way to our husbands bed is wisedom sufficient for us women; but in this yeare of ’88, men are grown so fantastical,210 that unles we can make them fooles, we are [C2'] accounted unwise. And now (seeing I speake to none but to you which are of mine own sex) give me leave like a scoller to prove our wisdome more excellent then theirs, though I never knew what sophistry ment.211 There is no wisdome but it comes by grace, this is a principle, and Contra principium non est disputandum212: but grace was first given to a woman, because to our Lady: which premises conclude that women are wise. Now Primum est optimum,213 and therefore women are wiser then men. That we are more witty which comes by nature, it cannot better be proved then that by our answers men are often droven to Non plus,214 and if their talk be of worldly affaires, with our resolutions they must either rest satisfied or prove themselves fooles in the end.

It was my chance to hear a pretty215 story of two wise men who, being cosen germane216 to the town of Gotam,217 proved themselves as very asses as they wer fooles; and it was this: The stelth218 of a ring out of a wise mans chamber afflicted the loosers mind

210 but in this yeare of 88, men are grown so fantastical: The year of ’88, being 1588. After EAW, 108: “of late I have been very fantastical’.
211 give me leave like a scoller...sophistry ment: After EAW, p.128, “such a confusion of degrees, that the scholler knoweth not his duetie to the Bachelor...”. sophistry: elaborate but faulty reasoning.
212 Contra principiu non es disputandum: Latin: Against principle there can be no arguing.
213 Primu est optimu: Latin: first is best.
214 droven to Non plus: driven to bewilderment, to be nonplussed
215 pretys: clever
216 cosen german: cousin-german: first cousins
217 town of Gotam: Gotham is a legendary English city with wise fools, who pretended to be stupid so that King John’s court would not reside in their city and they would not have to support it. EB
218 stelth: theft
with so grievous passions, as he could take no rest til he went to aske a friends counsel how he might recover his losse. Into whose presence being once entered, his clothes unbuttened made passage for his friends eiesight unto his bosome; who, seeing him in such a taking, judging by his looks that some qualme\(^{219}\) had risen on his stomack, the extremity wherof might make his head to ake, offered him a kertcher.\(^{220}\) This distressed man, halfe besides himselfe, howled bitterly that he did mistake his case, and falling in to a raving vain began to curse the day of his birth and the Destinies\(^{221}\) for suffering him to live. His fellow wise-man, mistaking this fit, fearing that some devil had possessed him, began to betake him to his heeles;\(^{222}\) but, being stopped from running by his companion did likewise ban the cause of this suddain change and the motion that mooved the other to enter his presence. Yet seing how dangerously he was disturbed, and knowing that by no meanes he could shun his company, calling his wittes together (which made him forget his pasion) he demanded the cause of the others griefe; who, taking a stoole and a cushion sate downe and declared that he was undone though the losse of a ring which was stolen out of his window, further saying: “Sir, is it not best for mee to goe to a wise-woman to knowe of her what is become [C2\(^{v}\)] of my ring?” The other answering affirmatively, asked this: if he knewe anye? Betweene whom many wise women reckoned, they both went together for company, wher we wil leave them.

Now I pray you tell me your fancie,\(^{223}\) were not these men very wise, but especially did they not cunningly display their wisedom by this practise? Sithence that they hope to

\(^{219}\) qualme: sudden feeling of sickness 
\(^{220}\) kertcher: handkerchief 
\(^{221}\) the Destinies: The Fates, the three goddesses who preside over life and the moment of one’s death. EB. 
\(^{222}\) betake him to his heeles: run away 
\(^{223}\) fancie: contraction of ‘fantasie’: here imagination, opinion.
finde that though the wisedom of a woman which was lost by the folly of a man. Wel, seeing according to the old proverb: 'The wit of woman is a great matter, let men learne to be wiser or account them selves fooles: for they know by practice that we are none.

Now sithence that this overcloied and surfeiting lover leaveth his love and comes with a fresh assault against us women, let us arm our selves with patience and see the end of his tongue which explaineth his surfeit. But it was so lately printed as that I shold do the printer injurie should I recite but one of them, and therfore referring you to Boke his surfeit in love, I come to my matter. If to injoy a woman be to catch the Devill by the foote, to obtaine the favour of a man is to holde fast his damme by the middle; whereby the one may easily breake away, and the other cannot go without he carries the man with him.

The properties of the snake and of the eele are the one to sting and the other not to be held; but mens tongues sting against nature, and therefore they are unnaturall. Let us bear with them as much as may be, and yeeld to their willes more then is convenient: yet if we cast our reckoning at the end of the yeare wee shall finde that our losses exceede their gains, which are innumerable. The propertie of the camelion is to change himself; but man alwaies remaineth at one stay, and is never our of the predicamentes of dishonestie and unconstancie. The stinging of the scorpion is cured by the scorpion, wherby it seemes

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224 that I shold do the printer injurie: Indicating that she cares for the wellbeing of the printer (whom she in all probability knew) and an indication that Orwin (the printer) might assigned this pamphlet to promote his own book Boke his Surfeit in Love. (Shepherd 49).

225 his damme: from the proverb “the devil and his damme”, the devil and his lady (can be either wife or mother). Found in E. Brewer Cobham’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable. Web. 1898.

226 “Eels cannot be held in a wet hand”, as found in EHE, 367.

227 The chameleon is also featured in EAW, 24.

228 at one stay: the same.

229 The stinging of the Scorpion is cured by the Scorpion: this line is entirely similar to EHE, 341.
that there is some good in nature in them. But men never leave\textsuperscript{230} stinging til they see the death of honestie. The danger of prickes is shunned by gathering roses glove fisted; and the stinging of bees prevented through a [C3'] close hood, but naked dishonestie and bare inconstancie are alwaies plagued through their owne follie.\textsuperscript{231}

If mens folly be so unreasonable as it will strive against nature it is nomatter though she rewardes them with crosses\textsuperscript{232} contrary to their expectations, for if Tom foole\textsuperscript{233} will presume to ride on Alexanders horse\textsuperscript{234} he is not to be pittied thogh he get a foule knocke\textsuperscript{235} for his labour. But it seemes the Gentleman hath had great experience of Italian courtizans,\textsuperscript{236} wherby his wisedom shewed for \textit{Experientia praestantior arte}\textsuperscript{237}; and hee that hath experience to proove his case is in better case then they that have al unexperienced book cases\textsuperscript{238} to defend their titles.

The smooth speeches of men are nothing unlike the vanishing cloudes of the aire which glide by degrees from place to place, till they have filled themselves with raine, when breaking, they spit foorth terrible showers. So men gloze,\textsuperscript{239} till they have their answeres, which are the end of their travell, \textit{and} then they bid modestie adue\textsuperscript{240} and entertaining rage,

\textsuperscript{230} leave: stop
\textsuperscript{231} and the stinging...their own follie: EAW, 43: “as the bee is oftentimes hurt with her own honey, so is wit not seldom plagued with his own conceit”.
\textsuperscript{232} crosses: troubles.
\textsuperscript{233} Tom Foole: like Tom Bull earlier, a fool of the male sex.
\textsuperscript{234} Alexanders horse: Alexander’s favorite horse, notable for its size. EB
\textsuperscript{235} foule knock: nasty blow
\textsuperscript{236} Italian courtizans: EAW, 84 “Had it not been better for thee to have eaten salt with the philosophers in Greece than sugar with the courtiers of Italy?” i.e. being foolish.
\textsuperscript{237} Experientia praestantior arte: Latin: Experience is superior to art.
\textsuperscript{238} unexperienced book cases: cases (as in law cases) from a book, which they have only read about, not experienced themselves.
\textsuperscript{239} gloze: flatter, talk seductively.
\textsuperscript{240} adue: adieu.
fal a railing on us which never hurt them. The rancknesse\textsuperscript{241} of grass causeth suspition of the serpents lurking, but his lying in the plaine path at the time when woodcockes shoote\textsuperscript{242} maketh the patient passionate through his sting, because no such ill was suspected. When protest secrecie most solemnly, beleevie them lest, for then surely there is a tricke of knavery to be discarded, for in a friers habite an olde fornicator is alwaies clothed.\textsuperscript{243}

It is a wonder to see how men can flatter themselves with their own conceites: for let us looke, they will straight affirm that we love, and if then lust pricketh them, they will sweare that love stingeth us: which imagination onely is sufficient to make them assay the scaling\textsuperscript{244} of halfe a dozen of us in one night, when they will not stick\textsuperscript{245} to sweare that if they should be denied of their requestes, death must needes follow. Is it any marvel though they surfeit, when they are so greedy, but is it not pittie that any of them should perish, which will be so soon killed with unkindnes? Yes, truly. Well, the onset given, if we retire for a vantage\textsuperscript{246} they will straight affirme that they \textsuperscript{\textit{[C3\tmsuperscript{v}]}} have got the victorie. Nay, some of them are so carried away with conceite that shameless they wil blaze abroad among their companions, that they have obteined the love of a woman unto whom they never spake above once,\textsuperscript{247} if that. Are not these forward fellowes? You must beare with them, because they dwell far from lying neighboures. They will say \textit{Mentiri non est nostrum},\textsuperscript{248} and yet you

\begin{footnotes}
\item{\textsuperscript{241} rancknesse: movement in the pattern of the grass.}
\item{\textsuperscript{242} the time when woodcockes shoote: when woodcocks (according to the OED related to snipes) fly through the woods, which is at dusk.}
\item{\textsuperscript{243} in a friers habite an olde fornicator is always clothed: proverb resembling ‘like a wolf in sheep’s clothing’.}
\item{\textsuperscript{244} assay the scaling: try to climb or mount}
\item{\textsuperscript{245} stick: pause}
\item{\textsuperscript{246} vantage: superior position.}
\item{\textsuperscript{247} whom they never spake above once: to whom they never spoke before once.}
\item{\textsuperscript{248} Mentiri non est nostrum: Latin: We are not liars.}
\end{footnotes}
shall see true tales come from them as wilde geese flie under London bridge. Their fawning is flattery; their faith falsehood; their faire wordes allurements to destruction; and their large promises tokens of death or of evils worse then death. Their singing is a bayte to catch us, and their playinges plagues to torment us; and therfore take heede of them, and take this as an axiom in logick and a maxime in the law: \( \text{Nulla fides hominibus} \). There are three accidents to men which of al are most unseparable: lust, deceit, and malice. Their glozing tongues, the preface to the execution of their wilde mindes, and their pennes the bloody executioners of their barbarous maners. A little gaule maketh a great deale of sweet sower: and a slaughterous tongue poysometh all the good partes in man.

Was not the follie of Vulcan worthy of Venus floutes, when she tooke him with the maner wooing Briceris? And was it not the flatterye of Paris which intysed Hellen to falshood? Yes trulie: and the late Surfeiter his remembrance in calling his pen from raging

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249  *wilde geese flie under London bridge*: In William Carew Hazlitt’s *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, (1907),Web, 301, it is said that London Bridge was “for wise men to pass over, and for fools to pass under”, so although men say they are not liars, they are fools.

250  *axiom in logick and a maxime in the law*: resemblance to EAW, 85: “The Axioms of Aristotle, the Maxims of Justinian”.

251  *Nulla fides hominibus*: Latin: there is no faith or truth in men. (‘hominibus’ should be ‘hominum’ according to Shepherd 50).

252  *glozing*: flattering

253  *gaule*: bile, one of the four bodily humors.

254  *sower*: sour

255  *the follie of Vulcan worthy of Venus floutes*: In Greek mythology, Vulcan was the god of fire and married to the goddess Venus, who was unfaithful to him (EB). The story of Vulcan and Venus is also mentioned throughout *Euphues and his England*. The only reference to Briceris as a love interest of Vulcan could be found on page 32 of *Tell-Throthes New Yeares Gift* by John Lane or Thomas Powell (Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, 1876, Google Book Search) dating from 1593. This is too late to be of influence on the author of this pamphlet, but perhaps the story was known in a different form: “And he himself [Vulcan] could not but blush when hee had woed his owne spouse (the goddesse of loue), in steede of Briceris, his beloued paramore”.

27
against reason sheweth that he is not quite without flatterie, for hee putteth the fault in his pen, when it was his passion that deserved reproofe. The love of Hipsicrates and Panthea, the zeale of Artemisia and Portia, the affection of Sulpitia and Aria, the true fancie of Hipparchia and Pisca, the loving passions of Macrina and of the wife of

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256 *Paris which intysed Hellen to falshood:* intysed: provoked. In Greek mythology, Helen was the indirect cause of the Trojan War after she left her husband Menelaus for Paris of Troy. EB.

257 *Hipsicrates:* Hypsicratea (1st century BC.) stood always at the side of her unsuccessful husband Mithridates VI of Pontus, of whom she was the sixth wife. Hypsicratea is found in *The Instruction of a Christen woman* (Juan Luis Vives, Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, et al. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.) ICW, 94.

258 *Panthea:* Wife of King Abrabatus in the novel of the Greek writer Xenophon, *Cyropaedia.* “Panthea, wife of the king of Susa, remained faithful to her husband while he was imprisoned. Expending all her resources for his safety, she took her own life when he was killed in war”. ICW, 190.

259 *Artemisia:* Artemisia II of Caria (350 BC) was a sister, the wife and the successor of the king Mausolus. In grief for her dead husband she drank his ashes and built a mausoleum in his remembrance, which became one of the seven world wonders. EB. Also mentioned in ICW, 190-1: “Artemisia, Queen of the Lydians, as it has been recorded, out of her boundless love, drank the ashes of her dead husband, Mausolus, diluted in a potion, wishing to be his living sepulcher”.

260 *Portia:* Porcia Catonis (c.70 BC – 43 BC). “Porcia, the daughter of Cato, wife of Marcus Brutus, was determined to die after her husband had been defeated and killed. They took every weapon away from her, but she put burning coals in her mouth and died of suffocation”. ICW, 190.

261 *Sulpitia:* Sulpicia, “And Sulpicia, wife of Lentulus, who was diligently guarded by her mother, Tullia, so that she would not follow her husband, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, put on the guise of a servant and with two female and male servants reached him after a clandestine flight, not hesitating to exile herself in order to demonstrate her fidelity to an exiled spouse.” ICW, 187.

262 *Aria:* Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus. Killed herself after her husband’s execution. ICW, 190: “The more famous story of Arrias death [...] recounts how she thrust a sword into her breast, pulled it out, and then handed it to her husband, saying, it does not hurt, Paetus”.

263 *Hipparchia:* Hipparchia of Maroneia (c. 325 BC) forced her wealthy parents to join Crates of Thebes in his missionary life, or else she would kill herself. EB and *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology (DGRBM)*, v.3, 476.

264 *Pisca:* meaning Prisca Mutilia, “the wife of C. Geminus Rufus, who was put to death in 31 AD, in the reign of Tiberius. Prisca was also accused and summoned before the senate, but stabbed herself” DGRBM, v.3, 523.

265 *Macrino:* Saint Macrina the Younger (330 – 379) was destined to marry, but when her fiancé died, vowed to remain pious and a virgin for the rest of her life. “Catholic Encyclopedia (1913), Macrina”, Johan Peter Kirsch. Web.
Paudoerus\textsuperscript{266} (al manifested in \textit{his Surfeit}) shall condemne the undiscreetnes of mens minds; whose hearts delight in nought\textsuperscript{267}, save that only which is contrary to good. Is it not a foolish thing to bee sorry for things unrecoverable? Why then shold Sigismundus\textsuperscript{268} answer be so descanted\textsuperscript{269} upon, seeing her husband was dead, \textit{and} she therby free for any man? Of \textit{the} abundance of the hart, \textit{the} mouth speaketh, which is verified by \textit{the} railing kind of mans writing. [C4\textsuperscript{1}] Of al kind of voluptuousnes they affirm lechery to be \textit{the} chiefest, \textit{and} yet some of them are not ashamed to confesse publiquely that they have surfeited therwith. It defileth the body \textit{and} makes it stink, \textit{and} men use it: I marvel how we women can abide them but that they delude us, as (they say) we deceive them \textit{with} perfumes.

Voluptuousnes is a strong beast and hath many instruments to draw to lust: but men are so forward\textsuperscript{270} of themselves thereto, as they neede none to haile them.\textsuperscript{271} His court is already so full with them that he hath more neede to make stronger gates to keepe them out then to set them open that they may come in, except he wil be pulled out by \textit{the} eares out of his kingdome. I woulde the abstinence of King Cyrus,\textsuperscript{272} Zenocrates,\textsuperscript{273} Caius

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{266} \textit{the wife of Paudoerus}: probably Harmothoe, wife of Pandareos, who in Greek mythology stole a golden dog from the temple of Zeus. He then fled to Sicily with his wife where they both perished. \textit{DGRBM}, v3, 109.
\item \textsuperscript{267} \textit{nought}: nothing
\item \textsuperscript{268} \textit{Sigismundis}: Known in Boccaccio’s \textit{Decameron} as Ghismonda, daughter of Tancred, Prince of Salerno. She took a lover after her husband had died, which her father disapproved of, but she defended her choice to take a new lover. John Payne. \textit{The Decameron by Giovanni Boccaccio}. (day 4, first story) 197. E-book.
\item \textsuperscript{269} \textit{descanted}: commented
\item \textsuperscript{270} \textit{forward}: eager (here, for lust)
\item \textsuperscript{271} \textit{they need none to haile them}: that it is not necessary to call them to it.
\item \textsuperscript{272} \textit{King Cyrus}: Persian King (ca. 590-529 BC). EB. In \textit{EAW}, 97, he is in love with Panthea, but controls himself because she is another man’s wife.
\item \textsuperscript{273} \textit{Zenocrates}: Xenocrates, Greek philosopher, (396 – 314 BC) DGRBM. Diogenes Laertius tells how he resisted the seductions of Phryne. Diogenes Laertius, \textit{Lives of Eminent Philosophers} (book iv.,6) R.D. Hicks (ed.).
\end{itemize}
Gracchus,\textsuperscript{274} Pompeius\textsuperscript{275} and of Francis Sforce Duke of Millaine,\textsuperscript{276} (recited in Boke his \textit{Surfeit in Love}) might be presidents for men to followe, and I warrant you then we should have no surfeiting. I pray God that they may mend: but in the meane time, let them be sure that rashnes breedes repentance and treacherous hearts tragical endes. False flattery is the messenger of foule folly, and a slanderous tongue the instrument of a dissembling\textsuperscript{277} heart.

I have set down unto you (which are mine owne sex) the subtil dealings of untrue meaning men: not that you should contemn\textsuperscript{278} all men, but to the end that you may take heed of the false hearts of all and stil reproove the flattery which remaines in all. For as it is reason that the hennes should be served first, which both lay the eggs and hatch the chickins, so it were unreasonable that the cocks which tread them\textsuperscript{279} should be kept clean without meat. As men are valiant, so are they vertuous: and those that are borne honorably cannot beare horrible dissembling heartes. But as there are some which cannot love hartely\textsuperscript{280} so there are many who lust uncessantly,\textsuperscript{281} and as many of them wil deserve wel, so most care not how il they speed\textsuperscript{282} so they may get our company. Wherein they resemble Envie, who will be contented to loose one of his eies that another might have both his pulled out. And therefore thinke well of as many as you may, love them that you have cause, heare

\textsuperscript{274} \textit{Caius Gracchus}: Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, (ca. 160—121 BC). Lived an honorable live after retreating from the forum, as is described by Plutarch. Plutarch. "Caius Gracchus", ch. 1.1. Bernadotte Perrin (ed.).

\textsuperscript{275} \textit{Pompeius}: There are many found in history with the name Pompeius, so here I follow Shepherd (50) when he claims that this has to be Sextus Pompeius Magnus Pius (or Pompey the Great), (106-48 BC) “the famous Roman senator and general whose private life was reputed to be very virtuous”

\textsuperscript{276} \textit{Francis Sforce Duke of Millaine}: Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan (1401-1466). Captured Milan and enriched and improved the city. (EB).

\textsuperscript{277} dissembling: deceiving
\textsuperscript{278} contemn: disdain
\textsuperscript{279} tread them: copulate with them
\textsuperscript{280} hартely: with courage or vigor
\textsuperscript{281} uncessantly: increasingly
\textsuperscript{282} how il they speed: how bad they prosper
every thing that they say, (and affoord\textsuperscript{283} them noddes which make themselves [C4\textsuperscript{a}]
noddes) but beleve very little thereof or nothing at all, and hate all those who shall speake
any thing in the dispraise or to the dishonor of our sex.

Let the luxurious life of Heliogabalus,\textsuperscript{284} the intemperate desires of Commodus\textsuperscript{285} and
Proculus,\textsuperscript{286} the damnable lust of Chilpericus\textsuperscript{287} and Xerxes,\textsuperscript{288} Boleslaus\textsuperscript{289} violent
ravishings, and the unnaturall carnall appetite of Sigismundus Malotesta\textsuperscript{290} be examples
sufficiently probable to perswade you that the hearts of men are most desirous to excell in
vice. There were many good lawes established by the Romanes and other good kinges yet
they coulde not restraine men from lecherie; and there are terrible lawes allotted\textsuperscript{291} in
England to the offenders therein, all which will not serve to restrain man.

The Surfeites phisicke\textsuperscript{292} is good could he and his companions follow it: but when the
fox preacheth, let the geese take heede,\textsuperscript{293} it is before an execution. \textit{Fallere fallentem non}

\textsuperscript{283} affoord: give
\textsuperscript{284} Heliogabalus: nickname of the Roman emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, original name Varius Avitus Bassianus (ca. 203 - 222). EB. Was known to be “odious and contemptible by all manner of follies and abominations”. \textit{DGRBM}, v.2, 7.
\textsuperscript{285} Commodus: Roman emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, (161-192). EB. Was a vicious ruler who “abandoned himself without interruption to the most shameless and beastly debauchery”. \textit{DGRBM}, v1, 818.
\textsuperscript{286} Proculus: an ambitious soldier from a wealthy family who took the title of emperor by force from Probus in 280. \textit{DGRBM}, v3, 539 - 40.
\textsuperscript{287} Chilpericus: Merovingian King Chilperic I, (c. 539— 584), king from 561 until his murder in 584. He had his first wife murdered in order to marry his mistress Fredegund, which started a family feud with the family of his first wife that continued for four decades. EB
\textsuperscript{288} Xerxes: Persian King (486–465 BC), known for his conquest of Greece. When this failed he retired and indulged in intrigue, murdering his brother’s family at the wish of his wife. EB.
\textsuperscript{289} Boleslaus: King Boleslav I, first king of Poland (c. 966 - 1025). Made Poland religiously independent of Germany and expanded his country’s borders through conquest and war, which are the “violent ravishing” the author mentions. EB
\textsuperscript{290} Sigismundus Malateste: Feudal ruler of Rimini (1417 – 68), mercenary captain and famous for his vice and brutality. EB.
\textsuperscript{291} alloted: assigned authoritatively
\textsuperscript{292} phisicke: remedy, medical treatment.
est fraus, and to kill that beast whose propertie is onely to slay is no sin: if you will please men you must follow their rule, which is to flatter: for Fidelitie and they are utter enemies. Things far fetched are excellent, and that experience is best which cost most. Crownes are costly, and that which cost many crownes is wel worth “God thank you”, or els I know who hath spent his labour and cost foolishly. Then if any man geveth such deare counsell gratfully, are not they fooles which will refuse his liberalitie. I know you long to heare what that counsel should be, which was bought at so hie a price; wherefore, if you listen, the Sorfeiter his pen with my hande shall foorthwith shew you.

At the end of mens faire promises there is a laberinth, and therefore ever hereafter stoppe your eares when they protest friendship lest they come to an end before you are aware wherby you fal without redemption. The path which leadeth thereunto, is man’s wit, and the miles ends are marked with these trees: Follie, Vice, Mischiefe, Lust, Deceite and Pride. These to deceive you shall bee clothed in the raimentes of Fancie, Vertue, Modestie, Love, Truemeaning and Handsomnes. [D1] Follie will bid you welcome on your way and tel you his fancie concerning the profite which may come to you by this jorney, and direct you to Vice who is more craftie. He with a company of protestations will praise

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293 when the fox preacheth, let the geese take heede: after the proverb, “when the fox preaches, look to your geese”, meaning here that men will ensnare women.

294 Fallere fallentem non est fraus: Latin: It is no crime to deceive the deceiver.

295 propertie: nature

296 they: here indicating men

297 liberalitie: generosity

298 hie: high

299 foorthwith: at once

300 laberinth: Reference to EAW, 145, where it says: “He that seeketh the depth of knowledge is as it were in a labyrinth, in which the farther he goeth the farther he is from the end”.

301 raiments: clothing, appearance

302 protestations: A formal, solemn, or emphatic affirmation of a fact
the vertues of women, shewing how many waies men are beholden unto us; but our backes once turned he fals a railing. Then Mischiefe he pries into every corner of us, seeing if he can espy a cranny that getting in his finger into it he may make it wide enough for his tong to wag in. Now being come to Lust: he will fall a railing on lascivious lookes, and wil ban Lecherie, and with the Collier will say ‘the devill take him’ though he never means it. Deceit will give you faire words, and pick your pockets; nay he will pluck out your hearts, if you be not wary. But when you heare one cry out against lawnes, drawn-works, periwigs, against the attire of curtizans and generally of the pride of al women: then know him for a wolfe clothed in sheepe's raiment and be sure you are fast by the lake of destruction. Therefore take heed of it, which you shall doe if you shun men's flattery, the forerunner of our undoing. If a jade be galled, wil he not winch? And can you finde fault with a horse that springeth when he is spurred? The one will stand quietly his back is healed, and the other go wel when his smart ceaseth. You must beare with the olde Lover his Surfeit, because hee was diseased when he did write it, and peradventure hereafter when he shal be well amended, he wil repent himself of his slaunderous speaches against our sex, and curse the dead man which was the cause of it and make a publique recantation. For the faltering in his speach at the latter end of his book affirmeth that already he half

303 beholden: obliged or attached
304 with the collier: cheatingly. Colliers were coal-traders, the proverb is an allusion to their dishonesty.
305 wary: careful
306 lawnes: fine linen
307 drawn-works: ornamented textiles
308 periwigs: stylized wigs. EAW 104: “Take from them, their periwiggs, their payntings [...] and thou shalt soone perceiue that a woman is the least parte of her selfe”.
309 the attire of curtizans: the clothing of prostitutes.
310 galled: has a blister or sore caused by the harness.
311 springeth: jerks
repenteth of his bargaine, and why? Because his melodie\textsuperscript{312} is past. But beleevethem not, thogh he shold out swear you, for althogh a jade may be still in a stable when his gall backe is healed, yet hee will showe himselfe in his kind when he is travelling; and mans flattery bites secretly, from which I pray God keepe you and me too.

Amen.

Finis

[D1']

A soveraigne Salve,\textsuperscript{313} to cure the late Surfeiting Lover.

If once the heat, did sore thee beat,

doofoolish love so blind:

Sometime to sweat, sometime to fret

as on bestraught\textsuperscript{314} of minde:

If wits weare take, in such a brake,\textsuperscript{315}

that reason was exilde:

And woe did wake, but could not slake\textsuperscript{316}

thus love had thee beguilde:

If any wight,\textsuperscript{317} unto thy sight,

all other did excell:

\textsuperscript{312} melodie: could be malady, then this would mean the surfeiting.  
\textsuperscript{313} soveraigne Salve: superior ointment  
\textsuperscript{314} bestraught: distraught  
\textsuperscript{315} brake: bridle  
\textsuperscript{316} slake: decrease in force or intensity  
\textsuperscript{317} wight: creature, person
whose beautie bright, constrained right
thy heart with her to dwell:

If thus thy foe, opprest thee so,
that backe thou could not start.\(^{318}\)
But still with woe, did surfeit thoe,\(^{319}\)
yet thankles was thy smart:

If nought but paine, in love remaine,
at length this counsell win,
That thou refrain, this dangerous pain,
and come no more therein.

And sith\(^{320}\) the blast, is overpast,
it better were certaine;
From flesh to fast,\(^{321}\) whilst life doth last,
then surfeit so againe.

\textit{Vivendo disce}.\(^{322}\)

Io. A.

\(^{318}\) that backe thou could not start: that you could not jump back anymore
\(^{319}\) thoe: then, at that time
\(^{320}\) sith: afterwards, abbreviation of ‘sithence’.
\(^{321}\) From flesh to fast: proverb meaning from abundance to scarcity.
\(^{322}\) Vivendo disce: Latin: Learn through living
Eiusdem ad Lectorem, de Authore.\footnote{323}{Latin: From the same to the reader, concerning the author.}

Though, sharpe the seede, by Anger sowed,
we all (almost) confesse;
And hard his hap\footnote{324}{fate, fortune} we aye account,
who Anger does possesse:
Yet haplesse\footnote{325}{unfortunate} shalt thou (reader) reape,
such fruit from Anger’s soile,\footnote{326}{Again the ‘reap what you sow’ proverb, as can be found on A2'.}
As may thee please, and Anger ease
from long and wearie toile.
Whose paines were take for thy behoofe,\footnote{327}{behalf, benefit.}
to till that cloddy\footnote{328}{clotted} ground.
Where scarce no place, free from disgrace,
of female sex, was found.
If ought offend, which she doth send,
impute\footnote{329}{assign} it to her moode.
For Anger’s rage must that asswage,\footnote{330}{calm, appease}
as wel is understoode.

\footnotesize\textit{Eiusdem ad Lectorem, de Authore: Latin: From the same to the reader, concerning the author.}
If to delight, ought come in sight,
then deeme it for the best.
So you your wil, may well fulfill,
and she have her request.

Finis Jo. A.\(^{331}\)

\(^{331}\) The fact that this says Jo, short for Joan, is reason for Shepherd to believe that the author might be a real person: “Joan was often interchangeable with Jane (if the name was fake I would have expected it to have been consciously regularized, in full)” (Shepherd 51)
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