

UNIVERSITY OF ST MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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A Discourse of the Common Weal  
of this Realm of England



A  
Discourse of the Common Weal  
of this Realm of England

*First printed in 1581 and commonly attributed to W.S.*

Edited from the MSS

by the late

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## NOTE.

WHEN Miss Lamond became aware that she could not hope to complete this book before her death, I undertook to see it through the press. She worked at it till the last. On Tuesday evening, August 11, 1891, she spent an hour or more in reading the proofs with Mr Lambarde's MS. in Cambridge. Two days later she travelled to her home in Edinburgh, where she died on the following Sunday morning.

The lines of Miss Lamond's plan for the work were clearly laid down, but I have felt a grave responsibility in trying to execute the remainder of a task for which her critical taste and unwearied patience rendered her specially fitted.

When the work came into my hands I found that a good deal remained to be done, and other engagements have rendered this long delay in publication inevitable. Miss Lamond had prepared the transcript of Mr Lambarde's MS. from which the text has been printed, as well as the transcript of the table of contents and side-notes from the Bodleian MS. ; she had also compared the proofs of the

first dialogue with the Lambarde MS. Her article in the *English Historical Review* (April 1891), together with suggestions for recasting it, supplied materials for the introduction. Two or three pages of the notes were also complete, but there was a considerable quantity of material which required to be entirely re-arranged. The introduction and notes do not in all cases represent her matured opinion; on more than one point she hoped to be able to go through the evidence again, though her main conclusions have already received general acceptance. (Cossa, *Introduzione*, 3<sup>a</sup> ed. p. 198. Ashley, *Economic History*, I. ii. 260.)

For cordial assistance received, I venture to express Miss Lamond's thanks as well as my own; to Mr Lambarde, for consenting to the long continued use of the very interesting manuscript which forms the basis of the text, and to the authorities of the Bodleian for their kindness in giving her special facilities for collating the MS. in their possession; also for assistance on special points to Mr J. D. Duff, Fellow of Trinity College; to Professor Foxwell, Fellow of S. John's College; to Mr Hubert Hall, of the Record Office; to Miss E. A. McArthur, of Girton College; to Mr F. B. Smart, of King's College; to Professor Sapsworth, of Zurich, and to Mr A. Rogers, of the University Library.

W. CUNNINGHAM.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

9 August 1893.

# CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION :	PAGE
I. Preliminary . . . . .	ix
II. Date of the Dialogue . . . . .	xi
III. Scene of the Dialogue . . . . .	xv
IV. Persons in the Dialogue . . . . .	xvii
V. Authorship . . . . .	xxv
VI. Manuscripts and Editions . . . . .	xxix
VII. The text and notes . . . . .	xxxvi
APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION :	
I. John Hales and the Commission on Enclosures .	xxxix
i. Causes of Dearth . . . . .	xlii
ii. Bill on Decay of Tillage . . . . .	xlv
iii. Defence of John Hales . . . . .	lii
II. William Smith and the Ardes. 1580 . . . . .	lxvii
i. Capt. W. Piers to Walsingham . . . . .	lxvii
ii. Mr W. Smith to Walsingham . . . . .	lxix
<i>Plate to face</i> . . . . .	I
A TABLE OF ALL THYNGES MOSTE NOTABLE CONTEYNEDE IN THIS BOKE . . . . .	
THE PREFACE . . . . .	10
THE FIRST DIALOGUE . . . . .	13
THE SECONDE DIALOGUE . . . . .	37
THE THIRD DIALOGUE . . . . .	97
NOTES . . . . .	145
INDEX . . . . .	201

## ERRATA.

- p. 9, l. 10; *for* prozydyd *read* provydyd.  
p. 56, l. 4 *margin*; *for* set *read* sel.  
p. 92, l. 1 *margin*; *for* spend *read* spendes.



## INTRODUCTION.

### I.

THE Dialogue which is now published in its earlier form has had a curious history. It was first printed in 1581, and the authorship was then claimed by W. S. ; but it now appears that whoever he may have been, he had little to do with the composition of the tract. He erased a few passages and made one important addition ; for the most part he was content to modify tell-tale phrases, and took little pains to bring the work up to date. Still, though much controversy has arisen as to the name and identity of W. S., no serious doubt appears to have been entertained as to his claim to authorship. One enterprising publisher in 1751 boldly assigned the Dialogue to W(illiam) S(hakespeare) ; though the audacity of the suggestion prevented it from meeting much acceptance, a fictitious interest has attached to this tract as a supposed description of England in the time of Shakespeare's youth. Indeed it has been very generally adopted—despite marked discrepancies from Harrison—as a leading authority for the social condition of England in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign. But the note written by William Lambarde, the Kentish antiquary, in his copy of the Dialogue, effectually disposes of the claim to authorship advanced by W. S., and proves that the book was written long before the date at which it appeared in print. “Note that this booke was “published in printe, under the Title of a briefe concepte of “*Inglish*e policie, by one W. S. in the yeare 1581 ; whearas it “was long synce penned by S' Thomas Smythe (as some say),

“or, Mr Jhon Hales (as others thinke) eyther in the reigne of “H. 8 or E. the 6. And I my selfe have long had this copie of “it which I caused to be written out in the yeare 1565<sup>1</sup>.” This information throws a fresh light on all the questions connected with the Dialogue. This new edition aims at presenting the treatise in its earliest known form, and exhibiting the modifications and alterations which were made by W. S. when he had it printed in 1581. The question of authorship can no longer be treated as a mere discussion of the identity of W. S., but must be examined afresh with the help of the internal evidence furnished by the treatise in its earlier form. The field for conjecture is narrowed if we suppose that the Dialogue gives, as it purports to do, the record of an actual conversation, and investigate the definite indications it affords of the date and the locality at which such a conversation could have occurred; when these limits of time and place are assigned, we shall be in a position to examine the evidence as to the originals of the characters who take part in the debate, and especially as to the identity of the knight, who poses as the narrator of the whole affair. The question as to the date when the report of the Dialogue was written, is therefore to be regarded as distinct from the question as to the date when the conversation occurred. The careful discussion of these various points in turn will throw considerable light on the character of the piece and the circumstances to which it refers, even if the precise form in which it is cast is thought to be a mere literary device.

<sup>1</sup> This note is reproduced on the plate fig. 4. Nichols mentions it in his catalogue of Lambarde's MS. (*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (Kent), p. 512), but he read the note “Sir Thomas Smythe or John Yates.” A more careful examination of the writing shews that this is a mistake; the H is a peculiar one, and was not used very commonly even by Lambarde himself; but he occasionally adopted this form, as for example in the word Hallyng in the last line of a letter, 29 July 1585 (Brit. Mus. Cotton Julius C. V. f. 25), also in the same word in the date of a letter, 2 December 1584 (Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 43 f. 44, No. 21).

## II. DATE OF THE DIALOGUE.

We have not to go far in the perusal of the Dialogue before we find a clue to the date to which the conversation must be referred. The first sentence (p. 13, l. 3) contains an allusion to the King's Highness' Commission touching enclosures. The great commission on this burning question, previous to 1565, had been in 1548. In the June of that year six commissioners were appointed<sup>1</sup> to hold inquests in several of the midland counties where the practice of enclosing the commons to pasture sheep was carried to the greatest extent. The commission had been issued in the hope of allaying the popular discontent which had already taken shape in the Cornish insurrection. It did not have the desired effect, however, for in some counties the proceedings of the Commissioners appear to have given an excuse for outbreaks<sup>2</sup>, and in the following summer the people "brake out partly for enclosures, and partly for religion, into an open and formidable insurrection in most counties in England<sup>3</sup>." There are several allusions to social disturbances in the Dialogue, and they are said by one speaker to be due to enclosing (p. 48, l. 32), and by another to disputes on matters of religion (p. 21, l. 23). The conversation, if it was an actual occurrence, must have taken place after the issue of the Enclosure Commission of 1548.

Other allusions enable us to fix the date with greater precision. The Doctor complains of the mistaken policy by which all cloths made within the realm had been charged "with twelve pence in the pound in the last subsidie" (p. 91, l. 15). This unusual experiment had been tried in the third year of Edward VI.'s reign. A "Bill for the Relief of Subsidy of Goods, Sheep, and Clothes for Three Years," was passed in 1549<sup>4</sup>. But soon

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. i. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* II. i. 149, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Strype, *Sir John Cheke*, 40.

<sup>4</sup> 2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 36, §§ 8, 9. *Journals of House of Commons*, 14 Feb. 1548-9.

after it was enacted, steps were taken to repeal it. On 16 November 1549 a Bill was 'exhibited by divers Clothiers of Devon for remitting of the Act of Relief for Making of Clothes<sup>1</sup>.' On the 18th of the same month there is this entry in the Commons Journal: "That Mr Speaker, with the King's Privy Council of the House, and twelve other of the House, shall be Suitors to know the King's Majesty's Pleasure, by his Council, if, upon their humble suit, they may treat of the last Relief for Clothes and Sheep, at four of the Clocke Afternoon<sup>2</sup>." The petition was granted<sup>3</sup>, and on 11 December a new "Bill for the Discharge of the Branch for Payment for Sheep and Cloths in the last Act of Relief; and another Relief of Goods, granted for one other year," was read in the Commons for the first time<sup>4</sup>. It rapidly passed its stages, and was read a third time in the House of Lords on 17 January 1550<sup>5</sup>. The summer of 1549 was therefore the only one in which such a subsidy existed, and there seems no reason to doubt that it is the one mentioned by the Doctor.

Another event of the same summer is noted in the treatise. In one of the first speeches put in the mouth of the merchant he complains that, though many things which were occasions of expense have been put down, prosperity has not increased. The occasions of expense which he names are "Stage playes, interludes, May games, wakes, revels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, etc." (p. 16, l. 16). A proclamation was issued on August 6th 1549<sup>6</sup> for the "inhibicion of Plaiers." "The kynges maiestie... commaundeth al and every his maiestie's subiectes... that from "the ninth daie of this present moneth of August, vntill the feast "of all Sainctes nexte commyng, thei ne any of them, openly or "secretly, play in the Englishe tongue, any kynde of Interlude

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons*, 1. p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 1. p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 1. p. 12, 20 Nov. 1549.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 1. p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Journals of the House of Lords*, Vol. 1. p. 381.

<sup>6</sup> Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* 11. i. 270.

“Plaie, Dialogue, or other matter set furthe in forme of Plaie, “etc.”<sup>1</sup> As to wrestling, in *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, under the year 1549, is the entry: “Memorandum, yt was ordeyned at a Court of Aldermen that the wrestlinge should be put downe and left for this yeare, because of the commotions of Norfolke and other partes of this realm<sup>2</sup>.” In the following year the wrestling was permitted<sup>3</sup>, and in 1551 “a wrestlinge and a shooting<sup>4</sup>.”

Besides this, the remarks in the treatise on the state of the coinage harmonise very closely with the condition of affairs in 1549. In discussing this matter the Doctor states that as soon as the price of the coin was enhanced the merchants collected the old coin, and had it conveyed out of the realm (p. 32, l. 28, p. 79, l. 14, p. 106, l. 20). On 11 April 1549 a proclamation was issued which stated how divers persons had conveyed gold coin, and especially the old coin out of the realm, and forbad this under severe penalties<sup>5</sup>. The same proclamation also declared that “sundry persones in the parties beyonde the seas, haue now of late attempted, to counterfeict the Testons, Shillynges, Grotes and other the kinges maiesties coynes of siluer, and in greate multitude do priuely, bryng them into this Realme,” and charged diligent search to be made for the same<sup>6</sup>. The base coin from abroad is also mentioned in the treatise (p. 45, l. 20, p. 78, l. 27).

Again, the Doctor compares the current angel with the pure angel. “Is not the angel that was before but XX grotes now at XXX, and so all other old coin after the same rate, but I think there is no more silver given in the XXX grotes now than

<sup>1</sup> *All suche Proclamations*, f. 66. [Brit. Mus. C. 12. b. 17.]

<sup>2</sup> *Wriothesley's Chronicle* (Camden Society), 11. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 42. The prohibition of interludes was general; but the entries about wrestling refer only to London, and they seem to shew that the inhibition was merely a temporary expedient. Local information would be necessary to confirm the conclusion.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Proclamations*, f. 30 b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* f. 32 b.

was before in xx grotes, if it be so much" (p. 80, l. 11). At the beginning of Edward's reign the angel was valued at 8/-, in the proclamation above quoted (11 April 1549) it was raised to 9/8<sup>1</sup>; in 1551 was coined an angel of ten shillings. This last would at first sight seem to be "the angell at xxx grotes," to which the writer alludes, but it has to be remembered that before the angel was issued at ten shillings there had been two falls in the valuation of the groat, and the angel of 9/8 might easily pass in ordinary transactions for at least thirty groats of debased issues<sup>2</sup>. In July 1551 the groat was called down from fourpence to threepence, in August of the same year from threepence to twopence, and in the following October groats were called in, and in the new coinage of that month, of which the angel of ten shillings formed part, there was no groat, at least no fourpenny or threepenny or twopenny pieces were issued, and the term groat was now applied to the twelvepenny piece<sup>3</sup>. The angel at "xxx grotes" is more likely to have been that of 1549.

These various allusions are so clear and precise that it may be said with practical certainty that the writer was describing the condition of England as he knew it in the autumn of 1549. The documents printed in the Appendix serve to shew that the Commission on Enclosures was pushing actively on with its work in July and August of that year<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Proclamations*, f. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Policies to reduce the realme*, &c. "And if he wolde carry over golde that angell which he mought have hade xxx<sup>ty</sup> yeres by parte for vi<sup>ty</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> will now coste x<sup>s</sup> or very nigh it." p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the entry in Edward's Journal for October 1551. "The commission for the making of five shilinges, hauf-five-shillinges, grotes and sixpences 11 oz fine and pence with haupence and fardinges foure ounces fine, was folowed and signed." *Literary Remains*, 346.

<sup>4</sup> See below Appendix I. on John Hales and the Commission on Enclosures.

## III. SCENE OF THE DIALOGUE.

The reference to the Commission on Enclosures of 1548, with which the Dialogue opens, furnishes an indication, not only as to the date, but as to the scene of the conversation : it occurred in a city within the area visited by the commissioners. The circuit of these enclosure commissioners, whose proceedings are recorded, embraced the counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, and the only cities in these counties are Oxford, Coventry and Peterborough. One of these three cities would seem to be the scene of the Dialogue ; and of these three, two may be dismissed at once as unworthy of consideration. Neither Oxford nor Peterborough was an important centre of industry in the Tudor period, as the city of the Dialogue seems to have been ; nor had Peterborough suffered decay, as it is not mentioned in the statutes of Henry VIII.'s reign for the re-edifying of decayed towns<sup>1</sup> ; the complaints of the merchant and capper as to the former wealth and present distress of the city would hardly seem to apply to them (pp. 18, 19). With Coventry the case was different ; several woollen industries had been established there, and before the Reformation it was a prosperous and flourishing city<sup>2</sup>. The destruction of its monastery, and other religious houses, wrought a change which has been graphically described by Dugdale. "To so low an ebbe did "their trading soon after grow, for want of such concourse of "people that numerously resorted thither before that fatal disso- "lution, that many thousands of the inhabitants, to seek better "livelyhoods, were constrained to forsake the city : insomuch as "in 3 Ed. 6 it was represented unto the Duke of Somerset, then "Protector, by John Hales, a person of great note in those daies, "and whose memory is still famous here ; that there were not at

<sup>1</sup> 27 H. VIII. c. 1, 32 H. VIII. c. 18, 33 H. VIII. c. 36, 35 H. VIII. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare p. 19, l. 32.

“that time above 3000 inhabitants, whereas within memory “there had been 15,000<sup>1</sup>.”

The other allusions will also suit with what we know of Coventry. The hospital mentioned by the merchant (p. 18, l. 31) may well be Ford’s Hospital, in Coventry, which with its beautifully carved timber gables still remains a testimony to the bounty of a former mayor, William Fourd, merchant of the staple, who founded it to provide for the relief of five men and one woman, who had fivepence a week given them for their maintenance<sup>2</sup>. It was built near the house of the Grey Friars, and so was at the “townes end,” according to the boundaries of Coventry in those days.

There are references to the trade of Coventry which imply, if not special local knowledge, at least special interest in the well-being of this town; its decay is said to be connected with the loss of one special trade, that of making blue thread (p. 128, l. 4). Besides, the mere selection of a capper to state the case on behalf of craftsmen is in complete accordance with what we know of Coventry, while it would not be appropriate in all parts of England; the trade of cap-making seems to have been widely diffused in Tudor times, but it would hardly have been natural to fix on a man of this calling as a typical artisan, in many parts of England; none of Shakespeare’s craftsmen pursued this trade. In Coventry, however, a capper might well stand for a well-to-do artisan, for in this city cap-making was a great and important trade; in 1525 and in 1533 a capper had been elected Mayor, and in 1549 the office was filled by William Saunders, a capper. In 1525, when Nicholas Haines, capper, was Mayor, he had taken an active part in the opposition to enclosures (*Wanley’s Collections*, Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 6388). The sympathy which the capper in the Dialogue expresses

<sup>1</sup> *Warwickshire*, i. 146. This estimate of the population does not seem exaggerated if there is any truth in the statement that in 1479 the plague carried off 3000 persons in the city, or 4450 in the city and its franchises. *Wanley’s Collections* (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6388).

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, i. 184.



(p. 48) with the special grievances of the husbandmen had had an instructive parallel in actual life.

#### IV. PERSONS IN THE DIALOGUE.

i. The Dialogue purports to be reported by the Knight who had taken part in the conversation (p. 12, ll. 22, 31). This reference is kept up throughout the treatise in the Bodleian version of the text, where the phrase, *quoth I*, occurs regularly in the Knight's speeches. The personality of the Knight is also indicated in the opening sentence, for he speaks of himself as personally engaged in the commission on enclosures, and as giving the charge to the Inquest (p. 13, l. 3). The Justices of the Peace, according to the terms of commission<sup>1</sup>, were to be in attendance, but the sentence seems to imply that the Knight had taken a leading part in the whole affair, and it is at all events consistent with the supposition that this character represents John Hales, who was the leading spirit on the commission and habitually gave a charge at the opening of proceedings. He was busy at Coventry in connection with this work in August 1548 and again in August 1549; in the intervening session he had taken an active part in trying to push three bills, on matters arising out of his inquiries, through Parliament; the story of his efforts and their failure has been related by Strype<sup>2</sup>, and his own account of it is given in the Appendix<sup>3</sup>.

A second indication as to the personality of the Knight occurs on p. 67, where he refers to his experience in Parliament, when a protective measure was introduced against the importation of foreign caps. This subject had come before Parliament in several reigns; the importation of foreign-made caps had been prohibited in 1512<sup>4</sup>; this prohibition had been withdrawn

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Ecd. Mem.* 11. ii. 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 11. i. 210.

<sup>3</sup> See p. lii. below.

<sup>4</sup> 3 H. VIII. c. 15.

and prices set for the sale of foreign-made caps in 1529<sup>1</sup>; this arrangement seems to have lasted through the reign of Edward VI., and was re-affirmed under Mary<sup>2</sup>. But in the session of 1548—9 a *Bill for hats and caps* was introduced; it came before the Commons on January 5th and 24th, but does not seem to have advanced farther. It was undoubtedly important to maintain the arrangements with France, which had been entered into by Henry VIII.<sup>3</sup>, and recently confirmed by a new treaty<sup>4</sup>; and these would undoubtedly have been strained by the imposition of a hostile tariff; it might have created a difficulty with other countries as well.

Another point on which the Knight expresses interest had come before Parliament in the same session (p. 125, l. 5). In the Act to release fee farms in cities and towns for three years<sup>5</sup> a special provision was introduced that the amount of the fee farms should still be collected and the money devoted to the repair of walls and bridges and to setting the poor at work within the decayed cities and towns<sup>6</sup>. This Bill seems to have been in Hales' charge<sup>7</sup>.

Hales' connection with Coventry<sup>8</sup> was intimate and impor-

<sup>1</sup> 21 H. VIII. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> 1 M. st. ii. c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 95, 7 June 1546. See note to p. 67, l. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 4 March 1547.

<sup>5</sup> 2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 5.

<sup>6</sup> On this and other points compare the remarks in the *Causes of Dearth* below, p. xlv.

<sup>7</sup> *Commons Journal*, 1. 1 March 1549.

<sup>8</sup> It is described at length in the following account of the Free School which he founded at Coventry. "This school was founded by *John Hales* of London, Esq., Clerk of the Hamper in the reign of *K. H. VIII.*, a gentleman of very considerable Abilities and Learning. Upon the Dissolution of the Abbies and Monasteries he attended the King's Commissioners to this City, where he was wonderfully taken with the pleasant situation of the House lately belonging to the *White Friars*. After his return to *London* he desired his intimate Acquaintance, Lord

*Ex MSS.  
Petri Cotta  
nuper penes  
Jac. Hales,  
Gen.*

tant. He had received a grant of S. John's Hospital, with a

Cromwell and Sir Anthony Dennis to move the King, that he might have leave to purchase some of his Majesty's Lands lying in and about *Coventry*. The King was easily prevailed upon to hearken to any motions of this Kind, but understanding there was no Free School in the said City, he told Sir *Anthony* that he should be well pleased to meet with a Purchaser who would give something towards the Foundation of a School, whereby others might be encouraged to promote so good a Work. Sir *Anthony* answered, That his Majesty knew *John Hales* to be a very good Scholar, and a Lover of Learning and Learned Men; and therefore could not meet with a Purchaser more fit for that Purpose. Hereupon the King sent for Mr *Hales*, and asked him whether in case of a Purchase he would be willing to do something towards the erection of a Free School in *Coventry*. Mr *Hales* answered, that he should be very well pleased to do so, and that since the Motion was made by his Majesty, the School which he would found should be called K. H. VIII. School. The King afterwards pressing him to engage to settle four Marks a year for a Beginning: Mr *Hales* replied, That that was too little, and in Case he was suffered to purchase, he would settle above thrice four Marks a year; but withal desired that the Purchase might be free without any Mention or Notice in the Patent of any Thing to be given for the Endowment of a School. The King consented to his Request, and sold him by Letters Patent (23 July, 37 H. VIII.) diverse Houses, Lands, and Quit Rents, Parcels of the late dissolved Priory and other Religious Houses in and near this City; at the same time granting his Royal Licence, dated at *Portsmouth*, to found and establish a perpetual Free Grammar School in the said City, with full Power to him or any other Person to give and devise Lands for the Maintenance thereof. Not long after this Mr *Hales* came to settle at the *White Friars*\* (to which he gave the Name of *Hales-Place*), and in the Choir of the Church thereunto belonging, maintained a School at his own Expense, allowing to Mr *Sherwyn*, the Chief-Master, £30 a year; to the Usher £10 a year, and to Mr *Johnson* of Oxford, Musick-Master, 20 Nobles a Year and his Board. But the School did not long continue here: For *Tallans* and *Kervyn* (commonly called the

\* The White-Friars House was purchased by Mr Hales of Sir R. Sadler, Knt., to whom it had been conveyed by Patent, 27 Aug. 36 H. VIII., about a year before Mr Hales obtained his own grant.

considerable estate on the dissolution of the monasteries, from

*Great Kerwyn*), two of the Magistrates of this City, finding a Defect\* in the Patent, and that Mr *Hales* had (not) actually purchased the Church, either through Envy of the Work, or some other sinister Motive, procured a Grant of it from the Crown, and obliged Mr *Hales* to remove the Seats, which he had provided for the scholars, to the Church of St *John's* Hospital, which is the present School.

In the time of *Edward* VI. complaints were made to the Lord Chancellor, during Mr *Hales's* Absence in *Germany*, by the said *Tallans* and *Kerwyn* and others, setting forth that K. H. VIII. had granted and given to the said Mr *Hales* certain Houses and Lands, which he unjustly detained to his own Use, though the same were designed by the K. for the Foundation of a School.

And when Q. Eliz. in the year 1565 came to this City, Mr *Throgmorton*, then Recorder, in his speech to her Majesty, among other things, represented "That her most Noble Father founded in this City "for the Maintenance of Learning a Free-School, or rather a College, "and for Continuance thereof passed or let go from him certain Lands "of great Price, which the City enjoyed not, but were unjustly deprived "of — for the Redress whereof, the Mayor and Commonalty most "humbly besought her Highness to give gracious Hearing." The Queen, extremely incensed at this Charge, immediately gave Orders, That Sir *Wm. Cecil*, one of her principal Secretaries of State, should make enquiry into the Matter. But neither of these Attempts succeeded: for *Sir William*, as well as the Lord Chancellor, upon examination of Mr *Hales's* Patent, found no mention of any Houses or Lands thereby given or reserved for the Foundation and Maintenance of a School. This unkind Treatment of Mr *Hales*, from a City which he was endeavouring to oblige, made him lay aside a noble Design which he had formed of erecting and establishing a College in this City, like those at *Westminster* and *Eaton*. However, he continued, as long as he lived, the Maintenance of the School by annual Stipends, as we observed before.

*An account of the . . . loans . . . and charities belonging to  
Coventry (1733), p. 72 (Brit. Mus. G. 15,954).*

\* This Defect was in *Sadler's* Patent, which being discovered, the City petitioned Q. Mary and obtained License in the 4th and 5th of her Reign to make it a Parish Church. It was afterwards purchased by Mr *Ed. Boughton*, who with the Materials thereof built his House at *Causton*, in the County of *Warwick*.

Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup>, and he had busied himself in representing the decay of Coventry to the Protector<sup>2</sup>, in the hopes of securing some additional privileges<sup>3</sup>. Altogether he seems to be a very probable person to be the original of the Knight in the Dialogue.

Three objections may be noted. John Hales does not appear to have had any military experience, while the Knight speaks as if he had (p. 22, l. 25, p. 84, l. 17). Hales was lame<sup>4</sup>, and was distinguished as Hales with the club foot<sup>5</sup>. Besides this, Hales was not a knight<sup>6</sup>; he held a valuable office in connection with the Exchequer, as he was Clerk of the Hanaper<sup>7</sup>, but he appears never to have received any other rank than that of Esquire. Still farther, the Knight speaks of his son (p. 19, l. 26); but Hales was unmarried, and his property descended to his nephew.

ii. There are no specific allusions which can enable us to identify the original of the Doctor in the Dialogue; but there are not a few general considerations which render it, at least, not improbable that the character was drawn from Hugh Latimer, once Bishop of Worcester. In his well-known sermons Latimer touches on many of the topics with which the Doctor deals,—enclosures, the debased coinage, the neglect of the prelates, and the decay of the Universities are subjects on

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, i. 180. Compare p. 39, l. 9, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* i. 146. A Bill on the subject appears to have been introduced into the Commons 12 Jan. 1549. *Journals*, i. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> These were at length granted in a new charter in 6 Ed. 6, Dugdale, i. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale, i. p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Leland, *Itin.* iv. f. 190 b.

<sup>6</sup> He is described in the inscription which records the founding of the School under Henry VIII. as Armiger (*Dugdale*, i. 180), and elsewhere as Esquire. It seems to be generally assumed that Sir John Hales, Knight, who was one of the Ecclesiastical Visitors in 1547, was a different man, and that it is probably intended for John Hales' cousin, Sir James Hales. Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 209.

<sup>7</sup> Spelman, *Glossarium*, under *fiscus*.

which he expressed views very similar to those which are put into the mouth of the Doctor. Perhaps the probability becomes stronger when we notice the silences as well as the utterances of the Doctor. Latimer was a reformer, but he was comparatively little interested in the questions of doctrine which were so hotly disputed<sup>1</sup>, and on these topics the Doctor says little or nothing. Again, there is no denunciation of the monasteries, or enthusiasm over the secularisation of these institutions; and it may be remembered that Latimer alone among the Bishops of the 'new learning' had pressed for the preservation of two monastic houses in each diocese, to be centres of study<sup>2</sup>. The Doctor's anxiety about the discouragement of learning (p. 22, l. 1, p. 31) seems to harmonise with Latimer's attitude on this subject.

While at Cambridge Latimer had been an enthusiast for the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue<sup>3</sup>, and with this the author probably agreed (p. 22, l. 6, p. 139, l. 22). But the Doctor's strong view about the immature exercise of the right of private judgment (p. 139, l. 25) reminds us that Latimer sat on the commission which condemned Joan of Kent<sup>4</sup>. The other reforms for which Latimer pressed were chiefly in regard to ecclesiastical abuses, including the exaction of fees. As a parish priest, and subsequently as a bishop, he had insisted on the importance of a resident clergy<sup>5</sup>,—in fact he was bent on reforming ecclesiastical administration, rather than doctrine. In this view of the nature of the reform which was chiefly required, he found comparatively few followers; but it is a view which is clearly insisted upon by the Doctor (p. 133 f.).

Latimer was also well-known, at all events, in the neighbourhood of Coventry. Part of Warwickshire had been included in

<sup>1</sup> Compare the summary of his character and views by his biographers, Gilpin, p. 196, and Demaus, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* vii. (Leicestershire), \*540.

<sup>3</sup> Foxe, iii. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Gilpin, 46, 59.

his see, and he had many friends there; during the reign of Edward VI. he lived a good deal at Baxterley<sup>1</sup>, and Becon looked back with special interest to meeting him in that county in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s reign<sup>2</sup>. More than this, we should gather from the Dialogue that the Doctor was in orders (p. 131, l. 28 f.), and possibly a bishop (p. 135, l. 5, p. 136, l. 30), but he does not speak as a man who had actual preferment and responsibility at the time. His remarks certainly accord with the habit, which Latimer adopted, of speaking of himself as a *quondam*<sup>3</sup>.

These coincidences are at least curious; and we should not expect to find a precise identity in the language of the Dialogue with that of the sermons. Latimer's pulpit manner was very vehement, and his table talk was doubtless different in style. The anxiety expressed by the Doctor lest he should speak too freely (pp. 45, 111) coincides with Latimer's claim to have been reticent where violent speech might have done harm<sup>4</sup>. There are two points however where there is a very strange coincidence between Latimer's sermon of Lent, 1550, and the Dialogue. The story of Tenterden Steeple and Sandwich Haven is told at length in the sermon, and an incorrect allusion is made to it in the Dialogue (p. 100, l. 13). In the same sermon Sir William Sharrington is held up as an example of restitution; this very generous view of his conduct did not commend itself either to Sir Thomas Smith<sup>5</sup> or to Parliament<sup>6</sup>. In the Dialogue a Mint official, whose name is given as Knight, is held up as an instance of the same excellence. The oddness

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, II. 1054.

<sup>2</sup> Becon, *Works*, II. 426.

<sup>3</sup> Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Latimer's *Sermons*, 'I am bold with you, but I speak Latin, not English, to the clergy, not to the laity,' p. 46; 'I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace,' p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Strype, *Life*, p. 36 n.

<sup>6</sup> 2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 17. He was subsequently pardoned by a patent, 5 Nov. 1349 and 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 13.

of this coincidence of the allusions is increased by the fact that the sermons were not preached till 1550, whereas the Dialogue appears to be referable to the autumn of 1549. If they are not mere coincidences, they might have arisen from an imperfect recollection on the part of the writer of illustrations used by Latimer in conversation, and which he subsequently employed in sermons.

There is one point in which the opinions expressed by the Doctor do not exactly coincide with those contained in Latimer's sermons on the same topic. In the sermons he merely denounces covetousness and greed; in the Dialogue the Doctor takes the line of recognising that self-seeking is a great force which may be directed by the wise statesman. This practical principle in regard to self-interest was explicitly acted on all through the seventeenth and greater part of the eighteenth centuries, but it was not a mere commonplace at the time the Dialogue was written. It has no place in Hales' *Charge* or in Latimer's *Sermons*, or in Starkey's *Dialogue*. The doctrine of a possible harmony of self-interests is touched on by Starkey<sup>1</sup>; he represents Pole as holding that it might be attained, by teaching men to see that their individual interest in the long run was involved in that of the state, and that by promoting the good of the state they were really promoting their own eventual interest. But the Doctor's suggestions for regulating and directing self-interest are more practical. It is possible that Latimer held this view, but did not feel called on to lay stress on it in his sermons.

iii. It is hardly to be expected that we should be able to identify any one of the three minor characters in the Dialogue; the husbandman, the capper, and the merchant or mercer. In only one case is there a hint which serves to indicate that any particular individual was thought of. On page 18(l. 33) the mercer refers to his father-in-law, who had recently redeemed the custom of the city. A more exhaustive search among papers in Coventry might lead to the identification of this benefactor, and possibly give us the means of recovering the name of the man

<sup>1</sup> *England in the reign of Henry VIII.* (E. E. T. Society), p. 33.



who had married his daughter. An attempt has been made to explain the redemption of the custom of the city; and if this should be confirmed, it would seem that William Wygston, who was probably alive but must have been an elderly man in 1549, was the mercer of the piece. In regard to the capper and the husbandman, who was also a grazier (p. 57, l. 2), there are no personal references at all, and it seems impossible to regard them as anything but types of the craftsman or husbandman. At the same time it is a curious coincidence that William Saunders, capper, was Mayor of Coventry in 1549, and R. Nicklin, grazier or butcher, in 1550. These were prominent citizens of the specified callings, who might easily have spent the day in the company of Latimer and Hales.

#### V. AUTHORSHIP.

The only indications in regard to the position of the author are to be found in the preface, where he mentions three facts in regard to himself. He was not of the King's Council; he was a member of Parliament, and he had some vacation from other business. More generally it may be said, that he must have been a man who was in sympathy with the views of which the Doctor is the recognised mouthpiece, in matters not only of politics but of religion; and that he was a scholar, whose wide and various reading enabled him to present the argument in the form in which we have it, with its various allusions to classical and current literature.

The man who, from his interests and education, seems most likely to have been the author of such a treatise at about this date, was the John Hales, who has already been spoken of as the probable original of the Knight in the Dialogue. The story of his life seems to show that his case would satisfy all the conditions specified in the preface. He was a member of Parliament; he sat in the first Parliament of Edward VI. for Preston<sup>1</sup>, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Returns of Members of Parliament* (Sessional Papers, 1878), 1. 375.

county of Lancaster; he was not a member of the Parliament of 1553, or of any other Parliament till 1562, when he sat for the borough of Lancaster<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand he does not appear to have been of the King's Council<sup>2</sup>. He was in England, as his Defence proves<sup>3</sup>, during the summer of 1549, but the next trace of him shows that he had left England for a time, possibly on account of the storm raised by the Commission on Enclosures<sup>4</sup>. His precise movements were not known to his brother, Christopher Hales, who when writing to Gualter on 24 May 1550 asks to be remembered to his brother John, if he visits Zurich<sup>5</sup>; John Hales was certainly at Strassburg in 1552<sup>6</sup>; during the reign of Queen Mary he was living abroad; we hear of him among the English exiles at Frankfort<sup>7</sup>. It may be said that while on the Continent he would have that vacation from other business which would enable him to write this treatise on the condition of England, as he had known it personally in 1549; this would also account for an allusion to an occurrence of a later date, such as the apparent reference to the great increase of the custom of cloth under Queen Mary. (p. 91, l. 13).

<sup>1</sup> *Returns of Members of Parliament* (Sessional Papers, 1878), i. 404.

<sup>2</sup> But see p. 120, l. 20.

<sup>3</sup> See p. lxvii. below. The *Acts of the Privy Council* have several mentions of payments made to him, apparently in his capacity as Clerk of the Hanaper in 1547 and 1548: the last is 25 Feb. 1549. Hales' name does not appear in the subsequent volumes, but we have a letter addressed to Pawle, Comptroller of the Hanaper (26 Dec. 1551), and to the office of the Hanaper (29th Dec. 1552).

<sup>4</sup> See p. xli. below.

<sup>5</sup> *Original Letters* (Parker Society), Nos. 99, 100, pp. 188, 189.

<sup>6</sup> Cranmer, *Works*, p. 435, Letter 299. The *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc.) show his signature, and there seemed to be some hope that papers of his, bearing on the subject of the Dialogue, might be found at Zurich. Professor Saspworth most kindly made a careful search, which has however proved fruitless.

<sup>7</sup> Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 404. *Discourse of Troubles at Frankfort* in *Phoenix*, II. p. 93.

There may have been an actual conversation which gave at least a suggestion for the Dialogue, like that in which Sir Thomas More engaged at Coventry<sup>1</sup>, and the dramatis personæ were probably suggested by known originals. All the indications which go to shew that the Knight may have been drawn from Hales, go to shew also that Hales had the special knowledge which would fit him to be the author ; and there are one or two phrases that recall his Charge ; but the attempt to put the whole in literary form may have led to the occasional haziness which is noticeable in the descriptions and allusions. The literary taste of the day as shewn in other dialogues, with the fancy names which the characters adopt<sup>2</sup>, might well render a writer inclined not to accentuate the definite allusions unduly, and to throw a slight veil over the personality. Thus he writes, I was once in a Parliament (p. 67, l. 2), when he is referring to the business of the preceding session<sup>3</sup>. This vagueness may be accidental in some cases ; it is especially noticeable of the literary allusions, which are excellent as conversation, but which give the impression of a man writing without his books.

So far as the general conditions are concerned, Hales may certainly be said to have been a man whose sympathies<sup>4</sup> and interests cover the whole range of matter treated of in the Dialogue, whose range of learning would enable him to write it<sup>5</sup>, and who had the opportunity of definite acquaintance with the condition of Coventry and its neighbourhood at that time. It may appear strange that, if he was the author, the fact should not be known to a contemporary like William Lambard : but Hales, in the latter part of his life, was much out of England, and

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Bib. Top. Brit.* iv. (Warwickshire), No. xvii. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> As in More, *Utopia*, Wilson's *Usury* or Becon's *Jewel*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also p. 67, l. 26, where of late is used for a measure 'devised' in the time of Richard II. and reenforced by Henry VII.

<sup>4</sup> In the Elizabethan period he was a very pronounced reformer, Strype, *Cranmer*, but residence in Frankfort may have influenced him.

<sup>5</sup> Compare his epitaph. Stow, *Survey*, Vol. I. Bk. II. p. 113.

though he enjoyed a period of favour for a time under Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>, he again fell under a cloud, owing to the opinions which he published on the succession to the Crown<sup>2</sup>. He might be loth either to acknowledge or to publish (p. 12, l. 5) a dialogue which reflected on the wisdom of the councillors of Henry VIII. and Edward (p. 103, l. 23), and his views on ecclesiastical matters appear to have become much more advanced than those expressed by the Doctor. Under the circumstances it does not seem strange that his Dialogue should not be printed in his lifetime<sup>3</sup>, and should have been so little known that W. S. could venture to issue his amended version as a passport to royal favour.

While there is this weighty internal evidence in favour of the authorship of John Hales<sup>4</sup>, there is no great probability in the alternative suggestion made by William Lambarde, that the Dialogue is the work of Sir Thomas Smith. At the date of writing he was Secretary of State and Privy Councillor, but he was not a member of parliament in the reign of Edward VI.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Oration* (in Foxe, III. 819). He was restored to his office of Clerk of the Hanaper by Elizabeth, and sat in the parliament of 1562.

<sup>2</sup> *Hereditary right of the Crown of England* (1713), App. p. xx. See also *S. P. D. Eliz.* XLVI. 30.

<sup>3</sup> According to the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Hales published a *Highway to Nobility* and translated Plutarch's *Precepts for the Preservation of Health*, in 1543. He also wrote *Introductiones ad Grammaticam* for the use of his Free School, but he does not appear to have printed anything after his return to England. He died on Dec. 28, 1571, and was buried in S. Peter-the-poor. His house at Coventry, where he had entertained Queen Elizabeth in 1565, passed into the hands of his nephew John. It was subsequently used as one of the places where the Marprelate Tracts were printed, and the owner had to pay £500 to the Crown, while his grandson paid an additional fine of £500 to King James. (*Ames, Typ. Ant.* III. 1464).

<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough Strype was in doubt as to whether other papers were the work of Hales or of Sir T. Smith. He assigned them on the whole to Smith. *Annals*, 1. i. 74.

He was employed as Secretary of State, and was sent on an embassy to Brussels in 1548. He seems to have been much engaged in ecclesiastical affairs; but he does not appear to have had anything to do with the Commission on Enclosures, and was absent from England when it roused so much attention; besides this, he is not known to have been connected with the city of Coventry, nor had he much vacation from business in 1549. He was much interested in questions relating to the coinage, but his views appear to have been opposed to those expressed in the treatise. Strype describes them thus: "When "base monies, as testons (coined in great quantities under King "Henry VIII.) and other pieces, were, near this time, under "consultation to be redressed, Smith also was made use of in "this, and wrote a letter to the Lord Protector, touching the "benefit arising by the Mint, while such monies were coined, to "give the better light unto this work that was now going in hand "with<sup>1</sup>." But the view thus summarised appears to be explicitly condemned in the Dialogue (p. 35, l. 20, and p. 86, l. 11). Strype regrets that this along with many of Sir Thomas Smith's papers was lost, at the time when he wrote. It seems just possible that this lost treatise may be identified with the interesting manuscript entitled *Polices to Reduce this Realme of Englande vnto a prosperous Wealthe and Estate*. Internal evidence shews that this treatise was written in 1549, and it presents many interesting points of comparison with the Dialogue. It is in Professor Foxwell's possession and through his kind permission one or two brief extracts are given in the notes (p. 45, l. 28, and p. 105, l. 25).

## VI. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

i. The manuscript which was written for Mr William Lambarde, and which still remains in the possession of his descendants, possesses very special interest. It is a small

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Life of Sir T. Smith*, p. 36.

quarto book, bound in vellum and written with remarkably good ink: the date of the transcript has been preserved in the note to which allusion has already been made; it was written in 1565, and therefore during the lifetime of Mr John Hales.

Nichols mentions it in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (*Kent*, p. 512). The binding is original; for the edges are rather rough and the hair strokes of a letter at the end of a line occasionally run on to the page below, and these fit so accurately that it seems impossible that the sheets could have been restitched after they were written<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript is endorsed in a seventeenth century hand, *Manuscript....Cause of Dearthe by W. Smithe...1565*. The importance to be attached to this statement will be discussed below.

This transcript has no title and no table of contents, but the text is complete, with the exception of a phrase or sentence here and there, which has been omitted through the carelessness of the copyist; there are many other obvious blunders, and the copyist did his work quite unintelligently<sup>2</sup>. In some few cases corrections occur in Lambarde's hand<sup>3</sup>; a few lines of the text were transcribed by him; and he made a few notes on the margins and on the fly-leaf of the book; but there could have been no systematic attempt to overhaul the work of the clerk who wrote it. As will be seen from the sentences which are reproduced on the plate, several contractions have been used; though in one portion of the manuscript almost all the words are written in full. The *Thorn* has degenerated into a mere *y*, and the forms for *per* and *pro* as well as signs for *es*, *is* and *er*, are frequently used; but it has not seemed worth while to indicate the expansions. In only one word do they give rise to serious difficulty (p. 126, l. 32, n.).

ii. The other MS. presents a great contrast in every way. There seems to be no means of tracing its early history; it belonged to the Earl of Jersey, and is described in the appendix

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22, l. 33, and p. 29, l. 19 notes.

<sup>2</sup> As is shewn by the division of sentences, as e.g. 101, l. 10 note.

<sup>3</sup> He also wrote his name on the first page in Anglo-Saxon letters.

to the *Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* (part I. p. 92). It is now in the Bodleian (Add. C. 273) and the binding seems to suggest that it was written even before 1565; the handwriting is perfectly consonant with this early dating. It contains a table of contents and side-notes throughout; and though it omits a few sentences at the end of the third dialogue, there is no substantial difference between the text as given in this manuscript and in the Lambarde copy. On the other hand, the Bodleian copy is singularly free from clerical errors of any kind<sup>1</sup>; there are one or two trifling slips at the beginning of a new line, but the division of sentences and the punctuation have been carefully attended to throughout. The book is written in two distinct hands; the side-notes in each case appear to have been written by the clerk as he went along, though the style of the side-notes and of the text is very different. Some few corrections in the second hand occur in the earlier portion of the MS<sup>2</sup>. There is very little use of contractions in this MS., and wide margins have been left, which are ruled with rubricated lines. The specimens on the plate (fig. 3 *A* and *B*) are of the text and notes from the earlier part of the book.

Though there is no substantial difference in the text, there are many minor differences. The names of the speakers occur in the text as well as in the margin; they are introduced by such phrases as 'quoth I' for the Knight, or 'Thanne said the Doctor,' after a few words, or at the beginning of each speech. There are only one or two cases where this ascription to the speaker does not occur in the text<sup>3</sup>. Besides this, the literary style of the Bodleian version is in several minor ways better than that of the Lambarde MS.: the English runs much more smoothly, and the definite article is introduced again and again in a way that gives more precision to the discourse.

These various facts seem to point to the conclusion that the

<sup>1</sup> There are however some exceptions; compare the notes to p. 48, l. 6, p. 60, l. 7, and p. 126, l. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See notes to p. 23, l. 8, p. 26, l. 29, and p. 43, l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> p. 107, l. 16 n.; p. 109, l. 3.

Bodleian represents a revised and improved text<sup>1</sup>, as compared with that of the Lambarde MS. The table of contents, and the side-notes, may certainly be regarded as additions<sup>2</sup> as well as the words specifying the various speakers; these last are sometimes introduced very awkwardly, and as they do not occur in the printed edition we are justified in regarding them as an insertion in the Bodleian copy. It seems probable that the transcriber was not a mere clerk, but a careful and scholarly man, who transcribed intelligently, but who had no scruple in making minor improvements in the text as he went along.

iii. Editions. These are as follows:

1581. Printed by T. Marshe, 4to.

1751. Reprinted by Charles Marsh. 8vo.

1808. Harleian Miscellany, 4to. Vol. IX.

1813. Pamphleteer, 8vo. Vol. V.

1876. New Shakspeare Society, Series VI. No. 3.

So far as the text is concerned the second and subsequent editions are all reprinted from the edition of 1581, which was issued by W. S. His *Dedication* implies a claim that he had written the Dialogue; but it may be wise to defer the discussion of his personality till the character of the changes he made in the text has been shewn. It is however a matter of some difficulty to appraise the character of his work; though the consensus of the

<sup>1</sup> The following instances will shew the sort of insertion that has been introduced; in all these cases B stands alone, and both L and S differ. Thus B reads p. 13, l. 10 *together* in; l. 12 *good* estymacion; p. 14, l. 8 *our* olde; p. 17, l. 2 *welle* *nyghe*; l. 18 *nowrhythe* *cattell*; p. 19, l. 18 *old* *tyme*; p. 21, l. 23 *wylde* *vprors*; l. 26 at all *in this Realme*; p. 24, l. 20 not only *thynges of*. Occasionally the alterations are for the worse, p. 116, l. 15, p. 119, l. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In one or two cases Lambarde introduced side-notes, (see note to p. 12, ll. 16, 28); other remarks consist of references to authorities cited; these passages he copied out at the end of the book and they may be regarded as his own identification of the references. If they had existed throughout in the copy from which he caused the transcript to be made, it is most unlikely that he would have allowed them to be ignored.



two MSS. renders it easy to detect his deliberate alterations. The chief alteration is the substitution of a long passage on the rise of prices, which continued in Elizabeth's reign, after the recoinage was restored. This difficult question is treated in a masterly fashion ; it ascribes the continued rise of prices to the influx of the precious metals from the new world. Bodin is usually spoken of as the earliest writer who attributed the change to its true cause ; his tract on the subject was issued in 1574<sup>1</sup> ; and if W. S. were not independent, he was at least prompt to follow the suggestion of Bodin, and to circulate it in English.

The other alterations are by no means of the same character ; the work is brought down to date in a somewhat slovenly manner, by altering definite allusions into vague phrases. The opening sentence on the Commission affords a good example<sup>2</sup> ; in another case a passage about debased coinage is retained, but it is treated as a hypothetical, not an actual case<sup>3</sup>. W. S. set himself to alter what was obviously unsuitable, and he writes throughout of the Queen or Prince, where the author had used the term King. The references to bygone times are always vague—to twenty or thirty years before ; and W. S. did not attempt to introduce references to recent events ; he does not hit off the special character of the time when he wrote with any precision<sup>4</sup> ; and he allows himself to re-echo complaints on matters in regard to which some improvement had been already effected. This was certainly the case with the Universities,

<sup>1</sup> Bodin was probably the author of the *Discours sur les causes de l'extrême cherté* (Cimber et Danjou, *Archives*, i. vi. 423). Compare his *Discours sur le rehaussement des monnoyes* (1578).

<sup>2</sup> p. 13 and note.

<sup>3</sup> p. 42, l. 6, p. 43, l. 25 notes.

<sup>4</sup> This is specially noticeable in regard to the remarks on religious reforms: W. S. omits some sentences; but otherwise he reiterates the complaint which had been current in the time of Edward VI.; when the restraint of pluralities, the enforcement of residence, the better examination of candidates for orders and the restoration of diocesan synods were objects aimed at in various schemes for the reformation of the Church.

which had enjoyed a considerable revival since the time of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup>, and was probably partially true in regard to enclosures; they no longer seemed a serious evil in 1592. Of W. S. it may be said that he was a writer of considerable ability, who did not devote much pains<sup>2</sup> to the task of recasting the book which he had determined to appropriate.

If the occasional and deliberate alterations are left out of account, the text of the edition of 1581 contains many features of interest. It contains a table of contents and side-notes, like the Bodleian MS., but it presents many differences. The names of the speakers are not introduced into the text, and there are at least three passages where phrases, which occur in the Bodleian and are necessary to the sense, are omitted both in Lambarde's MS. and in the printed edition (pp. 47, l. 16, 137, l. 20, 142, l. 11). W. S. tried to make sense out of the defective sentences as Lambarde's clerk did not; but these instances seem to shew that Lambarde's transcript and W. S. really followed the same copy, and that it was defective in certain passages where the Bodleian MS. has preserved the right reading. Various minor differences go to indicate that the edition is based on a different text from the Bodleian, although it may have been hastily collated with that MS. or the original from which the Bodleian was transcribed, and the table of contents and side-notes incorporated. But there are also several sentences where the Bodleian and Lambarde agree, but where W. S. has introduced a rather smoother reading<sup>3</sup>. When all such improvements are taken account of, however, there are a great many unimportant and unmeaning transpositions, in which B. and S. agree as against L.; in these

<sup>1</sup> Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I. 214.

<sup>2</sup> In several passages he drags in the words 'in comparison of former times' rather awkwardly (p. 36, l. 19, p. 37, l. 13, p. 69, l. 12, p. 98, l. 2); in one or two instances he has neglected to make the necessary emendation (p. 40, l. 3, p. 56, l. 12, p. 70 ll. 4, 5).

<sup>3</sup> These changes are often the substitution of a more modern or less colloquial term. Compare notes to p. 55, l. 9, p. 57, l. 2, p. 59, l. 27, p. 60, l. 16, p. 62, l. 3, p. 65, l. 14.

cases it seems possible that the transposition was due to the carelessness of Lambarde's clerk and not to intentional modification by subsequent scribes. Thus for example there are the transpositions of 'silver and gold,' for 'gold and silver'; or differences in the precise position in which adverbs like 'now,' 'however,' etc. are introduced (see p. 10, ll. 7, 15, 24 notes).

The personality of W. S. is a very obscure question. The eighteenth century printer's guess of William Shakespeare need not be discussed; the Dialogue is not the work of a youth of seventeen as Shakespeare was in 1581. Anthony à Wood's<sup>1</sup> suggestion of William Stafford, though so generally accepted, is hardly more satisfactory: Dr Furnivall has discussed it at length in his Forewords to the edition of 1876, and has shewn that it is worthless, as the only plot in which William Stafford is known to have engaged was in 1587; and to this a dedication published in 1581 cannot refer. Two more suggestions remain to be discussed.

It is of course just possible that John Hales himself revised it before his death. He had, as we have seen, fallen into disgrace, and the terms of the Dedication would not be unsuitable<sup>2</sup>. At the same time it seems very improbable that Hales, within such a short period after the restoration of the coinage, should both note the effect of that measure, or the unexpected want of effect, and explain it so clearly. On the other hand it seems unlikely that an author would revise his own book in such a careless fashion as was done by W. S.; nor is there any clear reason why Hales should adopt these initials.

From the terms of the Dedication it would appear that W. S. was a person of some political importance, and we should expect to find his name in the *State Papers* of the time. The only W. S. who is mentioned in the years immediately preceding 1581, in such a fashion as to suggest possible identification.

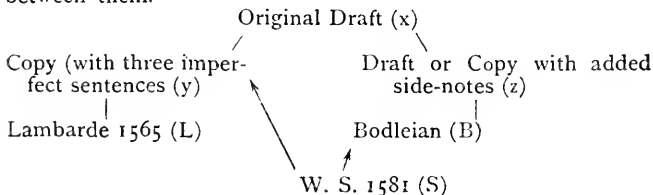
<sup>1</sup> *Fasti* (Bliss), Pt. I. 378. Compare Farmer, *Learning of Shakespeare*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Dedication in the notes, p. 145.

was William Smith, the nephew of Sir Thomas Smith. He had fallen into disgrace in Ireland, where he had been in charge of Sir Thomas Smith's settlement at the Ardes, and had difficulty in establishing his claim to succeed. In the end of 1580 he was recalled from the north of Ireland and was endeavouring without success to secure his title to his uncle's estates there<sup>1</sup>. Little is known of him but what is recorded in his epitaph, from which it appears that in 1589 he married Bridgett, the daughter of Thomas Fleetwood, of the Vache in Buckinghamshire and sometime Master of the Mint. (Strype, *Life of Smith*, p. 232.) It is possible that he was the man, but there is no sufficient evidence to identify this much respected county gentleman with the perpetrator of a literary fraud. The endorsement on the back of Lambarde's copy, though it names W. Smith as the author, is not improbably the work of a librarian, who merely summarised incorrectly the information suggested by Lambarde's note on the fly-leaf.

## VII.

The object of the present edition is to present the Dialogue in its earliest known form. The sources for the text have been already described: it may be convenient to group them hypothetically, so as to exhibit the relations which seem to exist between them.



<sup>1</sup> Though he received some encouragement, and subsequent employment from Elizabeth, these Irish estates were not granted to him by the Queen. (Strype, *Life of Sir T. Smith*, 260.) Compare the letters in Appendix II., William Smith and the Ardes.

As has been stated above, the fact that three imperfect sentences are common to L and S, seems to establish the connection of these two sources : on the other hand B and S agree in having the marginal notes and table of contents. It seems most unlikely that these occurred in the copy from which Lambarde's transcript was made and were deliberately ignored by him, as he was at the trouble to begin making side-notes of his own. The most reasonable supposition seems to be that W. S. had the MS. (y) which Lambarde caused to be copied, or a very similar one, and had the opportunity of collating it with B, or one of the B family (z).

Apart from its intrinsic interest, and from the accurate knowledge we possess of the date of the copy, there can be no doubt that L gives the best approximation to the original text. It is the only version which has not been deliberately tampered with, either with the view of improving the style, as in B, or of claiming the authorship for a living person at a later date, as in S.

The present edition, then, consists of the text of L ; but as that is full of careless blunders, both of omission and commission, it has been necessary to collate it carefully with the other copies. It has been necessary to introduce punctuation ; and in this neither B. nor S. has been closely followed. Capital letters have been introduced at the beginning of sentences where the text is differently divided in L ; but in all other respects the text of L is reproduced letter for letter, and variations from it are marked either by square brackets or by italicised letters. In all cases of square brackets where the reading of L is not given in the notes, it is a mere omission in L which it has been necessary to supply.

The textual notes are intended to elucidate the text of L, and to illustrate the conclusions here stated as to the relative importance of the other sources. The notes do not profess to give a complete list of the various readings ; mere transpositions and differences of spelling, as well as minor grammatical variations, between singulars and plurals, or different parts of the same verb, have not been noted. After all, the divergences

between the manuscripts are comparatively slight, and so far as the historical interest of the matter contained in the treatise goes, are absolutely unimportant. Many of them can be traced to obvious confusions in the handwriting of the period. Thus *y<sup>t</sup>* has been read *that* or *yt* by different transcribers, or confused for *yet* or *yf* or *the*<sup>1</sup>. So too the difference of reading between *estate* and *estimate* points to a form such as *estiãte* in the original<sup>2</sup>.

The notes, in so far as they supply illustrations of the matter contained in the text, proceed on the assumption that these well-marked characters<sup>3</sup> are taken from real life, and that Hales was the author, that Latimer was the original of the Doctor, and that Coventry was the place of writing. To those who are inclined to think that the case, in favour of those opinions, has been fairly made out, they will afford additional confirmation, while on any view they serve to illustrate the social conditions of the time at which the Dialogue was written.

<sup>1</sup> Compare pp. 22, l. 6, 79, l. 25, p. 114, l. 32, p. 118, l. 17, p. 140, l. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 70, l. 29, and p. 112, l. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The vividness with which the characters were portrayed was one reason which weighed with the eighteenth century printer in attributing the Dialogue to Shakespeare. "This Treatise of *English Policy* was composed by the most extensive and fertile genius that ever any Age or Nation produced, the inimitable *Shakespeare*. The work itself is of the Dramatic Kind, and the characters are distinguished and sustained throughout by the Sentiments peculiar to the Speakers, who as in a *Mirroure* give the present Age a Retrospect of the past."

## APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

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### I. JOHN HALES AND THE COMMISSION ON ENCLOSURES.

IT may be convenient to give a brief statement of the facts in regard to this commission ; the information is chiefly derived from the *Defence* which Hales sent to Somerset in Sept. 1549, along with the copies of letters and documents which he enclosed. These were printed in part by Strype and are in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, 238, No. 6. Some additional information has been gleaned from papers in the Record Office ; but the whole is grouped here in chronological order.

The subject of Enclosures appears to have been brought to the notice of the Government by certain petitions which are mentioned both by the *Proclamation* and by Hales in his *Defence*. It seems probable that one of these, dealing especially with Oxford, Northamptonshire, Bucks and Berks, has survived in the so-called 'Sheep-tract' or *Certain Causes* printed in 1551, and reprinted by the E. E. T. S. in *Four Supplications*; its silence about the action of the Commissioners is inexplicable if it was composed immediately after their visit. But the first dated document is the *Proclamation* issued 1 June 1548, and printed in the notes to p. 13, l. 2 ; it was simultaneous with the appointment of Hales and the other Commissioners on the Oxford circuit—(Strype, *Ec. Mem.* II. ii. 348).

Hales got to work at once, and on 23 July 1548 he was able to write to Somerset that he had passed through nearly the whole of the Circuit, and that the people were, generally speaking, most tractable, obedient and quiet. He complains however that 'by reason that the like commissions be not herde of in other partes of the Realme we be thoughte

'men onely bent or set to do displeasure to some menn in  
'these partes. If it might please your grace that the rest  
'myght procede wee shoulde avoide all slaunder, and the  
'thyng being don before parlament, all our worlde might be  
'enformed what hurte hath gotten, and what is like to follow to the  
'Realme if it be not in tyme resisted.' (S. P. D. Ed. VI., IV. 33,  
printed in P. Fraser Tytler's *England under the reigns of Edward  
VI. and Mary*, I. 113.)

Early in August 1548 disturbances were reported from Buckinghamshire; for these Hales was blamed by the Earl of Warwick. On 12 August Hales wrote a long reply from Fladbury; in this letter he gives a summary of the charge he had been in the habit of delivering; in one or two minor points it must have differed from the charge printed by Strype; this letter has been transcribed and preserved in the Lansdowne MS., (f. 321 *b*) as well as a letter on the same subject which was written by Somerset (21 Aug. 1548), with Hales' reply, 25 Aug. 1548 (f. 318 *b*).

During the autumn of this year a short paper was written on the *Causes of Dearth*; the original draft in the Record Office (S. P. D. Ed. VI., v. 20) appears to be in Hales's hand. It illustrates the dialogue in many ways, and is now reprinted from the original. The copy (*Ib.* 21) printed by Fraser Tytler (*England* I. 367) presents some minor though unimportant differences and is misdated. In the following session Hales brought three bills into Parliament dealing with enclosures and dearth; he has himself described their fate in his *Defence*. What appears to be a draft of the first, *on the decay of tillage*, is preserved in the Record Office (S. P. D. Ed. VI., v. 22).

In 1549 the work of the Commissioners continued, and there was a great deal of popular disturbance, for which, as in the previous year, the Commissioners were generally blamed. In some parts of the country the people were taking the law into their own hands, and breaking down hedges violently. Against these tumultuous assemblies of lewd persons a proclamation was issued on 22 May 1549 (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VII. 18). On 11 June 1549, Somerset wrote to the Marquis of Dorset directing the



publication of this proclamation in Huntingdonshire (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VII. 31). Meanwhile the opposition of the Earl of Warwick was expressed anew; he wrote on June 18, complaining bitterly of the ploughing up of his park (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VII. 35). The disorder continued to increase and to spread both in the West of England and in the Eastern Counties, and on July 7th Paget wrote a long and strong expostulation to Somerset on the whole of his policy, foreign and domestic, and animadverted very severely on the proceedings about enclosures. He urged that enclosures were not the cause of dearth, since things were as dear or dearer in other realms (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 4). On 8th July instructions were issued as to the order to be taken for repressing commotions and uproars, if any such should happen, in Oxford, Berks and Bucks (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 9). At the same time a circular was drafted, of which thirteen copies remain (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 11—23), stirring the Commissioners up to proceed with their work, and inclosing *Instructions* how they were to set about it (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 10). On July 10, Darcy and Gates, who were Commissioners, but on what circuit does not appear, wrote to Cecil complaining of the insufficiency of the powers they possessed (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 24), and on July 13, Somerset wrote five letters giving farther instructions to Commissioners how to proceed (S. P. D. Ed. VI., VIII. 25—29). It does not appear however that any of the Commissions set actively about their work either in 1548, or 1549, except that of which Hales was a member. His *Defence* of his conduct throughout the affair was dated Coventry, 1 Sept. 1549. It includes the Commission, Proclamation, Charges and Instructions of 1549 as printed by Strype. A few weeks later, the fall of Somerset and triumph of Warwick brought about a complete change of policy, and it was not unnatural that such a vigorous opponent of enclosing as Hales had been should seek retirement on the Continent.

i. *Causes of Dearth.*

(S. P. Dom. Edw. VI. 1548, Sep.—Dec. Vol. v. No. 20.)

Ther be thre thynges that be the cause of the Vnyuersall dearthe of vytelles in the Realme. The first is Lack of breadyng & rearyng of catell & pultrie ware. For it is not possible to haue that good cheape that is not. The seconde is Regratyng when the most parte of vyteyls be gathered into a fewe mens hands who maye differ to sell, but when they see ther most profet. And the third is the kynges prouysions, when vyteyle is taken from the poore people that be the breaders, agenst ther willes, and haue neither redy moneye for ther wares nor yet so moche as it is worthe, which discourageth the people to breade and causeth the prices of all thynges (because there is not plentye of them) to be encreased.

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Lack of good Lawes & Statutes is not the cause of this hurte that cometh by prouysions, for ther be lawes sufficient for that purpose, but because they cannot be put in execution, the let wherof is Lacke of moneye.

So that if we mynde to haue nomore prouysions made as they haue ben, that is without moneye & for lesse price then other men paie, we must of necessite prouyde that the kyng maye haue moneye and his Reuenuez encreased.

The prouysion of moneye must nedes be had, albeit the prouysions cease not, for we see the kynges charges daylye encrease more & more & his Reuenuez dailie to decrease more & more, for that he selleth thesame, so that the more he selleth, the greater at lenght shalbe the burdon of the Comens, for whose defense it is solde, and who must be compelled to satisfie that lacketh. So that our pollicie ought to be first to consider how moche the kynges charges surmount his Reuenuez & to dyuyse & ymagyn howe his graces reuenuez maye be encreased, with the least burdon of his subiectes.

We must also consider that as the kynges reuenuez be

greater then any of his predecessours, so be his charges farr greater bothe in his householde and also in his warres, then euer any kynges of Englande wer before.

If somme of his predecessours haue had more in respecte then the kyng hathe, albeit they had neither monasterie College or Chauntrie Landes. Then must it be considered howe thesame was greater & where that reuenue is become, and whether the thyng wherof it grewe as yet remayneth or is vtterly decayed.

It appereth by the Recordes of thexchequer that Edward the third had more reuenue yerely by the custome of the staple, then the kyng that dead is had by all customes of the staple & clothes by lv<sup>m</sup>ccij li. viij s. iiij d. at the least.

To shewe what hurte cometh by prouysions to the poore men it shall not neade, Experience dothe mak it to playne. But for example, the purueyour alloweth for a lambe worthe two shylynges, but xij d.; for a capon worthe xij d., six pens and so after that rate, so that after that rate ther is not the poorest man that hathe any thyng to sell but he loseth half in the price, besides tariyng for his moneye which somtyme he hathe after long suyte to the officers, and great costes suyng for it, & many tymes he neuer hathe it. so that he is dryuen to recouer his losses, by sellyng deerer to the kynges subjectes.

And therefore farr better it wer for men to geue somme certeyntie yerely not to be combred with this yoke of prouysions, then dailye thus to be tormented and neuer to be in certeyntie of ther owne.

This certeyntie myght be thus gathered that the kyng myght haue of euery sheepe kept in the comen feldes one peny, of euery Ewe & Lambe kept in seuerall pasture two pens, and of euery other sheere sheepe kept in pasture, thre halfpens.

Suppose ther be in the Realme at this present the number of thirty hundred thousand sheepe wherof xv hundred thousand to be kept on the comens, and rated at one peny the pece, it will amounte to vi<sup>m</sup>cccl li., & vij hundred & fyftie thousand Ewes with lambes rated at ij d. the Ewe & Lambe it cometh to vj<sup>m</sup>cccl li. & vij hundred & fiftie thousand other pasture sheepe rated at i d. ob. the pece it cometh to iiij<sup>m</sup>vjlxxxvij li. x s.

Summa totalis xvii<sup>m</sup>clxxxvij li. x s., which is thought will do somewhat albeit not sufficient toward the prouysions of the kynges household.

Nowe sithe the woolles grow dailie, and be conuerted into Clothe made within the Realme, that wer wonte to be caried vnwrought ouer the sees, wherby kynges of Englande in tyme past haue had so great reuenuez, and the comynaltie haue ben the lesse charged with subsidies. The kynges charges dailie encreasyng more and more, to thentent the kynges highnes shuld haue the lesse cause to trouble his subiects with requyryng any subsidies, and that noble men & gentlemen which be otherwise charged to serue his highnes be not double charged, and the poore men that be not able to paie therwith charged, reason it wer that an imposition wer put on Clothes, to be paid yerely by the makers therof & by the Marchauntes that carrie it ouer the see, after this rate, that is of the Clothier for a brode clothe v s., and a carseye xx d., and of the marchaunt double custome.

He that holdeth of the kyng in Capite can be no loser for payment for his sheepe that he spendeth in his house, for that he shall be allowed asmoche for the respite of homage. As for example if he paie yerely xx s. for the respite of his homage after the rate of a peny the sheepe, he maye kill cxxl sheep and shall paie nomore than he did before.

The clothier can haue no losse therby, ffor he will recouer it in his sale, which is after the rate of two pens in the yarde of Clothe. And so sellyng it either to the kynges subjects, or to straungers they must beare the burdon, which beyng so light they shall easily do.

The marchauntes if they maye haue the clothe iustly & truly made, shalbe great gaigners. And so shall all other that weare clothe, when one garnement beyng made of good & true clothe shall least twise aslong as garnements do at this tyme.

These thynges graunted that it will please the kynges Maiestie, that his officers after Christmas next comyng shall take nothyng ayenst the owners will but paie redy moneye, and asmoche as

the common price is in the market. And that almaner of cariages, aswell by see as by Lande, shalbe rated at such prices as other his graces subiects paie. And that shalbe rated by two justices of peace & by the verdite of xij men of the hundred, such as haue cariages of ther owne.

Also that it maye please his Maiestie that the Sherifes for the tyme beyng maye be discharged uppon ther accomptes of such farmess & rentes as be not leuyable.

Also that all Cities boroughs & Townes maye be discharged of ther fee farmes, & rentes for ther liberties paied to the kynges Maiestie. And that the profittes that growe of such fee farmes & rentes, which maye be iustly & truly gathered shalbe employed yerely toward a stocke to be occupied by the Inhabitaunts of thesame cities boroughs & Townes in setting the poore people of thesame on worke & in noon other places accordyng to such ordenaunces & deuyses as shalbe set forth by the kynges Maiestie Commyssioners.

Also that it will please the kynges Maiestie, that no sommes of moneye, shalbe paied in thexchequer or elsewhere for respite of homage. Nor that any processe hereafter shalbe sent out of thexchequer ayenst any persone to do his homage.

This graunt and articles to be of force to the ende of the next parliament that shalbe holden after the kynges Maiestie shall come to his full age.

ii. [*Bill on Decay of Tillage.*]

(S. P. Dom. Edw. VI. 1548, Sep.—Dec. Vol. v. No. 22.)

To the kinges most roiall Maiestie

We your most louyng and obedient subiectes most humble beseche your godly maiestie most excellent and vertuous prynce, our most gracious souereigne lorde, to pardon vs that be so importune with our ofte long & tedious suytes vnto your grace; your graces honour and sauetie, and the defence of this our natyue countreie, and your inheritaunce, force vs

therunto, whiche by reason of disordre, self loue and pryvat profytt being vnyuersally growen in all the membres of the bodie of the Realme is marvelously decaied, your people in whom your graces honour and sauetie consisteth, greatly dymynsshed and those that be left greuously with myserie and scarcyte oppressed, not able with ther bodies neither with ther substaunce to serue your maiestie, although ther hartes be most willing and redie, as they haue don your graces most noble progenytours. And where sithe the begynnyng of this present parlyament it hathe pleaced your maiestie most mercyfullie and benyngly to receive and here our lamentable compleyntes of the ignoraunce of goddes worde & the destruction of the cities & townes corporat within this your realme, it maie please your highnes with like favour to heare our like compleynt of the destruction and desolacion of the Townshippes and villages in the countreie, the scarcetie and dearthe of vitailles vnyuersally, and the decaie of your people generally which haue proceded chiefly, for that dyuers your graces subiectes, called to the degree of nobilitie not considering that it hathe pleased almightie god to ordeyn them so farre to excell the comen sorte of people in the comen wealthe as shepardes to the shepe, and to be particuler serueiours and ouerseers vndre your maiestie of vs your graces subiectes, to see that we shuld lyue here in this wordle a godlie and a quyete life, according to goddes worde and your graces Lawes, and to geue them sufficient possessions & revenues for that purpose, by the rentes wherof they might quyetyly & without bodely labour lyue and attend therunto, but thinking themselves onelye born to themselves, and litle remembryng that these honours estates & degrees cannot be maynteyned and preserued without your poore subiectes, haue somoche neglected ther vocations that they be become grasiers shepemaisters and Toilours of the earthe having pulled downe a greate many Townshippes villages & houses of husbandrie and conuerting the ground which was wont to be occupied in husbandrie and tillage into pasture, and the same reteyn in ther owne occupacions and manuraunce, for the feading of shepe and grasing of other beastes, wherby, not onely the

multitude of your graces subiectes in all places of your Realme is marvelously abated, your graces honour greatly dymynsshed and the sauetie & defence of your roiall person and this your realme moche weakened but also the prices of all kynde of vitailles and other necessaries be so enhaunced, that neither the poore labourers can lyve with ther wages that is lymtyed by your graces Lawes nor thartificers can make moche lesse sell ther wares at any reasonable prices, but are constrayned to forsake ther occupacions and the leave the cities and townes desolat which by them shulde be maynteyned and inhabited. For reformation wherof it maie please your highnes that it maye be ordeyned and enacted by your highnes, with the consent of the lordes spirituall and temporall and the commens in this present parlyament assembled, and by thauctorite of the same that no person nor persones of what state dignyte degree or condicion soeuer he or she or they be that hathe Landes tenementes or heredytamentes in fee simple fee taill or for terme of his owne life of the yerelie value of one hundred markes at any tyme after the feast of Seynt Mighell tharchaungell which shalbe in the yere of our lorde god m<sup>v</sup>xlviij, by him her or themselves or any other to his her or ther vse, by any maner of meanes colour, fraude, crafte or deceipte shal haue vse & occupie in farme any manours Landes tenementtes or heredytamentes of the dymyse lease or graunt of the king our souereigne lorde or of any other person or persones, hertofore made to themselves or to any other person or persones to ther vse, or wherin nowe by any meanes they or any of them haue proprietie or interest, uppon payn to forfaitie for euerye moneth so occupyeng any such farme at any tyme after the said feast, contrarye to this present acte ten poundes, prouyded alwaies that this present acte shall not extende to any person or persones for having vsing or occupyeng on farm any manours, Landes tenementes or hereditamentes for thonly mayntenaunce of ther housholdes and hospitalitees or for the keping or feading of horses mares coltes mules & asses or any of them onely any thing in this acte conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. And it is also enacted by thauctorite

aforesaid, that no persone or persones not having any manours Landes tenementes or hereditamentes of the yerely value of c markes as is aforesaid by him or herselfe or any other persone or persones to ther vse by any maner of meanes fraude, colour or male engigne shall from and after thesaid feast of Seynt Mighell tharchaugell haue vse and occupie any the Landes tenementes and hereditamentes, of any more farmes then one, uppon payne to forfeite for euery moneth that he hathe, vseth and occupieth the Landes tenementes and hereditamentes of any more farmes then one ten poundes. And it is further enacted by thauctorite aforesaid that nomaner of persone or persones of what estate degree or condicion he she or they be, shall from and after the said feast of Seynt Mighell tharchaugell reteyn or kepe in his or her propre occupacion, any more of his or ther propre landes to thentent to till grase or pasture the same with any kynde of beasts or sheape then shalbe of the clere yerelie value of one hundred poundes according to the accustomed rentes. Or if the same haue not in tyme past ben vsed to be rented & valued, that then it shalbe rented, estemed and valued according to thuse of the countrey ther comenly vsed uppon payn to lose & forfeite monethly for euery acre that he or she shall occupie ouer and aboue the rate before lymtyed, xijd. Provided that the soile of woodes shall not be accompted nor taken at any tyme as parte or parcell of thesaid landes of the yerelie value of oon hundred poundes any thing in this acte to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. And it is further enacted by the auctorite aforesaid that all and euery persone and persones keping in the seuerall pastures of his propre landes or such landes as he hathe in farme one thousand shepe, shall yerelie before the sixte daie of Mave put forth in the comen feeldes two hundred of the same thousand and so for every thousand two hundred. And the same shall suffre to remayn in such comen feeldes till the feast of Seynt Mighell tharchaugell folowing onlesse it shalbe thought by two honest men of the parisshe where such shepe shalbe folded that the same shepe for feare or daunger of losse and destruction maie not so long be kepte in such comen feeldes vppon



payn to forfaite for euerye weke that he shall lacke of thesaid nombre of two hundred Shepe after the rate aforesaid during the said tyme fortie shelinges. And where in a statute made in the parlyament holden at westminster vppon prorogation in the xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of the most excellent king your graces father king henry theight concernyng the dissolucion & suppression of Monasteries, priouryes and religious houses of monkes, Chanons and fryers, of the yerelye value of ccli. and vnder, it was emong other thinges enacted and ordeyned and established by thauctorite of the same parliament, that all & singler persones bodies politique and corporat to whom your said father his heires or successours after that tyme shulde geue graunt let or demyse any Site or precyncte with the houses theruppon buylded together with the demeesnes of any monasteries priouries or other religious houses that shulde be dissolued and geven to your said father by that Acte, and the heires successours executours and assignes of euerye such persone body polytyque or corporat shulde be bounden by thauctorite of that acte vnder the penalties in the same acte expressed to kepe or cause to be kepte an honest contynuall house & housholde in the same site or precyncte and occupie yerelie asmoche of the same demeesnes in plowing and tillage of husbandrie that is to saie, asmoche of the same demeesnes which hathe ben comenly vsed and kepte in tillage by the governours abbottes or priours of the same houses monasteries or priouries or by ther farmours, or farmours occupyeng the same within the tyme of twentie yeres next before the making of that acte. And if any persone or persones bodies politique or corporat that shulde be bounden by that acte, did not kepe an honest house housholde husbandrie and tillage in maner and fourme as in the same acte is declared, That then he or they so offending shulde forfayte & lose to the kinges highnes for euerye moneth so offending, vj li. xij s. iij d., to be recouered to his vse in any of his courtes of recorde as in the same acte emonge other thinges more playnly appereth. Forasmoch as sithe the seid xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere ther came vnto your maiesties fateres handes and possession dyuers other Monasteries

priouries and houses of religion and also dyuers colleges Collegiat churches, hospitalles and chauntries, aswell by the Surrendre of the Abbottes, priours, Deanes provoastes Masters and gouvernours of the same, and ther Coventes & chapiters and by the Chauntry priestes as otherwise by atteyndre vpon the demesnes wherof in tyme past hospitalyte husbandrie and tillage was moche maynteyned wherby the price of all kynde of victualles was farre better cheap then it is nowe. It maie please your highnes that it maye be ordeyned and enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid that all & singler persones bodies politique and corporat to whom your said father sithe the said xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere or your Maiestie hathe geuen graunted letted or demysed the demesnes of any Monasterie priourye or other religious house or of colledge collegiat church hospitall or chauntry or any other Manours landes tenementtes or heredytamentes or to whom your Maiestie your heires or Successours shall herafter geue graunt let or demyse the demesnes of any Monasterie priourye or other religious house colledge collegiat church hospitall or chauntry or any other Manours landes tenementtes or hereditamentes and the heires Successours executours & assignes of every such persone bodie politique & corporat shall contynually by thauctoritie of this acte occupie or cause to be occupied yerely asmoch of the same demesnes & of other the Manours Landes tenementtes or heredytamentes before declared to them geuen graunted or leased or herafter to be geuen graunted or dymysed or leased either in plowing and tillage of husbandrie as was vsed to be kepte in tillage & husbandrie at any tyme within the space of xxx<sup>tyr</sup> yeres before the making of this acte or els in setting and plantyng of Oke, Elme, Asshe, beache, Chestnut or walnott or other kynd of woode meate for buylding. And it is further enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid that if any persone or persones bodie polytique or corporat to whom any the seid demesnes Manours Landes tenementtes or hereditamentes hathe ben or shalbe geuen graunted letten or demysed do not kepe husbandrie & tillage nor setting or planting of the trees aforerehersed, in maner and fourme as is before declared That

then he or they so offendyng shall forfait & lose for euery moneth so offendyng six pounds, thirtene shelynges and four pens. It maye further please your highnes that it maye be enacted by thauritorite aforeseid that aswell thone moyte of the seid forfeiture declared in the seid statute made in the seid xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere as the moyte of all & syngler the penalties & forfeitures declared in this acte, shalbe to thuse of your highnes your heires & successours, and thother moytee, beyng dyuyded into two partes, thone parte shalbe to thuse of the poore to be put into the comen cheste in the parisshe where such offense is commytted; and thother parte to hym or them that shall present & sue for the same. And it is further enacted by thauritorite aforeseid that all & syngler Justices of Assise, & Justices of the peace in ther Sessions & Mayres Shuyres Baylyffes & other gouernours of Cities & Townes in ther Sessions or other Courts, within the lymytes of ther Comyssions & auctoritees, shal haue full power and auctorite to enqyre & in euery of the same Courts vppon payne of forfeiture of xx li. to your graces vse, for euery tyme omytting of the same shall enqyre of thoffendours of this acte and of the seid acte made the seid xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere by othes of xij men or otherwise by ther discrecions. And if any persone be prevented by verdyte of xii men afore them of any offense commytted within the lymytes of ther auctoritee contrarie to this acte or the seid acte made the seid xxvij yere that then they shal haue power & auctorite vppon euery such presentment to make processe ayenst thoffendours of the seid actes & either of them, like as is comenly used vppon Indytements of trespasse. And if any persone or persones be presented & afterward conuycted by confession or otherwise that he or they hathe offended contrarie to this acte or the seid acte made in the seid xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere that then he or they so offendyng shalbe put to no lesse forfeiture then is conteyned in this & theseid acte. And for thaccordyng of all Ambiguyties questions & controuersies that maye arise vppon the defynyntion interpretation & exposition what & how moch shalbe taken & adiudged a farme accordyng to this acte It maye please your highnes

that it maye be enacted by thauctorite aforeseid that euery lease of the demesnes of any manour beyng of the yerely rent of v li. or aboue, and euery lease of a parsonage, or of any tithes or tithes of the yerely value of xx merkes, and euery lease of free Lande & not copiholde wheruppon ther is or ought by the Lawes & statutes of this your Realme to be one mansion house, & wherunto two plough Lande & sufficient feedyng for one bull & xij kien either in seuerall or in comen, do or shall belong shalbe adiudged & taken a farme. And that all and euery other lease, of any other Landes beyng free Lande vnder the yerely rent of x li. wheruppon neither ther is nor ought to be by the Lawes of this your Realme any mansion house or cotage nor that ought not to be conuerted into tillage & husbandrye shall not be adiudged or taken by this acte for a farme.

iii. *The defence of John Hales ayenst certeyn sclaudres and false reaportes made of hym.*

(MINUTES OF PRIVY COUNCIL AND MISCELLANY. LANSDOWNE MSS. 238, fol. 292.)

Ye haue donne the office of a very frende to aduertise your frende of the reportes that ye heare of hym, but by cause I knowe that they be vtterly false and vntrue, they nothyng at all moue me. Ther was never any man yet that went aboute any good thyng ecyther for thaduancement of goddes glory, or for the comen welthe of his countrie, but his rewarde was slauder of a great manye. This is the only waye and meanes for suche as passe more on the wordle, then god, more on ther pryuat profett, then on the comen wealthe, to be reuenged and to staye as they thynke the procedynges. Suche is the corrupte nature of man, he passythe not what he saythe, nor what he dothe, so that he maye satisfie his vngodlie desyres and fylthie pleasures. Examples ther be bothe in holy scripture and in prophane histories innumerable, and our tyme lackyth not practyse

and experyence therof. Howe ofte was Chryste hymself that onlye innocent and immaculat lambe slaundered and spoken euell of, who ment no hurte to any man, but cam to do all men good. What partes played demetrius the syluer smythe when Paul went aboute to brynge the Ephesyans to Christes religion? Dyd not he forthwith assemble the companye of his occupation, and inculked into ther heddes that Paul preached sedition? His mynde was not on the honour of diana whiche be so ofte repeted, but on his gaygne that by makynge broches he opteygned. How many goode men haue byn accused in our dayes of sedition, when they spake ageynst the clergies ambition? Howe many haue ther byn called heretiques and preachers of false doctryne, when they preached puerly goddes most holy worde? Howe euell was the kynges majestie that deade is spoken of for abolisshynge thauctorytie of the Busshop of Rome, and takynge vnto hym his right and aucthorytie of supremacie? How were they rayled vppon, howe wer they sclaundered, howe were they hated that counsailed his grace to pull downe the monasteries and to destroye false Relygion? What tumultes, what seditions, what insurrections euen of the great ones then followed? They wolde in no wise haue alterations, ther myght be no innouations. Ther olde popery must nedes stande. Men will haue no innouations, and yet therby they haue comme to all ther possessions. They will haue no alterations, and they themselves make great innouations. They destroye Townes, they pull downe houses, they enclose poore mens commens and take awaye all ther luynges, and yet the Kynges Majestie and his Councell to refourme the state of the Realme, to restore it to his perfection, maye vse no alteration. It is a godlie hearynge, when the hedd muste do as the fote willeth hym. When shall the patient be cured of his disese, if he will haue nothyng mynystred vnto hym, but that hym pleaceth? It was not for nought that demosthenes vsed to saye, that if it wer put in his election, eyther to go to hell or to medle with matters of the commen wealthe, he wolde rather chose to go to hell, he sawe so moche hatred, enuye, and malice of people, he sawe howe those that ought for ther good willes to

be esteemed, wer of the people most commenlye reuled. Whose sayenge albeit it be a very good excuse for Epicures, and suche as thynke themselves borne for themselves: yet it is cleane contrarye to the profession of a Christen man, and the duetie of euery honest man. For euerye Christen man is bounde to loue god aboue all thynges, with all his harte, with all hys mynde, with all his power, that is, he ought not to esteeme his lyfe, the wordle nor nothyng in the wordle, so that he myght aduaunce the glory of god, the whiche the holye Martyres haue declared vnto vs by ther deatnes. And surely euery honest man ought to refuse no paynes, no trauayle, no studie, he ought to care for no reportes, no sclauders, no displeasure, no enuye, no malice, so that he myght profett the commen welthe of his countrye, for whom nexte after god he is ordeyned. But that ye maye the better do for your frend, the rest that belongethe to the duetie of a frend that is defend hym in his innocence, I entende to answer in order all that they laye to my charge conteigned in your letter. And fyrst to that that I shulde sue out the commysion for redresse of inclosures. To that I answer that if I had donne it, I wolde neuer haue byn asshamed therof. For it is suche a thyng, that if no man wolde kycke nor wynche at it, but suffer it haue his due course, wolde brynge forthe fruyte moche to goddes glorye, the Kynges honour and the welthe and suertie of this Realme. But I assure you I neuer was the motioner nor procurer therof, but it onely (as farre as I can lerne) proceded at the sute partlie of poore men as the proclamation declareth, and partlie of some of those that be nowe most ayenst it, wherunto I am preuye, and chieflye for that the kynges Majestie my lorde protectours grace, and many of the Councell sawe what hurte had growen and what was lyke to ensue to this Realme, if the gredynes of Grasyers and Shepemaisters wer not in tyme resysted. And to the second poynte, that somme thought it no mete tyme to send forthe suche a comission, whiche touchith me nothyng at all. It becomyth not the seruauant to reason with his master, nor the subiecte with his prynce, but to do as he is commaunded. But for asmoche as this ther talke touchethe moche the Councelles

honours and wisdomes, my thynketh it standeth a great deale more with my honestie to defende ther doynge, then for them to fynde faulte at any ther procedynges. I pray you when ye shall next comme into the companye of these talkers, ye will requyer of them, when ther consciences will a poynte a tyme therfore. If I shulde referre it to ther wordlie wisdomes, I thynke they loue themselves so moche, that in ther tyme they wolde haue no tyme. If they will for manners sake, saye till we haue a quyet tyme, then I beseche you will them to consulte with ther astronomers, howe longe we shall tarry for this quyet tyme. Ther be a great many that hope for a daye and tyme, and truste that all popery shall retourne shortlie, but I truste they shall never see that tyme. Thre thynges ought vs [*sic*] moue vs not to loke in our tyme for a quyeter tyme. The first is, that we haue renounced the Busshop of Rome and his auctorytie, who we maye be assured will neuer cease to do this Realme myschef, to procure outwarde warres, to sturre vp Rebellyons, to moue emongest vs seditions, till he hath recovered emonge vs his premacie. And what Christen man I beseche you will consent ayen to be vnder his tyrannye? What good Engleshe man will not rather in that quarrell dye? The second is Boleyne whiche the kynges majesties Father with the expences of innumerable treasure, and bloude of a great many of our cuntry menne wanne of the frenchmen, whiche in tyme will be as great a iuell and comfote to this Realme as Caleis. And this we maye see the frenchemen do well spie, and will neuer cesse warres till they haue recovered it, if they do, we shall then perceaue what we hadde. Our nature is to neglecte that we haue, and to lament the lacke of that we had. The thirde is Scottlande, parcell of the kyngdome of Englund, whiche I beleue we shall neuer opteigne but by force, aslonge as the wordle dothe stande. All these thinges laide to gether, I praye you aske of them when we shal haue this fayre and quyet wether. In the mean season great losse is of our menne, as it is not possayble but to be as longe as warres do contynue. And therfore my thynketh that as the wise husbandman makethe and maynteyneth his nursery of yonge trees to plante in the

steede of the olde, when he seethe them begynne to fayle, because he wilbe sure at all tymes of fruyte : so shulde politique gouernours (as the kynges majestie and his Councell mynde) prouyde for thencrease and mayntenaunce of people, so that at no tyme they maye lacke to serue his highnes and the commen welthe. Whiche thinge asyet in this Realme cannot otherwise be donne but by execution of this Commyssyon. And that ye maye fully answer them, in that they wrongfully reporte I shulde styrre and encourage with my wordes the Comynaltie ayenst the nobilitie. Somme in dede (whom I knowe right well) wolde haue had that nothings shulde haue byn saide to the people, but onlie the Comysson and the Instruccions barely redde, to thyntent they themselves myght haue byn the expositors therof, and make the people beleue that ther doynge wer within the compasse of no lawe as a great many dyd. But I am of this opynyon, that as the makers of lawes imagynynge that in euery comen welthe ther be bothe good and euell people, do deuyde ther lawes into two partes, thone commendynge the lawe, and that the people shulde resceyue it for the commoditie that therby myght followe, thother proponynge punyshement, to deterre malefactours from doynge euell, euen so ought the executours of the lawe do, forasmoeche as bothe good and euell comme before them, to persuaue the good to obserue and obeye the lawe for the loue of vertue, and the euell to exhue the vice for feare of payne. But by cause ye shall see that they vntruly reporte me and that no honest man coulede gather any thyng of my sayenges but onely that was honest (spyders I cannot denye, gather venom where bees gather honye) I sende to you herwith not onlye the copies of certen letters, wherby ye shall perceyue that the last yeare when no maner of thyng was donne, the lyke tales wer spredde ageynst me, but also what myn answer was therunto. I sende you also with the same the proclamacion, the comysson withe the Instruccions, and what I said to the people, wherunto I dyd not onelye make somme of those preuye, that wer ioyned in Commysson with me, but also I am suer they will testefie, that I nothyng swarued at any tyme from the same. Conferre I beseche you



one with a nother, and laye all to gether, waye the wordes, remember thende and intente of the Commyssion, consyder what burdon and charge is layde vppon the Commyssyoners, and then iudge howe any honest man can iustlie ascrybe vnto me the cause of this sorowfull sedition. Howe any honest man with a safe conscience coulde do lesse then I dyd, and how these men that be thus full of ther talke coulde if they weyed well ther honestie, speake yea rather rayle thus of me. I am a man subiecte to affections aswell as others. I maye erre and do amysse, but my conscience dothe beare me witnesse, and I am suer a great many honest men will depose with me, that I haue donne in this matter nothyng that was not my duetie. But it is an olde saied sawe, rubbe the galled horse on the backe, and he will kycke. And I cannot but moche merueyle, whie any man shulde suspecte me to be author of all these seditions, when as I haue herde, it is for thre sondrye causes that they make these Insurrections. Somme be papystes, and wold haue ayen ther olde poperye. Somme be Anabaptistes and lybertynes, and wolde haue all thinges commen. And the thyrde be certen poore men that seeke to haue ageyne ther reuenues that haue byn by power taken from them, and to be relyued of the great dearthe and pryces of vittell. Papyste I thynke you will testifie that I am noon. And I dare well saye the wardens of poperye, be not able to shewe my name in no rolles nor bookes of ther fraternytie. If I wolde but haue dissembled and fayned my self to be a papyste, as I tell you playne I cannot carry two faces in one hode, I coulde haue saued that I haue loste, and gotten that I had not. Anabaptistes and libertynes I haue and do most abhorre, as sectes cleane contrary to goddes worde, nature and civyle pollicie. So that to ascrybe the cause of these seditions to me, they do me great iniurye. And I doubte not but when they haue better remembred themselves, they will for very shame of ther owne frewill recant and crye me mercye. The thirde that is of the poore men that thynke themselves iniuryed. I proteste vnto you that ther is no man that hathe better desire to helpe them ordynarylie then I haue, for I knowe they be necessary

members of the common welthe, suche as euery Chrysten man is bounden to his power to ayde, helpe, and relieue. Suche as in the multytude of whom beyng honest and obedient to ther kynge and his lawes, a kynges honour consystethe. But to saye that I haue procured them to be redressours of ther owne iniuryes or to take vppon them to be executours of the lawes, or to repyne or grudge at the nobylitie, as somme to alyenat the good willes of a great manye my good lordes and frendes from me haue falselye reported, if all the deuylles of hell wolde conspyre ayenst me, they shall neuer be able to proue it. I knowe the nobilitie is the ordynaunce of god and a state ordeyned vnder the kynges Majestie to ayde and assyste his highnes in his great charge of gouernement of this his Realme, that is to see Justice mynystred, to helpe, socour, preserue, and defende the good from oppressyons and iniuryes of the euell, lyke as the Sheperde is ordeyned vnder the master to kepe the Sheepe from rauenyng wolfes. Ther charge before god is not small, make men therof what they lyst, and doynge ther dueties they be worthie double honour. How, I beseche you coulde my wordes make this generall Insurrection for comens? Is it possible that wordes shulde worke before they be vttred, or is it possible that wordes shulde worke when they be not herde, and wher they be spoken haue no operation? Whas ther not, longe before this commysyon was sent forthe, an insurrection in hertfordshire for the comens at Northall and Chesthunt? Can it be denyed but that the fyrst rysynge this yeare was in Somersetshire, ffrom Somersetshire it entred into Gloucettershire, wylshire, hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, worcestershire, Essex, hertfordshire, and dyuers other places, before the parties, wher I was withe the Commyssyon, wer therwith infected. And yet thankes be to god in dyuers places wher we wer, and wher the people had iust cause of gryef, and haue complayned a great many yeares, without remedye, ther haue they byn very quyet, shewed themselves most humble and obedyent subiectes taryenge the kynges Majesties reformation. But if the cause of this sedition for comens be sought and the roote founde out, it shalbe well seen, that it spryngeth

of the gredynes of those men that thus do slaunder me. They must pardon me though I earnestlie defende my self, and shewe playnlye wher the faulte is, for it touchithe me very nye. After that the kynges Majestie had sent forthe the proclamation and Commyssion, what dyd they not to hynder it? Somme founde the meanes to haue ther seruantes sworne in the Juryes, to thyntent to haue them hasarde ther soules to saue ther gredynes. And as I haue lernyd syns, it is not possible in any of the Shires wher we wer, to make a Jurye without them, suche is the multytude of Reteynours and hangers on. Whiche thyng if it be not remedied the kynge shalbe suer neuer to haue his lawes trulye executed. And the better to proue this, I pray you marke this that followyth. After one of my frendes had talked with one of my pryncipall ennemyes who was very hotte for a while, and spake his pleasure, and at length beyng so answered that he coulde not denye, but he dyd me wronge so to sclaunder me, he then beganne to vtter hymself thus. Naye by goddes bloude (saied he) he put of one of my seruauentes from the Jurye. So that ye maye easely perceauie wherof parte of my sclaunder risithe. Somme poore men wer thretened to be put from ther holdes if they presented, somme also as I further lerned haue no certentie of ther holdes whiche wer wonte to be letten by Copie for lyfes and otherwise for yeares, because they at no tyme nor in nothyng shulde offende ther landlordes, but do and saye what soeuer they will commaund them. As it pleasithe my landlord so shall it be. A godlic hearynge in the commen welthe. Somme also wer Indicted because they presented the truthe, and somme wer persuaded that thende of the Commyssion shulde but a monye matter, as it had byn in tyme paste. I coulde declare vnto you a great many slyghtes wherwith somme of them thought to haue blynded vs and the presentours, but for very shame I will lett them passe. When poore men be put in suche desperation of Relief, when no hope of redresse of ther myserye appereth, when they thus be made to beleue that they shall haue no ordynarye remedie, what shall a man saye of them? But ye will saye they ought to be obeydent to the kynge and his lawes,

they ought in no wise to rebelle, they maye make no insurrections. I confesse no lesse this is ther duetie, this be they commaunded by goddes worde, and for no cause ritche nor poore maye at any tyme resyste or rebelle ageynst ther kynge. Examples we haue of danyell and the thre Children, Ananyas, Azarias, Misael. On thother syde we reade howe god punyshed Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, for rebellynge ageynst ther gouernour Moyses. The lyke we maye see of those that haue rebelled ageynst ther kynge at all tymes within this Realme. What became of will wall, Jack Cade, and Jack Strawe with ther companions? Wer they not vtterly destroyed? What was thende of Flammock the blackesmyth, the lorde Audeley and ther retynue? was shamfull deathe? What honour I pray you gat the lord darcy, Constable, and Aske, in these our dayes? Was it not myserable deathe? euen as I doubt not but it shalbe also of the Rebelles at this present, and of all others, that shalbe ther disciples and followers, albeit god for a tyme suffrethe suche myserye, for the punyshment of our iniquytie. And doubtles they iudge very euell of me that reporte that I wolde haue lybertie, libertie and so a licentious lybertie. As I am vtterly voyde of suche opynyon, so on thother syde, I tell you playne, I am not of that mynde that I do allowe to moche seruytude and slauerye. Bothe lybertie and seruytude, if they be out of mesure, be bothe hurtfull and the dystruccion of euery commen welthe. The one was the vndoynge of the great kyngdom of Persia, thother of the noble Cittie of Athenes. If they be moderat, they be the preseruours of the commen welthe. The commens and poore people be membres of that bodie, that the nobles and rytchmen be. And suerly suche as desyre the kynges honour and sauetie, and the welthe and suertie of the Realme, will directe all ther studie to encrease and maynteyne all the kynges Majesties subiectes generallye, euery one in his degre, and not to go aboute to dymynysse and weaken them. It is no parfet bodie that lackythe any member. It is a monstre that hath armes, and lackethe feete. Mary we see that as nature hath not ordeyned that the foote shulde haue so moche bloude as the

arme, so all men maye not be lyke, nor of lyke substance in a comen welthe. God hath ordeyned both rytchemen and poore men, and saythe, that we shall haue alwayes poore men emonge vs, but he that so seythe, commaundithe the ritche not to starue the poore, but to feede thym: not to take awaye the lytle that he hath, but to gyue thym more if the lacke. But by the waye albeit it be no poynte of good nurture to breathe any persone with the benyfytes donne vnto hym, for in deade we ought to forget the pleasure that we do to others, and remember the kyndnes that others do to vs: yet because it somewhat makithe for the purpose I wilbe so bolde for ones to borowe so moche of dame Curtesie and shewe you howe I haue deserued to be spoken well of by them, and not thus to be sclaudered. When we had entred into the execution of the Commyssyon, and seyng that many thynges wer presented ayenst them magre ther tethes, and yet suspectyng lest somme thynges myght be done for malice, we determyned not to procede to take the presentmentes and verdites till we had made (whiche we neded not) the parties preuye ther unto, and had herde whether they coude iustlie purge themselves of that was presented ayenst them, whiche was the onlye cause that we proceded no further in the Commyssion the last year. And yet if we had done the vttermost that it requyred, we coude haue done litle good, for it extended onlye to enquer, and not to here and determyn, and was chieflye sent forthe to thyntent my lorde protectours grace and the Councell myght knowe by parte, the hole state of the Realme, and so procede to redresse of all. Afterwarde retournyng to his grace and consyderyng that a great many men wer within the daunger of the lawes, for asmoche as I perceaued that the kynges Majestie and his grace desyred onlye reformation of thynges amysse, I sued to his grace for ther generall pardon, whiche I opteigned hauyng conceaued a good hoope that they wolde haue done, as we fynde the poore men vppon the execution of this Commyssyon redie to do. When we declare vnto them that the kynges Majestie myndethe to knowe who hath two Copiholdes or farmes in one Townte, and that his Majestie entendithe

to see reformation therin, for that it is very hurtfull to his Realme, Masters (sayethe the poore man) if it be the kynges pleasure, or if it be thought good for the benefytt of the commen welthe, that I shall haue but one farme, I shall be gladd with all my harte to forgo thother. God forbed that I shulde hurte the commen welthe, or let any thyng that the kynge wolde haue done, wherby ther good and obedyent nature maye easelye be seen. Somme of the Ritchemen assone as they had the pardon, they retourned to ther olde vomyte, they beganne immedyatie to enclose, to take awaye the poore mens Commens, and wer more gredie, then euer they wer before. They thought and some saied, that the Commission was but a storme for a tyme and soon wolde passe ouer as a great many hoope, it will also do nowe. Consyderynge further with my self what hurte myght come if the poore men shulde be dysceyued of ther good expectation, and what daunger myght ensue, if thynges shulde be suffred to runne to an extremyte, my thought that as euery wise man when he fealithe hymself sycke precurithe hymself to be lett bloude or takithe a purgacion in tyme: so wer it meete to helpe in tyme to temper thynges of the commen welthe, and not to suffer them to runne to an extremyte, for extremities be neuer without great parrell. I then deuysed thre bylles to be put into the parliament, wherunto I made a great many wise men preuye. Thone for reedifienge houses decayed, and for the mayntenance of tillage and husbondrye. Thother for regratyng of vittell and other thynges, wherin I remembre one pryncipall poynte, that Grasyers nor noo man shulde buye any cattell and sell the same ageyne within a certeyn tyme. For as I had lerned, and also nowe knowe of certentie, dyuers grasyers and Shepemasters brynge bothe cattell and monye to the markt. If they cannot sell ther owne as deare as them lysteth, they carry them home ageyne and buye vp all the rest. Whiche two billes wer fyrst put to the lordes. The fyrst beyng redde was not lyked, the causes I will not shewe you, but a nother tyme I doubte not but that, or the lyke byll will take place. The second they allowed and augmented, and sent downe to

the lower house, whiche if ye had there herde debated, and had seen howe it was tossed, and to whose handes at length it was commytted, and howe it was deferred, if ye shulde haue seen mens affections wonderfullye, perchaunce ye wolde haue saied that the lambe had byn commytted to the wolfe to custodie. The thyrde bill was set forthe fyrst in the lower howse, and tended to this ende that euerye man that kept in seuerall pasture sheape or beastes shulde keape for euery hundred sheape that he had aboue syx score two kyen, and for euery of these two kien shulde reare one Calf, and for euery two kyen that he kepithe besydes, more then tenne, he shulde reare one calf. By this meanes I thought and yet do beleue, that we shulde not onlye haue plentie of beastes, wherof ther is a wonderfull great decaye, but also therby the markettes shulde be replenysshed with the mylke butter and chese, whiche is the commen and pryncipall sustenance of the pouertie. And on this durst I laye my lyfe that if it had proceded, ther wolde haue byn within fyue yeares after the execution therof suche plentie of vitteyll and so good cheape as neuer was in England, and besydes a great many good thynges ensue whiche be very necessarye and profitable for the commen welthe of our Countreie, whiche neyther by the execution of this Commyssyon nor yet by any posytyue lawe that we haue as yet can be holpen. It is not the execution of the lawes alredie made, albeit it shall do moche good, that shall restore the Realme to his perfection, and replenysshe it with suche abundaunce of Townes, parysshes, and houses, as haue bene in the tyme of kynge Edward the fyrst, whiche the surueye of the Realme made then will playnlye declare. For the chief destruccion of Townes and decaye of houses was before the begynnyng of the reigne of kynge henry the seuenth. Ther must be a teynte that must enter further into the soore, if we mynde to haue it perfectlye cured, that it shall not fester vnder neathe. It must be a nother maner of confection that must preserue the Realme from the lyke plage. It maye not be liefull for euery man to vse his owne as hym lysteth, but euerye man must vse that he hathe to the most benefyte of his Countreie. Ther

must be some thyng deuysed to quenche this insatiabie thirst of gredynes of men, Couetuousnes must be weded out by the rootes, for it is the distruction of all good thinges. Couetousnes expelled the holsom lawes of lycurgus, whiche so many hundred yeares maynteyned and preserued Sparta in his flourysshynge and happye state, and brought it shortelie to confusyon. Couetousnes was the destruction of thempire of Rome. Couetousnes assone as it had gotten an entre into the Churche, sodenlye subuerted Chrystes Religion, and brought in hipocrisie and superstition. And doubtlesse I feare couetousnes will in shorte tyme worke the lyke effecte in this Realme of England, if the kynges Majestie and his Councell do not the soner putto ther helpynge hand. Who will maynteyne husbondrye whiche is the nurse of euery Countreie, aslonge as sheepe brynge so great gaigne? Who passythe on bredynge of beastes, wherof no gaigne can be felte within thre or foure yeares, when of his sheepe he shalbe suer of his profet ones euery yeare? Who will be at the coste to kepe a dozyn in his house to mylke kyen make chease carrye it to the market, when one poore soule maye by kepyng sheepe get hym a greater profett? Who will not be contented for to pull downe houses of husbondrye, so that he maye stuff his bagges full of monye? Who passythe on offendynge and breakynge the lawes when he hath plentie of moneye to stoppe the execution of them? But demetrius and his fellowes soon spyed wherunto this thyng tended. Ther was then, holde with me, and I will holde withe the. Somme that had no Oxe in the pasture, as they saied, had by lyke Oxen in ther tongues as the prouerbe is. Somme alledged the opynone of olde fathers that wer in tyme past, whiche sythe, I haue lerned wer great shepemaisters who when the lyke byll had byn proponed, wolde neuer consent vnto it, but saied that when any scarcitie of cattell was, a proclamacion was made that no calves shulde be kylled for a tyme, lyke as ther was a statute made in the xxj<sup>te</sup> yeare of the reigne of the kyng that dead is. And marke I beseche you wherunto this generall proclamacion and lawe tended. It is the onlie waye, if it be well consydered, to make



scarcite and dearthe and to vndo, yea, rather starue the pouertie. For these that haue the great pastures, kepe very fewe or no kyen, nor will not so longe as ther is so great and so present a gaygne in sheepe and fatinge of beastes. And here shulde all the burden be laied on the pouertie, who if they shulde not kyll ther Calfes, shuld lacke butter, mylke, and chease, to nourysshe ther chyldeyn and famylie. Somme alledged that men now a dayes eate more flesshe then they dyd in tyme past, and that in lent and other fastynge dayes here tofore the people eate nether butter, mylke nor chese, and wolde haue the people so doo ageyne for pollicies, I will not saye poperies, sake. But sythe it hathe pleasyd god to send vs suche a Countreie as all straungers commende aboue others, and suche as wolde bothe kepe thryse as many people as it dothe, and also brynge forthe and kepe plentie of all thinges for ther nutryment, whie shulde we not vse the gyfte of god and encrease people to honour god and defende our Countreie? Whie shulde we for lucre of a fewe, whiche by ther doynge a man maye iudge wolde that theye wer fewer people then ther be, so that they myght haue more grounde for ther sheepe, make these fewe that be, lesse with penury and famyn? And the matter of this bill dyd not so moche greue them, as for that ther was a waye founde therbye to haue it alwayes trulye executed. For I had thus deuysed that the parson or Curat of euery parisshe to whom belongithe the tythes, and two honest men shulde yearelye surueye euerye mans pastures and shulde not onlie present who dyd transgresse this lawe, but who also did obserue it. This was it that byt the mare by the thombe. Men passe not moche howe manye lawes be made, for they see very fewe put in execution. The rytchemen of Rome wer neuer so moche offended with the makynge of the lawe called *lex agraria* as theye wer with thother lawe that followed, wherby certeyn officers called *Triumviri* wer made to se the same executed. Ther wer besides certeyn complayntes made by weuers of kent, that they hauyng wifes and chyldeyn coulde get no luyngge, for that the Clothiers wer nowe become also weuers. The weuers beyng iourneymen of worcetter

complayned, that wher ther was an olde order emonge them, that in euery loome ther shulde be one iourneyman and one apprentice workynge, nowe because ther was not so great charge in kepyng of apprentices, for they haue no wages, as ther was of iourneymen, who of necessytye must haue wages to relyeue them ther wifes and chyldeyn, they kepte all apprentices and wold not sett iourneymen on worke. Others complayned that poore labourers in steede of moneye wer payed ther wages by clothyers with soope, candells, rotten clothe, stynkyng Fysse and suche lyke baggage. The clothiers of hadleye openyng the falsehed of Clothyers, howe they drewe a clothe from xvij yerdes to xxvij or xxviii yerdes desyred that redresse myght be had therin. Others complayned that a fewe men had in ther handes a great manye mens luynges. Others that one man occupied dyuers occupations. Others, that artificers and clothiers wer nowe also ploughmen and grasyers. All those thynges wer herde in the lower house, but in fyne nothyng reformed. If the syckman complayne to the physycyan, and bryng hys frendes with hym to shewe hym his greif, and to tell hym also what will do hym good, and gyue hym moneye for his labour, and the physycyan will not put his hande to helpe hym, is it any marueyle though he fall into a franesie? what other thyng is a sedition, but a cyuyle frenesie? Who then I beseche you is the cause of this frenesie and sedition, eyther the syckeman and those that laboureth for the syckman to the physycyan or the physycyan hymself? I wolde to god men wolde no lenger flatter themselves but earnestlie consider wherof these troubles in euery comen welthe sprynge, and asmoche as in hym lyethe to preuente that no suche thynges happon. Warre, sedition, scarcytie, famyn, syknes, be plages of god, whiche he sendithe for two causes chyeflye. Thone where the people do contempne his worde and thother where they resceyve it and will not followe it. Howe manye be ther in this Realme that cannot abyde to here goddes worde scarce named? Howe many be ther also that be therof great talkers, and in dede be no doers? Pouertie was neuer so abundant, and charytie neuer so scant. Euery man is geuen to hymself,

and fewe consider ther Chrysten brothern. And therefore no merueyle though god thus do plage vs. For the calamytie and myserye of the neadie and for the mournynge of the pouertie, I will ryse, seythe god, that is he will punysse the people. What was the cause that god destroyed the great Cittie of Sodom? Whie was hierusalem cast downe? If the lyke iniquytie, if the same synnes reigne as plentifullye in England as they dyd in Sodom and hierusalem, we maye be suer that the lorde whiche is iust and faythfull in his promyses will punysse vs, if we repent not euen as he punysshed them. God graunt vs his grace and molifie our hartes that we maye receaue and followe his worde. Then no doubt he will withdrawe from vs these plagés and power downe on vs his benedictions and send vs in steede of warres and sedition, peace and tranquyllytie, in stede of famyn, and scarcitie, abundaunce and plentie, and in stede of syknes and sodeyne deathe, helthe and longe lyfe. Thus I truste I haue fullye answered your letter, if they will laye to my charge any other matter, let me knowe it and I will shortlie make an answer. God be with vs. From Couentre, the first of September, 1549.

## II. WILLIAM SMITH AND THE ARDES. 1580.

### i. *Capt. W. Piers to Walsingham.*

(S. P. Ireland, Elizabeth 1580, August, Vol. LXXV. No. 65.)

In moste humble maner my dewty remembred to your honor. I haue in my former letters, aduertysed your honor of my proceadinges with Turloe lennoghe, as allso of other matters gyven to me in chardge, from her maiesty and Counsell, which, althoughe the same were not donne with suche celeryty, as your honor might expecte at my handes being by soddaine

sickness somewhat letted, as also turloe breaking three tymes his day with me, wherein I spent a moneth wayting for him, yet I hope, I did the same, as effectually, as time and place would permyt me to doe. And whereas yt is not vnknowne to your honor, of the comyng ouer of Willyam Smythe into the Ardes with me, partly for sollemnysing a marriage betwene him and a daughter of myne, as also vppon an enterprise there to be atcheyved, concluded betwene him and certaine other gentlemen, I my selfe being one, Maye yt please your honor to be advertised that after our arryvall there, he did not only deny to marry with my daughter, being by the byshoppe of Downe contracted together, and there present to wytnesse the same, but also by his indirect proceedinges, wente aboute to set the Cuntry in an vprere, the which when I did mislyke of, and willed him to surcease from so fonde dealinges, telling him the state was to muche all readdy disquieted, putting him in mynde of my lo. Treasurers wordes, that was to be by me directed, he not onely made account of this my advice as nothing, but in my absence going to Turloe he so vsed the matter, as the Cuntry and he wente together by the eares, he being put to the worste and one of his men slaine; neyther will he yet leave of these his foolish doinges, besydes howe he hath vsed the adventurers agent. him selfe ys to make relation of his iniuries, who hath spent all suche provisyon as they sente ouer, not in the pretended enterprise nor yet in that place, but in an yland belonging to lecale where he hath byne ever since he receyved the former foyle, practising the revenge of the same, yf he coulde, which neyther he can, neyther hath he any force to doe the same. As concerning the scottes and there attemptes mencioned in my former letters, having don this outrage in the greate Ardes, Odonell and Orourk sent for them to come to them and as my man telleth me, whoe was there and sawe there messingers, they pretended to goe thether. And although I ame as yet without pencion or paye, yet I will endeouere my selfe, to do her highnes suche servyce, as I hope shalbe well accepted of, and for that I haue addicted my selfe wholly to your honor, I requeste you most humbly as in your honors

letters to commende me to my L. deputy. And even so most humbly I take my leave. Dublin this xxj<sup>th</sup> of August 1580.

Your honnors during lyfe

W. Piers.

[Endorsed] 21 August: 1580.

From Capt: William

Piers the Elder.

Smithes fonde proceedinges.

The outrages committed dayly by ye

Scottes.

To the Right honorable S<sup>r</sup>.  
ffrauncis Wallsingeham knighte  
principale Secretary to the Quenes  
most excellent maiestie and one of  
her maiesties most honorable  
Counsell these geove

ii. *Mr W. Smith to Walsingham.*

(S. P. Ireland, Elizabeth 1580, Nov., Vol. LXXVIII. No. 66.)

Right honorable my humble dewtie premised. After I had landed in the Ardes which was abowte the xvjth of June last and had settled my self thear & my companie aboute 40 in number wher of there was twelve horsmen, my L. Chauncelour sent his commandment to withdrawe my selfe from that place, which imported that my settlinge there showlde be an occasion to stirre warres northwardes which was not thought to be necessarie. Accordinge to which his L. commandement I discharged my companie & repayred to Dublin there to attend his L. further direction, where I have these two monethes remained vppon my L. Chauncelours promise to have the leadinge of some of the companies that came over, now his answer is that the Captains were nominated in Englande so that as yet I wayted in vaine, I hoped in respect of my great

charges & troubles sustained this viii yeares in her maiesties service (for the which hitherto nether my frends nor my self have had anie consideracion or recompence) to have founde some favor. I pray your honour think that the envy & malice of my countrie men hath kept me more occupied for my own saftie then eyther the Irishe or anie action in my lyfe did & have not leysure to tende anie thinge elles. And now vppon my late revokinge me from that place to the which I had the good lykinge of your honor and the reste of her maiestes honorable councell, I did hope such regarde shoulde have bene had towards me that at the least I shoulde have had some charge of men committed to my ledinge to serve her maiestie though not in the north parte wheare most my desyre is to serve in respect of the knoweledge & bringinge vppe I have had in those partes, yet in some other place where the necessitie of the tyme doth require such service to be done. Thus much favor hath bene graunted me in speches by the counsell here, but not performed in dedes which maketh me the more bolder to disclose the inwarde grieffe of my mynde vnto your honor, besechinge your honor humbly to wryte your favorable Letters in my behalfe to the L. deputie & the L. Chauncelour to stande my good Lordes in such reasonable cawses as I shall request at theyer handes, which Letters I knowe assuredly to be sufficient to procure me some chardge for now I lye here at great chardges & expences, which I had rather for a season to beare then otherwise to abase my selff to be vnder the conduction of such others as I shall know my sellff not to be inferiour vnto in anie respect, which favor if your honor shall vouchsafe to graunt me I shall thinke my selff moste bounden to your honor and requighte with such humble services as I shall thinke moste acceptable to your honor, iudging this to be one to aduertise & acquainte your honour with such newes as latelie are passed here wheareof briefly I will make rehersall vnto your honor.

\* \* \* \* \*

These are the newes are passed here, promisinge to informe your honour of all such as I can learne shall happen hereafter, in the meane season, right honorable if it happen that by Mr Piers his procurement theare shall fall out anie dealinges in the north I beseech your honour that I may not be cleane excluded from beinge employd that way, nor my graunt in Ardes anie way impeached by the meanes of anie that shall now in this longe expected fit good tyme make sute to enioye the fruites of my travell in the troublesom tyme past. Although by meanes of my L. Chauncelours revocation of me from thence I am not in possession of my Landes there, yet have I this yeare received all the spirituall proffites of my livinges in the littel Ardes quietly. And the tennantes there acknowledge me by vertue of her maiesties graunt made to my vnclē S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smith to have the only right theare vnto, whearin I hope to have your honors furtherance to confirme it yf occason do require the same. Thus restinge altogether your obedient, with remembrance of my most humble dewtie I pray god prosper your honor all your doinges. From Dublin this 28 of Nouember, 1580.

Your honors most bounden

& obedient

W. Smith.

Mr Sec<sup>r</sup>. Walsingham.

POSTSCRIPT. S<sup>r</sup> if I mought live to stand your honour in any stede I should thincke my selfe most happy yow are the man whome only I wishe most honour vnto. I rest in the same mynde towards your honour as I was in before my departure if your honour shall haue any lickinge to the Ardes I will with all my harte surrender my graunt and yelde my selfe to sarve your honour duringe my life vppon no other condition but that it would please your honour to employ me ther in your honors servis I am willinge, and as hable to stand your honour in sted then [?] as any other I protest before god you shall finde me as reddey to follow your desinges as ever I

was S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Smythes if your honour shall not be willinge to deale therin I requier your favorable countenance in folowinge the same and hereafter if at any time you shall haue any lickinge it, I rest at your commandement.

[Endorsed] 28 Nouember 1580.  
From Mr W. Smythe.

A somewhat similar letter to Cecil will be found in S. P. Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. LXXVIII. No. 67.





In buydinge, what Carpenter or mason is to mure  
 or experte, but he might learne more by readinge  
 of ~~historians~~ <sup>of historians</sup> & other that write of architecture, &  
 is to say the science of buydinge, is to passe out  
 the knowledg of logyke, & Rhetoriques, wherof the  
 first treatise abouthe bes description of the same  
 wasen from the fable. The other abouthe the p<sup>r</sup>in  
 cipes of that art is to be se further to the people,  
 as if theyge to them affeable & expedient, wherof  
 is good & a penitente peny<sup>l</sup>lor might waunte.

Fig 1

If we send out more comelines in water then we bringe home, the outpluy cometh in  
 in coine; but if we bringe in more, then the outpluy must needs be paid for in money in  
 this is the measure of increasing or diminishing the coine, except of what little in this found  
 within the realm. The other waie is, if more be sent home than is sent out  
 by the rupture of moneys, so that the more home sent home

Fig 2

I understand the manyfold complaint of men, for saying the  
 decay of the Latin world, that has been in, mooved most at this present  
 of Long's paper, some blame said: Some say, saying it to  
 some things, and some to an effect / I think I am not of the saying or  
 doctrine, to whom the consideration and reformation of the same  
 paper should belong: yet knowing my self to be a member of the

Fig 3A

No man is a  
 transpire to y.  
 why he is in  
 romney. he is in

Fig 3B

Note, that this book was published in print, under the  
 Title of a brief conceipt of Anglick policy, by one. W. S.  
 in the year 1587: whereas it was long since printed  
 by S. Thomas Smythe (as some say) or in John spaldy  
 (as others thinke) either in the reigns of H. 8. or Ed. 6.  
 And if my selfe ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> a copie of it, I  
 I ought to be written out, in the year 1585.

Within Lambard

Fig 4.



## **A table of all thynges moste notable conteynede in this boke.**

### **Prohemium.**

THAT no man is a stranger to the Comon welthe that he is  
in. fo<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>. [p. 10.]

That of manye heades is gathered a parfyte counsaile.  
ibid. [p. 11.]

That euerye man is to be credyted in his own arte. 2.  
[p. 11.]

Whye the boke is made by waye of a dyaloge. ibid.  
[p. 12.]

The Some of the hole boke. ibid. [p. 12.]

### **1. Dialloge.**

That men are not borne to theymselves onelye. 4. [p. 14.]

The complaynte of inclosures by husbandmen. 5. [p. 15.]

The complaynte of derthe of victelles by artyficers. ibid.  
[p. 16.]

The complaynte of decaye of townes by marchauntmen and  
of all othere common easementes. 6. [p. 16.]

That manye superfluous chargis are layd down and yet  
neuer the more plentye. ib. [p. 16.]

Of derthe of owtwarde merchaundice. ib. [p. 16.]

Of derthe of all kynd of vycualles. ib. [p. 17.]

That inclosures shold not be the cause of this derthe.  
7. [p. 17.]

- That gentlemen feele moste greef by this derthe. ib.  
[p. 17.]
- The complaynte of craftes men agaynste gentlemen for  
takyng of Farmes. ib. [p. 17.]
- The craftes mans complaynt that he can not sette men  
aworke for the derthe of vycualles. 8. [p. 18.]
- The gentlemans complaynte how he cannot keepe lyke  
countenance as he was wont to doe. ib. [p. 19.]
- Why gentlemen gyue ouer theyre howsholdes. 9. [p. 19.]
- Why gentlemen doo take Farmes vnto their handes. ib.  
[p. 20.]
- A complaynte agaynste Sheepe. ib. [p. 20.]
- The Doctors complaynte for men of his sorte. 10.  
[p. 21.]
- A complaynte agaynste lerned men. ib. [p. 21.]
- [p. iv] Why lernynge sholde be lyke to decaye hereaftere. 11.  
[p. 22.]
- Whether a Comon welthe may be gouernede without  
lerninge. 12. [p. 22.]
- That the lernede haue alwayes had the souereyntye ouer  
the unlernede. ib. [p. 23.]
- Whether a man maye be wyse withowte lernynge. 13.  
[p. 23.]
- That lernynge supplythe the lake of expereyence and  
that experience ys the fathere of wysdome. ib. [p. 24.]
- The wonderfull gyftes that wee haue by lernynge. 14.  
[p. 25.]
- That there ys no facultye but ys made more consummate  
by lernynge. 15. [p. 26.]
- How Cesar excellede all other captens by reason of hys  
great lernynge ioynede with his prowes. ib. [p. 27.]
- That knowlege in morall phylosophye is moste necessarye  
for a Counceylor. 16. [p. 28.]

- What makythe lernyde men to be so fewe. 17. [p. 29.]
- That younge Studentes be alwayes ouer hastye in vtterynge  
theire Jugementes. 18. [p. 29.]
- That pythagoras commandyde Scylence to his dyscyples for  
a tyme. ib. [p. 29.]
- That plato commaundyde that no man yngnoraunt in  
Geomatrye sholde enter his scole. ib. [p. 29.]
- What harme maye comme yf they be sufferede to iudge  
in thynges to whome yt dothe not appertayne. ib.  
[p. 30.]
- That yt is not lernynge suffycyente to knowe tounge and  
to wryte. 19. [p. 30.]
- Why lernynge shold decaye. ib. [p. 31.]
- That euerye state fyndythe hym greevyde. 20. [p. 32.]
- That marchauntes can beste save thevmselfes in euerye  
alteracion. 21. [p. 32.]
- Of owr olde coyne exhaustede. ib. [p. 32.]
- Whether yt made a matter of what metall the coyne be  
made. ib. [p. 33.]
- What men are most pynchede by the same derthe. 22. [p. v]  
[p. 33.]
- That the kynge hathe moste losse by this vnyuersall derthe.  
ib. [p. 34.]
- What dangere sholde hit be to the Realme yf the kynge  
sholde want treasure in tyme of neede. 23. [p. 35.]
- How the kynge cannot haue treasure when his subiectes  
haue none. 24. [p. 35.]
- To what proffyt the newe myntes ys lyke. ib. [p. 35.]
- A recapitulacion of the common greues. 25. [p. 36.]

## 2. Dialloge.

- That yt ys a meruelous derthe that comythe in tyme of  
plentye. 26. [p. 37.]

- The occasion of this derthe ys layde on the gentlemen  
ib. [p. 38.]
- How from the gentlemen it ys layd upon the husbandmen.  
ib. [p. 38.]
- The gentlemens excuse and resonable offer. 27. [p. 38.]
- The husbandman refusythe and puttythe ouer the fault to  
Irenmongers and clothiers. 28. [p. 39.]
- Yf Lands were abatede in theyre rent whethere this derthe  
wold be remedyede. ib. [p. 40.]
- That hit were not expedyendte that strangers sholde sell  
theyre wares dere and wee owrs good chepe. 29.  
[p. 40.]
- An other offere of the gentleman made to the husbandman.  
ib. [p. 40.]
- Whether yf the husbandman were inforcede to abate his  
prises of his stuffe this derthe sholde be then amendyde.  
30. [p. 42.]
- The Straungers will take but monye curraunt euery where  
for theyre wares that they haue ouer theyre exchange.  
32. [p. 44.]
- That strangers and all merchauntes brynges thynges that  
be best chepe with theym and derest with vs. 33.  
[p. 44.]
- What thynges are theye. 34. [p. 45.]
- He that sellythe good cheape and buythe dere cannot  
lyghtlye thryve. 35. [p. 46.]
- [p. vi] It is not possible to keepe owre treasure from goyng forthe  
of the Realme yf it be in more estymacion elsewhere.  
36. [p. 46.]
- That the derthe neyther rose by means of the gentleman  
nor the husbandman. ib. [p. 47.]
- Permutacion of thynges before coyne. ib. [p. 47.]
- A complaynte agaynste Sheepemasters. 37. [p. 48.]



- That inclosures is occasion of desolacion and wekenyngē of the power of the Realme. 38. [p. 49.]
- Reasons to defende Inclosures. ib. [p. 49.]
- What kynd of inclosures are hurtfull. ib. [p. 49.]
- Whethere profytablenes to one may be profytable to all othere yf they vse the same feate. 39. [p. 50.]
- Euerye comodyte muste be so aduaucedē as it be not preiudicyall to othere greatere commodityes. 41. [p. 51.]
- No man may abvse his own thynges to the preiudyce of the common weale. 42. [p. 52.]
- How inclosures may be remedied withoutt cohercion of lawes. 43. [p. 53.]
- That a lyke restraynte of woole shold be made as is of corne or none to be sent over vnwrought. 45. [p. 54.]
- Reasons why the husbandman shold be at lybertye as others to sell his wares. 46. [p. 56.]
- That by breedyngē the husbandman hathe moste clerre gaynes. 47. [p. 56.]
- That proffyt aduauuncythe all facultyes. 48. [p. 57.]
- That some are to be allurede by rewardes and some othere with streyte payns forced in a common weale. ib. [p. 57.]
- The lesse honour or proffyte ys geven to anye arte the lesse it shalbe frequentyd. 49. [p. 58.]
- Proffyt will make husbandmen more occupyede and thereby [p. vii] more plentye and consequentlye bettere chepenes of corn. 50. [p. 60.]
- Whethere the kynges custome shold be abrygede by restraynte of woole vnwrought. 53. [p. 62.]
- How strangers fetchithe from vs our great commodityes for verye tryfles. ib. [p. 62.]
- Our dylycasye in requyringe strangers wares. 54. [p. 64.]

- Thinckes of haberdashers and myloners ouer the numbere that they were wont to be. ib. [p. 64.]
- How the strangers fynd an easyere waye to gette treasure by thynges of no valewe then by any moyns of golde or siluer. 55. [p. 64.]
- How strangers fynde there peple with owr commodytyes and on owr costes. ib. [p. 64.]
- Why strangers may aforde wares made by theym better then wee may, and the same wares beyng made here, and yet that it were better for vs to buye owr own thowhe theyse were derere. 56. [p. 65.]
- The moste durable and moste vnyuersall proffyt is more to be estemyd then shorte and particuler. 57. [p. 66.]
- Whethere suche restrayntes dothe toche the leagues made with owtwarde prynces. ib. [p. 67.]
- No league is to be cheryshed that is not for the common weale. 58. [p. 67.]
- A worthy example to be followed in vsyng of strangers. 59. [p. 68.]
- What harme comythe and may come by alteracion of the coyne. 60. [p. 69.]
- That the substaunce and quantytye is estemed in coyne and not the name. 62. [p. 71.]
- That the necessytye of mutuall trafyke and comodytye of exchange made coyne to be devysede. ib. [p. 71.]
- [p. viii] Why golde and siluere is the stuffe moste meetyst for coyne to be stryken in. 63. [p. 72.]
- Why golde and siluere are estemyd aboue all other metals. 65. [p. 74.]
- Why golde and siluere were coynede. 67.
- Sumtyme brasse, siluere and golde were wayde before coyne made. 67. [p. 76.]
- What losse comythe throwghe losse of credence. 68. [p. 77.]

- What doo Straungers brynge vs in chief commodytyes for  
owr Treasure. 69. [p. 78.]
- How our olde coyne may be transportede and the kynge  
and his officers not ware. 70. [p. 79.]
- Wee devyse the redyest waye to dryve awaye owr treasure.  
ib. [p. 79.]
- Why thynges within the Realme shold be so dere. 71. [p. 80.]
- Sum haue gaynes by thalteracion of the coyne. 72. [p. 81.]
- Who losythe by thalteracion of the coyne. 73. [p. 81.]
- Of excesse in apparrell. 74. [p. 82.]
- In peace loke for warre. 75. [p. 84.]
- Of excesse in buldynges. 76.
- How the alteracion of the coyne ys most losse to the kynge.  
78. [p. 86.]
- Monye is cauled *nervi bellorum*. 78. [p. 86.]
- To recouere owr treasure home agayne. 79. [p. 87.]
- Whethere all owr woolle were expedyent to be solde ouere  
vnwrought. 80. [p. 88.]
- Mysteryes are rathere to be increasyd then dymynyshed in  
euery kynde. 82. [p. 89.]
- Of three sortes of mysteryes. 83. [p. 91.]
- One bryngythe owt our treasure. ib. [p. 91.]
- An other spendythe that he gettes in the same Contreye [p. ix]  
agayne. ib. [p. 92.]
- The thirde sorte bryngithe in treasure and therefore most to  
be cheryshed. 84. [p. 92.]
- Mysteryes doo enriche Contreys that els are barreyn. 85.  
[p. 93.]
- Alyauntes with straungers are to be purchasede and kepte.  
ib. [p. 94.]
- Whether gentz darmes were necessarye here as in Fraunce.  
86. [p. 94.]
- A lesse greef wold not be holpen with a greatere sore. 87.  
[p. 95.]

## 3. Dialloge.

Off the Commen greves. 88. [p. 98.]

Thorygynall cause in euerye thyng is to be serchede. ib.  
[p. 98.]

Dyvers sortes of causes there bee. 89. [p. 99.]

Howe one thyng is cause of the othere and that of the  
thyrde. 91. [p. 100.]

The Straungers aunswere tochyng the derthe. 91. [p. 101.]

That the alteracion of the coyne shold be the verye chieffe  
cause thereof and consequentye of the othere greves.  
94. [p. 104.]

Eythere by example or by arte any thyng muste be amen-  
dyd. ib. [p. 104.]

The remedye to be, onelye by restorynge the coyne to the  
old rate and names. 95. [p. 105.]

All the coyne beyng together curraunt must be of equall  
valewe in preportyon one to annother. 96. [p. 106.]

Confusion of metals gyvythe occacion of Dysceyte. ib.  
[p. 107.]

[p. x] Not onelye the Substaunce and quantytye but also the  
names of the peces of coyne muste be after the accus-  
tomede manere. 97. [p. 107.]

That the coyne is the Comen measure. ib. [p. 108.]

It ys not enowghe for a man to be payde in lyke numbere  
but also in like quantytye. ib. [p. 108.]

It made no matter thowghe Sum Coyne were of brasse So it  
kept a dewe proporcion of his Estimate toword Siluere and  
golde. 98. [p. 109.]

What proporcion was betwene siluere and gold ij<sup>o</sup> M<sup>l</sup> yers  
agoo the same is yet at this day amongste men. ib.  
[p. 109.]

How the treasure myght be had to reforme the Coyne. 100.  
[p. 112.]

- A prynce owght to haue great treasure orels his subiectes  
agaynste all eventes. 101. [p. 113.]
- That which ys vnyuersallye estemed muste not be reiecte  
of any comen weale that muste haue trafeque with  
othere. 102. [p. 115.]
- That coyne was ones made of lethere but in tyme of great  
nede and for a smale tyme. 103. [p. 115.]
- How the mynters doo multeplye. 104. [p. 117.]
- A mynters rare example. 105. [p. 117.]
- A cace to be prozydyd yf the coyne were amendyd. ib.  
[p. 118.]
- Tochyng rentes late enhaunced. ib. [p. 118.]
- How enclosures myght be remeadyede. 108. [p. 121.]
- Of townes decayede. 111. [p. 125.]
- The occacion of the decaye of owre townes. ib. [p. 125.] [p. xi]
- That arte ys to be moste cheryshed in a towne that ys  
moste profytable to the towne. 113. [p. 127.]
- Towns are enrychede with some one trade. ib. [p. 128.]
- Thoccacion of the Scysme in matters of Relygyon. 116.  
[p. 132.]
- The faultes on the behalf of the laytye. 122. [p. 139.]
- How this Scysme myght be remeadyede. 124. [p. 141.]

## The Preface.



CONSIDERINGE the manifold complayntes of men, towchinge the decaie of this Common wealthe and Realme of England, that we be now in, moved more at this present then of longe time hathe bene had, some imputinge it to one thinge, and some 5 to an other. Albeit I ame not of the Kinges counsaile, to whom the reformation and consideration therof dothe cheifly belonge, yet knowinge my selfe to be a membre of the same common weale, and called to be one of the house, wheare suche thinges ought to be treated, I can not recken 10 my selfe a mere straunger to this mattier; no more then a man that weare in a shippe, which weare in daunger of wracke, might saye, that bycause he is not (percase) the maister or pilote of the same, the daunger therof did nothinge perteyne vnto him. Therefore, havinge 15

No man is a  
straungere to  
the comenwel  
that he is in.

now some vacation from other busines, me thought I could apply my studie to no better thinge then to make some discourse with my

selfe. First, what thinge men are greived with, then what should be the occasion of the same. And that knowen, 20 howe suche greifes may be taken awaye; and the estate of the common weale reformed agayne. And albeit ye might well saye, that [there] be men of greater witte then I; yet fooles (as the proverbe is) speake some times to the purpose,

and as many headdes, so many wittes. And therefore per-  
 chaunce though they be never so wise them selves, yea the  
 wiser that they be the more counsellours they will haue, for  
 that that one can not perceave, an other shall. The guyftes  
 5 of wittes be so dyvers. Some excell in memorie; some in  
 Iudgement; some at the first sight redie; and some after  
 longe consideration. And though eche of these by them  
 selues doe not make perfitte the thinge, yet when every man  
 bringethe in his guifte, a meane witted man maye of the whole  
 10 (the best of everie mans devise beinge gathered together)  
 make as it weare a pleasaunt garland and perfitte, to  
 adorne his heade withall. Therefore I would not only  
 haue lerned men (whose iudgementes I would  
 wishe to be cheifly estemed) hearin, but also  
 15 merchaunt men, husbandmen, and artificers  
 (which in their callinge are taken most wise)  
 frely suffered yea and provoked to tell their advises in this [f. 2]  
 mattier; for some poyntes in their feates they may dis-  
 close that the wisest in a Realme could not agayne [saye].  
 20 And it is a maxime, or an infallible veritie,  
 amongst all men that everie man is to be  
 credited in that arte he is most exercised in.  
 Did not Appelles, that excellent painter, con-  
 sider that, whan he layde furthe his faire Image of Venus  
 25 to be sene of everie man that passed by, to the intent that  
 he (hearinge every mans iudgement in his owne arte) might  
 alwayes amend that was amisse in his worke; whose censures  
 he allowed, so longe as they kepte them within their  
 owne faculties, and toke not upon them to meddle with an  
 30 other mans. So perchaunce I maye be answered as he was,  
 yet I refuse not that, if I passe my compasse. But for as  
 muche as most of this mattier conteynethe pollicie or goode  
 governement of a common weale, beinge a membre of

Of many hedds  
 is gathered a  
 perfecte coun-  
 ceil.

That euery  
 man is to be  
 credited in his  
 owne arte.

Philosophie morall wherin I haue some what studied, I shalbe so bold with youe (who I doubt not will construe euerie thinge to the best) as to vtter my poore counsell [f. 2 b] hearin. And sithe this is betwene vs two to be considered and weighed, and not to be published abroad; though I 5 shoulde perchance herin move some thinges that weare openly not to be spoken, as in suche cases of disputation is requisite; yet havinge respecte to what ende they be spoken, I trust they can offend no man. For harde weare it to heale the sore that a man would not haue opened to his 10 phisition, nor yet of a surfette that a man would not declare the occasion therof. Therefore nowe that kinde of reson-  
 inge semethe to me best, for boltinge oute of  
 Why the booke is made by way of dialogue. the truthe, which is used by waie of dialoge, or colloquie, where reasons be made to and fro, 15 as well for the mattier intended, as against it. I thought it best to taikethat waye in the discourse of this mattier, which is in rehersinge the common and vniuersall greifes that men complaine on now a dayes. Secondly in boltinge oute the veraye causes and occasions of the same. Thirdly 20 and finally in devisinge of remedies for all the same. Therefore I will declare vnto youe what communication a knight tould me there was  
 The some of the whole booke. [f. 3] betwene him and certeyne other persons of late aboute this mattier, which, bycause it hapned betwene suche persons as 25 weare members of everie state that find them selues greved now a dayes and touched those mattiers (as me thought) well, I thought it not mete to be forgotten. The persons weare these. A knight as I first sayde, a merchaunte man, a doctor, a husbandman and a craftes man. The 30 knight rehersed the comunicacion thus.



## The first Dialogue.

[f. 3<sup>b</sup>]

KNIGHT. After I, and my felowes the Iustices of peace of this countrie, had the other daye declared the kinges highnes commission towching inclosures, and [geven] the chardge to the enquest, I beinge bothe werie with the heate  
5 of the people and noyse of the same, thought to steale to a frendes house of myne in the towne, which sellethe wine, to the intent to eate a morsell of meate, (for I was as then fastinge,) takinge with me an honest husbandman, whom for his honestie and good descretion I loved verie well. Whether  
10 as we weare come, and had scante sitte downe in a close parlor, theare comes in a merchaunte man of the citie, a man of estimacion and substaunce, and requires the saide husbandman to goe and dyne with him; Nay (quoth I) I trust he will not nowe forsake my companie, though he  
15 should fare better with youe.

MERCHAUNTE. Then quoth the merchaunte, I will home for a pastie of venyson that I haue theare, and for a frend of myne and a neighbour that I had bed to dinner. And we shall be so bold as to make merie with all heare in youre  
20 Companie. And as for my gest he is no straunger vnto youe [f. 4] neither; and therefore both we of youre and youe of his companie I trust wilbe the gladder.

KNIGHT. Who is it?

MERCHAUNTE. It is Doctour Pandotheus.

KNIGHT. Is it so? on my faith he shall be hartely welcome. For of him we shall haue some good communication and wise; for he is noted a learned and wise man. Anone the merchaunte sendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, and withall an honest man, a capper of the same towne, 5 which came to speake with the sayde merchante. Then after salutacions had (as youe knowe the maner is) betwene me and maister doctor, and renewinge of old acquaintance which had bene longe afore betwene vs, we satte all downe. And when we had eaten somewhat to satisfie the sharpenes 10 of our stomackes, the doctor sayde to me

DOCTOR. On my faith youe trouble youre selues and make to other muche adoe, youe that be Iustices of everie countrie, youe in sittinge vpon commysions almost wekely, and they in appearinge before youe and leavinge their 15 husbandrie vnlooked to at home.

[f. 4 b] KNIGHT. Surely it is so, yet the kinge must be serued and the common weale. For God and the kinge hathe not sent vs the poore lyvinge we haue, but to doe services therfore emonge our neighbours abroad. 20

DOCTOR. It is well if youe take it so; for nature hath grafted that perswacion in youe and all other that folowe the clear light of nature; as learned men haue  
 Plato. remembred, sayinge, We be not borne to our selues but partly to the vse of oure countrie, of oure 25 parentes, of oure kinsfolkes, and partly of oure Cicero. freindes and neighbours; and therefore all goode vertues are grafted in vs naturally, whose affectes be to doe  
 That men are good to others, whan it shewethe furthe the not borne to Image of god in man, whose propertie is ever 30 onely. to doe good to others, to distribute his goodnes to others abroad, like no nygarde nor envious thinge. Other creatures, as they resemble nothinge of that godly

Image, so they studie no common vtilitie of other, but only the conseruacion of them selues and propagation of their owne kynd. Wherefore yf we looke to be reckened most vnlike them most vile, and likest to god most excellent, 5 let vs doe goode to others, not prefarringe the ease of this [f. 5] carkasse, which is like the brute beastes, but rather the vertue of the mynde wherin we be like to god him selfe.

HUSBANDMAN. For all youre paynes (meaninge by me) and all yours also I would haue had never worse commissions 10 in hand then this is. So we had lost more dayes workes at oure husbandrie then this.

KNIGHT. Why so?

HUSBANDMAN. Marie for these inclosures doe undoe vs all, for they make vs paye dearer for our land that we 15 occupie, and causes that we can haue no land in maner for oure monye to put to tillage; all is taken vp for pastures, \* either for shepe or for grasinge of Cattell. So that I haue knowen of late a docen plowes with in lesse compasse then 6 myles aboute me laide 20 downe with in these [vij] yeares; and wheare xl persons had their lyvinges, nowe one man and his shepard hathe all. Which thinge is not the least cause of these vprors, for by these inclosures men doe lacke livinges and be idle; and therefore for verie necessitie they are desirous of a chaunge, 25 beinge in hope to come therby to somewhat; and well assured, howe soeuer it befall with them, it can not be no harder with them then it was before. Moreover all thinges are so deare that by their daily labour they are not able to live.

30 CAPPER. I haue well experience therof, for I ame faine [f. 5 b] to give my Iorney men ij<sup>d</sup>. a daye more then I was wonte to doe, and yet they saye they can not sufficiently liue thereon. And I knowe for a truthe that the best husband \* of them

Complaynt of  
inclosures by  
husbandmen.

all can saue but little at the yeares ende ; and by reason of  
 suche dearthe as ye speake of, we that are arti-  
 ficers can kepe few or no prentises like as we  
 weare wonte to doe. Therfore the citie, which  
 was heartofore well inhabited and wealthie, (as  
 ye knowe everie one of youe,) is fallen for lacke of occupiers  
 to greate desolation and povertie.

MERCHAUNTE. So the most parte of all the townes of  
 England, London excepted ; and not only the goode townes  
 are decayed sore in their houses, stretes and  
 other buyldinges, but also the countrie in their  
 high wayes, and bridges ; for suche pouertie  
 reignethe euery where that few men haue so  
 muche to spare as they may give anie thing to  
 the reparacion of suche wayes, bridges and  
 other common easmentes. And albeit there be manie  
 thinges layde downe nowe that to fore times weare occasions  
 of muche expenses, as stage playes, enterludes, maye games,  
 wakes, ravelles, wagers at shootinge, wrestlinge,  
 runninge, and throwinge the stone or barre, and  
 besides that pardons, pylgrimages, offeringes, and  
 manye suche other thinges, yet I perceiue we be  
 never the wealthier but rather the poorer ; wherof  
 it is longe I can not well tell, for there is suche a generall  
 dearthe of all thinges as I neuer knewe the like, not only of  
 thinges growinge within this Realme, but also of all other  
 merchandise that we bye beyonde the seas, as  
 silkes, wynes, oyles, woode, madder, Iron, steyll,  
 wax, flax, linnen clothe, fustians, worstedes,  
 coverlettes, Carpettes and all arrasies and tapsterie, spices of  
 all sortes and all haberdashe wares as paper, bothe whyte and  
 browne, glasses as well drinkinge [and] lookynge, as for  
 glasinge of windowes, pinnes, nedles, kniues, daggers, hattes,

Complaint of  
 the derthe of  
 victualles by  
 artificers.

Complaint of  
 decay of  
 townes by the  
 marchauntmen  
 and of all other  
 commene ease-  
 ments.

[f. 6] Many super-  
 fluons things  
 leid downe and  
 yet neuer the  
 more plentye.

Derthe of out-  
 ward merchan-  
 dice.

cappes, broches, buttons, and lases ; I wote well all theise doe cost me more nowe by the third parte well, then they did but seaven yeares agoe. Then all kynde of victuall are [as] dear or dearer agayne, and no cause of godes parte therof, as farre  
 5 as I can perceyue; for I neuer sawe more plentie  
 of corne, grasse and cattell of all sorte, then we  
 haue at this present, and haue had theise iij  
 yeares past continually, thanked be oure lord. Yf theise  
 inclosures weare the cause therof, or anie other thinge els, it  
 10 weare pittie but it weare removed.

Derthe of all  
kynde of victu-  
alles.

KNIGHT. Since ye haue plentie of all thinges of corne [f. 6 b]  
 and cattall as ye saye, then it should not seme this  
 dearthe should be longe of theise inclosures ; for it is not by  
 scarsnes of corne that we haue this dearthe, for thankes be  
 15 to god corne is good cheape, and so hathe bene theise iij  
 yeares past continually. It can not be the occasion of the  
 dearthe of cattall ; for inclosures is the thinge  
 that norishethe most of anie other ; yet I confesse  
 there is a wouderfull dearthe of all thinges ;  
 20 and that doe I, and all men of my sorte, fele  
 most greife in, which haue no wares to sell, or [occupacion]  
 to live by, but only our landes. For youe all thre, I meane \*  
 youe my neighbours the husbandman, and youe maister  
 merchaunt, and youe goodman capper, and all sorte of  
 25 artificers maye saue them selues metely well ; for as muche  
 as all thinges are dearer then they weare, so muche doe youe  
 arise in the price of youre wares and occupacions  
 that youe sell agayne ; but we haue nothings to  
 sell, whearby we might aduaunce the price therof,  
 30 to countervalew those thinges that we must bie  
 agayne.

That enclosure  
shold not be  
the cause of  
this dearthe.

That gentil-  
men feele  
moste greef by  
this dearthe.

HUSBANDMAN. Yes, youe rase the price of  
 youre landes, and youe take fermes also and

The complaint  
of craftsmen

against genti- pastures into youre handes, which was wounte to  
 men for tak- be poore mens livinges, suche as I am, and gentle-  
 ynge of fermes. men [owght to] live only vppon their landes.

[f. 7]

MERCHAUNTE AND CAPPER. On my soule ye saie truthe,  
 quoth the merchaunte man, and the capper also saide no 5  
 lesse, addinge therto that it was neuer merie with poore  
 craftes men since gentlemen became grasiers; for they can  
 not now a dayes fynde their prentises and servantes meate  
 and drinke, but it cost them almost duple as muche as it  
 did afore time; wherfore wheare manie of my ocupacion, 10  
 and other like heartofore [haue] died riche men, and bene able  
 to leave honestly behinde them for their wiues and children,  
 and besides that leave some notable bequest for some goode  
 dede, as to make a bridge, to repaire highe wayes (which  
 thinges goe all to wracke everie wheare) or to by some 15  
 landes to healpe the poore beginners of the occupation; yea  
 somtime they hadd suche superfluitie as they could over  
 suche bequestes leaue an other porcion to fynde a preist or  
 to founde a chauntrye in some parishe churche. And now  
 we are scante able to liue withoute debt, or to kepe anie 20

seruauntes at all, except it be a prentise or two;  
 and therefore the Iorney men, what of our  
 ocupacion, and what of clothiers or other occu-  
 pacions, beinge forced to be withoute worke,  
 are the most parte of these rude people that 25  
 make these vproes abroad, to the greate  
 disquiet not only of the kynges highenes, and also of his  
 people. And nede as youe knowe hathe no boote.

The crafts  
 mans com-  
 plaint that he  
 cannot set men  
 on worke for  
 the derthe of  
 victuall.

[f. 7<sup>b</sup>] MERCHAUNTE. It is true youe knowe what notable actes  
 men of my ocupacion likewise haue done in this Citie 30  
 before this; ye knowe the hospitall at this townes ende; it  
 was founded not verie longe agoe by one of our ocupacion.  
 And the custome of this citie, howe it was redemed by my

father in lawe of late, supposinge therby that the citie should be muche releved, which then was in some decaye. And yet it decayethe still more and more; wherof it should belonge I can not well tell.

- 5 KNIGHT. Sir, I knowe it is true ye complayne not with oute a cause. So it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all gentlemen, haue as greate, yea a far greater, cause to complayne then anie of youe haue; for as I sayed nowe that the price of thinges weare risen of all handes,
- 10 youe may better live after youre degree then we, for youe may and doe raise the price of youre wares, as the price of victualles and other necessaries [doo rise]. And so can not we so muche; for thoughe it be true that of suche landes as
- 15 come to oure handes, either by purchace or by determination and endinge of suche termes of yeares or other estates thát I or my auncestor had graunted thearin in times past, I doe either receive a better fyne then of old was vsed, or enhaunce the rent therof, beinge forced therto for the chardge of my [f. 8]
- 20 howshold that is increased over that it was, yet in all my life time I looke not that the thirde parte of my lande shall come to my dispocition, that I maye enhaunce the rent of the same; but it shalbe in mens holdinges, either by lease or by copie, graunted before my time, and still contynuinge,
- 25 and yet like to continewe in the same estate, for the most parte duringe my life, and perchaunce my sonnes; so as we can not rayse all our wares, as youe maye yours, and me thinkes yt weare reason we did. And by reason we can not, so many of vs as haue departed (as ye knowe) oute of the
- 30 Countrie of late, haue bene driven to give over oure houshold, and to kepe either a chambere in london, or to waight on the courte vncalled, with a man and a lacky after him, wheare he

The genti-  
mans com-  
plaint howe he  
cannot keepe  
lyke counten-  
aunce as he  
was wont to  
doo.

Why genti-  
men geue over  
their hous-  
holdes.

was wonte to kepe halfe a score cleane men in his house, and xx<sup>tie</sup> or xxx<sup>tie</sup> other persons besides, everie day in the weke. And suche of vs as doe abyde in the Countrie still, can not with ij<sup>C</sup> li. a yeare kepe that house, that we might haue done with ij<sup>C</sup> markes but xvj<sup>th</sup> yeares agoe. And 5 therfore we are forced either to minyshe the third parte of our houshold, or to raise the thirde parte of oure Revenues. And for that we can not so doe of oure landes, that is

Why gentil-  
men take  
fermes to their  
handes.

alreadie in the handes of other men, many of vs are forced either to kepe parte of their owne 10 landes when they fall into their owne possessions, or to purchase some ferme of other mens landes, and to store it with shepe or some other cattall, to helpe to [make] vp the decaye of their revenues and to maintaine their old estate with all. And yet all is litle 15 enoughe.

HUSBANDMAN. Yea, those shepe is the cause of all these mischeives, for they haue driven husbandrie oute of the countrie, by the which was encreased before all kynde of victuall, and now altogether shepe, shepe. It was far better 20

Complaint a.  
gainst sheep.

whan there was not only shepe enoughe, but also oxen, kye, swyne, pigges, geese and capons, egges, butter and chese, yea, and bred corne and mault corne enoughe besides, and altogether rered vpon the same land. 25

DOCTOR. Then the doctor, that leaned on his elbowe all this while musinge, sat vp and sayed, I perceiue by youe there is none of vs all but haue iust cause to complayne.

CAPPER. By my faithe, except it be youe men of the 30 church, which travell nothinge for youre livinge and yet haue enoughe to live on, and haue no chardge in your handes as we haue.



DOCTOR. Ye saye truthe indede, we haue least cause to complaine ; yet youe knowe well we be not so plenteous as we haue bene. The first fructes and tenthes ar deducted of oure livynges ; yet of the rest we might well haue  
 5 enoughe, yf we might haue quietnes of mynde and consyance withall. And albeit we labour not mucbe with oure bodies as youe saye, yet youe knowe we labour with oure myndes, more to the weaknyng of the same then by anie other bodyly exercise  
 10 we can doe ; as ye maye perceiue by the complexions, how wan oure couler is, howe faynte and sickly be oure bodies, and all for [lacke of] bodily exercise. [f. 9]

CAPPER. Marie, I would (if I weare one of the kynges counsell) provide for youe in that pointe well a medecyne, so  
 15 as youe should nede take no disease for lacke of exercise. I would set youe to the plowghe and carte, for the devell a whit the good doe ye with youre studies, but set men together by the eares. Some with this opinion and some with that, some holdinge this waye  
 20 and some that waye, and some an other, and that so stify as thoughe the truthe must be as they saye that haue the vpper hande in contention. And this contention is not the least cause of these vprors of the people ; some holdinge of the one learninge and some holdinge of  
 25 the other. In my mynde it made no mattier yf theare weare no learned men at all. The doctors  
complaynte for  
men of his  
sorte.

KNIGHT. God forbid, neighebour, that it should be so ; [f. 9 b]  
 how should we haue counsellours then ? how should we haue christian religion tawght vs ? howe should we knowe the  
 30 state of other realmes, and haue conference with them of all other countries, except it weare throughe learninge, and by the benifit of letters ? Complaynte a-  
gainste learnid  
men.

DOCTOR. Care not for that, (good man capper,) youe

shall haue fewe [enowghe of] learned men within a while if this world hold on.

CAPPER. I meane not but I would haue men to write and reade, yea and to learne the languages vsed in countries aboute vs, that we might write oure myndes to them and 5 they to vs, yea and yf we might reade the holie scriptures in oure mother tonge; and as for youre preachinge, except ye agre better, it made no mattier howe litle we had of it; for of diuersitie therof, comes diuers opinions.

DOCTOR. Then ye care for no other science at all but 10 the knowledge of tonges, and to write and reade. And so it appeares well that ye be not alone of that mynde; for nowe a dayes, when men send their sonnes to the vniuersi-  
[f. 10] ties, they suffer them no longer to tarie there then they may haue a litle of the latine tonge; and then they take 15 them away, and bestowe them to be clarkes with some men of lawe, or some Auditor and Receiour, or to be a secretorie to some gentleman or other, and so to get a livinge; wherby the vniuersities be in a maner emptied. And as I thinke wilbe occasion that 20 this Realme within a shorte space wilbe made as emptie of wise and [pollytyque] men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other nations wherof we weare lordes before.

KNIGHT. God forbid that; we that be gentlemen will 25 with oure pollicie in warre provide that we come not in subiection of anie other nation; and this stowness of englishe hartes will never suffer that, though theare weare no learned men in the Realme at all.

DOCTOR. Well, an empire or a kyngdome is not so 30 muche wonne or kept by the manhoode or force of men as it is by wisdom and pollicie, which is gotten  
Whether a  
commen weale chefly by learninge. For we se in all kynde of

gouernaunce, for the most parte the wiser sorte may be well  
 haue the souerayngtie ouer the rude and vn- gouernid with-  
 out Learnynge.  
 learned ; as in every howse the most experte, in everie citie  
 the wisest and most ságe, and in everie common weale the  
 5 most learned, are most commonly placed to governe the rest. [f. 10<sup>b</sup>]

Yea, amonge all nations in the worlde, they that  
 be pollitique and civill doe maister the rest, That the learn-  
 id haue always  
 had the souer-  
 aigntye ouer  
 the vnlearnid.  
 thoughe their [forces] be inferior to the other.

The empires of the Grekes and Romaines doe  
 10 that declare ; emongst whome, like as learninge and wisdome  
 is most estemed, so throughe it their empires was spred  
 abroadest widest, and longest did continewe of all other.  
 And whie should youe thincke it more straunge nowe to be  
 vanquished then other were before time, that reckened  
 15 them selues as stoute men as youe be, the nowe dwellers of  
 this Realme ; as the saxons were [laste] by the Normaynes,  
 and the Brytons by the saxons afore that, and the [Brytayns]  
 by the Romaines first of all.

KNIGHT. There maye be wise men enoughe, thoughe  
 20 they be not learned. I haue knowne men verie wise and  
 pollitique, that knowe never a lettere in the booke ; and con-  
 trarywise, as many other learned men, that haue bene verie  
 Idiottes in maner for anie worldly pollicie that they had.

DOCTOR. I denie not that. I saye that if suche men as  
 25 youe speake of had had learninge to their witte, they had  
 bene more excellent ; and the other, that youe call so simple, [f. 11]  
 had bene foolisher if they had had no learninge at all. Exercise  
 in warres makethe not everie man mete to be a  
 captayne, thoughe he travaill in it never so  
 30 longe ; nor there is none other so [apte] for the  
 warre, but with experience and vse he is made  
 more perfecte. For what makethe old men commonly more  
 wise then the yonger sorte, but their greate experience ?

Whether a man  
 may be wise  
 without learn-  
 ynge.

KNIGHT. Yea, experience helpeth muche to the witte of man, I confesse ; but what dothe learninge therto?

DOCTOR. Yf youe graunte that experience dothe helpe muche, then I doubt not youe will graunte me anon that learninge also dothe helpe muche the encrease of wisdom. 5 Let that then be set for a sure grounde, that experience dothe further wisdom, and take it as it weare the father of wisdom, and memorie to be the mother. For like as ex-

perience dothe begett wisdom as a father, so memorie noriseth it as a mother ; for in vayne 10 should experience be had, if the same weare not kept in Remembraunce. Then if I can shoue youe that bothe experience and also memorie are holpen and furthered by learninge, then

That learn-  
yng supply-  
eth the lake of  
experience,  
and that ex-  
perience is the  
father of Wis-  
dome.

[f. 11 b] youe must nedes graunte me that learninge furthereth the witte 15 and encreaseth it ; yet youe confesse the experience of an old man maketh him wiser then the yonge, because he saw more thinges then the other. But an old man seith but only thinges of his owne time ; and the learned man seith not only his owne times experience, but also that that befell 20 in a greate manie of his auncestors ; yea, since the world began. Therefore he must nedes haue more experience then the vnlearned man of what great age soever he be. Then [so mannye cases] as he seeth in all that time to haue hapned, could not be so well remembred of anie man, as it is kepte 25 in writinge. And then if the vnlearned man once forgette the thinge he sawe, he neuer lightly remembreth it agayne ; wheare as the learned hath his booke to call him to remembraunce of that he should els forget. Therefore as he that liveth an hundreth yeares must nedes haue more experience 30 then he that liveth but L. yeares ; so he that seeth the chaunces of the world (as it weare in a table paynted before [f. 12] him of a thousande yeares) must nedes haue greater experi-

ence then he that lives but one hundred yeares. Also he  
 that travaylethe manie farre countries hathe more experience  
 then other of like age that neuer goethe oute of his native  
 countrie. So he that is learned, seinge by cosmographie,  
 5 histories and other learninge, the right maner and vsage of  
 everie Countrie in the world, yea of manie moe then is  
 possible for one man to travell throughe, [and] of theise that  
 he travaylethe mucche better then he could learne theare by  
 small taryinge, must nedes haue more experience then the  
 10 other traveler that is vnlearned, and consequently more  
 witte, beinge in capacitie and memorie bothe els equivalent.  
 And now I am forced to consider the merveilous gyftes we  
 haue by learninge; that is, how learninge suppliethe vnto  
 man the greatest lacke that some writers haue  
 15 complayned them to be in mankynde, that is  
 the brevitie of age, and the grossnes and hevynes  
 of bodie; wheare in the first divers beastes, as  
 hartes, and manie other, and in the last, all birdes [seame]  
 to excell man. For wheare it is denyed man to live above  
 20 one C. yeares, or theare aboute, by the benifitte of learninge  
 he hathe the commoditie of lyfe of a m. yeares, yea ij or iij [f. 12 b]  
 m. yeares, by reason he seethe the eventes and occurrentes  
 of all that time by bookes. And if he should haue lived  
 him selfe, by all that space, he could haue had nothings els  
 25 to his Commoditie but that experience of thinges; the rest  
 hathe bene but travayle; the which experience he hathe now  
 by letteres, and without anie travayle in maner at all, and  
 withoute the daungers he might him selfe haue bene in, if he  
 had lived by all that space. As to the other poynte, we be  
 30 not so agill and light as fowles and birdes of the ayere be,  
 that we might [discurre] from one place to an other, we  
 haue the commoditie throughe learninge that we should  
 purchase by suche peregrinacions, as well as if we might

The wounder-  
 ful gifts that  
 wee haue by  
 learnynge.

fie from one countrie to an other like byrdes, and yet  
 withe lesse travayle and daunger. Maye we not by cosmo-  
 graphie see the scituation, temperature, and qualities of  
 everie countrie in the world? yea, better and with lesse  
 travayle then if we might fie ouer them oure selues? for  
 [f. 13] that, that many other haue learned throughe their greate  
 Travaylles and daungers, they haue lefte to vs to be learned  
 with ease and pleasure. Can we not also, throughe the  
 scyence of Astronomie, knowe the course of the planettes  
 aboue, and their coniunctions and aspectes, as certeynly as  
 10 yf we weare amongst them? and to the knowledge wherof  
 by sight only we could neuer obteyne, though we weare as  
 agill as anie byrde. What is there els profitable or  
 necessarie for the coniuncte of mans lyfe here in earthe,  
 but in learninge it is taught more perfectly and more  
 15 complete then anie man can learne only by experience all  
 dayes of his life? no, not so muche as youre feate in warre,  
 Sir knight; no, not youre feate, good husband, but that either  
 of them are so exactly taught and set forthe in  
 learninge that neither of youe bothe, though 20  
 youe be neuer so perfecte in the sayde feates,  
 but might learne many pointes moe then euer  
 youe saw by experience in either of them; as youe, Sir  
 knight, in *Vegetius*, and youe, good husbandman,  
 in *Collumella*.

KNIGHT. I saye agayne, might we not haue that in  
 oure englishe tonge, and reade them ouer, though we neuer  
 went to schole?

DOCTOR. Yea, well enoughe; and yet should ye be far  
 from the perfecte vnderstandinge of them, excepte ye had  
 30 [f. 13<sup>b</sup>] the heale of other sciences; that is to saye of Arithmetik in  
 disposing and orderinge of youre men; and Geometrie in  
 devising of Ingynes, to wyne townes and fortresses, and of

brydges to passe ouer; in which Cæsar excelled other, by  
 reason of the learninge he had in those thinges, and dyd wonderfull feates, which anie vn-  
 learned man could neuer hauē done. And yf  
 5 ye had warre on the sea, how could youe knowe  
 towarde what coste ye be sea driven, withoute  
 knowledge of the laitude of the place by the poolle, and  
 the lengthe by the starres? And now to youe, husbandman,  
 for the perfection of the knowledge of husbandrie, ye had  
 10 nede of the knowledge in Astronomie; as vnder what  
 aspecte of the planettes, and in the entrie of what signe by  
 the sonne and mone, it is time the earthe to dounge, to  
 sowe, to reape, to set, to grafte, to cut youre woodde, youre  
 timbere; yea, to haue some Judgementes of the weather that  
 15 is like to come, and for mowinge of youre corne and grasse  
 and howsinge of the same, and howsinge youre cattail; yea  
 of some parte of physike called *veterinaria*, wherby youe  
 might knowe the deaseases of youre beastes, and heale them.  
 Then for true measuringe of Lands, had you not nede of  
 20 some knowleidge in Geometrie to be a perfect husband?  
 Then in buyldinge, what carpenter or mason is [so] conninge [f. 14]  
 or experte but he might learne more by readinge of Vitruuius  
 and other that write of *Architectura*, that is to say the science  
 of buyldinge? And to passe ouer the sciences of logique  
 25 and Retorique, wherof the first travelles aboute the descrip-  
 tion of the true reason from the false, the other aboute the  
 perswation of that that is to be set furthe to the people, as a  
 thinge to them profitable and expedient, wherof a goode  
 and a perfecte counsellour might wante none of bothe well.  
 30 Tell me what counsell can be perfecte, what common weale  
 can be ordered and vpright, wheare none of the rulers or  
 counsailers haue studied anie philosophie, and specially that  
 parte that teachethe of maners? The other parte of

How Cæsar  
 excellyd al  
 other capitayns  
 by reson of his  
 great lernyng  
 ioined with his  
 prowes.

philosophie I passe ouer now, which teachethe of natures,  
 That know- and is called phisique. What parte of the  
 lege in moral philosophye is common weale is neglected by morall philo-  
 philosophye is moste neces- sophie? dothe it not teache firste howe euerie  
 sarye for a counsellor. man should governe him selfe honestly and 5  
 profitably? Secondlie, howe he should guyde his familie  
 wisely; and thirdly, it shewithe how a Citie or Realme  
 or anie other common weale should be well ordered and  
 governed, bothe in time of peace and also in warre. What  
 common weale can be withoute either a governour, or 10  
 counsaylour, that should be experte in this kynde of learn-  
 [f. 14 b] inge? This concernethe the pointe that we now talke of; if  
 men expert of this science weare counsailed and folowed,  
 the common weale should be ordered as few should haue  
 cause to complaine. Therfore Plato, that devine 15  
 Plato. philosopher, saide that happie is that common  
 weale wheare either the kynge is a philosopher, or wheare  
 a philosopher is the kynge.

KNIGHT. I wened before that there had bene no other  
 learninge in the worlde, but that these men had that be 20  
 doctours of divynitie, or of the lawe, or of phisique; wherof  
 the first had all his connyng in preachinge, the second in  
 mattiers of spirituall lawe, and the third in phisique, and  
 lookinge of folkes waters that weare sicke; marie, youe tell  
 me now of manie other sciences, verie necessarie for everie 25  
 common weale, which I neuer hard of before; but either  
 there be few of these doctors that can skill of them, or els  
 they disclose but little of their connyng.

DOCTOR. Of truethe there be to few of them that  
 can skill of these sciences nowe a dayes; and of those that 30  
 be, fewe are estemed anie thinge the more for their  
 knowledge therein, or called for to anie counsell. And  
 therefore others, seinge these sciences nothings estemed or



set by, they fall to other sciences that they see in some [f. 15] price, as to divinitie, or to the lawe, and to phisique; though they can not be perfecte in none of these without knowledge of the sciences above towched. And therefore it is ordeyned by the vniuersities that first men should be bachelers, and maisters of arte, ere they should medle with divinitie. And these artes be the Seaven Liberall Sciences; as Gramer, Logicque, Retorique, Arithmaticque, Geometrie, musicke, and Astronomy. And now they steppe ouer, and fall to divinitie by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them anie Judgement throughe the foresaide sciences; which makes them to fall to these dyuersities of opinions that we speake of nowe. For all beginners in everie science be verie quicke, and over hastie in givinge their Judgements of thinges, (as experience teacheth everie man); and then, when they haue once vttered and published their Judgements and opinions, they will see nothing that will [sounde] contrarie [to] the same, but either they will conster it to their owne fantasie, or vtterly denie it to be of anie auctoritie. Pythagoras, to his schollers that came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for 5 yeares, that by all that space they should be hearers only, and not reasoners; and in this science, everie boy that hath not redde scripture past halfe a yeare shalbe suffered not only to reason and inquire thinges, (for that weare tollerable,) but \* to affirme new and straunge interpretations vpon the same neuer heard of before. What ende of opinions can there be while this is suffered? Also Plato forbad anie man to come to his scole that was ignorante of Geometrie. And to this highe scole of divinitie, he that knoweth

What maketh  
learnide menne  
to be so fewe.

Younge stu-  
dents be al-  
ways ouer hasty  
in vtterynge  
their Judge-  
ment.

Pythagoras  
commaundid  
silence to his  
disciples for a  
tyme. [f. 15 b]

Plato com-  
maundid that  
no man ignor-

rant in geometrie, not his gramer, muche lesse anie other science,  
 trye shold shalbe admitted at the first, and I say not to learne,  
 entre into his (for that might be suffered,) but to iudge; and  
 scoole. theare cometh in the thinge that the same Plato sayeth to  
 be [an] only cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a common weale 5  
 wheare it is vsed; that is when they take vpon them the  
 Iudgements of thinges to whom it dothe not  
 What harme apperteyne; as youthe of thinges perteyninge  
 may comme yf they he suffered to iudge a  
 ed to iudge a to old men, children ouer their fathers, ser-  
 thyng to uauantes ouer their maisters, and private men 10  
 whom that ouer their magistrates. What Shippe can longe  
 dothe not ap- be safe from wracke, wheare euerie man will  
 pertaygne. take vpon him to be a pilate? what house well gouerned,  
 [f. 16] wheare euerie seruaunt will take vpon him to be a maister or  
 teacher? [I spake so myche of the Comendacion of learn- 15  
 ynge, not onelye bycause I harde my frendde here, the  
 Cappere, sette lyttle by learnynge], but also that I see  
 [manye] now a dayes of this opinion; which care nothinge  
 for anie other knowledge, but only that they may write,  
 and reade, and learne the tonges; whom I can resemble 20  
 well to men that esteme the barcke more then the tree,  
 and the shell more then the kernell. Wherefore they seme  
 to take the bright sonne from the earthe, that would take  
 awaye learninge from vs; for the sonne is no more neces-  
 sarie for the encrease of all thinges on the 25  
 earthe, then learninge for the encrease of Civilitie,  
 That it is not learninge sufficient to knowe  
 sufficient to knowe the tounge and  
 the tounge and to wryte. wisdome, and pollicie emonge men. And as  
 muche as a reasonable man dothe excell all  
 other creatures by the gyftes of Reason, so muche excelleth  
 a learned man anie other, throughe the polishinge and 30  
 orderinge of reason by these sciences.

KNIGHT. Youe sayde ere while, to my neighbour  
 Capper, that we should haue learned men few enoughe

with in a while, if the world did continew. What meane youe therby, and what should be the cause therof?

DOCTOR. I shewed youe alreadie one greate cause of the same; that was, wheare I shewed youe that most men  
 5 weare of that opinion, that they thought it <sup>Why</sup> learninge enoughe to write and reade. An <sup>learn-</sup> yinge <sup>sholde</sup> other cause is they se no preferment ordeyned <sup>decaye.</sup> [f. 16 b]  
 for learned men, nor yet anie honour or estimation given them, like as hath bene in times past, but rather the  
 10 contrarie; the more learned the more troubles, losses, and vexacions they come to.

KNIGHT. How so? God forbid.

DOCTOR. Marie, haue youe not sene how manie learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within these xij or  
 15 xvj yeares, and all for declaringe their opinions in thinges that haue risen in controversie? haue youe not sene whan one opinion hath bene set furthe, and who so ever saide against it weare put to trouble; and shortly after that, whan the contrarie opinion was furthered and set furthe, weare not  
 20 the other, that prospered before, put to trouble for sayinge their myndes against the latter opinions? And so neither parte escaped busines; either first or laste he came to it, of whether side so euer he was; excepte it weare some wise  
 25 fellowes, that could change their opinions as the more and stronger parte did change theirs. And what weare they that came to these troubles? the singulerst fellowes of  
 bothe partes; for there came none other to the concertation [f. 17]  
 of these thinges but suche; who, sekyng honour and preferment, weare with dishonour and hinderance recom-  
 30 pensed for a rewarde of learninge. A man will rather put his child to that science, that maye bringe him to better fructe then this, or what scholler shall haue anie courage to studie to come to this ende? And the rarietie of schollers

and solitude of the vniuersities dothe declare this to be truer then anie man with speache can declare.

MERCHAUNTE. Then I perceiue, euerie man findethe him selfe greued at this time, and no man goeth clear, as far as I can perceiue; the gentleman, that he can not live 5  
 on his landes onely, as his father did before.  
 That euery state fyndith hymself greevede. The artificer can not set so manie on worke, by reason all maner of victualles is so deare. The husbandman, by reason of his londe, is dearer rated then before hathe bene. Then we that be merchauntes 10  
 paye dearer for euerie thinge that comethe ouer the sea, even by the thirde parte well; and because they of beyonde the sea will not receive oure monie for their wares, as they weare glad in times past to doe, we are fayne to bie Englishe wares for them; and that dothe cost vs dearer by the thirde 15  
 parte, [yea,] almost the one halfe dearer then [they] did before [f. 17 b] time; for we paye viij<sup>s</sup>. for a yearde of clothe, that with in these ten yeares we might haue bought for iij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.; when we haue thus deare bought outlandishe ware, then we haue not so goode [vente] of them agayne, as we haue had 20  
 before time, by reason there be not so manie byers for lacke of power; though in deade in suche thinges [as] we sell, we consider the price we bought them at.

DOCTOR. I doubt not if anie men haue licked them selues whole youe be the same, for what oddes soeuer 25  
 there happen to be in [exchange] of thinges, youe that be merchauntes can espie it anone; ye lurched some of the coyne as sone as euer ye perceived the price of that to be enhanced; ye, by and by perceiuing what was to be wonne there in 30  
 beyonde the sea, raked all the old coyne for the moste parte in this realme, and founde the means to haue it caried ouer; so as litle was lefte behind  
 That Marchaunts can beste save them selves in euery alteracion. Of our owlde coyne exhausted.

within this Realme of suche old coyne at this daye ; which, in my opinion, is a greate cause of this dearthe that we haue now of all thinges.

K.NIGHT. How can that be? what makethe  
 5 it the mattier what sorte of coyne we haue  
 emongst oure selues, so it be currente from one  
 hand to an other, yea, if it weare made of lether?

Whether it  
 make any mat-  
 tier of what  
 mettall the  
 coyne be made.

DOCTOR. Ye see, men commonly saie so ; but the [f. 18]  
 truethe is contrarie ; as not only I could prove by common  
 10 reason, but also that profe and experience hathe alreadie  
 declared the same. But nowe we doe not reason of the  
 causes of these greiffes, but what state of men be greived in  
 dede by this dearthe of thinges ; and albeit I finde euerie  
 man greved by it in one thinge or other, yet consideringe that,  
 15 as manie of them as haue wares to sell, doe enhaunce as  
 muche in the price of all thinges that they sell as was  
 enhaunced before in the price of thinges that they must bie ;  
 as the merchante, if he bie dear, he will sell deare agayne.  
 So the artificers, as Cappers, clothiers, show-  
 20 makers and farriers, haue respecte large enoughe,  
 in sellinge theire wares, to the price of victuall,  
 woll and yron, which they bie. I haue sene a  
 cappe for xiiij<sup>d.</sup>, as good as I can get now for ij<sup>s.</sup> vj<sup>d.</sup> ; of  
 clothe ye haue heard how the price is risen. Then a payer  
 25 of shooes costethe me xij<sup>d.</sup> now, that I haue in my dayes  
 bought a better for vj<sup>d.</sup> Then I can get neuer a horse  
 shodde vnder x<sup>d.</sup> or xij<sup>d.</sup> [nowe], wheare I haue sene the  
 common price was vj<sup>d.</sup> for showinge of a horse rownd, yea  
 and viij<sup>d.</sup> [at the moste till] now of late. I can not, therfore,  
 30 vnderstand that theise men haue greatest greife by this  
 common and vniuersall dearthe, but rather suche as haue  
 theire Lyvinges and stipendes rated at a certeyntie ; as  
 common laborers at vj<sup>d.</sup> the daye, iorney men of all occu- [f. 18b]  
 pacions, seringe men [at] xl<sup>s.</sup> the yeaere ; and gentlemen

What men are  
 most pinched  
 by this com-  
 men dearthe.

whose landes ar let oute by them or their auncestors either for lives or for terme of yeares, so as they can not enhaunce the rent therof though they would, and yet haue the price enhaunced to them of euerie thinge that they  
 That the kyngs highnes hathe lost most by this vniuersall dearthe. 5  
 bie. Yea the kinges highness, wherof we spake  
 nothinge all this while, as he hathe most of yearly revenues and that certeyne, so hathe he most lost by this dearthe, and by the alteracion especially of the coyne. For like as a man, that hathe a greate nombre of seruauntes vnder him, yf he would graunte 10  
 that they should pay him [pynnes] wekely wheare [before] they payde him [pence], I thincke he should be most looser him selfe. So we be all but gatherers for the kynges maiestie, that be his subiectes ; we haue but everie man a poore lyvinge ; the cleare gaynes comethe for the most 15  
 [parte] to the kynges grace. Now if his grace doe take of vs the overplus of oure gettinge in this new coyne, wheare he was wonte to be paide in other good coyne, I reporte me to youe whether that will goe as farre as the other, in  
 [f. 19] proportion of his necessaries and of the Realme. I thincke 20  
 playnly no ; for though he might, with in his owne realme, haue thinges at his owne price, as his grace can not in deade with oute greate grudge of his magistrates and subiectes ; yea, since his maiestie must haue, from beyonde the seaze, manie thinges necessarie, not only for 25  
 his graces housholde and ornamentes, as well for his graces person and familie, as of his horsse, which (percase) might be by his grace somewhat moderated : but also for the furniture of his warres, which by no meanes can be spared ;  
 as armour, and all kindes of artillarie, anckers, cables, pitche, 30  
 tarre, yron, steile, handgonns, gonpowder, and manie other thinges moe then I can recken, which his grace must nedes buye from beyonde the seas, at the price the straunger will set him them at. I passe ouer the enhauncement of the chardges of his graces household, which is common to his 35

grace with all other noble men. [Therefore,] I saie, his maiestie hathe most losse, by this common dearthe, of all other; and not only losse, but daunger to the Realme and all his subiectes, if his grace should  
 5 wante treasure to purchase the sayde habylimentes and necessaries for warre, or to fynde soldiers in time of nede, which passethe all other privat losses that we spake of.

What dangier shold it be to the Realme yf the king shold want treasure in time of neede.

CAPPER. We heare saye, that the kynges maiestie [f. 19<sup>b</sup>]  
 10 maketh vp his losses that waie by the gaynes which he hathe by the minte an other waye. If that be to short, he suppliethe that lacke by subsidies and impositions of his subiectes, so as his grace can not lacke, so longe as his subiectes haue it.

DOCTOR. Youe say well theare. So longe as the subiectes haue it, so it is mete the kyng should haue it; but what and they haue it not? for they can  
 not haue it, when there is no treasure lefte within the realme. And as touchinge the mynte,  
 20 I accompte the profite muche like, as if a man would take his woodde vp by the rootes, to make [the more proffytte therof at one tyme, and ever after to lose] the profite that might growe therof yearly, or to pull the wooll of his shepe by the  
 25 roote. And as for the subsidies; how can they be large when the subiectes haue litle to departe with? and yet that waye of gatheringe treasure is not alwayes most salfe for the princes suertie; for we se manie times the profites of suche subsidies spent in appeasinge of the people that are moved  
 30 to sedition partly by occasion of the same.

Howe the kyng can not haue treasure, when his subiects haue none.

To what profit the newe mynt was like.

KNIGHT. Now that it was oure chauce to mete with so wise a man as youe be, (maister doctor,) I would that we did goe throughe with the hole discourse of this mattier; and like as hetherto we haue ensearched the verie soares [f. 20]

and greifes that euerie man felethe, so to trie oute the causes of them ; and the causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be sone apparante. And thoughe we be not the men that can reforme them, yet (percase) some of vs may come in place, wheare we may aduertise other of the same, and might further and helpe forwarde the redresse of these thinges.

DOCTOR. In godes name, I am contente to bestowe this daye to satisfie youre pleasure ; and thoughe this communication (percase) should doe no greate good, yet it can doe no greate harme, (I trust,) nor offend no man, sithe it is taulke emonge vs and in good maner.

KNIGHT. [No,] what man should be angrie with him that weare in a house, and espiethe some faulte in the beames or rafters of the same, and would of the defaulte certefie the goodman of the house therof, or some other dwellinge therin, as well for his safegarde as for others? But for as muche as we haue thus farre proceded, as to the findinge oute of the greifes, which as farre as I perceave standethe in these pointes ; oure dearthe of all thinges, though theare be scarsnes of nothings, desolation of countries for Inclosures, desolation of townes for lacke of occupacions and craftes, and devisiion of opinions in mattiers of religion, which halethe men to and fro, and makethe them to contend one agaynst an other. Now let vs goe to the gardeyn vnder the vyne, wheare is a goode, freshe and colde sitting in the shadowe for vs, wheareas we may procede further in this mattier at leisure ; and I will bespeake oure supper withe myne hoste heare, that we may all suppe together. On goddes name, quoth everie one of the companye, for we are verie wearye of sittinge so longe heare. And so we all departed to the Gardeyn.

A recapitulation of the commenne greues.

[f. 20b]



## The seconde Dialogue.

[f. 21]

KNIGHTE. When we had walked vp and downe in the said gardein a preatie while, I thought longe till I herde more of the said doctoures communication ; for he semed to me a verye wise man, not after the common sorte of these 5 clerckes wich can taulke nothinge but of the facultie which they professe ; as if they be deuines, of devynitie ; lawers, of lawe ; and phisicions of phisique only. This man speaketh very naturally of euey thinge, as a man vniuersally sene, that had ioyned good Learninge with good witt. And 10 therefore I desired hime and the rest of oure companyons to Resort agayne to the matters that we left off. And first, to search and discourse what should be the cause of the said common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges, sayinge to the doctor thus: I mervayll much, 15 maister doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth ; seinge all thinges are (thanckes be to gode) so plentifull. There was neuer more plentie of cattell then there is nowe, and yet [it] is scarcitie of thinges which commonly maketh \* dearth. This 20 is a meruelous dearthe, that in such plentie cometh, contrary to his kynd.

That it is a merueilous dearth that comithe in tyme of plentie.

DOCTOR. Sir, yt is a thinge (no dowbt) to be mused [f. 21 b] vpon, and worthie of Inquisition ; lett me heare euey mans opinion of yours, and then youe shall heare myne.

HUSBANDMAN. I thincke it is longe of youe gentlemen  
 that this dearth is, by reason youe enhance  
 yourer landes to such an height, as men that  
 liue theron must nedes sell deare againe, or els  
 they were not able to make the rent againe. 5

KNIGHT. And I saie it is longe of youe husbandmen,  
 that we are forced to raise oure rentes, by reason  
 we must bye all thinges so deare that we haue  
 of youe ; as corne, cattail, goose, pigge, capon,  
 chicken, butter, and egges. What thinge is there 10  
 of all these thinges, but ye sell yt dearer nowe by the one  
 halfe then ye did within these viij yeres? Can not youre  
 neihbours in this towne Remember that within these viij  
 yeares youe could bie the best pigge, or goose, that I could  
 laie my handes one for iiij<sup>d</sup>. which nowe cost me viij<sup>d</sup>.; and 15  
 a good Capon for iij<sup>d</sup>. or iiij<sup>d</sup>., a chicken for a peny, a hen  
 for ij<sup>d</sup> , which now will cost me double the mony ; and yt is  
 likewise of greate ware, as of mutton and beife.

[f. 22] HUSBANDMAN. I graunt that ; but I saie youe and youre  
 sort, men of Landes, are the first cause therof, by reason 20  
 youe rayse youre Landes.

KNIGHT. Well, if youe and all youre sort will agree  
 therto, that shalbe holpen ; vndertake youe, that youe and  
 youre sort will sell all thinges at the price ye did  
 xx<sup>ty</sup> yeres agoe, and I dowl not to bringe all 25  
 gentlemen to let vnto youe theyre landes at the  
 rent they went at xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres agoe. And that the  
 fault is more in youe that be husbandmen then in vs that  
 be gentlemen, it appeareth by this. All the land in the  
 Realme, nor yet the one half, is [not] enhanced ; for some 30  
 haue takinges therin, as leses or copies not yet expired, wich  
 cannot be enhanced, though the owners wold. And  
 noble men and gentlemen therbe, that whan there landes

The occasion of  
 this dearth is  
 laid to the  
 gentilmen.

From the gentil-  
 man it is laide  
 to the husband-  
 man.

The gentle-  
 mens offer be-  
 ynge resonable  
 and excuse.

be at their disposition, yet they will enhance nothinge about the old rent; so as the most part of the landes of this Realme stand yet at the old Rent. And yet neuertheles there is none at all on your sort, but they sell all they haue  
 5 derer then they were wont to doe by thone half. And yet these gentlemen that doe enhance their Rentes, doe not [f. 22 b] enhance yt to the dowble; though I confesse that some of vs, that had landes given vs by the kinges highnes, that belonged heretofore to Abbayes and priories, and were neuer  
 10 surueyhed to the vttermost before, or otherwise descended vnto vs, haue enhanced [manye] of them about the old rentes; yet all that amounteth not to half the landes of the Realme.

DOCTOR. Howe saie youe? he sayeth well to youe nowe; will youe sell your wares as youe were wounte to doe, and  
 15 he will lett youe haue his landes at the Rent youe were accustomed to haue? When the husbandman had paused a while he said,

HUSBANDMAN. Yf I had the price of all thinges that I must pay for besides brought downe, I wold be contented, or els not.

20 DOCTOR. What thinges be those?

HUSBANDMAN. Marie, Iron for the ploughes, harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for my shepe; shewes, cappes, linnen and wollen cloth for my meiney; which, If I should bye neuertheles as deare as I doe  
 25 nowe, and yet sell my wares as good cheape, (though my Rent were thereafter abated,) except the other thinges aforesaid myght abate [in] price together, I could neuer liue.

The husbandman refusith and puts ouer the fault to yron mongers and clothiers.

DOCTOR. Then I perceiue youe must haue the price of [f. 23] 30 other thinges qualified, as well as the rent of your Landes, or youe can aforde your wares good cheape.

HUSBANDMAN. Yea, but I thincke yf the land were brought downe, that the prices of all other thinges wold fall with all.

DOCTOR. Graunte that all the landlordes in this Realme wold with one consent agree that their landes should be in their tenauntes handes at the lyke rent they were xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres agoe ; ye said before ye could not sell youre wares as good cheape as ye might xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres agoe, because of  
 If all landes were abated in their rents whether this dearth wold be remedied. the price that is rayseed on other thinges that ye must bie. And if youe would saye, that those men [sholde] be driven againe to sell those wares that ye bie first better cheape and then youe will sell youres therafter, I praie youe howe might they be compelled to doe so. They be strangers, and not within obedience of oure soueraigne lord, that doe sell such wares ; as yron, tar, flax and other. Then consider me, if youe cannot compell them, wether yt were expedient for vs to leue strangers to sell their commodities deare, and we oures good cheape ; yf it weare so, then weare it a great enrichinge of [other Countrys] and impouersishinge of oure owne ; for they should haue much treasure for theirs, and haue oure commodities [from vs for a very lyttyl ; excepte yee coulde deuyce to make one price of ovr comodytyes] emonst oure selves, and an other outwarde, which I cannot se howe yt may be.

KNIGHT. Nay, I will make my neighboures an other reasonable offer, if they refuse this ; let my tenauntes pay me the same coine they were wount to pay xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres agoe, as the first agreement was at the first settinge furth of my landes ; and yet I am content to paye hime for all thinges at the price they goe nowe in the coine curraunt ; and I dowbt not to bringe all other gentlemen to the same agreement.

HUSBANDMAN. Howe cane I doe so ? for I must make my rent of such thinges as I doe rere vppon my takinge,

and of no other thinge cane I make it ; therefore such mony as I receue for my wares, youe must take for my rent.

KNIGHT. Yea, but then let my rent be encreaced as youre paiment is increased after the rate, and yet I am  
5 contented.

HUSBANDMAN. What meane youe by that ?

KNIGHT. I meane this ; ye sell that ye were wont to sell afore time for xx<sup>tie</sup> grotes, nowe for xxx<sup>tie</sup> grotes ; let my rent be encreaced after the proportione and rate ; that is, for  
10 euery xx<sup>tie</sup> grotes old rent, ten [shillynges] of this payment, so as the price of youre wares riseth ; and yet I doe kepe my land at the old stint.

HUSBANDMAN. My bargaine was but to pay for my takinge vi<sup>l</sup>. xiii<sup>s</sup>. iiii<sup>d</sup>. yerely of rent, and I pay that truly ;  
15 youe cane require no more.

KNIGHT. I cannot much saie against that ; but yet I [f. 24] perceau I shalbe a lossor still by this bargaine, thowghe I cannot tell the reason why ; but I perceau youe sell deare that youe liue one, and I good cheape that is my liuinge ;  
20 helpe me, maister doctor, I praie youe, for the husbandmane driueth me to my shiftes.

DOCTOR. Marie, but me thinckes, touchinge the first matter ye did reason of, youe driue hime to his shiftes ; that is, to confesse that the dearth Riseth not at youre handes.  
25 And though he defend hime selfe for his paiment to youe by coulour of a lawe, yet he semeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth youe to take litle for youre lande, and that there is no lawe to constraine hime, but he may sell his wares as deare as he list. It is Inoughe, for youre  
30 purpose, that youe take in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at youre hand : but wheare the price of all thinges encreaseth as they doe, it is reasone youe did raise youre wares, which is youre landes, or to be paid after the

old rate, as when youe did let youre landes, yf youe be compelled to paye for youre prouisione after the new rate ; wee will taulke of that hereafter, or lett that be considered of other men. But lett vs se if the husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape, 5 whether all thinges should be well then. Put the case this ; that the husbandman should be commaunded to sell his wheat at viij<sup>d</sup>. the bushell, Rie at vj<sup>d</sup>., Barley at iiij<sup>d</sup>., his pigge and goose at iiij<sup>d</sup>., his Capon at iiij<sup>d</sup>., his hen at a peny, his chiken at ob., 10 his woll at a marke the tod, Beiffes and muttons after the old price, as In times past hath bene ; he hathe then Inoughe to pay his landlord, as he had in times past ; his landlord againe hath as much rent as he was wount to haue ; and the same, whan the price is set, will goe as farre for the said 15 wares, [whereof] the prices be thus sett, as so much of old coine, paid after the old rate, wold haue donne. All this is yet well ; there is nether tenaunte nor Landlord yet greued. Well let vs goe further. The husbandman must bie yron, salt, tarre, pitche ; and suppose he should be also forced to 20 rere vp flax of his owne, and that the price of cloth, both linnen and wollen, and lether were sett after that rate. The gentleman must bie wines and spices, armor, glasse to glase his howese with all, yron also for tooles, weapons, and other instrumentes necessarie, salt, oyles, and such other diuers 25 thinges more then I cane reckon ; without sume wherof they may in no case liue, as yron and salte, for that is within the Realme, (yet of both is not halfe sufficient for the same,) oiles, tarre, pitche, rosing, wherof we haue none at all ; and without sume therof of the said commodities wold live but 30 grosslie and barbarously, as without wines, spices and silkes ; these must be browght frome beyonde the seas. Shall we bie them as good cheape after the rate. A man wold thincke

Whether yf the husbandman were forced to abate the prices of his stuf this dearthe should be then amended.

[f. 24 b]

yes ; for when strangers should see that, with lesse mony then [f. 25] they weare wont to take for these wares, they maie bie as much of the commodities of this Realme as they weare wont before with more mony, they will be content to take  
 5 the lesse mony, whan it goeth as farre as the more monie went before ; [and] so sell their wares as good cheape ; as, for an example, where they sell nowe a yearde [of Velvet] for xx<sup>s</sup>. or xxij<sup>s</sup>., and paie all that for one tod of woll, weare it not as good for them to sell there velvet for a marke a yerd,  
 10 so they had a tod of woll for a marke ?

KNIGHT. I wold thincke so ; for therbie he should be at no more losse then he is nowe. And so the licke reasone may serue for yron, salt, spices, oyles, pitch, tar, flax, wax, and all other owtwarde Commodities.

15 DOCTOR. Yf I should aske youe this Question, whether they should be Compelled by a lawe to sell there wares so or no, what could youe saie ?

KNIGHT. It maketh no mater whether it weare so or no ; and I thincke they cannot, because they be out of the  
 20 kinges dominions, and at libertie whether they will bringe any to vs or no ; but seinge they may haue all things [here] as good cheape at the price they sell for lesse mony, then they had before for the greate price, they will willinglie bringe their wares and sell them so.

25 DOCTOR. Therof I dowbt, but yet not much ; for I [f. 25<sup>b</sup>] thincke they would sell still at the highest, as they doe nowe, or bringe nothinge to vs at all. For youe must vnderstande they come not always for commodities, but sumtimes to sell theirs here ; knowinge it is here to be best vendable,  
 30 and to bie in other cuntryes other commodities where the same is best cheape ; and sometime to sell in \* one part of the Realme their wares that be most there desired, and to goe to some other part of the Realme for the commodities

that be there most aboundaunt and best cheape ; or partly for oure countrie and partly for an other ; and for that purpose coine vniversally currant is most [commodityous], especially yf they entend to bestowe it in anie other place then where they vnlode their marchandize. And oure coine is not so alowed in other places as it is here ; whearfore the strangers should bare a greate losse yf they should take oure coine for their wares ; they had then rather bringe their wares to other places, where they might haue coine curraunte in all places for it, [that] they might bestowe wheare and when they lyst. Yf They would loke but for oure wares for theirs, thincke ye that they would not studie to bringe to vs such wares, or stufte, as should be [beste] cheape with them and most deare with vs.

KNIGHT. Yea, no dowbt, that is the pollicye of all merchautes.

DOCTOR. What stufte is that, trowe you ?

[f. 26] KNIGHT. Mary, glasses of all sortes, painted clothes and papers, oranges, pippins, cherries, perfumed gloues and such trifles.

DOCTOR. Youe saie well ; they percase attempt vs with such ; and such are good cheape with them that costeth them but their labours ; and their people should els be idle ; yet these thinges be sumwhat, after their prices, in other places vendable as well as here ; but when we fele the lacke of yron, steyle, salt, hempe, flax, and such other, [suche] like wares as youe speake of will not be desired, but reiected, and these other looked for.

That straungers and al marchaunts brynge things that be best chepe with theym and derest wythe vs.

KNIGHT. What other thinges els will they bringe, trowe youe ? Percase silkes, wines, spices, youe meane.



DOCTOR. No, not that, for they be in good price els wheare.

KNIGHT. What then should they haue to vtter vnto vs, that is best cheape with them and dearest with vs?

5 DOCTOR. I will not tell youe it, except it be in youre cares only, nor it weare expedient it weare spoken abrode.

KNIGHT. I praie youe tell me.

DOCTOR. I knowe youe are a man of trust, and of goode zeale towardes the kinges maiestie and his Realme. It is, I  
10 may tell youe, brasse; for it goeth with them for good brasse indede, and therfore good cheape; and heare it What thinge is of that sorte. goeth a great parte for siluer, and therfore dearer with vs; and it is that they will bringe vnto vs.

KNIGHT. Howe? in brasse pottes, pannes and other  
15 vessels of brasse?

DOCTOR. No. So no man will take such stuffe but for brasse indede.

KNIGHT. How then? Then the Doctor whispered in [f. 26b]  
my eare, and tould me that it was coine made beyond the  
20 seas, like in all thinges to oure coine, which they brought ouer in heapes; and whan they see that estemed as siluer, thei bringe that for oure commodities; as for oure wolles, oure fealtes, chese, butter, cloth, tinne, and leade, which thinges euery mane will be glad to sell for the most they  
25 canne gett; and beinge offered of strangers more of oure coine then they may gett within the countrie, they will sell then rather to the strangers then to vs, with whom the price is sett. Then strangers may aforde that coine good cheape, for they make it them selues. And the stuffe is good  
30 cheape that they make yt off, and so they will geue therfore for oure said commodities as much as youe will aske. Then thoughte they made [not] such coine them selves, yet seinge they must pay more for oure wares, or els no man will bringe

it to them, whan he maie haue as much at home of his neighbour, the stranger must nedes haue a consideration of that, in the price of the said owtwarde marchandize, so that they sell, and hould them dearer. And thus by [thone waye] they maie enhaunce our cheif commodities, and giue vs brasse for them, wherewith we cannot bie such other like commodities as we should want, if they were not plentie

Glauci et Diomedis permutatio. with in oure Realme. Much like the exchange that [Glaucus] made with diomedes, whan he gaue to [this] man his golden harnes for his brasen. 10

[f. 27] But the other waie, thei must nedes be brought to sell their wares deare to vs; and then if these husbandmen, and gentlemen, and so all other within this Realme, should be

He that sellithe good chepe and byethe deere shal not lyghtly thryue. compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet bie all thinges deare that come frome beyonde the seas, I cannot see how they should long prosper. I neuer knowe hime that bought deare and sold good cheape, and did vse to doe anie Longe space, that did t/riue. 15

KNIGHT. There maie be searchers made for such coine as youe speake of comminge in, and punishmentes devised theirfore; and for goinge furth of victualles also, that none should passe this Realme. 20

DOCTOR. There maie be \* no devise Imagined so that ye be not deceiued in both pointes, as well in such coine brought in as in victualles brought furth; for manie hedes will devise manie wayes to get anie thinge by; and althoughe we be environed with a goode poole, that is to saie the sea, yet there is to manie posterns to gett in and out of yet vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath a pretie howse with anie family of his owne, and one gate to goe furth at and come in at, [and] the maister of the howse never so attentiuie yet sumwhat shalbe 25 30

It is not possible to kepe

purloyned furth ; much more out of such a large  
 Realme, hauinge so manie waies and posterns  
 to gett furth and come in. And yet if strangers  
 should be content to taik but oure wares for  
 5 theires, what should lett them to auance the price of other  
 thinges, thoughe oures weare good cheape vnto them? And  
 then shall we be still losers, and they at the winninge hand [f. 27<sup>b</sup>]  
 with vs, while they sell deare and yet bie oures good cheape,  
 and consequently enrich themselves and impouerishe vs.  
 10 Yet had I rather auance oure wares in price, as they  
 auance theires, as we now doe ; thowghe some be losers  
 therby, and yet not so manie as should be the other waie.  
 And yet, what busines should therbe in makinge of prices for  
 everie trifle ; for so it would be, yf the prices of anie thinge  
 15 weare abated by commaundement. And theirfore  
 I can not perceauē that, no more [thanne the  
 dearthe hathe rysen at eythere of your handes, so  
 no more] can yt be remedied by anie of youe  
 both, I mean you gentleman and youe husband-  
 20 man ; for yf it rose at either of youre handes, [so] it might be  
 remedied likewise at the same, by releasinge of the thinge  
 againe at either of youre handes, that was the cause of this  
 Dearth. But if either \* youe should release youre rent, or  
 youe the price of youre victalles to the old rate, yet that  
 25 wold not compell strangers to bringe downe the price of  
 theires, as I haue saied ; and so longe as their commodities  
 be Deare, it weare nether expedient, nor yet [could ye] thoughe  
 youe wold, make youre commodities good cheape ; except  
 youe can devise a waie howe to liue without them, and they  
 30 with out youe ; which I thincke impossible ; or  
 els to vse exchange, ware for ware, without coine,  
 as it was before coine was found, as I rede, in  
 the time of homer. Also the Civill Lawe doth the same

our treasure  
 from goyng  
 forthe of the  
 Realme if it be  
 in more estima-  
 tion elsewhere.

That the  
 dearthe rose  
 neither at the  
 gentleman nor  
 the husband-  
 mans hands.

Permutacion of  
 things before  
 Coyne.

affirme. Which thinge weare verie cumbersome, and would  
 [f. 28] Require muche cariadge of wares vp and downe, wheare now  
 by the benifite of coine a man maie by those tokens fetch  
 the ware he lacketh a far of, with owt anie great trowble of  
 Cariadge; and hard weare it readely to find [all wares], that 5  
 the one [hath], might paie the other of equall valew.

HUSBANDMAN. Yf neither the gentleman nor I maie  
 Remedie this matter, at whose handes lieth it to be holpen  
 at then?

DOCTOR. I will tell youe my mynde therin herafter. 10  
 But first let vs beate out the cause of this Dearth. Ther-  
 fore let me learne what other thinge should be the cause  
 therof.

CAPPER. Marie, these Inclosurs and great pasturs are a  
 great cause of the same, whearby men doe turne their 15  
 arable land, beinge a livinge for divers poore men before  
 tyme, nowe to one mans hande. And wheare bothe corne of  
 al sortes, and also cattaille of all kinde, weare reared afore  
 tyme, nowe is there nothinge but only shepe.

Complainte a-  
 ganst sheep  
 masters.

And in stead of some C. or CC. parsons, that 20  
 had their livinges theron, now be there but thre  
 or foure sheppards, and the maister only, that hathe a  
 livinge therof.

DOCTOR. Youe touch a matter that is much to be con-  
 sidered, albeit I take not that only [to be] the cause of this 25  
 dearth at this time; but this I thincke in my mind, that yf  
 that kinde of inclosures doe asmuch increase in xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres  
 to come as it hath done xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres past, it maie come to  
 the great dissolucion and weakninge of the kinges straingthe  
 of this Realme, which is more to be feared then dearth. 30  
 And I thincke it to be the most occasion, of anie thinge ye  
 [f. 28 b] spake of yet, of these wyld and vnhappie vprors emongst  
 vs; for by Reasone of these enclosures manie of the kinges

subiectes haue no grounde to Liue vppon, as they haue had before time, and occupations be not alwaies set on worke all alyke; and therfore the people still encreasinge, and there Liuinges deminished, yt must nedes come to  
 5 passe that a greate parte of the people shalbe Idle and lacke liuinges; and hunger is a bitter thinge to beare. Wherefore, when they lacke, they must murmur against them that haue plentie, and so stirr vp these tumultes.

That enclo-  
 sures is occa-  
 sion of desola-  
 tion and weken-  
 ynge the pour  
 of the Realme.

10 KNIGHT. Experience should seme plainlie to proue that Inclosures should be profitable, and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we se that countries, wheare most Inclosures be, are most wealthie, as essex, kent, devenshire, and such. And I hard a civilian once saie, that it was  
 15 [taken for a] maxime in his lawe, [this] sainge, that which is possessed of manie in common, is neglected of all; and experience sheweth that tennauntes in common be not so good husbandes, as when euery man hath his part in seuerall. Also I haue  
 20 hard saie, that in the most countries beyond the seas, they know not what a common grounde means.

Quod in com-  
 muni posside-  
 tur ab omnibus  
 negligitur.  
 Reasons to defend  
 Enclo-  
 sures.

DOCTOR. I meane not all Inclosures, nor yet all commons, but only of such Inclosures as turneth commonly  
 arrable feildes into pastures; and violent Inclo-  
 25 sures, without Recompence of them that haue right to comez therin; for if land weare seuerallie inclosed, to the intent to continue husbandrie theron, and [f. 29]  
 euerie man, that had Right to commen, had for his portion a pece of the same to him selfe Inclosed, I thincke no harme  
 30 but rather good should come therof, yf euerie man did agre theirt. But it would not sodenly be done; for there be manie a M. Cottagers in england, which, hauinge no landes to liue of their oune but their handie labours, and some

What kynde  
 of enclosures  
 is hurtfull.



refreshinge vpon the said commons, yf they weare sodenly thrust out from that commoditie might make a great tumult and discorde in the common wealth. And percase also, yf men weare suffered to inclose theire groundes, vnder pretence to kepe it still in tillage, within a while after they would turne all to pasture, as we se they doe now to fast, the more is the pittie.

KNIGHT. Yf they find more proffite therby then other wise, why should they not ?

DOCTOR. I can tell youe [well] inowgh why they should not, for they maie not purchase them selues proffitt by that that may be hurtfull to others. But how to bringe them that [they] would not doe so, is all the matter ; for so longe as they find more proffitt by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose, and turne arrable landes to pasture.

KNIGHT. That well maie be restrained by lawes, yf it be thought most proffittable for the common weale ; but all men doe not agre to that poynct.

DOCTOR. I wote well thei doe not, and therefore it weare hard to make a lawe therin, (so manie as haue proffitt by that matter resistinge it). And yf such a law weare made, yet men studiinge still there most profit, would defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

[f. 29<sup>b</sup>] KNIGHT. I haue hard oftentimes much Reasoninge in this matter ; and some, in mainteyninge these Inclosures, would make this Reason. Euerie man is a member of the common weale, and that that is proffittable to one maie be proffittable to another, yf he would exercise the same feat. Therefore that is proffittable to one, and so to a nother, maie be proffittable to all, and so to the common wealth. As a great masse of treasure consisteth in manie pence, and one penny added to a nother, and so to the thrid and

fourth, yt maketh vp the great some ; so eche man, added to a nother, maketh vp the whole bodie of the common weale.

DOCTOR. That Reason is goode, (addinge so much and more to yt). Trew it is that that thinge which is proffitable to eche man by him selue, (so it be not preiudiciall to anie other,) is proffitable to the whole common weale, and not other wise ; or els robbinge and steling, which percase is proffitable to some men, weare proffitable to the whole common weale, which no man will admitt. But this feate of Inclosing is so that, wheare it is proffitable to one man, it is preiudiciall to manie. Therefore I thinke that Reason sufficiently answered.

KNIGHT. Also they will lay for them an other Reason ; sayinge that that is oure owne Commodities should [bee] alwaies aduanced as much as myght be, and these sheapes proffitt is one of the greatest commodities we haue. Therefore yt ought to be aduanced as high as it might be.

DOCTOR. I could answere that argument with like [f. 30] reason as I did the other. Trew it is, we ought to aduance oure owne commodities as much as we can, (so it be not to the [hyndraunce], as much or more, of [owr] other commodities) ; for wheare as the breed of conyes, dere and such like, is a commoditie to this Realme, yet yf we should all turne oure arable gronde to nowrishe that commoditie, and giue vp the plowe, and all other commodities, it weare a greate follie.

Euery commoditie must be so aduanced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greter commodities.

KNIGHT. They will say againe that all gronde is not mete for shepe.

DOCTOR. It is a verie evill gronde but either it servith to breed or to feade them vpon, and yf all that is mete for the one [or for thother were] turned to the maintynance of shepe and no other thinge, wheare shall we haue oure other commodities growe ?

KNIGHT. All can not doe so, though some doe.

DOCTOR. What should let them to doe all that some doe? yea, what should better encourage them to doe then to se them become notable Rich men by the doinge therof, in short time? And then, yf euerie man should doe so, 5 (followinge the example of anie other,) what should ensue therof but a mere sollitude and vtter dissolation to the whole Realme, furnished only with shepe and shepherdes in stead of good men; whearby it might be a pray to oure enymies that first would sett vppon it; for then the shepe 10 masters and their shepherdes could make no resistance to the contrarie.

KNIGHT. Who can let them to make the most advantage of that which is their owne.

DOCTOR. Yes, marie; men may not abuse their owne 15 [f. 30<sup>b</sup>] things to the damage of the common weale; yet for all

No man may  
abuse his owne  
things to the  
preiudice of  
the common  
weale.

this that I se, it is a thinge most necessarie to be provided for; yet I can not perceave it should be the only cause of this dearth. For this Inclosinge and great graisinge, yf it weare occasion of 20 dearth of anie thinge, it muste be of corne cheiflie; and now, these ij or iij yeres paste, we haue had corne good cheape inowghe; and the dearth that was then was most of cattaill, as beafes and muttens; and the breede of these rather encrease then deminishe by pastures and 25 closinges.

KNIGHT. Why should men be then offendid so much with these Inclosures?

DOCTOR. Yes, and not without a great cause; for though these thre or foure yeres past, through the great 30 bountie of god, we haue had much plentie of corne, whearby it hath bene good cheape, one acre beringe as much as two weare wounte commonlie to doe; yet yf these yeres had



chaunced but meanlie fructfull of corne, (no dowbt,) we should haue had as great dearthe of corne as we had of other thinges ; and then it had bene in manor [an] vndoinge of the poore commons. And yf after their should chaunce anie  
 5 barren yerres of corne to fall, we should be assured to find as great extremytie in the price of corne, from that yt was wount to be, as we find now in the price of other victualles. And especially, yf we haue not ynowghe to serue within the Realme, which may happen hereafter more likly then in  
 10 times past, by reason there is much land turned to pasture. For euerie man will seke wheare most aduantage is, and they see there is most advantage in grasinge and breedinge [f. 31] then in husbandrie and tillage, by a great deale. And so longe [as] it is so, the pasture shall [euer] encroche vpon the  
 15 tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrarie.

KNIGHT. And how thincke youe this maie be remedied then?

DOCTOR. To make the proffitt of the plow to be as  
 20 good, rate for rate, as the proffitt of the graisiers and shep-masters.

KNIGHT. How cane that be done?

DOCTOR. Marie, I coniecture two maner of waies ; but I feare me they shall seme at the first blusse so  
 25 displeasaunt vnto youe, ere youe consider it throughly, that youe will reiect them ere youe examin ; for we taulke now to haue thinges good  
 cheape. And then, yf I should moue a meane that should make some thinge dearer for the time, I should be [an-  
 30 one] reiected, as a man that spake against euerie mans purpose.

Howe inclo-  
 sures might be  
 remedied with-  
 owte coercion  
 of Lawes.

KNIGHT. Saie on youre mind, and spare not ; and thowghe youe [reason] at the first seme vnreasonable, yet

we will heare whether youe can bringe it to anie reasonable ende.

DOCTOR. Remember what youe haue in hand to treat of now; not how the prices of all thinges maie onlie be brought downe, but how these Inclosures maie be [broken 5 vp] and husbandrie more vsed; of the price of thinges we shall speake of heereafter.

KNIGHT. We will remembre well that.

DOCTOR. What maketh men to multiplie pastures and Inclosures gladly? 10

KNIGHT. Marie, the proffitt that groweth therby.

DOCTOR. It is verie true, and no other thinge. Then find [f. 31 b] the means to doe one of these two thinges that I shall tell youe, and youe shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe now pastures. 15

KNIGHT. What be those two thinges?

DOCTOR. Marie, ether [make] as litle gaynes to growe by pastures as there groweth by tillage; or els make that there maie growe as much proffit by tillage as did before by pastures. And then, I dow't not, but tillage shalbe well 20 cherished of euerie man, as well as pasture is.

KNIGHT. And how may that be done?

DOCTOR. Marie, the first way is to make that woll be of as base a price [to] the breder therof as the corne is; and that shalbe, yf youe make alike restraynt of wolles, for 25 passinge ouer the sea vnwrought, as ye make of corne. Ye haue a lawe made that no corne shall passe ouer and it be aboute a noble the quarter; yf it be vnder ye giue fre libertie for it to passe over; let woll be restrained likewise, for passinge over, so longe as it is above xiijs. iiij<sup>d</sup>. the tod; 30 and when it is vnder, let yt haue fre passage; that is one waie. An other is, to encrease the custome of That a like re-  
straint of woole woll that passeth over vnwrought; and by that

the price of it shalbe based to the breders, and yet the price over the sea shalbe never the lesse. But that is increased in the price therof [on] straungers shall come vnto the kinges highnes;

sholde be made  
as is of corne,  
or none to be  
sent ouer vn-  
wroughte.

5 which is as proffitable to [the] Realme as though it came to the breders, and myght releue them of their subsidwes. Thus far as towchinge the bringinge downe the price of wolles; now to the enhauncing of the same price in corne, to be as equiulent to the husbandman as woll should be.  
10 And that might be browght to passe yf ye will let it haue as fre passage ouer sea, at all times, as ye haue now for woll. [f. 32]

MERCHAUNTE. By the first two wayes, men would send lesse woll over sea then they doe now; and by that waie, the kinges customes and proffittes of his staple should be  
15 minished; by youre latter way, the price of corne should be much enhaunced, wheare with men should be muche greued.

DOCTOR. I wote well it would be deare at the first: but yf I can perswade youe that it weare reasonable it weare  
20 so, and that the same could be no hinderaunce to the Realme vniversally, but great proffitt to the same, then I thincke we would be content it should be so: and as towchinge the kinges custome, I will speake afterward.

MERCHAUNTE. I will graunt, yf youe can show me  
25 that.

DOCTOR. I will assaie it, albeit the matter be sumwhat intricate, and as I showed youe before, at the first face will displease many; for they will saie, would youe make corne  
30 dearer then it is? haue youe dearth inowghe els without that? nay I praie youe find meanes to haue it better cheape, yf it maie be, it is deare inowghe alreadie; and such other like reasons would be said. But now let the husbandman answer suche men againe. Haue not ye graisers raised

Reasons whye  
the husband-  
man sholde be  
at like libertie  
as others to set  
his wares.

the price of youre wolles and peltes? and youe  
merchaunt men, clothiers and cappers, raised the  
price of youre merchaundize and wares over it  
was wount to be, in maner dowble? Is it not as  
good reason then I should raise the price of 5

my corne? What reason is it that youe should be at large,  
[f. 32 b] and I to be restrained? Ether let vs all be restrained together,  
or els let vs all be at like libertie. Ye maie sell [yowr woole]  
over the sea, youre felles, youre tallow, youre chese, youre  
butter, youre lether, which riseth all by graisinge, at youre 10  
pleasure, and that for the dearest penny ye can get for them.  
And I shall not send owt my corne, except it be at x<sup>d</sup>. the  
bushell or vnder. That is as moch to saie, as we that be  
husbandmen should not sell oure wares, except it be for  
nothinge, or for so litle we shall not be able to live theron. 15  
Thincke youe that yf the husbandman here did speake these  
wordes, that he did not speake them reasonable?

HUSBANDMAN. I thancke youe with all my hart; for  
youe haue spoken in the mattier more then I could doe my  
self, and yet nothinge but that is true. We felt the harme, 20  
but we wist not what was the cause therof; manie of vs saw,  
xij yere ago, that oure proffittes was but small by the plowes;  
and therefore divers of my neighbours that had, in times past,  
some two, some thre, some fowre plowes of their owne, have  
laid downe, some of them [parte, and som of theym] all their 25  
teames, and turned ether part or all their arable grounde  
into pasture, and therby haue wexed verie Rich men. And  
everie day some of vs encloseth a [plote] of his ground to  
pasture; and weare it not that oure grounde lieth in the  
common feildes, intermingled one with a nother, I thincke 30  
also oure feildes had bene enclosed, of a common agree-  
ment of all the townshippe, longe ere this time. And to saie  
the truthe, I, that haue enclosed litle or nothinge of my

grownd, could [never be able] to make vp my lordes rent [f. 33] weare it not for a litle brede of neate, shepe, swine, gese, and hens that I doe rere vpon my ground; whearof, because the price is sumwhat round, I  
 5 make more cleare proffitt then I doe of all my corne; and yet I haue but a bare liuinge, by reason that manye thinges doe belonge to husbandrie which now be exceadinge chargeable, over they weare in times past.

That by breeding the husbandman hathe moste cleere gaines.

CAPPER. Thoughe this reason of maister doctors here  
 10 doth please youe well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothings at all, which must bie both bread corne and mault for oure penny. And whear as youe, maister Doctor, saie it weare as good Reason that the husbandman should raise the price of his corne, and haue as  
 15 fre vent of the same over sea as we [doo and haue of our wares], I can not greatly denie that; but yet I saie, that euerie man hath nead of corne, and so they haue not of other wares so much.

DOCTOR. Therefore the more necessarie that corne is,  
 20 the more be the men to be cherished that rered it; for yf they se there be not so much proffitt in vsinge the plowghe as they se in other feates, thincke youe not that they will leue that trade, and fall to the other that they see more profitable? as ye maie perceave by  
 25 the doinges of this honest mans neighbours, which haue turned their arable land to pasture, because thei se more proffitt by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old sayinge in [latten], honos alit artes, that is to saie, proffitt or aduancement norish-  
 30 ethe euerie facultie; which sayinge is so true, that it is alowed by the common Judgement of all men. [f. 33<sup>b</sup>] We must vnderstand also that all thinges that should be done in a common wealth be not to

That proffit aduauuncyth all facultyes.

Honos alit artes.

That some things are to

be alured by rewards and some other with streight pains forced in a comen weale. be forced, or to be constrained by the streight penalties of the law; but some so, and some other by allurement, and rewardes rather. For what law can compell men to be industrious in travell, and labour of their bodies, or studious to learne anie science or knowledge of the mynd? to these things they maie be well provoked, encouraged, and allured, yf they that be industrious and painfull be well Rewarded for their paines, and \* be suffered to taik gains and wealth as reward of their labours. And so likewise [they] that be learned, yf they be advanched and honored accordinge to their forwardnes in learninge, euerie man will then studie ether to be industrious in bodely labour, or studious in things that pertaine to knowledge. Taike this reward from them, and goe \* about to compell them by lawes therto, what man will plowghe or digge the grounde, or exercise anie manuell occupation wherin is anie payne? Or who will adventure over sease for anie marchandize? or vse anie facultie wherin anie perill or dainger should be, seinge his Rewarde shall be no more then his that sitteth still? But ye will percase answeere me, that all their Rewardes shall not be taiken awaie, but part of it. Yet then youe must graunt me, that as yf all these rewardes weare taken from them, all these faculties must nedes decay; so yf part of that rewarde be minished, the vse of those faculties shall minishe withall, after the rate; and so they shalbe the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded and esteemed. But now to oure purpose; I thincke it more necessarie to devise a meane how husbandrie might be more occupied rather then lesse, which I can not perceave how it maie be brought to passe, but as men doe se the more gains therin, the gladder they will occupie the feate. And this to be true,

[f. 34] The lesse profit or honor is geuen to anny arte the lesse it shalbe frequentid.

[that] some thinges in a common wealth must be forced with paines and some by rewardes allured, [may appere] by that, that the wise and pollitique senator Tully writeth, sayinge, that it was the wordes of solon, which  
 5 was one of the seaven men of Greace, and of Cicero in Ep. ad Atticum.  
 those seaven the only man that made lawes, that a common wealth was holden vp by ij thinges Cheifly, that is, by reward and paine; of which wordes I gather that men should be prouoked to good deades by rewardes and  
 10 price, and [to] abstaine from evill doinges by paines. Trow youe, yf husbandmen be not better cherished and prouoked then they be to exercise the plowghe, but in processe of time so manie plowghes wilbe layed Downe, (as I feare me there be alreadie,) that yf a vnfructfull yere should happen  
 15 emongst vs, as commonlie doth once in seaven yere, we should then not only haue dearth, but also suche scarsnes of corne, that we should be driuen to seake it from outwards partes, and paie deare for it.

KNIGHT. How could youe haue them better cherished  
 20 to vse the plowghe?

DOCTOR. To let them haue more proffitt by it then [f. 34 b]  
 they haue, and libertie to sell it at all times, and to all places, as frely as men maie doe theire otheir thinges. But then no dowbt the price of corne would rise, specially  
 25 at the first more then at the leng<sup>th</sup>; yet that price would provoke everie man to set plowghe in the ground, to husband waste groundes, yea to turne the landes which be Inclosed from pasture to arable lande; for every man will the gladder folow that whearin they se the more proffit and  
 30 gaines. And therby must nedes insue both greate plentie of corne, and also much treasure should be browght into this Realme by occasion therof; and besides that, plentie of all other victualles increased emonst vs.

KNIGHT. That would I faine here youe declare how ?

DOCTOR. Youe haue hearde that by the fre vent and saile of corne, the husbandmans proffit is advaunced. Then it is showed how everie man naturally will folow that whearin he seeth most proffit. Therfore men will the gladder occupie husbandrie. And the more doe occupie husbandrie, the more plentie of corne must nedes be ; and the more plentie of corne there is, therof better cheape ; and also the more wilbe spared over that that shall suffice the Realme ; and then, that maie be spared in a good yere shall bringe vs againe other corne, or els the commodities of other countries necessarie for vs. Then the more husbandrie is occupied, the more vniversall brede should be of all victualles, as of neate, shepe, swyne, gese, eges, buttçr, and chese, for all these are rered much of corne.

KNIGHT. Yf men should sell, when a good reasonable [f. 35] yere is, all that is overplus whan the Realme is served, what should we doe yf a barren yere should happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yere before ?

DOCTOR. First, youe must consider that men be sure they will keape inowghe to serve them selves with in the Realme, or they sell anie forthe of the same ; and hauinge libertie to sell at their plesure, Downt ye not, but they had lever sell their corne ij<sup>d</sup>. or iiij<sup>d</sup>. better cheape with in the Realme, then to be at chardges with carryinge, and perill of adventure, in sendinge it over the sea, and sell it derer, (except it be for much more gaines). And thus men, beinge prouoked with lucre, will kepe the more corne, Lokinge for a deare yere in the countrie, whearby must nedes be the greater store. And thoughe they did not soe, but should sell over the sea all that they might spare over that serveth



the Realme when the yere is plentifull, yet by reasone that, throwghe the meanes aforesaide, more plowes are sett aworke then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yere, yf a scarce yere should fall after, the corne of so manie plowes, 5 as in a goode yere woulde be more then inowghe, in [an vnfrutefull] yere at the Least would be sufficient to serve the Realme. And so should the Realme be served with inoughe of corne in a scarce yere, and in a plenteus yere no more then inoughe, which might be sold over the sea for greate 10 treasure or other commodities; wheare now, in a plentifull [f. 35<sup>b</sup>] yere, we seake to haue as much as maie suffice the Realme. Then yf a scarce yere should happen, we must nedes lacke of oure owne to serue, and be driven to bie from beyonde the sea. And then, yf they weare as envious as we are, 15 mighte they not saie, when we required anie corne of them, that seinge they could get none frome vs, when we had plentie, why should they let vs haue anie corne when we haue scarsitie? Surelie common reason would that one region should healpe a nother whan it lacketh. And therfore god hath ordeined that no countrie shoulde haue all 20 commodities; but that, that one lacketh, an other bringeth furth, and that, that one countrie lacketh this yere, a nother hath plentie therof the same yere, to the entent that one maie know they haue nede of a nothers healpe, and therby 25 Loue and societie to grow emonst all the more. But here we will doe as though we had nede of no other countrie in the earthe, but to liue all of oure selues; and [as] though we might make the market of all thinges as we list oure selues; for though god is bountifull vnto vs and sendeth vs manie 30 great commodities, yet we could not liue with owt the commodities of others. And, for an ensample, of yron [and] salt, though we haue competentlie therof, yet we haue not the iij part to suffice the Realme; and that [canne] in no wise be [f. 36]

spared yf we will occupie husbandrie. Then tar, rosin, pitch, oile, steile, we haue none at all ; as for wynes, spices, linnen cloth, silkes, and collers, though we might liue so without them, yet farre frome anie Civilitie shoulde it be. As I denie not [but mannye thynges wee myght have here sufficyentlye 5 that wee bye nowe from beyonde the Seas, and] manie thinges we might spare wholly ; whearof, yf time shall serve, I will talke more hereafter. But now to returne to the first point that I spake of before, to be one of the meanes to bringe husbandrie vp, that is by abasinge the estimacion 10 of woll and felles ; though I take not that waie to be as goode as the other, for I doe not allow that meane that may base anie of oure commodities except it be for the enhauncing of a better Commodity ; but yf bothe Commodities maie be enhaunced together, as by the last devise I thincke they 15 might be, I allowe that waie better ; neuerthesse wheare as youe, brother merchante, showed before that ether by restraining of wolles or other commodities, till they weare equioulent with in the Realme after the Rate of the corne, or by enhaunsing the custome of woll and other the saide 20 commodities, till the price, beside the custome of the saide commodities, weare brought like to the corne in proporcion,

The kinges highnes custome should be minished ; I thincke not so ; for the one waie, as much as he should haue for the more woll vented ouer, 25 so much should he haue for the lesse woll at a greater custome vented over. And thother waie is, asmuch as his grace should lose by his custome of woll, so much or more should his grace winne by the custome of clothes made within the Realme. But 30 one thinge I doe note by this Latter Devise, that yf they should take place, we must doe ; that is, yf we kepe with in vs much of oure commodities, we must spare manie other

Whether the kings custome sholde be minished by restraint of woole vnwrought.

[f. 36b]

things that we haue now frome beyonde the seas ; for we must alwaies take hede that we bie no more of strangers then we sell them ; [for so wee sholde empouerishe our selves and enriche theme]. For he weare no goode husband that hath no other yearly reuennewes but of husbandrie to liue on, that will bie more in the markt then he selleth againe. And that is a point we might saue much by of oure treasure, in this Realme, yf we would. And I mervell no man taketh heade vnto it, what nombre first of trifles commeth hether from beyonde the seas, that we might ether clene spare, or els make them with in oure owne Realme, for the which we paie enestimable treasure euerie yeare, or els exchange substaunciall wares and necessarie for them, for the which we might receiue great treasure. Of the which sort I meane glasses, as well lookinge as drinckinge, as to glasse windowes, Dialles, tables, cardes, balles, puppetes, penhorne, Inckehorne, toothepikes, gloues, knives, daggers, pouches, broches, agletes, buttons of silke and siluer, erthen pottes, pinnes, poyntes, haukes belles, paper both whit and browne, and a thowsand like thinges, that might ether [f. 37] be clene spared, or els made within the Realme sufficient for vs. And as for some thinges, they make it of oure owne commodities and send it vs againe ; whearby they sett their people on worke, and doe exhause much \* treasure out of this Realme. As of oure woll they make clothe, cappes, and carsies ; of oure felles they make spanishe skinnes, gloues, girdles ; of oure tinne, saltes, sponnes and dishes, of oure broken linnen cloth and ragges, paper both whit and browne. What treasure, thincke youe, goeth out of this Realme for euerie of these thinges? And then for all together it exceedeth my estimation. There is no man that can be contented with anie other gloues then is made

Howe strangers do fetch from vs our great comodities for very tryfles.

Owre delicacye  
in requiryng  
strangers  
wares.

in fraunce or in spaine; or carse, but it must  
be of flaunders die; nor cloth, but it must  
be of french die or fresadow; nor broche nor  
aglet, but of venys makeinge or millian; nor

dagger, sworde, nor gridle, or knife, but of spanishe makeinge; 5  
no not so much as a spurre, but it must be fett at the  
milliners hand. I haue sene within these xx<sup>tie</sup> yeres, when

Thencease of  
haberdasshers  
and millioners  
ouer they were  
wonte to be.

there weare not of these haberdashers that sell  
french or millan cappes, glasses, Daggers,  
swerdes, gridles and such thinges, not a dossen 10

in all London. And now from the towere to  
westminster alonge, euerie streat is full of them; and their  
shoppes glisters and shine of glasses, aswell lookinge as  
drinckinge, yea all manor vesselles of the same stuffe;

[f. 37<sup>b</sup>] painted cruses, gaye daggers, knives, swordes, and gridles 15  
that is able to make anie temperate man to gase on them,  
and to bie sumwhat, though it serue to no purpose neces-  
sarie. What nede they beyonde the sea to travell to Peru

or such farre countries, or to trie out the sandes of the river  
Tagus in spaine, [Pactolus] in asia and Ganges In Inda, to 20

Howe the  
strangers finde  
an easier way  
to get treasure  
by things of no  
valewe than  
by any mynes  
of golde or sil-  
uer.

gett amongst them small sparkes of goulde, or  
to dig the bowelles of the earthe, for the mynde  
of siluer and gould, when they can of vncleane  
claye, not farre sowght for, and of [peoble] stones  
and fearne rootes make [good] gould and silver 25  
more then a great manie of gould myndes woulde  
make. I thincke not so litle as a hunderd thow-

sand pounce a yeare is fett of oure treasure for thinges of no  
valew of them selues, but onlie for the labors

Howe stran-  
gers finde their  
people with  
owr comodities  
and on our  
charges.

of the workers of the same, which are sett on 30  
worke all of oure chardges. What grossnes be  
we of, that se it and suffer such a continuall spoile  
to be made of oure goodes and treasure, by

such meanes. And speciallie, that will suffer oure owne commodities to goe, and set straungers on worke, and then to bye them againe at there handes ; as of oure woll they make and die carsies, fresadowes, brodeclothes, and cappes, 5 beyond the seaze, and bringe them hether to be sold againe ; whearin note, I praie youe, what they doe make vs paye at the end for owre stuffe againe ; for the stranger custome, for [f. 38] the workmanshippe, and coullers, and lastly for the second custome in the retorne of the wares into the realme againe ; 10 wheareas, with workinge the same with in oure Realme, oure owne men should be set on worke at the chardges of straungers ; the custome should be borne all by straungers to the kinge, and the cleare gaines to remaine with in the Realme.

KNIGHT. Yf we weighe such thinges, and other which 15 goeth over the sea yearly from vs for the same, youe speake to litle by asmuch againe ; for one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that thowghe straungers bie there woll deare, and paie twise custome, that is, both at goinge out of the woll and whan it returneth in cappes, yet the same 20 shalbe better cheape then that is made within the Realme ; wherof that should be longe, I would faine know.

DOCTOR. Whether it be longe of oure slothe, or of oure chargable fare, or of oure Idlenes, which we Englishe men doe vse, percase more then 25 anie nation, I know not ; yet it weare better for vs to paie more to oure owne people for those wares then lesse to straungers ; for how litle gaines so ever goeth over, it is lost to vs cleare. But how much so ever the gaines be, that goe 30 from one of vs to a nother, it is all saved with in the Realme ; and a like reason as youe made now, I hearde a bookebinder make me, when I asked him why we had no white and browne paper made [f. 38 b]

Whie stran-  
giers may a-  
forde wares  
made by them  
better chepe  
then wee may  
the same made  
here, and yet  
that it were  
better for vs to  
bye our owne  
thoughe thei  
were deerer.

within the Realme, [as well as they had made beyonde the Sea. Thanne he aunsweryd me that there was paper made a whyle within the Realme]. At the last, said he, the man perceaued that made it that he could not found his paper as good cheape as that came from beyonde the seaze, and so he 5 was forced to lay downe makinge of paper. And no blame to the man; for men would giue neuer the more for his paper because it was made heare; but I would haue ether the paper staid from cumminge in, or els so burdined with custome that, by that time it came hether, oure men might 10 afford their paper better cheape then straungers might doe theirs, the custome considered.

**KNIGHT.** Marie, there youe speake a thinge that the kinges attornie would not agre vnto; for if such ware weare made with in the Realme, then the kinges custome should 15 be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the seaze.

**DOCTOR.** Yf the kinges attorney did regard as well the  
The most durable and most vniuersall profit is more to be estemid then the shorte and particuler profit.
 proffitt that should come after, as that is present before the eys, he would agre to this wel enough; 20 for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saued with in the Realme. And then it would not grow to the proffitt of the subiectes only, but it must nedes grow also to the proffitt of the kinge, for the wealth of the subiectes is 25 the wealth of the kinge. And in my opinion, they doe not [f. 39] best provide for his graces proffitt that procureth onlie a present commoditie, but rather that commoditie that maie longe endure with out the grieffe of his subiectes.

**KNIGHT.** Youe would haue a lawe made, that no such 30 ware should be brought from beyond the sea to be sold heare, of such thinges as could be made heare as well as there.

DOCTOR. Yea forsouth, so I would wishe.

KNIGHT. I was once in the parliament, when such a thinge was moued, but only for Cappes, That none made beyond the seaze should be sould within the  
 5 Realme. And then it was answered by a greate wise man, that it was to be feared least it towched the league made betewne the kinges highenes and some forrein prince. What thincke  
 youe then would haue bene saide, yf we would haue moved  
 10 a law to be made that nothinge made of oure woll, or tinne, or lead, or hides beyond the sea should haue bene sould heare?

Whether suche restraints doo toche the leagues with owtwarde prynces.

DOCTOR. I can not tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether anie such league be ; but I saie to  
 15 youe, I thincke it a merveilus league that should let vs make lawes that might be proffittable vnto vs. And yf theare weare anie such league, I had rather it weare broken then kept ; which beinge broken should doe vs goode, and beinge kept should doe vs  
 20 harme. And I suppose, that when we entre anie league, the same is ment to be for oure wealth, and not for oure hinderaunce. Therefore the league would not be esteemed that might hinder oure common wealth.

No legue is to be cherished that is not for the common wealth.

KNIGHT. What and they would make a lawe beyond [f. 39<sup>b</sup>]  
 25 the sea, that wares made within this Realme should not be sould there? as they made of late, when we devised a law that no wines should be brought hither in straunge bot-tomes.

DOCTOR. Yet would they be forced rather to dissolue  
 30 theire law then we oures ; for oure stuffe is necessarie for them that is made heare ; as cloth, lether, tallow, beare, butter, cheise, pewter vessell, and such. Theirs be to vs more to serve pleasure then necessitie ; as tables, cardes,

perfumed gloues, glasses, gallie pottes, Dialles, oringes, pippins, and cheres; yea, their cheife Commodities might be better spared of vs then retained of them; without as wines, silkes, spices, Iron, and salt. I would to god we would folow the example of a poore haven towne, that I know did 5 of late, in the merches of wales, called Carnarvin; when

A wortheie ex-  
ample to be  
folowed in  
vsing of stran-  
giers.

their came a certaine vessell out of england, all loaden with apples, which afore time was wount to bringe them good corne, the towne commaunded that none should bie the said apples, 10 vppon a great paine; and so the bote stode so longe at the heaven, without saile or vent, till the apples weare putrified and lost; and when the owner demaunded of the balife of the towne why he had staid his saile and vent, The baylife answered againe, that the said vessell came thyther to fett 15 the best wares they had in the countrie, as freses, brode clothes, and woll; and instead of that he should leave in the

[f. 40] countrie, that which should be spent and wasted in lesse then a weke. And said, bringe to vs corne and mault, as youe weare wount to doe, wherof the countrie hath nede, 20 and ye shall be welcome at all times, and ye shall haue fre vent and sale in oure port. Thincke ye the great citie of london, sowthampton, bristow, Chester, and other, might not learne a good lesson of this poore walshe towne in this doinge? Might they not say, when shippes full of oringes, 25 pippins or cheres, come in, that yf they would take plomes, Damsons and strawbereis for them, they should haue free exchange? and when they bringe glasses, puppetes, Ratles and such thinges, they should haue like trifles for them, yf anie such weare to be had within the Realme, as there be 30 not. But yf they come for oure wolles, for oure clothes, carseys, corne, tinne, lead, yea oure gould, silver, and such substaunciall and necessarie thinges, let them bringe in



again, flax, tar, oyle, fish and such other; and not to vse them as litle children, geue them an apple for the best Juell they haue about them. And thus we are impouerished of oure treasure and chefe commoditie, and can not perceau  
 5 it; such is the fines of straungers wites, and the grossnes of oures; yet it weare more tollerable yf we did but cherishe their deuises that be straungers; but we doe now a dayes Deuise oure selues manie other wayes to impouerishe oure selues and to exhause oure treasure. And now I must  
 10 come to that thing, that youe brother marchant towched before; which I take to be the cheife cause of all this dearth of thinges, and of the manifest imporishment of this Realme, and might in breife time be the distruction of the same, yf it  
 15 be not the [rather remedye], that is the basinge or rather corruptinge of oure coine and treasure; whearbie we haue deuised a waie for the straungers not onlie to bie oure gould and silver for brasse, and not onlie to exhause this Realme of treasure, but also to bie oure chefe commodities in  
 20 manor for nothinge. It was thought it should haue bene a meane, not onlie to bringe oure treasure home, but to bringe much of others; but the [experience hathe] so plainlie declared the contrarie, so as it weare a verie dullardes part to be in dowbt therof.

25 KNIGHT. Forsowth, such a dullard ame I indede, that can not perceave what hinderance it should be to the Realme to haue this mettall, more then that, for oure coine; seinge the coine is but a token to goe from man to man. And sithe it is stricken with the kinges seall to be currant,  
 30 [what makithe it the mattiere] what mettall it be of, yea thoughte it be but lether or paper?

Of the coyne, what harme comes and may come of the alteration of it. [f. 40<sup>b</sup>]

DOCTOR. Youe saie but as most part of men doe saie, and yet they be far wide from the trewthe, as men that doe

not consider the thinge thoroughly ; for by that reason god  
 could never send dearth emongst vs, but the kinge might  
 quickly Remedie it ; as yf corne weare at a crowne the bushell,  
 The kinge might prouide crownes inoughe for him selfe and  
 [f. 41] also his subiectes, made of brasse, to paie for the same. And 5  
 so to make it as easie for him and his subiectes to paie a  
 crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be now for  
 them to paie j<sup>d</sup>. for the same. And as the price of corne  
 did rise, the kinge might raise the estimation of his coyne  
 after the rate ; and so kepe the corne alwaies at one stint in 10  
 deed, though in name it did seme to rise. As for example,  
 Suppose wheat this yeare to be at a grote the bushell, the  
 next yeare ij grotes, the kinge might cause the grote to be  
 called viij<sup>d</sup>. ; and yf the bushell rose to xij<sup>d</sup>. he might raise  
 the estate of the grote to xij<sup>d</sup>. ; and so whether it weare by 15  
 making of coine of other mettalles then be of price  
 receauede emongst all men, or by the enhauncing the price  
 of the onlie coine made in mettall of estimation, the  
 kinge might, yf youre reason weare true, kepe alwais, not  
 only corne but also all other victalles and necessaries for 20  
 mans life, alwaies at one price indede, though in [terme]  
 they should varie. But youe maie se dailie by experience the  
 contrarie hervnto ; for whan god sendeth dearth of corne,  
 or of other thinges, Theare is nether Emperour nor kinge  
 can heape it ; which they would gladly doe, yf they might, 25  
 aswell for their owne ease as for their subiectes. And  
 might sounde doe it yf youre reason towched afore might take  
 place ; that is, yf ether they maie make coine of what  
 [Estimat] they would of vile mettalles, or els enhaunce the  
 value of coines made in mettalles of price to what some 30  
 they would. Yet a man at the first blushe would thincke  
 that a kinge in this Realme might doe this easily, and make  
 what coine he would to be curraunt, and of what estima-

tion it pleased him. But he that so thincketh marketh [f. 41<sup>b</sup>] but the tearmes, and not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them. [As] yf a man made no difference betewne 6 grotes that made [an] 5 oz. of silver, and xij grotes that made an ounce of silver; by the grote of the first sort, the vj<sup>th</sup> part of an ounce, or by a grote of the other sort, [ys] the xij<sup>th</sup> part of an ounce of silver vnderstanded. And so their must be as much difference betewne the one grote and the other as 10 betewne tow and one, the hole thinge and halfe; though either of them be called but vnder one name, that is a grote. We must consider, though Gould and silver be the mettalles commonly wherin the coine is stricken to be tokens in exchange of thinges betewne man and man, yet is 15 it the wares that be necessarie for mans vse that are exchanged in dede for the owtward name of the coyne, and yt is the rarietie and plentie therof that maketh the price therof base or higher. And because it weare verie combersome and chargeable to carie so much of the wares 20 as [wee haue aboundaunce of to exchange for the wares that] we waunt alwaies; both for the weightes of oure wares, and also for that they could not be caried so far without perishinge of the same; nor proportioned so even as there should be alwayes neither more nor lesse brought of oure 25 wares then weare equivalent with other wares that we can receue. Thearfore weare the mettalles of gould and siluer devised, as wares in so small weight most in value, and least combersome to carie, and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage ther- 30 of, and maie be cut and devided in most peices and porcions with out anie losse, to be as the meane to exchange all other wares by. And yf the thinge weare to be a new Devised, necessitie

That the substance and quantitie is estemid in coyne and not the name.

Aristo. Li. 5  
Eth.

That necessitie of mutual traffique and commoditie of exchange made coyne to [f. 42] be devised.

would cause vs to diuise the same waie againe. For, put the case theare weare no vse of mony emongst vs, but only exchange of wares for wares, as [sumtymes] I doe reade  
 Homerus de haue bene. We must at a time haue such plentie  
 contu [sic] of thinges in oure Realme, as for example, of 5  
 emptione, et corne, woll, and peltes, chese and butter; and  
 venditione. Li. primo. over so much as we should vent out for other  
 commodities as weare sufficient for vs, theare should remaine  
 with vs so great store that spend it we could not, nor kepe  
 it longe from perishinge; would not we be glad to exchange 10  
 [that] aboundaunce of thinges, that could not abide the  
 kepinge, [for such wares as wolde abyde the keepynge,]  
 which we might exchange againe for such wares as I  
 rehersed, or anie other as necessarie, when scarce<sup>tie</sup> of  
 the same should happen emongst vs? ye verelie; and that 15  
 we should studie to haue in that exchange such wares  
 as would lie in lesse Romes, and contineweth  
 Whye golde and siluer were longest with out perishinge, and be caried to  
 the stuf moste meete for and fro with lesse charge, and be most currant  
 coyne to bee at all times and at all places. Ys not Gould 20  
 stricken in. and silver the thinges that be most of that sort?  
 I meane most of vlew, most light to be caried, longest  
 able to abide the kepinge, [apteste] to Receave forme or  
 marke, and most currant in all places, and most easily  
 deuided into manie peces without losse of the stuffe. In 25  
 some of the poinctes, I confesse precious stones doe excell  
 silver and Gould, as in vlew, or lightnes of cariage; but  
 [thenne] they maie not be deuided with out perishinge of the  
 substaunce, nor put againe to gether after they be once  
 [f. 42 b] deuided, nor manie of them abide so manie daungers with 30  
 out perishinge of the matter, nor yet receaue any stampe or  
 marke easilie, nor be so vniversally estemed. Therefore they  
 be not so mete for Instrumentes of exchange as silver and

gould be, or els they for their prise or lightnes of cariage might be. And because gould and silver haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by a common consent of all the world, that is knowen to be of anie civillie, 5 to be instrumentes of exchange to mesure all things by, most apt to be ether caried far, or kept in store, or to receaue [for] things wherof we haue abundance, and to purchase then by them other things which we lacke, when and where we haue most [neede]. As 10 for example, yf there were no coyne currant, but exchange of things, as I saie sometime there was, set this case; that a man had asmuch corne in one yeare as he could not well spend in fower yeares after, and perceaued he might not kepe it so longe as till a deare yeare or a scarce yeare 15 should come, and yf he did, much of it should perishe, or all; were it not wisdom then for him to exchange the overplus of that corne for some other ware that might be longer kept, with out dainger of wast or minishinge, for the which he might at all times haue [eyther] corne againe at his 20 neede or some other necessarie thinge? Yes, no doubt, yf there were no silver nor gould, he would haue tin, brasse, or lead, or such other like thinge that would abide the keepinge with lesse detriment; and would desire to haue that thinge most that were in lesse weight most in valewe, and 25 in lesse dainger of wearinge or perishinge, and most vniuersally receaved, where in gould and siluer excell all other mettalles.

Publica mensura. Aristo. 5 eth.

[f. 43]

KNIGHT. What makethe these mettalles to be of more valew then other?

30 DOCTOR. No dowbt their excellencie aboute other mettalles, both in pleasure and vse, and partly the rarietie of them.

KNIGHT. What be these qualities? Yf youe praise gould

for his weight and pliablenes, lead doth excell it in these pointes; yf youe commend his coullor, Siluer by many mens Judgementes, whose coullor resembleth the day light for clearnes, passeth him, and hero/des preferreth it in his armes; because it is fardest of sene in the feild, and never semeth other coullor but his owne, be it never so far of, wheare all other seme blacke a far of, and so lose the strenghe of theire owne.

DOCTOR. Asmoch as the lead approacheth to gould in that point, I speake of weight and pliablenes, Whie gold and siluer are esteemed before all other mettals. it is cast behind it in other qualities, far more commendable; and so in coullor, it either passeth silver by some other mens Judgementes, because it resemblith the coullors of the celestiall bodies, as the sonne and starres, beinge the most excellent things that cometh vnder the vew of the bodely senses of man, or it is equivolent vnto it. In armes I know not how much it is esteemed; well I wote princes blase theire armes most with that coullor, whether it be for excellencie of the same or for that they loue the mettall so well it is made of, I can not tell. But now to esteme theire other qualities; gould is never wasted nor consumed by fier; yea the more it is burned the purer it is, which youe can saie of no other [f. 43<sup>b</sup>] mettall. Then it wearith least by occupyinge, and fouleth not the thinge it toucheth, as siluer doth, with whom youe maie draw lines, which is a declaration the stuffe faulleth awaie; albeit that writers doe mervaile that it should draw so blacke a line, beinge of that brightnes and coullor of it selfe. Then theare is [no] rust nor skurf that mynishe that goodnes, or wasteth the substance of gould. It abbydeth the fretinge of liccours, of salt, [and] viniger, with out damage, [which] weareth anie other thinge. It nedeth no fier or it be made gould, as other requier it, it is gold as sonne as it is found.

It is drawn with out woll, as it weare woll. It is easily  
 spred in leaues, of a mervelous thinnes; ye maie adorne or  
 gild anie other mettalles with it, yea stones and timber.  
 It is also nothings inferior in commoditie of makinge  
 5 vessell or other Instrumentes to siluer, but rather pewrer,  
 clener, and more swete to kepe liccour in. Next him ap-  
 procheth silver in commendacions, as in cleanes, bewtie,  
 swetnes and brightnes. And it [serveth] not only to make  
 vesselles or other Instrumentes, but it is also spoonne, but  
 10 not with out wol as gold maie be; thoughe they could not  
 doe it afore time but with gold only; as I haue hearde  
 vestures weare made only of gold then, and now of late of  
 this silver; beinge spoonne with silke and gilded, they  
 counterfet the ould excesse of cloth of gold and tissue.  
 15 Now to speake of other mettalles, youe se what vses they  
 served for, which, yf they weare awaie, they should be more  
 estemed. Then I tould youe Rarietie commendeth the  
 said mettalles of gold and silver yet more then this; for as [f. 44]  
 they doe excell in qualities, so againe nature semeth to  
 20 haue layd them vpp in a farder warde then her other  
 guystes, to shew vs that all fare things be rare, and that the  
 fareest things, as they be hardest to be attained, so they be  
 most to be estemed. Yf glasse, as Erasmus saith, weare as  
 rare as silver, it should be as deare as silver, and not with  
 25 out cause; who could glase a window with silver, so as he  
 might [keepe] out the Iniurie of the whether, and nevertheles  
 receaue the commoditie of the light throughe the same into  
 his howse, as with glasse he myght? And so I might com-  
 mend other thinges for their vse, before gold and silver; as  
 30 Iron and stele, with whom we make manie better tooles for  
 manie necessarie vses then with gold or silver; but for [the  
 vses that wee talke of, Silvere and Golde doo cleerlye excell  
 all other metails]. I passe over this matter. Thus I haue

shewed some reasons why those mettalles of gold and silver are growne in estimation aboue others.

KNIGHT. Why doe kinges and princes strike these mettalles and other with a coine, but because they would haue that coine, of what valew so ever it be, to beare the 5 Estimation that the coine pretendith; which they did in vaine, yf they could make the mettalles that beareth that no better nor worse in estimation. Then I had lever haue small [gadds or] plates of silver and gold, with out anie coine at all, to goe abrode from man to man. 10

[f. 44<sup>b</sup>] DOCTOR. Surely the time was even so emongst the  
Plini li. 33. ca. 3. Romanes, \* when nether brasse, silver, nor gold  
 was coined, but weare estemed only by the  
 weight. And therof to this daie remaineth these vocables  
Sumtyme  
brasse, siluer  
and golde were  
waied before  
coyne made. of coine, as libra, pondo, dipondium, and as 15  
 solidus, dinarius, vocables of weight; that after-  
 ward weare gyven to coines pretendinge the  
 same weight; also the common officers, that  
 wheihed these rude mettalles, weare called libripendes,  
Inst. de test.  
ord. wherof we haue mencion in Cyvell; but, because 20  
 of great trafique and assemblie of biers and  
 sellers, it was tedious to tary for the weighinge of these  
 mettalles and triinge of them, it was thought good that  
 princes should stricke these mettalles with severall markes,  
 for the varietie of the weightes they weare of, to assure the 25  
 receaver, \* the same to be no lesse then [the] weight it  
 pretended. As for planer example, they strocke the pound  
 weight with the marke of the pound, and the ounce with  
 the marke of the ounce; and so after the varietie of the  
 weightes of other peces variably marked, whearby began the 30  
 names of coines; so that the people nided not to be troubled  
 with weighinge and triinge of everie pece, beinge advertised  
 by the marke of the print that everie pece contained the



weight that was assigneued by the marke set on euerie one. The princis credit was such then emonge their subiectes as they doubted nothinge. As sone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is to marke the halfe pound with the marke  
5 of the pound, and the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce, [a] while their credit made those coines currant, as I reade emonst the Romans practized more then once; but as sone as it was espied, the ij peces of D. li. went no  
10 furer [thanne the one] pece of a hole pound went before; and at lengthe, as much as they wonne of the first they lost at the last in paiment of  
15 their rentes, customes, and senses; and so the nerer to east, the further from west; and they consequently lost their credit, much like as I haue knowen certain townes in  
20 england to haue donne; which weare wount to make their clothes of a certaine breadth and length, and so sett their sealles to the same; while they kept their Rate truly, strangers did but looke vpon their seall, and receaved their wares, wherby those townes had greate vent of  
25 their cloth, and consequently prospered very well. Afterward some in the townes, not content with reasonable gaynes, continually desiringe more and more, devised clothes of lesse lengthe, breadthe, and goodnes then they weare wounte to be, and yet, by [the commendacion] of the seall, to  
30 haue as muche monie for the same as they had before for good clothes; and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credit of their prodecessors to their singuler luker, which was recompensed with the losse of their posteritie; for after these clothes weare founde faultie, for all their  
sealles they weare not only never the better trusted, but much lesse for their seall, yea, though their clothes weare well made; for whan their falsehod and vntrweth was espied, then no man would bie their clothes till they

What losse  
comes of  
losse of cre-  
dence.

weare searched and vnfolded, Regardinge nothinge the  
 seall. And yet, because they found them vntrew in sume  
 part, they mistrusted them in other ; and so would give lesse  
 for their clothes then they would for anie other like, havinge  
 [f. 45<sup>b</sup>] no sealles to the same ; whearby the credit of the same 5  
 townes was lost, and the townes vtterly decayd. Doe ye not  
 see that oure coine is discredited alredy emongst strangers,  
 which evermore desired to serve vs before all other nations,  
 at all oure nedes, for the goodnes of oure coine ? And now  
 they let vs haue nothinge frome them, [but onely] for oure 10  
 commodities, as woll, felles, talow, butter, chese, tinne, and  
 lead ; and wheare before time they weare wount to bringe vs  
 for the same ether good gold or silver, or els as necessarie  
 commodities againe, now they send vs other  
 What doo  
 straungerssend  
 vs for our trea-  
 sure and chief  
 comodities. trifles, as I spacke of before ; as glasses, gally 15  
 pottes, tennis balles, papers, gyrdelles, browches,  
 owches, buttons, dialles, or such like wares that  
 standes them in no charge or vse ; or els, yf it be trew that I  
 haue hearde saie, as I tould youe in youre eare before, they  
 send vs brasse for oure treasure of gold and silver, and for 20  
 oure saide commodities. I warrant youe, youe see nether  
 gold nor silver browght over vnto vs, as it was here before  
 vsed, and no mervaile. To what purpose should they  
 bringe silver or gold hither, whearas the same is not estemed ?  
 Therefore I haue hearde say of a trewth, and I beleve it the 25  
 rather to be trew, because it is likely, that sence oure coine  
 hath bene based and altered, strangers haue conterfeted  
 oure coine, and founde the meanes to haue greate masses  
 transported hither and heare vttered it, as well for oure gold  
 and silver, as for oure chefe commoditie ; which thinge I 30  
 reporte me to youe, what Inconuenience it maie bringe the  
 kinges highnes and this Realme vnto yf it be suffered, and  
 that In brefe time.

KNIGHT. Theare be searchers that maie let that mattier [f. 46] well enowghe, yf they be trew, both for staiinge such false coine to come in and of oure ould coine to goe forthe.

DOCTOR. I saide so to the man that tould me the tale,  
 5 that I tould youe of even now; and he answered me, theare weare manie waies to deceaue the searchers, yf they weare never so trew; as by puttinge the saide coine in their ships balast, or in some vesselles of [wyne], or  
 10 other liquor transported either to vs or from vs.

Houe our owlde coyne may be transported, and the kyng or his officers not ware.

Then everie Cricke in the Realme haue not searchers; and yf they had, they be not such saintes as would not be corrupted for monie. And besides this, haue ye not made proclamacions, that oure ould coine,  
 15 specially of gold, that it should not be currant heare aboute such a price? is not that the Rediest waie to drive awaie oure gold from vs, as everie thinge will goe wheare it is most estemed? and therefore oure treasure goeth over in shippes.

Wee devise the rediest way to drag away our treasure.

20 KNIGHT. I beleue well that these be meanes to exhause oure olde treasure frome vs, which ye haue rehersed; but howe it should make everie thinge so deare amonge oure selves, as ye say it dothe, I can not yet perceave the Reason.

DOCTOR. Why, doe ye not perceave that, by reason  
 25 herof, [yee] paie dearer for everie thinge that we haue from beyonde the seas then we weare wount to doe?

KNIGHT. That can not be denied.

DOCTOR. By how much, trow youe?

KNIGHT. By the third part well, in all manor of thinges.

30 DOCTOR. Must not they that bye deare, sell deare againe their wares?

KNIGHT. That is trew, yf they intend to thrive; for he that selles good cheape, and bies deare, shall never thrive.

DOCTOR. Ye haue youre selfe declared the reason, why  
 [f. 46 b] thinges with [in] the Realme be so deare ; for we must bie  
 deare all thinges brought from beyonde the seas,  
 and therfore we must sell againe as deare oure  
 thinges, or els we should make ill bargaines for 5  
 oure selves. And thoughe that reason makes it  
 plaine, yet experience makethe it plainer ; for wheare youe  
 saie that everie thinge brought beyond the sea is commonly  
 dearer by the third part then it was, Doe ye not see the  
 same proportion raised in oure wares, yf it be not more, yea 10  
 in the old coine it selfe ? Is not the angell that was before  
 but xx<sup>tie</sup> grotes, now at xxx<sup>tie</sup>, and so all other old coine after  
 the same rate ? But I thincke theare is no more silver  
 given in the xxx<sup>tie</sup> grotes now then was before in xx<sup>tie</sup>, yf it  
 be so much. And so I thincke, settinge oure coine apart, 15  
 that we shall haue as much silke, wines, or oyles from  
 beyonde the seas, for oure todde of woll now as we might  
 haue had before the alteration of this coine.

MERCHAUNTE. I would vndertake to serve youe so.

KNIGHT. What losse haue we by this, when we sell 20  
 oure commodities as deare as we bie [theres] ?

DOCTOR. I graunte, to one sort of men I count it  
 no losse ; yea to some other, gaines more then losse ; but  
 yet to some other a greater losse, then it is proffitt to  
 thother ; yea, generally to the impoverishinge of the Realme, 25  
 and the weakeninge of the kinges maiesties power ex-  
 cedinglie.

KNIGHT. I prairie youe, what be these sortes that yow  
 meane ; and first, of those that ye thincke haue no losse  
 therby? 30

DOCTOR. I meane all those that live by byinge and  
 sellinge ; for as they bie deare, so they sell theareafter.

KNIGHT. What is the next sort that ye saie winnes by it ?

DOCTOR. Marie, all such as haue takinges, or farmes [f. 47] in their owne maintenaunce, at the olde rent ; for wheare they paie after the old rate, they sell after the new ; that is, they paie for their land  
 5 good cheape, and sell all thinges growinge therof deare.

Sum haue  
 gayns by  
 thalteracion of  
 the coyne.

KNIGHT. What sorte is that which youe said had greater losse theareby then those men had proffitte ?

DOCTOR. It is all noble men, and gentlemen, and all  
 10 other that live by a stinted rent, or stipend, or doe not maner the grounde, or doe occupie no byinge or sellinge.

KNIGHT. I praie youe, pervse those sortes as youe did [the other], one by one, and by cours.

DOCTOR. I will gladly. First, the noblemen and gentle-  
 15 men live for the most on the yearly revennewes of the landes and fees given them of the kinge. Then ye knowe, he that maie spend 300<sup>li</sup>. a yeare by such revennewes and fees, may kepe no better porte then his father, or anie other before him, that  
 20 could spend but 200<sup>li</sup>. And so ye maie perceaue, it is a great abatment of a mans [countenaunce] to take awaie the third part of his livinge. And therefore gentlemen doe so much studie the Increase of their landes, enhauncinge of their rentes, and so take farmes and  
 25 pastures into their owne handes, as ye se they doe ; and also to seke to maintaine their [countenaunce], as their prodecessors did, and yet they come short thearin. Other, seinge the charges of howsehould so muche as by no provision they can make can be holpen, they give over their  
 30 howsholdes, and get them chambers in London, or abowte the courte ; and theare spend their time, some of them with a servaunte or ij, wheare he was wounte to kepe xxx<sup>tie</sup> or xl<sup>tie</sup> persons daily in his howse, and to doe good in the [f. 47<sup>b</sup>]

Who hath  
 losse by  
 thalteracion of  
 the coyne.

countie, in keepinge good order and rule amonge his neighboures. The other sorte be, everie servinge man and men of warre, that havinge but their old stinted wages, can not finde them selves therewith as they might afore time, without Ravine or spoile. Ye know vj<sup>d</sup>. a daie will not now 5 goe so far as iij<sup>d</sup>. would afore time; and thearfore ye haue men so vnwillinge to serve the kinge now a daies, [from] that they weare wounte to be; also wheare xl<sup>s</sup>. a yeare was good honest wages for a yeoman afore this time, and xx<sup>d</sup>. a wekes borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will scant 10 beare their charges.

KNIGHT. That is longe of the excesse as well In apparell as in faire; for now a daies servinge men are more costly in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely, then their masters weare wounte to doe in times past. 15

DOCTOR. No doubt that is one greate [cause of the greater] charge of howsehold; for I knowe when a servinge man was content to goe in a kendall cote in somer, Of excesse in apparell and fare. or in a frese cote in winter, and with a plaine white hose made mete for his bodie, and with a pece of 20 beof or sume other dishe all the weke longe. Now he will loke to haue, at the least, for somer a cote of the finest cloth maie be had for mony, and his hosen of the finest carsey, and that of sume strange coullor or die, as flanders die, or french puke, that a prince or great lord can weare no finer, yf he weare 25 cloth; then their cotes shalbe garded, cut, and stiched; and the briches of their hosen so drawne with silkes that the [f. 48] workemanshipe shall farre passe the price of the stufe; and this thinge is not restrained, as it should be, but rather cherished of their masters, one strivinge with an other 30 who maie be most proude, and whose retinewe may most lavishe, or goe gaie for a time of shew; wheare as, through the suche excesse, they are faine all the rest of the yeare to

kepe the fewer servautes. And so in excesse of meates they fare at some time, that In the hole yeare after they kepe no howses at all, or yf they doe, it shalbe verie small. Like excesses, as well in apparell as in fare, weare vsed in Rome, 5 a litle before the declination of the empire, so as wise men haue thought it was occasion of the decaie therof. And therefore Cato, and divers others wise Senators at that time, would haue had lawes made for the restraunte of such excesse ; and for that, thorouge the insolencie of some that 10 maintained the contrarie, the same weare not daily executed, such pride ensued theare, and of pride devisiion, and throughe devisiion, vtter desolacion of the common wealthe. I praie god, this Realme may beware by that example, and especially London, the head of this empire, wheare suche excesses, 15 by reason the wealthe that is of all this Realme is heaped vp, as the corne of the field into a barne, be most vsed ; for in other partes commonly of this Realme, the lawe of necessitie kepes men in good case, for excedinge ether in apparell or fare. I thincke we weare as much dreaded, or [f. 48<sup>b</sup>] 20 more, of oure enemies when oure gentlemen went simply and oure seruingemen plainly, with out cut or garde, bearinge the hevie sworde and bucler, on their thighe, in steade of cuttes and gardes, and light daunsing swordes, and Rapiers. And when they rode, caryinge goode speares in 25 their handes, in stead of white rodde which they carie now, more like ladies, or gentlewomen, then men ; all which Delicacies makes oure men cleane effeminate, and without streingthe.

KNIGHT. We maie thancke oure longe peace and quietnes with in the realme, that men be not forced to ride so stronge ; it was a troublous worlde, as well with in the Realme as with oute, when men went and rode as youe speake of.

DOCTOR. What can youe tell when suche a worlde may

come? Wise men saie that in peace men must locke and  
 In peace loke provide for warre, and in warre againe for peace ;  
 for warre. yf men weare suer alwaies of peace, theare neded  
 no man to kepe men at all ; but sithe it is otherwise, and  
 that the iniquitie of men is suche as they cannot be longe 5  
 with oute warre, and that we recken here in Englonde oure  
 cheif streingthe to be in servingemen and yomen, it weare  
 wisdome to exercise them, in time of peace, with such  
 apparell, fare, and hardnes, as they must nedes sustaine in  
 time of warre. Then the same shalbe no noveltie to them 10  
 when they come to it ; and their bodies shalbe stronger to  
 beare that, that they weare accustomed with all before. Let  
 this I saie be of no credit, yf delicacie and tendernes was  
 [f. 49] not the Just occasion of the subduinge the greatest empires  
 that weare. 15

KNIGHT. Suerly ye saie verie well, and that which  
 soundeth to good reason ; for I must nedes alow that I haue  
 found trew my selfe ; for my men are so tenderly vsed in  
 time of peace that they can not awaie with anie hevie  
 armor in time of warre, but ether shirtes of male or cotes 20  
 of linnen ragges, which at a shott maie happen to deceiue  
 vs. Then, what saie youe to oure buildinges, that we haue  
 heare in Inglond of late daies, farre more excessiue then at  
 anie time heretofore ; doth not that empoverishe the Realme,  
 and cause men to kepe lesse howses ? 25

DOCTOR. I saie all these thinges be tokens [and] orna-  
 mentes of peace, and that no dowbte is cause of lesse hows-  
 holdes, sith the buyldinge and trimminge of these howses  
 spent awaie that that should be otherwise spent in howshold.  
 But it doth not impoverishe the Realme at all ; for all the 30  
 expenses of buyldinges, for the most parte, is spent emonge  
 oure selves, and emonge oure neighbours and countriemen ;  
 as emonge carpenters, masons and laborers ; except men will



fall to gildinge or paintinge of these howses, for in that much treasure may be spent to no vse. Allso the arrisses, verderers, and tapstrie worke, wheare with they be hanged, commonly conueieth over into flanders, and other strange  
5 countries wheare they be had fro, muche of our treasure.

KNIGHT. Sir, yet I must remember youe of one thinge more, which men doe suppose to be a greate occasion of this spendinge of treasure abroade; and that is this, wheare [f. 49<sup>b</sup>] theare is cominge into the kinges handes, of late, much landes,  
10 by reason of monesteries, Colleges and chauntres dissolved; which men suppose hath bene the cause, ij maner of waies, that theare is lesse treasure in the Realme. One is, because the Revenues of the said places dissolved, hearetofore weare spent in the countrie, and went from hand to hand  
15 [there], for vittalles, cloth and other thinges, and now hath gotten to one place owte of the countrie; an other is, that divers men, which had anie Riches or wealth, vttered the same to bie parcell of the dissolved landes lyinge commodious for them; whearby, the one waie and the other,  
20 the [riches of the] whole countrie is cleane sweped awaie.

DOCTOR. Trewth it is also; that makes the countrie abroade bare for the time, and had kept it so still, yf the kinges maiestie had not disperced the same landes abroade amonge them in the countrie againe; but now that his  
25 highnes hath departed with a greate deale of those possessions, parte by guift, and parte by sale, treasure shall shortly increase againe abroade, as much as ever it was, yf it be not letted by other meanes. So that [I] take it to be no great \* cause of this dearth that we haue, for the soile is not  
30 \* taken awaie, but the possession therof is only transferred from one kind of person to a nother.

KNIGHT. Then to returne to the matter of the coine [f. 50] wheare we left; I haue heard [yowr] conceit, how the

alteration thearof doth sume men no harme, as biers and sellers; some other it doth good, as vnto fermers that had land at the old rent; and some other, as gentlemen, [menne] of warre, servingmen, and all other livinge by anie rated and stinted rent or stipend, are greate loosers by it. I hard youe 5 saie, it was so much with all to the losse of the kinges maiestie, that it might be to the great perill, not only of this Roiall estate, but also to the whole Realme in processe of time; I merveill how it should be so, for I heard wise men saie, that the kinges father did winne \* inestimable greate somes by the 10 alteration of the coine.

DOCTOR. So it was for the time; but I [lyken] that gaines to such as men haue, when men sell awaye their landes, to haue the greater some at one time, and ever after to lose the continuall encrease that should grow thearof. 15

Howe the alteration of the coyne is moste losse to the Kyng. For ye knowe all the treasure of this Realme must once in few yeares come to the kinges highnes handes, by one meane or other; and from him it should goe abrode againe to his subiectes; as all springes runne to the ocean sea, and oute 20 of it they sprede abroade agayne. Then, as they came in of late in good mettall, they came fourth in such as ye se now.

And albeit it semes at the first face to impoverishe but the subiectes only, at length it is to be feared lest it doe impoverishe the kinges highnes; and then yf his grace 25 [f. 50b] should want, in time of warre, speceally sufficient treasure to paie for armore, weapons, tacklings of shippes, goounes, and other artillarie, necessarie for the warre, that could by no meanes have of his subiectes wheare with to bie the same, what [case] should his grace be in, and his Realme? 30

Suerly very ill. And thearfore these coines and treasures be not with out cause called of wise men [nervi] bellorum, that is to saie, The 35

Money is  
caulyde Nervi  
bellorum.

senowes of warre. And that is the greatest danger that, I consider, should grow for want of treasure, to the kinge and his Realme; for though the kinges highenes maie haue what coine he will currant with in the Realme, yet the  
 5 strangers can not be compelled to take them. And I graunt yf men might live with in them selves altogether, with oute borrowinge of anie thinge outwarde, we might devise what coine we would; but sence we must haue nede of other, and other of vs, we must frame oure thinges, not  
 10 after oure fantasies, but to folowe the common market of all the world; and we maie not set the price of thinges at oure pleasure, but folowe the price of the vniversall market of all the world. I graunte brasse hath bene coined ere this, yea, and lether in some places; but ever I rede that was  
 15 an extreme nede, which thinge is not to be folowed as an example, but to be eschued as longe as possible may be. Also I heare saie, that in fraunce [and] flanders theare goeth abroad such coine at these daies; but that doth not exile [f. 51]  
 all other good coine; but they be currant with all, and  
 20 plentie theareof, howsoever they vse it; and because I haue no experience of their vsage theare, how both coynes are vsed, Thearefore I will thincke it wisdom we did learne of them how we might vse thone and thother, [kepyng] either of like rate, as they doe; so that they should never desire anie of  
 25 oure coine for anie greater valew then they be esteemed at with them, [nor wee theyres for annye greater estimate with vs than with them]. And then should we be sure to kepe oure treasure at a staie. And as for recoveringe of old treasure that is alreadie gonne, theare might be order that  
 30 some commoditie of ours weare so restrained from them that it should not be sold but for silver or gold, or for the third part or halfe in such coines as is vniversally currant; and thus cheifly oure treasure

For recouering  
 of our thresure  
 home again.

might be recovered by these ij meanes ; first, yf we forbid bringinge in of so many trifles, as I before rehersed to be brought vs from beyonde the seas ; and that nothinge made beyonde the sea, of oure commodities, should be sould heare. And secondly, yf we forbid that none of oure 5 commodities should passe over vnwrought ; which, beinge wrought heare and then sould over, should bringe infinite treasure in short time.

KNIGHT. Marie, and theare youe be contrary to the opinions of many greate wise men ; which thincke it better 10 that all oure woll weare sold over the sea vnwrought, then anie clothiars should be set a worke within the Realme.

[f. 51 b] DOCTOR. That weare a strange thinge in my opinion, that anie man should thincke so ; and what should move them to be of that opinion, I pray youe? 15

KNIGHT. I will tell youe ; they take it that all these Insurrections doe stirre by occasion of all these clothiers ; for when oure clothiers lacke vent over sea, there is greate multitude of these clothiers idle ; and when they be idle, then they assemble in companies, and murmur for lacke of 20

livinge, and so pike one quarrell or other to stirre the power commons, that be as Idle as they, to a commocion ; and sometime, by occasion of warres, there must nedes be some staie some-  
time of clothes, so that they can not alwayes 25

haue saile or vent ; at everie which time, yf the said clothiars should take occasion of commocion, they thincke it weare better there weare none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently that the woll weare vttered vnwrought over sea, then to haue it wrought heare. 30

DOCTOR. So it may seme them that consider on Inconuenience and not an other. Surely whosoever hath anie persons vnder his governaunce, shall haue much adoe

Whether al our  
woole were  
expedient to  
be solde ouer  
and vn-  
wroughte.

to governe them in quiet ; and he that hath a greate familie shall haue some time trowble in the rewlinge of theime. [Yet were it but a meane pollicie eyther for a prince to minishe his nomber, or for a master of a house to putte  
 5 away his seruantes, because he wolde not haue anye troble with the gouernaunce of them.] Now he that [f. 52] would so doe, might be well resembled to a man that would sell his land, because he would not be troubled with the accompte of it. I thincke it meter that we  
 10 did not onlie increase the feate of clothinge, but also Intende divers other feates and occupations whearby the people might be set a worke, rather then to take a waie any occupation from them ; speciallie  
 such as clothinge is, that settes so manie thow- That misteries are rather to be increased then diminish- ed.  
 15 sandes a worke, and inricheth both towne and countrie. Yea wheare it is occupied In venis as I heard, and in many other places beyonde the sea, they weare rewarded and cherished, everie man that bringes in anie new arte or mistorie whearby the people might be set  
 20 aworke, with such thinges as should both finde their workemen aworke, and also bringe some treasure or commoditie into the countrie. And shall we, contrariwise, labour to destroie oure best and most proffittable trade, which is by clothinge ? I woulde know what would bringe  
 25 vs treasure from beyonde the seas and from strange partes, or wheare with so manie people should be set a worke, as haue now their livinges by clothinge, yf that occupation weare laide downe ?

**KNIGHT.** Marie, we might haue treasure enoughe from  
 30 outward partes for oure wolles, though none weare wrought with in the Realme. And as for occupation to sett clothiers a worke, they might be set to the plowghe and to husbandrie ; [f. 52 b] and that should make husbandrie to be more occupied, and

grasinge lesse vsed, when all these people that nowe doe occupie cloth should fall to husbandrie.

DOCTOR. As to the first that ye saide, that woll is sufficient to bringe in treasure. Yf it weare, as it is not [in dede], yet that feate weare not for the common wealthe 5 nor continuance of the Realme; for then everie man would fall to brede shepe and to encrease woll; and so at lengthe all the occupacions should be set aside, and breedinge of shepe onlie occupied. Then youe knowe a few shepe masters would serve for a whole shire; so in proces of time 10 the multitude of the kinges subiectes should be worne away, and none left but a few shepmasters and sheppardes, which weare no number sufficient to serve the kinge in his nede, or defende his realme from enemies. As to the other parte of [your] tale, wheareby ye would that these clothiars 15 should fall from that occupacion to husbandrie; how could so many, added to them that occupie husbandrie alredie, get their livinges by the same, when they that be husbandmen now haue but a scant lyvinge therby? And yf youe would saie to me that they should have free vent or 20 sale of their corne over the sea, then comes the same [f. 53] Inconvenience in, that ye thought to avoide before, by puttinge them from clothinge; for in some yeares that should happen, either throughe warres or by reason of plentie in all partes beyonde the seas, that they should haue 25 no vent of their corne, and theareby be driven to be idle; and consequently for lacke of livinges to assemble together and make like vproes as ye spake of before. They haue in fraunce more handicraftes occupied, and greater multitude of artificers, then we haue heare, by a greate deale; 30 and for all that they haue made manie greate sturres and commotions before this, yet they will not destroie artificers, for they know that the highest princes of them all, with

oute such artificers, weare not able to maintaine their estate. Doth not all these tolles, customes, taxes, tallages, subsidues, cheifly grow by such artificers? What Kinge can maintaine his estate by his yearly reuennwes only  
 5 growinge of his Landes? for as manie seruauntes in a howse well set on worke gaines every daie sumwhat to their master, so doth every artificer in a Realme gaine ech sumwhat, and altogether a greate masse to the Kinge every yeare.

10 KNIGHT. Well, youe haue hearde what minde many wiser men then I am are of.

DOCTOR. I perceauē that there be manie greate men [f. 53<sup>b</sup>] of that opinion in this Realme; or els they had not dowblted the custome of cloth, nor charged all cloth made with in  
 15 the realme with xij. on every pound in the last subsidie; which was the very highe waie to make clothiers give vp their occupyng, as I feare me it hath donne; and bread much of the Inconuenience that ye sawe heare the last somer, and is like to be occasion of more, yf they hold on  
 20 in that opinion. And now, because we are Three sortes of misteryes entred into communication of artificers, I will make this deuision of them. Some of them doe but bringe monie oute of the countrie; some other, that which they doe get, they spend againe in the countrie; and the third sorte of  
 25 artificers be they that doe bringe treasure into One bringes oute treasure. the countrie. Off the first, I reckon all mercers, grocers, vinteners, haberdashers, mileyners, and such as doe sell wares growinge beyond the seas, and doe fetche oute our treasure of the same. Which kinde of artificers, as I  
 30 reckon them tollorable, and yet are not so necessarie in a common wealth but they might be best spared of all other; yet yf we had not other artificers, to bringe in as much treasure as they bringe furth, we should be greate losers

An other spend  
 that they gette  
 in the same  
 [f. 54] contreye a-  
 gayne.

by them. Of the second sort be these: Sho-  
 makers, tailors, carpenters, masons, tilers, bow-  
 chers, brewers, bakers, vitailers of all sortes, which  
 like as they get theire livinge in the countrie,  
 so they spende it; but they bringe in no treasour vnto vs. 5

The thirde  
 sorte brings  
 in treasure,  
 and therfore  
 moste to be  
 cherished.

Thearfore we must [cherishe] well the third sorte;  
 and these be clothiars, tannars, cappers, and  
 worsted makers, only that I knowe, [which,] by  
 theire misteries and faculties, doe bringe in anie  
 treasour. As for oure woll, felles, tinne, lead, 10  
 butter and chese, these be the commodities that the ground  
 beares, requiringe the Industrie of a few persons; and yf we  
 should only trust to such, and devise nothings ells to  
 occupie oure selves, a few persons wold serve vs for the  
 reringe of such thinges, and few also [it wolde] find; and so 15  
 should the Realme be like a [graunge], better furnished with  
 beastes then with men; whearby it might be subiect to the  
 spoile of other nations aboute; which is the more to be  
 feared and eschued, because the countrie of his owne kind  
 is apt to bringe furth such thinges, as is said before, for 20  
 the brede of cattail, then for such thinges as [be] for the  
 Pomponius  
 Mela. nowrishment of men; Yf Pomponius mela be  
 to be beleved, which, describinge the Iland, saith  
 thus: plana, ingens, fecunda, verum ijs que pecora quam  
 homines benignius alunt. That is to saie, it is plaine, large, 25  
 and plentifull, but of those thinges that norisheth beastes  
 [f. 54 b] more kindly then men. So many forestes, Chases, Parkes,  
 marshes and wast groundes, that be more heare then most  
 commonly ells wheare, declare the same not to be all in  
 vaine that he affirmes; that hath not so much arable 30  
 grounde, vines, olives, fructes, and such as be most neces-  
 sarie for the foode of men. And as they require manie  
 handes in the culture, so they find most personnes foode; as



fraunce, Spaine and diuers other countries haue. Thearefore  
 as much grounde, *as* heare is apte for those thinges, would  
 be [turned] (as much as maie be) to such vses as maie  
 find most persons. And over that, townes and Cities would  
 5 be replenished with all kind of artificers ; not only clothiars,  
 which as yet weare oure naturall occupation, but with  
 cappers, glovers, paper makers, glasiars, pointers, gold-  
 smithes, blacke smithes of all sortes, coverlet makers, nedle  
 makers, pinner and such other ; so as we should not only  
 10 haue enowghe of such thinges to serve oure realme, and  
 saue an infinite treasour that goeth now over for so manie  
 of the same, but also might spare of such thinges redie  
 wrought to be sold over, whearby we should fetch againe  
 other necessarie commodities and treasours. And thus  
 15 should be both replenished the Realme of people able to  
 defende it, and also winne much treasour to the  
 same. Such occupations alone doe enrich Misteries do  
 enriche coun-  
 tres that bene  
 els barren.  
 diuers countries, that be els barren of them-  
 selves ; and what riches they bringe to the  
 20 countrie wheare they be well vsed, the countrie of flaunders  
 and Germany doe well declare ; wheare, throughe such  
 occupations, it hath so manie and wealthie Cities, that it  
 weare vncredible in so litle grounde to be. Wheare fore in  
 my mynde they are farre wide of right consideration, that  
 25 would haue none or lesse clothinge with in the Realme,  
 because it is somtimes occasion of busines or tumultes, for  
 lacke of vent. Theare is nothings euerie waie so com-  
 modious or necessarie for mens vse, but it is sometime by  
 ill handlinge occasion of displeasure ; no, not fiere and water,  
 30 that be so necessarie as nothings can be more.

[f. 55]

KNIGHT. Yea, master doctor, we stand not in like case  
 as fraunce or flaunders, that youe speake of ; yf they haue  
 not vent one waie, they may haue it an other waie alwaies,

for firme lande is rounde abowte them in maner ; yf they be at warre with one neighbour, they wilbe frendes with an other, to whose countries they maie send their commodities to sell.

DOCTOR. So maie we be, yf we be wise [we may] kepe 5  
 one freind or other alwaies in hand. Who wilbe  
 Aliauces with  
 straungers are  
 to be cherish-  
 ed. so mad, beinge a private man, but he wilbe sure  
 to doe so? [Lette wise] men consider what  
 freindes this Realme hathe had in times past ;  
 and yf they be lost, or interrupted an other waie sence, let 10  
 vs purchase other for them, or els give as little occasion of  
 breach with oure neighbors as may be. The wise man, as I  
 remember, saith in eclesiastes : Non bonum est homini esse  
 solum.

[f. 55 b] KNIGHT. Also in fraunce they haue diuers bandes of 15  
 men of armes, in diuers places of the realme, to  
 Whether men  
 at armes were  
 as necessarye  
 here as in  
 fraunce. represse such tumultes quickely, yf anie should  
 arise ; yf we had the like heare, we might be bold  
 to haue as manie artificers as they haue.

HUSBANDMAN. God forbid that we haue anie such 20  
 tirantes come amongst vs ; for as they saie, such will in the  
 cuntry of fraunce take pore mens hens, chickens, pigges,  
 and other provision, and paie nothinge for it ; except it be an  
 evell turne, as to ravishe his wife or daughter for it.

MERCHAUNTE. Marie, I thinke that waye wold be rather 25  
 occasion of commotions to be stirred, then to be quenched,  
 for, as he saide, the stomakes of \* Englishmen would neuer  
 beare that, to suffer suche iniurie and Reproches, as I  
 knowe suche vse to doe to the subiectes of france, in  
 reproche of whome we call them paisantes. 30

KNIGHT. Marie, but the Kinge owr maister mighte  
 restraine them well inoughe, for doinge outrages, vpon great  
 paines.

DOCTOR. What and it weare skant in his power to doe it? The Romaines had sometyme suche men of armes in divers places, for the defence of the empire, it was thoughte, but at the lengthe it overthrew the same. Julius Caesar dothe declare the same; and manie tymes after, when the Emperours died, the men of warre erected what emperour they lusted; somtyme a slave, contrarie to the election of the Senate of Rome, beinge cheife counsellours of thempire, till the whole empire was destroyed. It is not for commotions of subiectes that france keapethe suche, but the estate and necessitie of the countrie, which is environned about withe enemies, and neyther sea nor wall betwene; against whose iniuries and invasions they mainteine these men of warre of necessitie. They would faine ley them downe, yf they durst for feare of their neighbors. And some wise men haue said and written, that the same men of armes maie be the destruction of their kingedome at length. And besides that, the largenes of the dominion and situacion of the same towards the other countries doth [not require] such men. And moreover the Revennwes of this Realme is not able to make vp the like number with fraunce; and yf we should make uppe a lesse number, we should declare oure selves inferior in power to Fraunce, to whom we haue bene counted hitherto superiors in successe, through the stoutnes of oure subiectes only. And therefore I would not haue a small sore cured with a greater griefe; nor for avoideinge of sedition emonge people, which happenethe very seldome and sounne quenched, to bringe in a continuall yocke and charge, both to the kinge and his subiectes.

The lesse griefe wolde not be holpen with a greater sore.

KNIGHT. Ye saie well, and so as I cane saie no more against youre sentence; but yet I would wishe youre sainge could suffice other, as well as it doth me.

DOCTOR. Well, now it is time to make an ende ; I haue troubled youe here with a tedious and longe talke.

[f. 56<sup>b</sup>] KNIGHT. I would be contented to be troubled longer after that sorte.

MERCHAUNTE AND CAPPER. And so coulde we, though 5 it weare all this daie, but for troublinge of youre selfe, good master doctor.

KNIGHT. Yet the most necessarie point, which we speacke of, is yet behinde. That is, howe these maie be remedied ; and therefore we will not goe from youe till we 10 haue youre advise herein.

DOCTOR. A godes name, I will showe youe my fantasie in that parte, but let vs first goe to supper, wheare oure host hath prepared honestly for vs.

THE ENDE OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

## The third Dialougue.

[f. 57]

AFTER we had well refreshed oure selves at supper, I thought longe till I had knowen the iudgement of maister Doctor, aboute the remedies of these thinges aboue remembered, howe he thought they might be best redressed, and  
5 with lest daunger or alteration of thinges; and therefore I saide to him thus: Sins yowe haue declared vnto vs (goode maister Doctor) oure deseases, and also the occasions therof, we praie youe leave vs not destitute of convenient remedies for the same; ye haue perswaded vs fully, and we perceau  
10 that oure selves, that we are not now in so good state as we haue bene in times past; and ye haue shewed vs proveable occasions that hath brought vs to that case; therefore now we praie youe, shew vs what might remedie these oure greifes.

15 DOCTOR. When a mane dothe perceau his greife, and the occasion also of the same, he is in a goode waie of amendment; for knowinge the occasion of the greife, a man may soune avoyde the same occasion; and that beinge avoided, the greife is also taken awaye; for as the  
20 Philosopher saithe: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. But let vs breifly recounte them, and then the occasions thearof,

and thirdly, goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the  
The common griefes. same. First, this generall and vniversall dearth  
 is the cheifest greife that all men complaine  
 [f. 57<sup>b</sup>] most on. Secondly, the exhauisinge of the treasure of this  
 Realme. Thirdly, inclosures and turninge arrable grounde 5  
 to pasture. Fourthely, decayinge of townes, towneshippes  
 and villages; and last, deuisiō and diversitie of opinions in  
 religion. The occasions of these, althoughe I haue diversly  
 declared after the diversitie of mens myndes and opinions,  
 yet here I will take to be the same, but only such as I 10  
 thincke verily to be the very iust occasions in dede. For,  
 as I shewed youe before, diuers men diversly iudgethe this  
 or that to be the cause or occasion of this or that greife;  
 because there maie be diuers causes of one  
The original cause in euery thing is to be serched. thing, and yet but one principall cause, that 15  
 bringeth fourth these thinges to passe. Let vs  
 seke oute that cause, omittinge all the meane  
 causes, which are driven forward by the first original cause;  
 as in a presse, goinge in at a streight, the formost is driven  
 by him that is next him, and the next by him that folowes 20  
 him, and the thirde by some violent and stronge thinge that  
 drives him forward; which is the first and principall cause of  
 puttinge forward the rest before; yf he weare kept backe and  
 [f. 58] staid, all they that goe forewarde would staid with all. To  
 make this more plaine vnto youe; as in a clocke there be 25  
 many wheles, yet the first whele beinge stirred it drives the  
 next, and that the third, till the last that moves the Instru-  
 mentes that strikes the clocke. So in makinge of a howse,  
 there is the maister that would haue the howse made,  
 there is the carpenter, there is the stuffe to make the 30  
 howse with all. The stuffe never stirres till the workeman  
 set it foreward. The workeman never travailes, but as the  
 maister provokes him with goode wages; and so he is the

principall cause of this howse makeinge. And this cause is  
 of clerkes called efficient, as that that bringes the thinge  
 principally to effecte; perswade this man to let his buyld-  
 inge alone, and the howse shall never come to passe;  
 5 yet the howse can not be made with oute stuffe and worke-  
 men; and therefore they be called of some, *Causa sine quibus*  
*non*, and of other some, *Materiales*, and for-  
 males; but all comethe to one purpose; that is the efficient cause and principall cause, with  
 10 oute removeinge of which cause the thinge can not be  
 remedied. And because it was grafted in everie mans  
 Judgement, that the cause of anie thinge beinge taken  
 awaie the effecte is taken awaie with all, therefore men toke  
 the causes of these thinges that be talked of withoute  
 15 iudgement, not by discerninge the principall cause from the  
 meane causes, but by takinge awaie of these causes that be  
 but secundarie as it weare, and so they weare never the  
 nearer to remedie the thinge they went aboute. Much like [*f. 58<sup>b</sup>*]  
 the wife of Ajax, that lost hir housband in the shippe called  
 20 Argos, wished that those firre beames had never bene felled  
 in Peleius woode, where the saide shippe was made; when  
 that was not the efficient cause of the losinge of hir  
 howsbande, but the wildefier cast in the said shippe did set  
 it one fiere. Suche causes as they be, be called *Remotae*,  
 25 as it weare to farre of; so they be also idle, and of no  
 operation of them selves, with oute some other to set them  
 on worke. And percase I, while I degresse so farre from my  
 matter, shalbe thought to goe as farre from my purpose, yet  
 to come to oure matter and to applie this that I haue saide  
 30 to the same. Some thincke this dearthe beginnes by the  
 tenaunte, in sellinge his ware so deare; some other, by the  
 Lord in raisinge his land so highe; and some, by those  
 Inclosures; and some other, by raisinge of oure coyne and

Divers sortes  
 of causes there  
 bee.

alteration of the same. Therefore some, by takinge some one of these thinges awaye, (as their opinion served them to be the principall cause of this dearthe,) thought to remedie this; but as the triall of thinges shewed, they towched not the cause efficient or principall, and therefore their devise 5 toke no place. And yf they had, the thinge had bene remedied fourthe with; for that is proper to the principall cause, that as soun as it is taken awaie, the effect is removed also. Yet I confesse that all these things risethe together with this dearthe, that everie of them 10 shoulde seme to be the cause of it. Neverthesse, it is no goode prooffe that they shoulde be the causes of it; no more then was the steple made at Dover the cause of the decaye of the haven at Dover, because the haven beganne to decaye the same time that the steple beganne to be buylded. Nor 15 yet, though some of these be cause of the other, yet in dede they be not all the efficient causes of this dearthe. But as I haue saide before, of men thrustinge one an other in a [thronge], one drivinge an other, and but one first of all, that was the cheife cause of that force; so in this mattier that 20 we talke of, there is some one thinge that is the originall cause of these causes, that be as it weare secondary, and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take, the raisinge of the prices of all vittales at the husbandmans hand is the cause of the 25 raysinge of the rent of his Landes; and that gentlemen fall so muche to take farmes into their owne handes, Lest they be driven to by their provision so deare; and that is a greate cause againe that inclosures is more vsed. For gentlemen, havinge muche landes in their 30 handes, and not beinge able to welde all, and to se it manured in husbandrie, (which requireth the industrie, Labor and governaunce of a greate many of persons,) dothe

[f. 59] *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.*

Howe one thing is cause of another, and that of the thirde.



convert most of that Lande to pastures ; whearin is required [f. 59<sup>b</sup>]  
 bothe lesse charges of persons, and of the which neverthe-  
 lesse comethe more cleare gaynes. Thus one thing hanges  
 vppon an other, and settes forwarde one a nother ; but one,  
 5 first of all, [is] the cheife cause of all this circuler motion and  
 impulsion. I shewed a while eare, that the cheife cause was  
not in howsbandeman, nor yet in the gentleman. Let vs se  
 whether it be in the marchaunt. It appeares, by reason  
 that all wares bought of him are dearer now farre then they  
 10 weare wount to be once, the husbandman is driven to sell  
 his commodities dearer. Nowe that the mattier is brought  
 to youe, maister marchaunt, howe can youe avoyde the  
 cause from beinge in yow ?

MERCHAUNTE. Sir, easilie enowghe ; for as we nowe sell  
 15 dearer all thinges then we weare wounte to doe, So we bie  
 dearer all thinges of straungers. And therefore let them put  
 the mattier from them theare, for we disburden oure selves  
 of this faulte.

DOCTOR. And they be not heare to make answeere ; yf  
 20 they weare, I would aske them why they sell their wares  
 dearer nowe then thei were wount to doe ?

MERCHAUNTE. Marye, and to that I hard manie of them  
 answeere ere this, when they weare asked that  
 question, ij maner of wayes. One was, they  
 25 sold no dearer then they weare wount to doe ;  
 sayinge, for proufe therof, that they woulde take  
 for their commodities as much and no more of oure  
 commodities then they weare wounte to doe ; as for oure  
 todde of woll, they will geue as mucche wine, spice or silke as  
 30 [they] weare wonte to geue for so mucche ; yea, ffor an ounce  
 of oure silver or golde as much stufte as ever was gyuen for  
 the same. And their other answer was, that yf we did  
 reckon that they did sell their wares dearer, because they

The strangers  
 answeere touch-  
 inge this  
 dearth.

[f. 60]

demaunded more \* peces of oure coyne then they weare wonte to doe, that was no other faulte, they saide, but oures, that made oure peces lesse, or lesse worthe, then they weare in times past ; therfore they demaunded the more \* peces of them for [their] wares, sayinge they cared not what names 5 we would giue oure coynes, they woulde consider the quantitie and right valew of it that they weare estemed at euerie wheare throughe out the worlde.

KNIGHT. Then I would haue answered him after this sorte. Yf they came hither but for oure commodities, what 10 made it mattier to them what valew or quantitie our coyne weare of, so they might haue as muche of oure commodities for the same as they weare wonte to haue? If they came agayne for oure siluer and golde, it was nether lawfull nor expedient they should haue anye from vs. Whearfore I 15 would thinke that was no cause whie they shoulde sell their wares dearer then they weare wonte to doe.

DOCTOR. Then he might haue answered againe, that it chaunced not alwayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had agayne all those wares that they 20 [f. 60b] looked for. And they, havinge (percase) more wares necessarie for vs then we had of suche wares as they looked for, woulde be glade to receiue of vs suche stufte, currant in most places, as might bie that they looked for els wheare at their pleasure ; and they will saye was not oure coyne 25 suche. And as for oure lawes of not transportinge over sea anie gold or siluer, they passed not therof, so they might haue the same once conveyed them ; as they haue many wayes to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally, he might saye that we had not in dede oure coyne in 30 that estate oure selues, that by the name they pretended, but estemed bothe in valew and quantitie of the stufte it was made of ; for yf they had brought to vs halte an oz of silver,

we would not take it for an oz ; nor yf thei brought vs brasse mingled with siluer, we would not take it for pure silver ; and yf we would not take it so at their handes, whie should they take it otherwise at oures ? Then they sawe no man heare  
 5 [but] would rather haue a cuppe of [siluer] then a cuppe of brasse ; no, not the maisters of oure mintes, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as goode as the other. Wherfore, seinge vs esteeme the one in dede better then the other, as all the worlde dothe beside, whie should not they  
 10 esteeme oure coyne after the quantitie and valew of the substance therof, bothe after the rate it was esteemed [f. 61] amonge vs and also everie other wheare ? And so, as in moe peces there is but the valew that was in fewe peces before, therefore they demaunde greater number of peces, but yet  
 15 the like valew in substaunce, that they weare wonte to demaunde for their wares. Now let vs se whether goeth the cause of this mattier frome the stranger. For me thinckes he hath reasonably excused him selfe, and put it from him.

KNIGHT. By youre tale it must be in the coyne, and  
 20 consequently in the kinges highenes, by whose commaundment the same was altered.

DOCTOR. Yet percase it goes further yet ; yea, vnto suche as weare the [firste] counsellors of that dede, pretending it shoulde be to his highnes greate and notable  
 25 commoditie ; which, yf his grace maie now perceaue to be but a small proffitte and continuall losse, bothe to his highnes and also to his whole realme, may be sooner revoked agayne by his grace. And as a man [that] intendithe to heale a nother by a medicine that he thinckes goode,  
 30 though it proue otherwise, is not muche to be blamed ; no more is the Kinges maiestie in no wise, in whose time this was not doonne, nor his highnes father, which is not to be supposed to haue intended therby no losse, but rather

commoditie to him selfe and his subiectes, to be here in reprehended, albeit the thinge succeded beside purpose.

[f. 61 b] KNIGHT. Then ye thincke plainly that this alteration of the coyne is the cheifest and principall cause of this vniversall dearthe? 5

DOCTOR. Yea, no doubt, and of many of the said greifes that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the originall of all. And that, beside the reason of the thinge, (beinge plaine Inowhge of it selfe,) also experience and proufe dothe make 10 more plaine; for even with the alteration of the coyne beganne this dearthe; and as the coine appered, so rose the price of thinges with all. And this to be true, the few peces of old coyne yet remaininge testefiethe; for ye shall haue, for anie of the sayde coine, as muche of 15 anie ware either inwarde or outwarde as muche as ever was wounte to be had for the same; and so as the measure is made lesse, theare goethe [the more] some to make vp the tale. And because this risethe not together at all mens handes, therefore some hathe greate losse, and some other greate gaynes 20 therby, and that makes suche a generall gruge for the thinge. And thus, to conclude, I thinke this alteration of the coyne to be the first originall cause that straungers first selles their wares dearer to vs; and that makes all fermors and tennauntes, that rere the any commoditie, agayne to sell 25 the same dearer; the dearthe therof makes the gentlemen to rase their rentes, and to take farmes into their handes [f. 62] for the better provision, and consequently to inclose more groundes.

KNIGHT. Now what remedie for all these thinges? 30

DOCTOR. Ye se nowe the meane youre selfe, yf this be the efficient cause, as I doe thinke it is; and I knowe no meane to amende anie thinge that is

Either by example or by arte any thinge

amisse, but eyther by an other president that is well, or by arte. And yf we take the first waie, we may take either oure common welthe, when it was well, for a president, or an other common welthe that we se well ordered, to whose example we might conforme oure things. Yf the other way doe like vs better, to doe it by arte, we must then seke oute the right causes of these effectes, and by takinge the cheife and efficient causes, these effectes be taken away that proceade, as I haue oft said.

10 KNIGHT. I praye youe, tell playnly youre devise ; what causes are these that ye would haue taken away, and howe these thinges may be remedied.

DOCTOR. I will, [vnder protestation,] that if ye like it not, ye doe tell youre fantasies to it, and doe reiect it ; if ye like it, or anie parte thearof, vse it at youre pleasure. I meane (quod he) that all the coyne nowe curraunte [shoulde be after a certayne daye not currant,] but as men list to take them, after the estimation of the stuffe ; and the olde coyne or newe, after like value and quantitie and names, to be only from thence curraunt ; and so the coyne throughly restored to the old rate and goodnes.

The remedie  
to be by re-  
storage the  
coyne to the  
olde rate and  
names.

KNIGHT. All the treasure in this Realme is not able to doe that by and by at once, except it might be amended by a litle and a litle, some this yeare and some the next yeare.

DOCTOR. Howe meane youe that ?

KNIGHT. I meane thus, to amend the grote by one halpeny this yeare, and so the next yeare an other.

30 DOCTOR. God forbid that youe should advise the Kinge to doe so, for that shoulde be a meane as it hathe bene alredie to put the King to charge and the mattier never a whitt the better amended.

KNIGHT. Howe so?

DOCTOR. Marie, I will shewe youe yf youe meane one waye, (thus). If this coyne that we haue, beinge curraunt, the Kinge would [mend] his newe coine that he makes from henceforthe a porcion, as a q<sup>u</sup> or a ob., in a pece, youe will 5 graunte when that coine comethe abroad, the same shalbe in iust valew better by a penny or ob. then the other that we haue nowe.

KNIGHT. Yea, no doubt.

DOCTOR. Then shall not the other coine be as curraunt 10 as it abroad?

KNIGHT. Yes.

DOCTOR. Well then, when goldsmithes, marchauntes, and other skilled persons in mettall doe perceauē that the one grote is better then the other, and yet that he shall haue 15 as muche for the worse grote as for the better, will not he lay vp the better grote alwayes, and turne it to some other vse, and put forthe the worse, beinge like curraunte abroad?

Yea, no doubt, even as they haue donne of Late with the new golde ; [for they,] apperceavinge the 20 new coyne of gold to be better then the new coine of siluer that was made to countervalew it, piked out all the gold, as fast as it came forthe of the minte, and layde that aside for other vses ; so that nowe ye haue but a litle more then the old curraunt. 25 And so bothe the Kinges highnes is deceaved of his treasure, and the thinge intended never the more brought to passe ; and all is because there is no dew proportion kept betewne the coines, while the one is better then the other in his degre. And as I ment to shew youe an other waie ; that is, 30 yf the Kinges highnes should call in sodenly all his now curraunt monie, and set forthe a new coyne somewhat better, but yet not all so pure as the olde ; I take the like

[f. 63]

All the coyne used together currant must be of equall value in proportion one towards another.

deceipte shall growe vnto the Kinge by his minters ; for while the mettalles be confounded together, and can not be iustly proporcioned, with oute resoluinge agayne everie one to his owne kinde, the minters may doe what  
 5 deceipt they lust, and vse that incertantie for their owne lucre. And If in a ounce or tow they should be found [faultie], then might they saie, We melted together a greate quantitie, and that lackes of oure stander in this [porcion] is supplied in an other. And so they can never  
 10 be burdened to doe their dewties, left to their owne conscience ; which I feare me will be Large inoughe. And yet this waye weare but a patchinge of the thinge ; and as muche as it mended one thinge onewaye, it should paie an other waie.

Confusion of  
 metalles geues  
 occasion of de-  
 ceipte.

KNIGHT. What, and the kinge would make the grote [f. 63<sup>d</sup>]  
 15 lesse, and all other his coines beside?

DOCTOR. All should then come to one mattier ; for I had as leve haue x<sup>li</sup> of brasse as one oz of silver. And it is not in the power of any prince to make the oz of silver worthe two of it, of gold nor of anie other mettall. And I  
 20 had as leve haue a halpenny called a halpenny, as a halpennie that should be called a penny. Well, a man may chaunge the name of thinges, but the valem in anie wise ye can not, to indure for anie space ; except we weare in suche a countrie as Eutopia was imagined to be, that had no traffique  
 25 with anie other outwarde countrie. And therefore I would haue the iust and dwe proportion kepte in this pointe, not only in quallitie but also in quantitie ; for yf yow should admitt alteration, either in one or in the other, ye must bringe in with all manie  
 30 absurdities ; for albeit the prince might strike coines [of other quantities and of other names] then they weare of before time, though they weare never so pure, yet, because thaccomptes

Not onely the  
 substaunce  
 and quantitie,  
 but also the  
 names of coyne  
 must be after  
 the accustomed  
 maner.

of mens Lyvinges, rentes, stipendes, debtes and dewties vsethe the names of coines hearetofore accustomed, as poundes, markes, nobles, Rialles, and shillinges, and all writings made by these names, ye can not alter anie of the same, but ye must bringe much alteration with all 5 in everie manes reuennwes, debtes, and duties; as it appeareth well, by the alteration of the goodnes of the [f. 64] coine, it hathe bene donne; which the Kinges highenes cheifely, and next his grace the noble men and gentlemen of this Realme, maye well finde [at] their accomptes, yf 10 they consider the mattier well.

KNIGHT. That I fele to be true in my selfe, thoughe I knowe not the reason whie; for albeit I may spend now more then I could xvj yeares agoe, yet I ame not able to kepe the like howse I did then. 15

DOCTOR. No mervaile it should be. Ye remember, I trowe, that I sayd to day morninge vnto youe, that the coine in Aristotle is called a common measure of all thinges. Then, put case ye had no rent in monie, but paid youe in suche 20 necessaries as youe must nedes occupie, as in so many bushelles of corne and so many yeardes of clothe; the yarde and the bushell also being at the measure they be nowe at when ye did set forthe youre Landes. Yf the bushell and the 25 yearde shoulde be made lesse by one halfe, and then, [if ye] weare paid but of so many [busshels of corne and so many] yardes of clothe as ye haue before in numbere, and yet after that measure that was after made lesse, might [ye] then fede so manie persons and clothethimas [ye] did before? 30

KNIGHT. Not by one halfe; for so muche is taken awaie of the stuffe that I should doe it with all, by youre reckeninge. But is the coine a common measure, accompted

That the coyne is the common measure. Aristoteles li. 5, Cap. 5, Eth.

It is not in-oughe for a man to be paid in like number, but also in like quantitie.



as youe [saye], that may take suche diminution or abridgement as other measures may?

DOCTOR. It is not my sayinge only, but Aristotles, the sharpest philosopher of witt that ever was, as I saide before.

KNIGHT. Marie, yf that be true, the Kinge him selfe is [f. 64b] most loser, and then his nobles and gentlemen, which is his cheife strengthe in time of nede, and all other that be paid by this measure, beinge of old appoynted to a certeyne  
10 nombre of poundes, marckes, or shillings. And I perceave that they that paye by this newe measure, and yet but after the old number, must nedes be greate gayners.

DOCTOR. I perceave youe feele the matter youre selfe?

KNIGHT. Yea, no doubt it must be thus. But one  
15 thinge more I must aske, how they doe in fraunce and flaunders, where they haue [both] brasse coyne, mixte coyne, pure siluer, pure gold, curraunt together?

DOCTOR. I warrant youe by kepinge of dew proportion everie mettall towards other, as of brasse  
20 towards siluer a hundred to one, of siluer towards gold xij to one. For the proportion of siluer towards gold, I thinke, can not be altered by the auctoritie of anie prince; for yf it mought haue bene, it should haue bene ere this,  
25 by some one nedie prince or other with in two thousand yeares; for so longe it is since Plato that other philosopher was; which for his excellent wisdome was called Diuinus plato. He, in his dialouge called Hip-  
parchus, shewethe that the said proportion was  
30 in his time betwene siluer and gold; and the same is now still, for xij oz of siluer is worthe but one oz of pure gold at this daye. And so when vj aungels made an oz of gold, xx<sup>ty</sup> grotes of pure

It made no matter though some coyne were of brasse, so it kepte a dewe proportion of his estimate toward siluer and golde.

Plato in dial. Hipparc.

What proportion was betwene siluer and golde ij

thousand yere siluer, makinge ij oz<sup>s</sup> of siluer, countervailed  
ago, the same one aungell. And so xld. in silver answered  
is yet at this the xl<sup>s</sup>. in gold.  
daye.

[f. 65] KNIGHT. Still youe would haue vs retorne to oure old  
pathe whence we straid ; but all the masterie is in devisinge 5  
of the meane howe.

DOCTOR. Surely it requirethe some sharpe and provi-  
dent devise ; but it is nothings so harde, nor the [incon-  
ueniencies] growinge therof, as some percase must nedes be,  
so busie to provide for as these be, and are like more and 10  
more to growe, by the sufferinge of the coine to be in that  
case it is in nowe ; and thinges naturally [do] revert and  
with lesse difficultie to the old trade then to anie rare or  
insolent vsage. And people must nedes be pleased with  
that they weare accustomed vnto before, and then wilbe 15  
contented to beare some paine to bringe it therto.

KNIGHT. Well, set the case as youe would haue it, and  
let me and my frendes heare what inconvenience maie  
growe therby.

DOCTOR. Ye put me to a greate mattier, and excedinge 20  
my simple witte ; that would be devised by the greate wise  
heades of the counsell, or of the perleament, or of some piked  
numbere of learned and wise men, chosen of them and  
put together to consulte of this mattier a greate space. I  
haue percase waded further then my parte was, to speake so 25  
farre to tell that the thinge must once be donne.

KNIGHT. What harme is it, thoughe we imagined heare  
a hole common wealthe amonge oure selues, so it be not  
set forthe as thoughe we would nedes haue it after oure  
devise ? This good percase it may doe, that heare of youe, 30  
maister doctor, I maie heare some sensible reason, that,  
when I come to the parleament (whearof I ame vnworthie),  
I maie declare theare, which might enter into some mens

eares, that might doe good heare in ; and therefore tell youre [f. 65 b]  
devise. It shall no further for vs.

DOCTOR. It is dangerous to medle in the kinges  
matters, and specially yf it maie haue anie likelyhoode to  
5 minishe his proffitte.

KNIGHT. Trewe it is, if a man did speake in place  
wheare it should doe harme in deade and to that intent.

DOCTOR. I doe not so, but all to the best purpose,  
I take god to recorde, and to the Kinges highnes most  
10 proffitte, honoure and safetie at lengthe ; yet some percase  
will saie, that pertaynes not to me to studie for. Yes I aime  
a subiecte, and I owe him not only obeysaunce but also the  
obseque I can, either in deade or in devise ; and therefore I  
will put the case thus. Graunt the Kinge should make  
15 proclamation that, after michelmas next comminge, theare  
should be no coyne curraunte with in this Realme, but only  
after the rate ; and that everie man should bringe in his  
newe coyne to the kinges minte, and theare to haue billes,  
that for everie x<sup>s</sup> of new coyne brought in the Kinge to  
20 geve them betwene michelmas and Christmas next after,  
or suche a time, an angell noble, either in good gold or in  
good siluer, of the old value, \* viz, x grotes to the oz of  
siluer and vj angelles to the ounce of gold ; I aske what  
harme should come therof?

25 KNIGHT. Marie, no harme at all, yf it might be so  
brought to passe. But wheare should the kinge haue  
treasure to do it with all? His grace hathe nether so muche  
in his owne treasure, nor yet percase all his subiectes with  
all, as would make coyne sufficient for the trafique of the  
30 whole realme.

DOCTOR. I denie not but it wilbe a yeare, two, or [f. 66]  
thre, ere this Realme be full furnished as it was before,  
and that the kinges highnes shall haue some wante of

treasure for a time to doe this with all ; but the difficultie is not  
 so greate as it semes, and that should be at the  
 beginning. For first, the kinges maiestie should  
 haue some treasure tried oute of his newe coine  
 that should be brought in to the minte. Some 5  
 old coine theare is, yet left in the Realme, which would come  
 in to the kinge for rent, yf it weare in his just *estimate* ; some  
 plate is also left, that men would be glad to bringe in to  
 coyne, yf they might haue it agayne in pure siluer, as they  
 weare wonte to haue. And provision might be made in the 10  
 meane time that no woll, clothe, or tinne, or suche like  
 commodities, should be vttered forthe of the realme, but it  
 should be paid for in good gold or siluer after the old rate.  
 And yf his grace did provide that men might haue bullion  
 coined better cheape then ever they had before, or yet as 15  
 good cheape, men would bringe in siluer apace to the  
 minte.

KNIGHT. This would require a longe time, ere so muche  
 siluer and gold weare brought in or coined as would serue  
 for all the realme. How should the people in the meane 20  
 time vse the traffique, hauinge not coyne enoughe therfore ?

DOCTOR. By change of thinges partly, and partly by  
 suche porcion of the corrected [coyne] as went abroad till  
 more weare made.

KNIGHT. How should the kinge and gentlemen be 25  
 paide of their rentes the while ?

DOCTOR. The kinges highnes might be paied of his rent  
 [f. 66 b] in his owne curraunte money ; and the gentlemen in com-  
 modities growinge on their tenauntes Landes, beinge  
 esteemed at certaine prises, in payment of his rent for the 30  
 first halfe yeare ; and by the next halfe yeare theare should  
 come over for oure wolles, felles, tinne, and lead and other  
 commodities, as muche as would paie the kinge and all

other Lordes their rent in good siluer and gold; for I thinke this, that everie tenaunt rerethe yearly, of some commoditie or other, as muche as may paie his lordes rent. And the Lordes againe maie spare as muche of the com-  
 5 moditie which they receaue of their tenauntes, as will suffice to paie the kinges [maiestie] his rent at the least. And yf there were nothinge els to make this matter with all, yet this only thinge would in one whole yeare bringe in as muche good coine as would serue the necessarie traffique  
 10 of the realme; for there is no tenaunt can well spend more then he getes, nor Landlorde more then his yearly revenwes. And yf one amonge manie doe excede, an other will spare as muche as that comes to. And yf one yeare doe not furnishe the realme of sufficient coine, an other will; and  
 15 the third will make vs as riche as ever we were. For it is not enoughe for a prince or a realme to haue sufficient for one yeare, and so to live as they saie from hand to mouthe, as we doe nowe, but to haue some store for sodeyne eventes,  
 20 ether of warres or of dearthe. For yf we should haue warres or dearthe, as we haue had, and should nede ether artillerie, [municions,] or other aide of straungers, it is not the coine we haue nowe could provide vs that. And so likewise, yf we should haue greate scarcitie [f. 67]  
 25 of corne with in the realme, for the which we should be driven to fetch it from outwarde partes, it is not oure money would purchase it. Then oure commodities were not able in a notable scarcitie to contervalewe it, sithe nowe in plenteous yeares it dothe bringe in but skant enoughe of  
 30 thinges necessarie. Then, yf bothe warre and dearthe should come together, as it hath ere this, howe should we doe? Surely we should be in a verie harde case, and muche in daunger of straungers. On the other side, yf

A prince ought to have greate treasure, or els his subiectes, agaynst all euentes.

theare weare some store of treasures with in the Realme, thoughte theare should happen bothe warres and dearthe, yet we should be able to abyde them for a yeare, or ij, or iij; for I had as leve a thousand men had in a deare yeare 10000<sup>li</sup> amonge them in good coine, as [a thousand] barnes 5 full of corne worthe a [c.] pounce a pece; for the money would fetch as muche corne as all the barnes would come to. And money is, as it weare, a storehouse of anie commoditie ye would haue, as I haue said to youe before in oure communication afore nowe, which may longest be 10 kept withoute corruption, and easalest be caried two and fro for all exchange, [and] is most vniuersally curraunte yf it be gold or siluer. Never the lesse, but for the cumbrance in cariadge, I had as leve haue as muche brasse, tinne, or 15 leade in valewe, as the said money should come vnto; for they be as mete to abide the longe kepinge, and are vniuersally receaved in theire valewe, but they are verie combersome to carie. As yf a man lacked a commoditie that weare at London, he him selfe dwellinge at barwicke, weare it not a greate ease for him, yf he had ware to 20

[f. 67 b] exchange for the same, whiche he might carie in his slevs to the valwe of a hundred pounce, vpon a little nagge, to London with small costes, rather then yf he had ware to the value, which would requier a carte to carie it thether?

KNIGHT. Yes, no doubt, but yet he shoulde be surest 25 this way, which youe spake last of, from robbinge.

DOCTOR. That is true, yea and surest of all, yf he had nether of bothe.

KNIGHT. I haue hard divers men of youre sorte ere this exclame against the first inventors of gold and siluer, 30 because they weare occasion of muche murders, [felonyes] and mischeifes; for [it is lucre] drives men to all kinde of mischeife.

DOCTOR. I wote well they doe ; as [well] against the founders of siluer and gold, as also of Iron and stele, because also it is the instrumentes of muche murder, and slaughteter amonge men. And so I  
 5 wold wishe nether of bothe to be, so it weare vniversally amonge all. But and yf we should caste awaie oure tooles and weapons, and not other nations that be aboute, we should make oure selves naked of all defence, and be sub-  
 10 iecte to their spoyle ; so yf we alone should caste away oure gold and siluer, because of the harme that comes, not of them but of the evell vsinge, and other countries should retayne them still, we should weaken oure selues and strengthten them muche. Thoughe it be commendable in  
 15 some private man, for contemplacions sake, to set a side as muche as he maye well vse of oure money, it is not necessarie for the common wealth that all men should doe so, no more then [for all men to be uirgines], thoughe privately in some it is commendable.

20 KNIGHT. I haue harde that princes ere this haue [f. 68] coined lether, and made it curraunte in time of nede.

DOCTOR. Ye maye saye well that *it* was at a greate nede then, and for a small time ; and yet I never reade that more then one did so, which was called fredre-  
 25 rike, surnamed *Aenobarbus*, one of the emperours of Almaine, which lived aboute the yeare of oure lorde [1193]. He once in warres, at a time of greate nede, when his money was donne and his soldiers was redie to departe from him, stroke a coine of  
 30 lether, and fixed a naile of siluer in everie pece with his marke, desiringe his souldiours to take them for the time in steade of goode coine, promisinge after the warres finished he would restore them good curraunt money for the same,

That that is vniversally esteemed must not be reiected of any common weale that must haue trafique with other.

Coyne ones made of lether, but that in time of greate nede and for a small space.

as he did in deade. By which meanes he retained his souldiours againe, and atchived his enterprice; and toke in the lether coine, and paide them good for it. And so princes, kepinge their credit and promise, maye doe wondrous thinges amonge their subiectes in time of 5 nede; which, yf they doe not, should bringe them to seke healpe at straungers handes to their greate losses, as experience hath declared not longe agoe.

KNIGHT. But heare to retorne where we left; yf the kinge should paie forthe goode aungelles, (as ye speake,) for 10 everie x<sup>s</sup>. of this new coine brought in to the minte, his graces revnues for one hole yeare would scant serue therto.

DOCTOR. It weare a yeares revnues well bestowed to save tenne; and it weare a honest purchase, with one 15 yeares rent or ij, to purchase the grounde for ever. Yf the kinges maiestie should paie his subiectes a good new  
[f. 68b] angell for the noble nowe curraunte, his grace should doe as frederike did. And yet his grace had longer the vse of his subiectes coine (as reason, and necessitie so requiringe, 20 would); yet more then so, by this ordinaunce also, his grace should winne the thirde parte, when for [every] x<sup>s</sup>. his grace should paie but a noble.

KNIGHT. Then, yf men should haue their coine forged, or coined for litle or nothings, but for the workemens 25 laboures, the kinges highenes, which hath nowe greate advantage by the coinage, should be by youre wayes a greate loser.

DOCTOR. So I doubt not the coyners will beare the kinge and his counsailers in hand. But I would beleue 30 them as well herin, as I would in that they promised before as well and fayled, that is howe, they could make of brasse silver, and of siluer gold; which thinge, howe well they haue



brought to passe, I reporte me vnto youe, muche like a dreame,  
 that chaunces contrarie ; for they haue tordned  
 the while oure siluer to brasse, and oure gold to Howe the  
 mynters do  
 multiplie.  
 I wote not what. And yet one waye I must  
 5 confesse they haue turned oure brasse to siluer, and siluer to  
 gold ; that is, to them selues warde ; but in the meane time  
 they haue exhasted the princes cofers, and his treasure  
 house, which is the Realme ; as the Alcmistes weare wounte  
 to doe with private men, promisinge them to multiplie, when  
 10 of truethe they did minishe ; yet they will beare in hand  
 they doe still multiplie. And so they doe in number, but  
 minishe in valwe twice as muche againe. For in steade of one  
 pece they give forthe ij, [but] so as that one was worthe iij of [f. 69]  
 this sorte they put forthe. And thoughe they perswade the  
 15 prince that the gaines of all that comes to his grace, yet the  
 most gaynes cleavethe by their owne fingers. And whie ?  
 Because the proportion in these confused mettalles is so  
 vncerteyne to be knowen by the assaie, as the kinges  
 officers can not evenly charge them to kepe a certaine  
 20 standerd ; and yf they did, it weare not so muche to the  
 kinges proffitte as it beareth the face ; but most of the  
 cleare gaines commes to them, as it [was] wonte to come to  
 Alcmistes and multipliers. And that appeareth well by  
 suche as haue the feate in hand, or haue had ; howe they  
 25 wax sodenly riche, as thoughe they had founde Giges ringe,  
 as the sayinge is. And this appeareth by one honest man,  
 called knight, which I knowe had an office a Knight his  
 name was.  
 while aboute the minte, and continued theare, as  
 I hearde saie, but ij yeares or theare abowtes, and then fell  
 30 sike and died. But on his deathe bedde, (as he was a verie  
 honest man of good conscience,) perceavinge that he had  
 gotten in that office muche more then his fee, A mynters rare  
 example.  
 bequethed to the kinge, as I hearde crediblye,

abowte M. markes, in satisfaction of his vnlawfull gaynes had from the kinge ; muche like as men weare wont to give to theirre parishe churches for tithes forgotten. Then yf suche an honest man could get this money in suche a short time, what maie an other doe, that hathe no conscience in  
 [f. 69 b] gettinge of his goodes? But to answer youre obiection ; the kinge gettes not so muche by his coininge as he loosethe [in] his yearely revenues, customes, subsidies, fines, and suche other like profittes, when the same coine rewertes to his grace agayne. 10

KNIGHT. Well, yf we had youre devise that all men, after michelmas next, should be bounde to paie all duties after the old coine in pure gold or siluer, then I put this case : that, since the raisinge of the coine, a man had taken landes at x<sup>l</sup>. a yeare, which before the enhauns- 15  
 inge of the coine was worthe but xx nobles a yeare, no more then *that* it should be nowe yf the coine weare reformed to the old rate ; how should he and suche other doe, which be a greate multitude in this Realme? They weare like to be 20  
 vndone, yf they weare forced to paie theirre x<sup>li</sup> a yeare after the rate of the old coyne.

DOCTOR. That is well remembred of youe. Manie should incurre greate inconvenience, yf that case weare not provided for. Albeit it weare not so vniuersall a hurte to 25  
 let a few paie so, that be in that case, as it was to all Landlordes generally throughe the Realme, to be paie theire rentes after the rate of the coine that now is. Neverthesse this would be provided for, seinge it maye easaly be done, as thus : all men that haue anie landes or 30  
 possessions to ferme, [sins] the inhauncinge of the coine, to paie for everie x<sup>s</sup>. that he would paie, from michelmas  
 [f. 70] forward, an aungell of the corrected coine of the valew of

A case to be prouyded for, if coyne were amended, touching mens rent lately enhaused.

the old aungell. And so nether tenaunte nor lord [should be] greved nor bargaines altered.

KNIGHT. Then I put this case. If a man weare bounde nowe to paie a C<sup>li</sup> to a nother man after michelmas  
 5 nexte comminge, he must paie it then in the coine that should be then curraunte, which would be more in valew by a hundred nobles then the C<sup>li</sup> that was then at the makinge of the said obligacion; and then he should be a greate looser, which weare no reason, seinge he mente to  
 10 paie after the coine nowe curraunte. Howe should suche doe againe?

DOCTOR. Even a like provision would be made as in the other case before. That suche debtors should paie for everie x<sup>s</sup>. he did owe, by anie bande entred since the  
 15 inhaunsinge of the coine, an aungell noble. And so the C<sup>li</sup> that he should paie, by force of the said obligacion, to be discharged by payment of a C markes in this converted coine; and so nether partie greved.

KNIGHT. How should men, that toke landes to farme,  
 20 or entred in bandes of debte before the inhaunsinge of the coine [do]?

DOCTOR. As for suche landes that weare set owte before the inhaunsinge or alteringe of the coine, and so of debtes knowledged, no man ought to be greved to paie after the old  
 25 rate; for it was no otherwise mente at this time of bargaines made; yet this provision was not taken when the coine was altered first, which made all noble men and gentlemen to smarte. And so percase, divers other cases like these maie [f. 70<sup>b</sup>]  
 30 occurre vppon this alteration, rather then \* restitution of thinges; for in makinge of anie newe ordinaunce, it weare harde to make it so perfitte as it should hinder no particuler person, for that weare impossible. It is enoughe, if it be so as that pollitike Senator Tullie saithe, that [it] maye be pro-

fitable to the most numbere, and doe hurte [but] to the fewest. But suche cases would be provided for as they doe appeare. Thus I told youe my simple opinion, howe I thinke this vniuersall dearthe maie be easiest remedied, which is caused by oure selfe, and not by the sendinge of god. For when god 5 is disposed to send vs dearthe of anie thinge, as of corne, cattall, or other vittail, theare is nothings can healepe that devised by man, but only praier and amendment of life, for whose punishement he sendes the same.

KNIGHT. Nowe youe haue so well towched the occasion 10 of this dearthe, and amendment of the same so fully, I am well satisfied with all. I praie youe shoue me the remedies of these greate inclosures, wherof all the Realme complains of so muche, and hathe complained longe vpon. For ye haue well perswaded, howe it is a meane of greate desolation of 15 the Realme; and that is longe of the greate profitte that men haue by pastures, over that they haue by tillage, that they torne so muche to pasture. Nowe I would faine heare howe it might be remedied againe; for I haue harde this [f. 71] mattier of longe time and ofte reasoned vpon, as well in 20 parliament as in counsaile; and yet small remedie founde therfore that toke effecte.

DOCTOR. If I then, after so manie wise heades as weare in those parlamentes and counselles, would take vpon me to correcte (as they saie) magnificat, and to find a remedie 25 for this thinge, which they could never doe, I might be rekoned verie arrogant.

KNIGHT. Yet tell youre fansie hearein; for thoughe ye misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall be no more shame for youe to doe so then was it for so manie 30 wise men as I spake of to misse.

DOCTOR. Ye saie truethe. And since I spake nothings in this parte that I would haue taken as it weare a lawe, or

determined thinge, but as a certaine motion for otherwise men to consider, and to admitte or reiecte, as [to] their better reason should seme goode. Therefore, as I haue boldened me alredie with youre patience to saie thus farre, I will not  
5 spare to declare my minde in this. But still I must keape my grounde that I spake of, that is to trie oute the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then by takinge awaye of the cause to redresse the thinge.

KNIGHT. I praie youe doe so ; for to me it semes verie  
10 resonable that youe saie, and agreeable to that I hearde a phisition tell me once, when I was sike of an ague ; when I asked him whie he gaue me a purgation that made me yet weaker then I was, beinge weake enoughe alredie, sainge, Ye haue more nede to geve thinges that should make me stronger.

15 Then he answered me, that choller was the cause of my sickenes, and that he gaue me those purgations to avoide these humors, by which, the cause of my desease once taken awaie, the sickenes should be rid from me with all. And thearefore I praie youe, vse youre  
20 accustomed order in this mattier, and tell the causes of these inclosures.

DOCTOR. I showed to youe before, in oure communication in the garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause therof, and partly \* the remedie of the same.

25 KNIGHT. So did other men amonge vs tell their fantasies as then ; but nowe I praie youe, tell which of all those causes youe take for the necessarie and efficient cause of this mattier.

DOCTOR. To tell youe plainly, it is Averice that I take for the principall cause therof ; but can we devise that all  
30 covetousnes maie be taken from men ? No, no more then we can make men to be withoute Ire, withoute gladnes, withoute feare, and withoute all affections. What then ? we must take awaie from

[f. 71 b]  
Sublata causa  
tollitur effectus.

Howe inclosures may be remedied.

men the occasion of their covetousnes in this parte. What is that? The exceedinge lucre that they se growe by these inclosures, more then by husbandrie. And that maie be donne by anie of these ij meanes that I will tell youe: either by \* minishinge the lucre that men haue by gras- 5  
 inge; or els by advaunsinge of the profite of husbandrie, till it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as  
 [f. 72] Omnes sunt lu-  
 cri cupidi. grasinge is. For everie man, as Plato saithe, is naturally covetouse of lucre, and that wheare in  
 they se most lucre they will most gladlie exer- 10  
 cise. I shewed before, that there is more lucre by grasinge of x acres, to the occupier alone, then is in tillage of xx<sup>ti</sup>; and the causes therof be manie. One is, that grasinge requires small charge and small labor, which in tillage consumes muche of the maisters gaines; thoughte it be true 15  
 that the tillage of x acres bringes more gaines generallie amonge the maisters and all their meanie, then the grasinge of xx<sup>ti</sup> acres. An other greate cause there is, that what so ever thinge is rered vpon grasinge hath the fre vent, bothe on this side and also beyonde the sea, to be sold at 20  
 the highest penny. It is contrarie by all thinges rered by tillage, for it requires bothe greate charge of servauntes, and of labor; and yf anie yeare be goode cheape of corne, it paiethe scant for the charge of tillage; and then, yf the markett doe rise, either with in the realme or with oute, the 25  
 poore husbandman shalbe so restrained from sellinge his corne, that never after he shall haue anie ioye to set his ploughe in the ground; which makes everie man forsake tillage, and fall to grasinge, which bringes in all these Inclosures. 30

KNIGHT. Nowe what remedie for that?

DOCTOR. Marie, as for the first pointe, that is towchinge the vnequall charge of tillage and grasinge, that can

not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of bothe requires the contrarie ; therefore the lattine tonnge calles the one that is pasture, Pratum ; that is as muche to saie, Paratum, redie ; but the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman might haue as muche libertie at all times to sell corne, either within the realme or withoute, as the grasier hathe to sell his ; which should make the husbandmen more willinge to occupie their ploughe. And the one seinge the other thrive would turne their pasture to tillage. And though it inhaunseth the market for a time, yet would it cause muche more tillage to be vsed, and consequently more corne ; which, in time of plentie with in the Realme, might bringe in muche treasure ; and in time of scarsitie would suffice for the Realme, as I shewed youe before. And thus with lucre they should be intised to occupie the ploughe, yea and with other privileges. I haue red that in this Realme there was suche a \* lawe, as yf a man haue trespassed the lawe, of misadventure, he might haue taken the ploughe taile for his sanctuarie. Also the occupation was had so honorable amonge the Romans, that one was taken from the ploughe to be consull in Rome ; who, after his yeare ended, thought no scorne to resorte to the same feate againe. What occupation is more necessarie or so profitable for mans life as this is ? or what misterie is so voide of all crafte as the same is ? and howe litle is it regarded ? yea, howe muche is it vilipended, that this last nobilitie reputes them but as villaines, pesauntes, or slaues, by whom the proudest of them haue their livinges. So that I mervaile muche there is anie (seinge a vilitie and contempte of the thinge) will occupie the feate of husbandrie at all ; for as honor norisheth all sciences, so must dishonor nede decaie them. And therefore yf ye will haue husbandrie increased, ye must

[f. 72<sup>b</sup>]Pratum quasi  
paratum.

[f. 73]

honor and cherishe it; that is, to let them haue honest gaines therby. And since that gaine should come into the cuntry, whie should ye be offended theare with? An other waie is to abate the commoditie of grasinge; as when any tax is requisite to be graunted to the kinges highenes, if 5 landes be chargeable therto, charge one acre of pasture as muche as ij acres of arable lande; or els to burden wolles and felles, and suche thinges as are rered by grasinge, [that] passe to the parties beyonde the seas vnwrought, with tallage over anie corne transported. And so, by inhaunsinge of the 10 profite of tillage, and basinge of the profite of grasinge, I doubt not but husbandrie would be muche more occupied, and grasinge [moche] lesse; and therby those inclosures to be broken vp. Also theare is one thinge of old time ordeined within this Realme, which beinge kepte vnaltered would 15 healde heare vnto also; that is, wheare [men] are intercominers in comon feildes, and also haue theare portions so intermingled with an other that, though they would, they could not inclose anie parte of the saide feildes so longe as it is so. But of late diuers men, findinge greater profite by 20 grasinge then by husbandrie, haue founde the meanes, either [f. 73b] to by their neighbors partes rounde aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them so manie acres in this place for so manie in an other; whearby they might bringe all their landes together and so inclose it. For the avoydinge whearof, I thincke 25 verelie, that it was so of old time ordeyned, that everye tenaunte had his landes, not all in one gobbet in everye feilde, but interlaced with his neighebour's landes; so as heare should be iij acres, and then his neighebour as manie; and over that, he other iij or iiij; and so after the like rate 30 be the most parte of the copie holdes that I doe knowe in this cuntry; which I thincke goode weare so continued, for avoydinge of the said inclosures; and thus as to that mattier.



KNIGHT. Nowe youe haue well declared youre opinion in these mattiers of the comon dearthe and inclosures; I praie youe, tell vs youre mynde what should be the occasion of this decaye of the good townes of this  
 5 Realme, and of all bridges, highe waies, and <sup>Of townes de-  
 cayed.</sup> hospitalles; and how the same may be remedied and releved againe? For these husbandmen and dwellers of the countrie finde not so greate lacke in feildes abroade, but Citizens and burgeses find as muche with in their walles.

10 DOCTOR. Sins I haue begon to take vppon me to tell my fantasies in all these thinges, I will goe through. I, in my opinion, thinke the goode occupations heareto fore vsed in the saide townes, (which was occasion of their wealth) in times past, and the layinge downe of these occupacions [f. 74]  
 15 agayne is the cause of the decaye [of the] said townes. Wherefore yf suche occupations maye be revived agayne in the same, they would recover their former wealth againe.

MERCHAUNTE. I beleve well that the decaye of occupations was the decaye of those townes. But what, I praye  
 20 youe, was the occasion of the decaye of suche occupations?

DOCTOR. I will tell youe; while men weare contented with suche thinges as weare made within the  
 market townes next vnto them, then weare they <sup>The occasion  
 of the decaye  
 of our townes.</sup> of oure townes and Cities well set aworke; as I  
 25 knewe the time when men weare contented with cappes, hattes, girdelles, and poyntes and all maner of [garmentes] made in the townes next adioyninge; wherby the townes then weare well occupied and set aworke, and yet the money paide for the same stufte remayned in the countrie.  
 30 Nowe the porest yonge man in a countrey can not be contented either with a [lether girdle, or lether pointes, gloues, knyues, or daggers made nighe home. And specially no gentleman can be content to have eyther] cappe, coate,

dublet, hose, or shirt made in his countrey, but they must haue their geare from London ; and yet manye thinges thearof are not there made, but beyonde the sea ; whearby the artificers of our townes are Idle, and the occupations in London, and specially the townes beyonde the sea, are well 5 set aworke even vpon our costes. Therefore I would wishe that some staye weare devised, for cominge of so manye [f. 74 b] trifles from beyonde the seas ; and specially of suche thinges as might be made here amonge our selues ; or els might be ether all spared, or lesse vsed amonge vs ; as these drinkinge 10 and lokinge glasses, paynted clothes, perfumed gloves, daggers, knives, pinnes, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousand other thinges of like sort ; as for silkes, wines and spices, if there came lesse over, it made no matter. But specially I would that nothing made of our commodities, as 15 wolles, felles, tinne, [shoulde] be brought frome beyond the sea to be vsed here, but that all these should be wrought within this Realme. Were it not better for vs that our owne people should be sett aworke with suche thinges then straungers ? I am sure 20000 persons might be set aworke 20 with in this Realme, and ar set aworke beyonde the sea, [with those thinges that nowe be made beyond the sea] and ar worne here ; and yet might be made here. Might not the kinges highnes be glade of anie aide, whereby he might fynde 1000 persons throughe the whole yere, and so burden 25 his treasure with never a pennie therof ? I thinke these thinges might be wrought here, not onelie sufficient to set so manye a worke and serue the Realme, but also to serue other partes ; as all kinde of clothe, Carseyes, worsted and coverletes and carpetes of tapstrie, [knitte] sleues, hosen 30 and peticotes, hattes, cappes ; then paper, bothe white and browne ; parmentes, vellam, and all kind of lether ware ; as gloves, pointes, girdells, skinnes for Jerkins ; and so of our

tinne, all maner of vessell; and also all kinde of glasses, [f. 75] earthen potes, tennis balles, tables, cardes, [chestes, sins we will nedes haue] suche kinde of thinges; [and] daggers, kniues, hammers, Sawes, chesells, axes, and suche thinges  
 5 made of Iron. Might not we be ashamed to take all these thinges at straungers handes, and set suche a multitude of worke of other people, as I spake of ere now; whose fynding and wages we do beare nowe; wher all this might be saued with in the Realme? where it should not goo frome  
 10 vs, but retorne to vs againe frome whence it came. And in setting vp of those occupacions, I wolde haue them most preferred and cherishede that bring in most commoditie and treasure into the Countrie. As ye must consider iij sortes of occupacions: one that bringes owt the treasure; the  
 15 second sort, that as it bringes none forth out of the cuntry, so it bringes none in, but that it gites it spendes in the cuntry; the iij brings in treasure into the cuntry. Of the first sort ar [vintoners], milners, haberdashers, these gally men, mercers, fustian sellers, grocers, poticaries, that selles  
 20 vs anie ware made beyond the sea; for they do but exhause the treasour out of the Realme. Of the seconde sort ar vitaylers, inholders, bochers, bakers, brewers, taylors, [corde-wayners,] sadlers, carpenders, ioyners, masons, blacksmithes, turners, cowpers; which, like as they convey no money owt [f. 75 b]  
 25 of the cuntry, so they bringe none in, but where they get it [they spend it]. Of the third sort be these: clothers, cappers, worsted makers, [pewterers,] tanners, which be all that we haue of anie arte, which I can nowe reken, that bringes into the Realme  
 30 anie Treasour. Therfore these artes ar to be cherishede wheras they be vsed; and where they be not, they would be set vp; and also other sciences mo, as makinge of glasses, makinge of swordes, daggers, knives

That arte is to be most cherished in a towne, that brings most to a towne.

and all tooles of Iron and stele; also makinge of pinnes, pointes, lases, thread, and all maner of paper and parchmentes. I haue heard saye, that the cheifest trade of Coventrie was hearetofore in makinge blewe threede, and then the towne was riche, even vpon that trade only; and 5

nowe oure threede comes all from beyonde the Townes are enriched some trade. are by one seas; whearfore that trade of Coventrie is decayde, and therby the Towne likewise. So

Bristowe had a greate trade by makinge of poyntes, and was the cheifest misterie that was exercised in 10 the towne. And althoughe these be but ij of the lightest faculties that are, yet weare these ij greate townes cheifly mayntayned by [those] faculties rehearsed. I haue hearde saie in venis, that most florishinge citie at these dayes [f. 76] of all Europe, if they maye heare of anye conninge craftes 15 man in anie facultie, they will find the meanes to allure him to dwell in their Citie; for it is a wounder to se what a deale of money one goode occupier dothe bringe into a towne, thoughe he him selfe doe not gayne to his owne comoditie but a poore livinge. As for an example, what money 20 one worsteadmaker bringes into the towne [where] he dwelles, and howe manye haue their livinges vnder him, and what wealthe he bringes to the towne wheare he dwelles, Norwiche maye sufficiently declare, which by a fewe worstede makers it hath growen to greate wealthe and riches. So of clothinge 25 and cappinge; but wheare other cities doe allure vnto them goode workemen, oure men will expell them oute; as I haue knowne goode workemen, aswell smythes as weavers, haue come from straunge parties to some cities within the Realme, intendinge to set vp their craftes, and because they 30 weare not free theare, but specially bycause they weare better workmen then was anie in the towne, they coulede not be suffered to worke theare. Suche incorporation had those

misteries in those townes, that none might worke there in their facultie, except they did compound with them first.

CAPPER. And doe youe thinke it is reasonable that a stranger should be as free in a citie or towne as they that weare prentises there? Then no man would be prentice to anie occupation yf it weare so.

DOCTOR. I saye not that they should commonly have [f. 76b] like libertie, or franchise. But as one craft makes [but] one particuler companie of a towne or citie, so I would [haue] the wealthe of this citie [regarded], rather then the commoditie or franchise of one craft or misterie; for though commonly, none should be admitted there to worke but suche as is free, yet when a singuler goode workman in anie misterie comes, which by his knowledge might bothe instructe them of the towne, beinge of the same facultie, and also bringe into the towne muche commoditie beside; I woulde, in that case, haue private liberties and privileges give place to a publique wealthe, and suche a man gladly admitted for his excellencie to the fredome of the same towne, withoute burdening of him with anie charge for his first entre or settinge vp. Yea, wheare as a towne is decayed and lackes artificers to furnishe the townes with suche craftes, as other weare sometime well exercised there, or might be by reason of the satuation and commoditie of the same towne, I would haue better craftes allured oute of other places, wheare they be plentie, to come to those townes decayed to dwell, offringe them their fredome, yea their house rent free, or some stocke lent them of the common stocke of suche townes. And when the towne is well furnished of such artificers, then to staie the comming of forreners; but [f. 77] wheare the towne lakes inhabitantes of artificers, it weare no pollicie for the restoration of the towne to kepe of anie strange artificers; for the most parte of all townes are

mayntained by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those that makes anie wares to sell oute of the countrie and bringes thearefore treasure into the same; as clothiers, cappers, worstede makers, hatte makers, poynters, pinner, pewterers, founders, smithes of all sortes, cutlers, gloves, 5 tanners, parchment makers, girdlers, purse makers, makers of paper, threde makers and manie suche, turners, basket makers, and manye suche. As for mercers and haberdashers, vinteners and grocers, I can not se what they doe in a towne, but finde a livinge to v or vj howsholdes, and in 10 steade therof impoverishethe twice as manie; but sithe men will nedes haue silkes, wine and spice, it is as goode that men doe spend their money vppon suche in their owne townes, as to be driven to seke the same furthe. As for the rest of artificers, like as I haue saide before, even as they 15 take no money oute of the countrie so they bringe none in; as Taylors, shoemakers, carpenters, ioners, tilers, masons, botchers, vittaylers and suche like. Also an other thinge I reckon woulde healpe muche to releve oure townes decayed, yf they could take order that all the wares made their 20

[f. 77<sup>b</sup>] should haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to suche as be truly wrought. And also that every artificer dwellinge owte of all townes, suche as [can] not for the commoditie of their occupacions \* be brought to some towne to inhabite, as fullers, tanners, clothiers, suche 25 should be limited to be vnder the correction of one good towne or other; and they to sell no wares, but suche as are first approved and sealed by the towne that they are limited vnto. And by these zij meanes, that is to saie, first by stayinge of wares wrought beyonde the sea, which might be 30 wrought with in, and from comminge in to be sold; Secundarilie, by restrayninge of oure woolles, tinne and felles and other commodities passinge over vnwrought;

And thirdly by bringinge [in], vndernethe correction of good townes, artificers dwellinge in the countries makinge wares to be sold outwarde, and these wares to be vewed and sealed by the towne seale before they should be sold; I  
5 thinke oure townes might be brought sounne to their auncient wealthe againe, or better.

KNIGHT. Now we praie youe, goe to the last mattier ye spake of, how those diversities of opinions maie be taken away whiche troubles the people verie muche, and makes  
10 greate sedition and division amonge them, and in maner makes debate betwene neighbour and neighbour, father and the soonne, man and his wife; which is more to be feared [f. 78] then all other the aforesaide losses of wor/dly goodes; yf we weare never so poore and did neverthesse agre amonge  
15 oure selues, we should licke oure selves whole againe in shorte space.

DOCTOR. Ye saye truth; with concord, weake thinges doe increase and wax bigge; and contrarie, with  
discord, stronge thinges wax weake; and it must  
20 nedes be true, that truthe it selfe dothe saye, Concordia res paruae cres-  
cunt, discordia maximae dila-  
buntur. Everye kingdome devided in it selfe shalbe desolate. Wherefore I can not forbear to shewe youe my poore opinion, howe so greate a mischeife, as this is, maye be avoided oute of this oure common wealthe.  
25 And still I will vse one trade, as in sekinge oute the originall causes, and by takinge awaye of that to shewe the remedie. I take the cheife cause hereof, as well the sinnes of vs that be ministers of Christes holie worde and misteries, as of youe that be the flocke. And first of vs, that haue  
30 swarved altogether from oure dewe course, order, and profession, to all kinde of carnalitie; not only to the basenes of ley men, but farre inferior vnto them, in pride, covetousnes and fleshlie lustes. Wherefore ye ley men, seinge in vs

no excellencie in oure maners, in dede \* thinke vs vnworthie to be the leaders and pastores, or to whose doctrine ye should geve credence, whom ye se in livinge far descrepant

[f. 78<sup>b</sup>]

The occasion  
of the scisme  
in matters of  
religion.

from the same. And therefore ye take vppon youe the iudgement of spirituall thinges, to 5  
whome it dothe not appertayne; as one inconvenience drawethe ever an other after him.

For so longe as we ministers of the churche weare of those maners and conversation agreable with oure doctrine, so longe all men, yea the greatest princes of the world and the 10  
wisest men, are content to beleve oure doctrine, and to obey vs in thinges concerninge the soule. And since we fell from the [perfection] of life, we grewe oute of credence, and the holie doctrine of Christe suffered sclander by oure 15  
sinfull livinge. So we haue given the first occasion of this evell, and ye haue taken it as an instrument to worke this scisme with all. And thoughe bothe doe ill thearein, yet the remedie ought to beginne at the roote of this mischeife, which I take to be in vs, the ministers and spirituall 20  
pastores. And to be plaine with youe, and no more to desemble oure owne faultes then I haue donne youres, except we reforme oure selues first, I can haue no greate trust to see this generall scisme and division in Religion vtterly taken awaye; it maye percase, with auctoritie be for a time appeased, but never so as it springe not vppe 25  
againe, except we reforme oure selues first.

[f. 79]

KNIGHT. Marie, I thincke ye haue bene well disciplined and corrected alredie, so as ye had goode causes to be reformed, as by takinge muche of youre possessions from youe, and in burdeninge of your benefices with subsidies, as 30  
well annuall as perpetuall and other wise; what reformation would ye haue more?

DOCTOR. Yea, no doubtte, we haue beatinge enoughe, yf



that would haue served; but some maisters with litle beatinge will teache their scollers better then other with many stripes can doe. And againe, some scollers wilbe reformed with lesse beatinge then other. So youe and we doe now; 5 youe in beatinge muche, but litle teachinge; and we againe, litle regardinge the stripes, doe learne as litle. For notwithstandinge those punishementes that we haue hadde, the reproches and reuilings and openinge of oure faultes, *se* howe manie of vs haue reformed oure selues; yea, so muche 10 as in oure outwarde dewties, wheare vnto we are bounde bothe by godes lawe and by oure [canons], lawes and decrees. Howe manye mo of vs haue resorted to oure benefices to be resident there on? which not only by the sayed lawes, but also vppon greate penalties, we are bounde vnto 15 by the lawes of this realme. Howe manie lesse nowe then before haue studied to heape benefice vppon benefice, when we be scant able to discharge one of them? what better triall or examination is their nowe in the admittinge of the [f. 79<sup>b</sup>] preistes and other ministers of the churche? what more 20 exacte searche is made by oure Bishoppes for worthis men to be admitted to the cure of soules? for better execution of oure canons in their visitations nowe then they did before? Yea, what better hospitalitie, residens, or ministrations, either of the worde or of other dewties, doe 25 oure prelates and Bishoppes nowe then they did before? Doe they not lurke in their mansions and maner places, far from their Cathedrall churches, as they weare wonte? and skante once in a yere will se their principall churche, wheare they ought continuallye to be resident? Be they 30 not as vnmete to preache the worde of god as ever they weare, for all these plagues that god sendes to them? But they are so blinde, they can not se whearfore they be thus punished, and iecture it to be for other causes; as in the

covetousnes of ley men, in desiringe their possessions ; or by hatred conceived against them for not obteyninge their purpose at men of the churches hande ; or for hatred of the bishoppe of Rome ; or for that they can not abide the  
 [f. 80] correction of the church ; or suche other causes which they 5  
 imagine with their selues, and thinke that the indignation agaynst them shortly will ease of it selfe. But I praye god it dothe not rather increase, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. Howe can men be content to paie the x<sup>th</sup> parte of their good, which they get with sore labor 10  
 and sweate of their browes, when they can not haue for it agayne neither ghostly comforte nor bodely? What ley men will be anie thinge scrupulous to kepe those tithes in his owne handes, when he sees vs doe nothinge more then he for it? What credence will anie man give to oure 15  
 doctrine, whom they see so light in livinge? What reverence will they give oure persons, in whose maners they see no gravitie? Hetherto I haue spoken but of the abuse of oure livinges that was dew to vs by lawes ; nowe let vs touche somewhat the lucre we devised to oure selues, besides all 20  
 lawes ; which, while we invented to much vndew to vs, we lost muche of that which was dew to vs. Was there anie sacrament so holie, or so frely instituted of god, but we devised awaie to get some lucre for the same? Yet Christe bad vs geve frely that we received frely. As of the most 25  
 [f. 80 b] blessed sacrament of the bodie and bloude of Christe, haue we not made saile of the ministracion therof, and sold masses, some in taile, and some in grosse, as [trentalles]? which thinge hath brought this holie misterie in a wonderfull contempt, throughe oure abusinge of the same. Is 30  
 there anie matrimonie knitte, [but] some fees comes to vs therefore? no, not christeninge, but ther is somewhat devised to growe to vs thearby. Confession was also, by a meane, a

greate instrument to bringe in proffitte to vs, when in penance we enioined men to give somewhat [ever] to oure churches, either for this thinge or for that. Also I thincke theare is no decre of orders geuen, but some fees come  
5 therfore to oure chauncelors and theire clarckes. Then howe dirges and praiers weare sould ; it is not so desembled, but that he that gaue most money thearfore had most of it. Yet yf praiers had ensewed the almes, as voluntarie and vnprescribed, I thincke the same had not doune amisse ;  
10 but limited, as daye hier, I thincke they could not be so auailable ; for that they proceded, not of devotion, but for the lucre, and weare not esteemed after the worthines of the doinge therof, so muche as by the numbere and quantitie of the same. But that I referre to be esteemed of the devynes. [f. 81]

15 I discommend nothinge but the sale of these holie thinges, which I can in no wise alowe ; no, not so muche as anie semblaunce therof, that might bringe the people in anie suspecte therof. And therefore the gatheringe, that is at godes borde at Easter, albeit it be for the fowre offeringe  
20 daies, for breade and wine, I would wishe the collection to be forborne at that time ; although the parsons, vicars or proctors should lose some profit therby. Better it is a small losse of money, then of one soule, that might be offended theare with ; which would perhappes thinke he  
25 should not receaue the communion, except he had paied for it. We heare what the poore folke dothe saye, when they begge for money to bringe them home from godes table. This, amonge other thinges of greate waite, weare complained of ere this for reformation, and yet nothinge amended ;  
30 by reason whearof insued greate inconveniencences ; and we passe over all these small mattiers with deafe eares, as though they towched vs nothinge. And yf we doe not reforme these thinges, that are so notorius to all men and

manifest, contrarie to the lawes and canons, as for residence, singularitie of benefices, the right and free administration of sacramentes; how can there be anie hope that [f. 81<sup>b</sup>] we will reforme these thinges that are secret betwene god and vs? As of oure conversation and maners, there be 5 most godly ordinaunces made by oure lawes, by authoritie of oure counsaylles generall, that all archedecons should viset yearly in person their precinctes; the Bishoppe every iij yeare the whole Dioces, to se what is to be reformed, either privatly or generally, that private faultes might be 10 reformed forthwith, and the generall at the next Sinode. And therefore they haue their procuracions; visite they doe not in person as they ought to doe, but by deputies; more for theiré procuracion then for anie reformation. The money is surely gathered, but the cause, wherfore it was 15 gathered, nothinge kepte. The stipend is exacted, and the worke, wherfore it was dewe, undone. [Than is there an other good ordinaunce and a godly observed  
Vide canonem. after] the like sorte, wheare everie Bishoppe should yearly kepe a Sinode in his dioces of all ecclesiasti- 20 call persons, and everie Archbishoppe a Synode for his hole province euery iij yeare; that yf anie thinge hapned in the dioces worthie reformation it might be [referred to] the prouinciall congregation; yf it weare either doubtfull to the Bishoppes, or could not be reformed, with oute greater 25 authoritie, of the Bishoppes alone. Wheare be these Synodes nowe kepte? yet they receiue euery yeare their [f. 82] Synodalles of the poore preistes. Of suche good ordinaunces and godly, there is nothinge kepte but that which is oure owne privat commoditie, which be the procuracions 30 and Synodalles. The other parte wherfore that charge was layde is omitted, the burden remainethe, and the dewtie is taken awaie. [Yet better it were that bothe the one and the

other were taken away], then to haue the good parte taken and the worste to remaine. Yf they saye, theare nedethe nowe a dayes no suche visitations or Synodes, then theare neded never [none] of them; for moe thinges to be re-  
5 formed amonge vs neuer weare then nowe be, nor reformation never more necessarie. But oure prelattes will saye, they dare make no lawes in suche Synodes for feare of Premunire. What nede anie moe lawes be made then they haue alredie? what should let  
10 them to put those in execution that be alredie made? specially since they haue the ayde of the temporall lawes therto. Is theare not statutes made in Parliamentes for residence, and for restrayninge of pluralitie of benifices? which had never nede to haue bene made yf we would haue  
15 put oure lawes in execution. Are not we worthie to haue other men correcte vs and reforme vs, when we can not reforme oure selues? It is never mervaile that we be oute of credence, when oure life and conversation is contrarie to oure lawes and profession, and that the Religion of Christe [f. 82 b]  
20 sufferethe sclander [through our naughtie behaior? Lett vs be assured therefore, that the blood of them that suffereth sclander] or offence in the religion, throughe oure defaultes, shalbe once required at oure handes. Therefore, if we will haue taken away this scisme from Christes church, let vs  
25 first reforme oure selues, and put oure lawes in execution; as in resortinge to oure benifices, and in contentinge oure selues with one benifice a pece, and with the livinge that is appointed to vs for oure ministracion, with oute devisinge other extraordinarie and vnlawfull gaynes. For what is  
30 more agreable to reason then a man to spend his time wheare he hathe his livinge? and to doe his office for that he hathe [the benefite] of? And seinge everie benifice is a mans livinge, and yf it be

Looke Doctor  
Collettes Ser-  
mon.

Propter offi-  
cium datur  
beneficium.

not, it might be amended till it be accompted a livinge, and everie one requires one whole mans charge, what reason is it that one man should haue ij mens livinges and ij mens charge, wheare he is able to discharge but one? Then to haue mo, and to discharge the cure of never a one, 5 it is to far agaynst reason. But some, percase, will saye, theare be some of vs worthie greater preferment then other, and one benifice weare to litle for suche a one. Is there not as manie degrees in the varietie of benifices as there is [f. 83] in mens qualities? Yes, for sothe. There is yet in this 10 Realme, (thankes be to god,) benifices from iiiij or v thousand markes to xx<sup>ti</sup> markes a yeare, of sundrie valewes, to indue everie man with, after his qualitie and degre. And if a meane benifice happen to fall, let everie man be content theare with, till a better chaunce. And yf he be thought 15 worthie of a better, let him leave the worste and take the better; for the meanest benifice is a sufficient livinge for some men, which should be destitute of livinge, yf that benifice vppon benifice should be heaped to gether in greate mens handes. Yea, I knowe men, that haue suche 20 meane benifices, be more commonly resident and kepe better hospitalitie [on] the same then they that haue greate benifices. It is a common proverbe, it is mery in hall when beardes waggis all. Nowe loke [throughe] a whole Dioces, ye shall not find ij persons resident that may 25 dispend x<sup>li</sup> a pece, nor of all the benifices in a Dioces the fourthe person resident on the same. What temporall office is so far abused, as theise [that] be spirituall and of greater charge? I praie god send oure prelates eies to se those enormities; for it should seme that they are so 30 blinded that they can not se them. [And then I doubt not but, all delayes sett apart, they will reforme them], and yf they doe not, I praye god send oure magistrates temporall

the mynde to reforme these things with their secular [f. 83b]  
 powre, and to studie for the reformation of them, rather  
 then for their possessions. Christian princes beare not  
 the sworde for nothinge; nor it is so straunge a thinge to se  
 5 Christian princes reforme the prelates that swarue from  
 their dewties. Thus far be it spoken touching the refor-  
 mation of vs that be ministers of the church. Nowe to  
 speake of that which is to be reformed of youre parte, that is  
 of the laytie, ye must vnderstand that all, that geues them  
 10 selues to the knowledge of anie facultie, are commonly  
 subject to either of these ij vices, as the greate  
 clarke Tullie dothe reporte. The one is, to Cicero de offi-  
 ciis li. primo.  
 take those things that we knowe not for  
 things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyd-  
 15 inge of which faulte, men ought to take goode space and  
 greate diligence in consideration of these The faultes on  
 the laye fee.  
 [? laytye]  
 things, ere they come to give iudgement of  
 the same. The other vice is, to bestowe a  
 greate studie and laboure aboute obscure and harde things  
 20 nothinge necessarie. Let vs nowe consider and those  
 faultes be not amonge vs at these dayes. Ye be all studi-  
 ouse to vnderstand the knoweledge of scriptures and well;  
 further, there can be no better desired, nor honester, nor  
 more necessarie for anie christian man. But yet doe youe [f. 84]  
 25 not se so manie yonge men, before either they haue taken  
 anie longe time, or anie good diligence in the consideration  
 or studie of scriptures, take vppon them to iudge in high  
 matters, beinge in controuersie, ginge to quicke assent,  
 either to their owne invencion or to other mens, before  
 30 they haue considered what might be saide to the contrarie?  
 And this [faulte] is not only seene in men studious of the  
 knowledge of scripture, but also in yonge studentes of all  
 other sciences. Shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of

the Realme, after he hathe bene at the studie of the lawe not past iij yeares, more redie to assoyle youe a doubtfull case of the lawe then either he him selfe or anie other after he hathe studied the lawe xij or xiiij yeares? Yea, no doubt. So it is in a yonge gramarian, logician, Retrician, 5 and so of all other sciences. Therefore Pithagoras forbad his scholers to speake the firste five yeares that they came to him, which lesson I would to god we would be content to obserue, before thei gaue anie iudgement in mattier of holie scripture; and then I doubt not but, after vij yeares 10 readinge, thei would, with collation of one place of scriptures with an other, find a greater difficultie therin then they doe [f. 84<sup>b</sup>] nowe, and be more scrupulouse to give an answeere in highe things then thei be nowe. And this harme comes of rayshe iudgement in that parte, that whan a man hathe 15 once vttered his opinion in anie thinge, he will thinke it a greate shame for him to be brought from that he once hathe affirmed to be true. Therefore whatsoever he reades after, he consters it for the maintenaunce of his opinion; yea, and will force that side, not only with his wordes and perswa- 20 tions, but also with that powre and auctoritie that he hathe; and will labour to bringe to the same opinion as manye as he can; as thoughe his opinion should be the more true, the mo fautors that he can get of the same by suche meanes. If we seke but for the truthe, that is not to 25 be iudged [to be] alwayes on that side that gettes the over hand by powre and auctoritie, or suffrages extorted; it is not like [in] the desceptation and inquisition of the truthe, as it is in a fight or wrestlinge; for he that hathe the over hand in those thinges hathe the victorie; and in the other, 30 he that is sometimes put to silence, or otherwise wanquished in the sight of the world, hathe the victorie and conquest of the truthe on his side. Since we contend but for the knowledge



of the truthe, what shoulde we deuide oure selues into [f. 85] faction and partes? but let the mattier be quietly discussed, tried, and examined, by men to whom the iudgment of suche thinges appertayneth; and provide, in  
 5 the meane time, that neither partie doe vse anie violence against the other, to bringe them by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most parte of them, to whom the discussions of suche thinges apperteine vnto, frely consent and determine the  
 10 mattier. That is only the waye to [decide] suche controversies. And sence this contentacion must [ones] haue an ende, it weare better to take an ende betimes, then to late, [when,] percuse, more harme shall haue ensued of this daungerous scisme, as hathe alredie donne in other partes,  
 15 even before oure eies. And even like thinges hathe before this time bene sene, of suche sorte as it is to lamentable to be remembred; what losse of Christian men, deuison of the Christian faithe, what continuall warres hathe the faction of Arians bene occasion of? Did it not deuide and sever at  
 20 lengthe all Asia and Africa from the Christian faithe? Is not the Religion, or rather wicked superstition of the Turke, grafted on this Arians secte? Did it not take his foundation thearof? As there is no division more daungerous then that which growethe of matters of Religion, so it [f. 85b]  
 25 weare most expedient and necessarie to be quickly remedied, which can not be donne by anie other waye but by a Synode, generall convocation or counsaile; that hathe bene alwaies, [from] the time of the appostles, who first toke the remedie, even to these dayes, the only waye to  
 30 quiet and appease all controversies in Religion. And no doubt the holie ghoste, as his promise is, wilbe present in everie suche assembly, that is gathered together by no force or labour of anie affection. But nowe

As Constantine the Great did in Arius tyme.

Howe this scisme might be remedied.

we will saye, though we would for oure partes set a side [all affection] and be indifferent, and vse no coercion to get numbers and voyces that should fauor oure partes, who can promise that the Bishoppe of Rome and other prelates would doe the same? Suerly if ye sayde so, ye saye a 5  
 greate mattier, for they be men and as muche subiecte to affections as ye be. But I shalbe bolde, after my maner, to tell my mynde hearin, as well as in other thinges. I take all these matters, that be nowe a dayes in controversie, to be one or other of these iij sortes. That is, either towching 10  
 [religion onely, or els] the profites and emolumentes of the [f. 86] prelates and ministers of the church only, or towching partly the one or partly the other. As towching those articles that concerne Religion only, I would wishe they had only the descretion therof, which ought and haue vsed 15  
 always to haue the iudgement of the same. And as towching the articles that concerne the profite only of ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue those left to the discussion of the seculer powres; bycause it concerns seculer thinges only, wheare no man nedes mistruste but that the 20  
 magistrates will provide an honorable livinge for that kinde of men, that seruethe so honorable [a room] as the ministration of godes holie worde and his sacramentes. As to the third sorte of thinges, as they be mixte of seculer and spirituall thinges, so I would wishe men of bothe degrees to 25  
 consulte together for the decision of them. And to be playne, I would wishe in thinges towching the Bishoppes of Romes faculties, he weare set aparte, and some other indifferent person chosen, by Christian princes, to directe or to be present in the counsaile, while his mattier is in 30  
 handlinge; for no man is mete to be a iudge in his owne cause. Heare I haue breifly towched the somes of thinges, after my simple fantasie, referringe the allow-

inge or reiectinge of all or some of them to youre better iudgement.

KNIGHT. I am sorie it is so late that we must nedes [f. 86 b] departe nowe.

5 MERCHAUNTE, CAPPER, HUSBANDMAN. And so be we, in goode faithe; but we trust ere we departe the towne, to haue some communication with youe againe.

DOCTOR. I will gladly if I tarrie in the towne.

KNIGHT. And thus we departed for that time; but on  
10 the morowe, when I knewe maister Doctor was gone oute of the towne, I thought not mete this occasion should be lost, but remembred at the least in my owne private boke, to the intent as opportunitie should serue, I might bringe forthe  
15 some of theise reasons in place, wheare they might either take place or be answered otherwise then I could, and therefore I haue noted the sayde communication breifly of this sorte, as youe see.

THE ENDE OF THIS WORKE.



## NOTES.

The following *Title* (on the title page) and *Epistle Dedicatory* appear in the edition of 1581. 'A Compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, of diuerse of our countrymen in these our days: which although they are in some part vniust and friuolous, yet are they all by way of dialogues throughly debated and discussed by W. S. Gentleman.'

'To the most vertuous and learned Lady, my most deare and Soueraigne  
Princesse Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England,  
Fraunce, and Ireland: Defendresse of the Fayth. &c.

Whereas there was neuer anye thing hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and surmysed matter, sustayned the reprehension of some eniuous persons or other: I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Prynnesse, that in this your so noble and famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes: that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences: so are they most certainly condemned by the common consent of all such, as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be of itselfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne) being as it were inforced, by your Maiesties late and singular clemency, in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towardes me by exhibiting vnto you this small and simple present: wherein as I haue indeuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and obiections, dayly and

ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation thereof: protestinge also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought, which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill affected persons, which of their curiosity require farther satisfaction in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale and good meaning towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake this enterprise, and in the handling thereof rather content to shewe myselfe vnskillfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to commit the same to your gracious protection, fully perswading and assuring myself, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the same. God preserue your Maiesty with infinit increase of all his blessings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you haue already sufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects, and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace and tranquillity in your common weale for euer. Yovr Maiesties most faythfull, and louing Subiect W. S.'

**Page 1.** The table of contents is printed from B. With the exception of 'fo<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>' on l. 2, which is in the first hand and ink, the figures are inserted in the hand of the writer of the latter part of the MS.

**Page 7,** lines 15, 16. S. omits these two headings, 'Monye' &c. and 'To recouere' &c.

31. 'Gentz darmes' B. 'great Armyes' S.

**Page 8,** line 12. S. omits from 'Eythere by example' to page 9, l. 12, and continues with 'How Inclosures' &c.

**Page 9,** line 23. S. adds 'The byshop of Rome is no indifferent man.'

**Page 10.** TITLES. 'A discourse of the comen weale of thys Realme of Englande.' B. 'A Briefe concepte touching the common weale of this realme of England.' S.

Lines 1 to 10. 'Considering the diuerse and sundry complaints of our countreimen in these our dayes, touchinge the greate alteration of this common wealth, within the compasse of these few yeres lately past, I thoughte good at this tyme to sette downe such probable discourse for the occasion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of sound learning and deepe iudgment. And albeit I am not one to whom the consideration and reformation of the same doth especially belong; yet, knowing my selfe to be a Member of the same Commonweale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may, I cannot reckon' &c. S.

4, 5. B. reads 'longe tyme past haue bene harde.'

7. 'reformation and consideration therof' L. One of the numerous transpositions; in this case the reading of B. and S. is distinctly preferable; 'consideration and reformation of the same.'

15. 'nothinge perteyne.' B. and S. transpose.

16. 'some vacation' L. B. 'suffycient leasure' S.

16—19. S. reads, 'mee thoughte I coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publishe and make relation of such matters as I haue hearde throughly disputed heerein.'

23. 'there' B. S. 'other' L.

After 'then I' read 'that haue that mattere in charge' B. S.

24. 'speake some times.' B. and S. transpose.

Page 11, lines 1, 2. 'perchance' L. 'prynces' B. S.

2. S. reads 'themselues, (as our most excellent Prynce is).'

3. S. reads 'will haue, (as our noble and gracious Queene doth daily make choise of more).'

4. 'shall' L. B. 'doth discouer' S.

5. After 'memorie' insert 'some in invencion' B. S.

8. 'do not seuerally make' S.

12. 'adorne and decke his' S.

19. 'saye' B.; L. omits; S. reads 'cannot vnfold againe.'

20. 'maxime, or a thyng receyuyde as an' B. S.

24. 'faire' L. 'fyne' B. S. The story is told of Apelles by Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 85. It is also given by Valerius Maximus VIII. 12, 3. The same story is told of Pheidias by Lucian *Pro imag.* 14.

Page 12, lines 2—6. S. reads 'so bould with my countreymen who I doubt not will construe everything to the best, as to vtter my poore and simple conceipte herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and sundry notable men that I haue heard reason on this matter; and though I should' &c.

4, 5. B. reads, 'wayede onelye and considerede.'

7. 'spoken' L. 'tochede' B. S.

'disputation' L. 'discepcion' B. S.

12. 'Therefore nowe to goo to the mattiere vppon boldnes of your good acceptacion, that kynde' &c. B. S.

16. Side-notes occur in L. in this passage (ff. 2b and 3), in Lambarde's own hand; in the margin at this point are the words 'Diuisiion of the Worke,' with the figures 1, 2, 3 opposite lines 18, 19, 20.

18. B. and S. read 'firste in recountynge.'

23. 'a knight tould me theare was' L. B. 'a knight had' S.

27. S. reads, 'nowe a days, I thought it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderstande that the persons were these : a Knight as I sayd first, a Marchauntman, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftesman. And first, the Knight rehearsed the communication in this manner ensuing.'

28. Side-note in Lambarde's hand, 'The Interloquutors.'

Page 13, line 2. 'countrie' L. 'Countye' B. 'Comminalty' S. S. reads, 'Queenes highnesse commission touching diuers matters, and.'

The precise subject of discussion is elucidated by the following, which is printed from Hales' *Defence*, Brit. Mus. Lansdown, 238, f. 305.

"A proclamacion set fourth by the kynges Maiestie with thassent and consent of his most deare vncler Edward Duke of Somerset gouernour of his most royall parson and of his domynions and subiectes protectour, and others of his highnes preuye Councill, ageynst enclosures, lettynge of houses to decaye, and vnlauffull conuertinge of erable grounde to pastures the first daye of June in the second yeare of his Maiesties most gracious reigne.

Forasmuche as the kynges Maiestie the lorde protectours grace, and the rest of his preuye Councill, hathe byn aduertised and put in remembraunce aswell by dyuers supplicacions, and pytefull complayntes of his Maiesties poore subiectes, as also by other wise and discrete men, hauynge care to the good ordre of the Realme, that of late by thynclosynge of landes and erable groundes, in dyuers and sundrye places of this Realme, manye haue byn dreuyn to extreme pouertie, and compelled to leaue the places wher they wer borne, and to seeke them leuynge in other Countrys, with great myserye and pouertie. In somuche that wheare as in tyme past, tenne, twentie, yea in some place c or cc Chrysten people hathe byn inhabytyng and kept householde, to the bryngynge forthe and nourysshynge of youthe, and to the replenysshynge and fulfillynge of his Maiesties Realme with faythfull



subiectes, who myght serue bothe Almyghtie god, and the kynges Maiestie to the defence of this Realme, nowe ther is nothyng kept but sheepe or bullockes. All that land whiche heretofore was tilled and occupied with so manye men, and dyd brynge fourthe not onlie dyuers famylies in worke and labour, but also Capons, hens, Chekyns, pygges, and other suche furnytur of the markettes, is nowe gotten by insaciabie gredynes of mynde into one or two mens handes, and scarcelye dwelled vppon with one poore Shepherd. So that the Realme therby is brought to a merueylous desolacion, houses decayed, parysshes dymynshed, the force of the Realme weakened, and Chrysten people by the gredie couetousnes of some men eaten vp and deuoured of brute beastes, and dryuen from ther houses by sheepe and bullockes. And that although of the same thynge manye sondrye complayntes and lamentacions hathe ben heretofore made, and by the most wise and discrete Prynces, his Maiesties father and graundfather, the kynges of most famous memorye kyng henry the vij<sup>th</sup> and kyng henry the viij, with the consent and assent of the lordes spyrytuall and temporall in dyuers parlyamentes assembled dyuers and sondrye lawes and actes of parlamentes, and most godlie ordynaunces in ther seuerall tymes hathe byn made for the remedie therof, yet the insaciabie couetousnes of men dothe not cease daylly to encroche heruppon, and more and more to waste the Realme after this sorte, bryngynge erable groundes into pastures, and lettynge houses, whole famylies and copiholdes to fall downe, decaye and be waste. Wherefore his highnes is greatlie moued bothe with a pytefull and tender zeale to his most louynge subiectes and speciallye to the poore whiche is mynded to labour and trauallye for ther lyuynge, and to lyue an Idle and loyteryng lyfe: and of a most necessarye regarde to the suertie and defens of his Realme, whiche must be defended ageynst the enemye with force of men, and the multytude of true subiectes, not with flockes of sheepe and droues of beastes. And further is aduertised that by the vngodlie and vncharytable meanes aforesaid, the said sheepe and Oxen beyng brought into a fewe mens handes a great multitude of them beyng together, and so made great droues and flockes, aswell by naturall reason, as also as it maye be iustlie thought, by the due penysshement of god for suche vncharytablenes: great rottes and murrins, bothe of sheepe and bullockes, hathe latelye byn sent of god and seen in this Realme, the whiche shulde not by all reason so sone fall, if the same wer disparsed into dyuers mens handes, and the said Cattell also by all lykelyhode of truthe shulde be more cheape, beyng in many mens handes as they be nowe in fewe, who maye holde them

deare and tarye ther avantage of the markett. And therefore by thaduyse of his most entierlie beloued vncke, the duke of Somerset governour of his parson, and protectour of all his Realmes, domynions and subiectes, and the rest of his Maiesties preuye councill hathe wayed most depelye all the said thynges. And vppon the forsaid conyderacions and of pryncely desire and zeale, to see that godlie lawes made with great travell, and approued by experyence, and by the wise heddes in the tyme of the said most prudent prynces shulde not be made in vayne but put in vse and execution, hathe appoynted accordyng to the said actes and proclamacions a viewe and enquirye to be made, of all suche as contrarye to the said actes and godlie ordynaunces, hathe made enclosures and pastures of that whiche was erable grounde, or let any house tenement or mease decaye and fall downe, or otherwise comytted or done any thyng to the contrarye of the good and holsem articles conteyned in the said actes and therefore willithe and commaundithe all his louynge subiectes who knowith any suche defaultes and offences contrarye to the wealthe and profytt of this Realme of Englonde, and the said godlie lawes and actes of parlament done and comytted by any person who so euer he or they be, to insynuate and gyue informacion of the offence to the kynges Maiesties Commyssyoners, who be appoynted to here the same, so trulie and faythfullye that neyther for fauour nor feare they omytt to tell the truthe of any, nor for dyspleasure name any man who is not giltie therof. That a conuenyent and spedie reformacione myght be made herin to the honour of god and the kynges Maiestie, and the wealthe and benefytt of the whole Realme.

God saue the Kynges."

3. 'geven' B. S. 'gevinge' L.
4. 'with' L. 'of' B. S.
10. 'had but scant' B. S.
11. 'comes me in' B. S.
16. 'wyll send home' B. S.

Page 14, line 7. There are close verbal resemblances between this dialogue and the first book of More's *Utopia*, e.g. p. 21. But the two works differ greatly in character: the *Utopia* presents an ideal, and satirises the evils of actual life, while this suggests practical remedies.

13. 'Justices of the Peace' S. B.
15. So L. and B.; but S. reads, 'and in causing poore men to appeare before you.' In the commission on enclosures the Justices of the Peace were to be in attendance (Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* 11. ii. 350), but

it was the Sheriff's duty to cause witnesses to appear. The reading of L. and B. is more accurate.

23. Plato, *Epistles* 358 A. Cicero, *De finibus* II. xiv. 45.

30. Compare Hales' Charge, Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* II. ii. 352. "Is it not a pitiful hearing, good people, that man, which was ordeined of God to be a comfort for man, and as it were a *god*, as the proverb is, that is to say, ordeined to do good, is now clean changed &c." See also Hales' *Defence*, p. liv.

Page 15, line 5. Read 'let us studye to doe' B. S.

8. B. and S. read 'Then (sayd the husbandman) for.' The insertion of the speaker occurs throughout in B. (see p. 107, l. 16 n. below), but this is almost the only case where it is given in S.

9. 'haue' L. 'yee' B. S.

17. L. repeats 'for pastures for pastures.'

20. L. has 'ij'; but B. and S. read 'seven'; compare p. 17, l. 3; S. reads 'where three score persons or vpwarde.'

21. 'and his shēpard' L. B. 'with his Cattell' S. John Coke says, "Furthermore in Englande sum one man kepeth in his handes ij or iij fermes, and where hath ben vi or viij persons in euery ferme he keepeth onely a shepparde or wretched Heardman and his wyfe. Lykewyse many gentilmen, for their priuate commodities enclose a myle or ij aboute theyr houses, distroyeing thereby not onely the fermes and cottages within the same circuities, but also the good townes and villages nere adioyning." *Debate of the Heraldes* (1550). "In the sayde Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre and Northampton-shyre, there be many men of worshyp dwellyng within the sayde thre shyres, and hath great landes lo lyue vpon, the whiche we praye to God to geue them ioye of, and well to occupye it. Many of these worshipful men, sette no store, nor pryse, vpon the mayntenaunce of tyllage of theyr landes, as before tyme hath been vsed, neyther breadyng nor feadyng of catle, but many of them doeth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes. And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate vंबरment of shepe; and they that haue great vंबरment of shepe, muste nedes haue greate store of woll, and we cannot thynke who shulde make the pryse of woll, but those that haue great plentye of shepe. And we do partly knowe that there be some dwellyng within these thre shyres, rather then they wyll sell theyr woll at a lowe pryse, they will kepe it a yere or twayne, and all to make it deare, and to kepe it a deare pryse." *Certayne Causes gathered together in Four Supplications* (E. E. T. S.), p. 96. See also p. 48, l. 20.

22. So in L. B. but S. reads 'former vprores'; see Introduction, p. xi.  
 23. 'men' L. 'manye' B. S.  
 28. 'daily labour' L. 'day wages' B. S.  
 31. On the rise of *nominal* wages see Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, IV. 521, 524. Between 1542 and 1549 average wages rose as follows: carpenters  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; thatchers  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8d.$ ; unskilled labour  $4d.$  to  $5d.$  The decimal average from 1551 to 1560 rules about  $3d.$  higher than that from 1531 to 1540.

33. 'husbande' B. S. 'husbandman' L.

Page 16, line 4. 'the citie' L. 'this Cytye' B. 'Cities' S.

10. 'howses, walles, streats' B. S. Compare 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 5, by which the payment of Fee Farms by cities and towns was remitted for three years, on the understanding that the tax should be levied as usual and the proceeds go to the repairing of walls and bridges, and setting poor people on work. Hales appears to have been in charge of this bill. *Commons Journals*, 1 March, 1549. See also *Causes of Dearth*, App. p. xlv., and p. 18, l. 33 below.

18. S. omits 'stage playes, enterludes.' See Introduction, p. xii. The seditious character of some plays was the ground alleged in the proclamation for the prohibition. On the plays of the time compare S. R. Maitland, *Reformation*, 238. The mistery pageants at Coventry appear to have been acted in 1547 (Sharp, *Dissertation*, p. 11) and in 1553 (*ib.* p. 70), from entries in the accounts. Interludes and plays were of course frequent in the time of Queen Elizabeth; the Coventry men performed before her at Kenilworth in 1574 (*ib.* 125). The York plays were revised in 1568 (L. T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, xvi.).

21. 'pardons, pylgrimages.' On these occasions of expense compare Latimer, *Sermons*, 53, 54.

25. So L. B.; but S. reads 'as before xx or xxx yeares hath not bene the like.'

32. 'and' B. S. 'as' L.

Page 17, line 3. 'seaven' L. B. 'fewe' S. On the rise of prices at this time compare Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, IV. The average rise between the decades 1531—48 and 1551—60 was for tiles  $4s. 11\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $9s. 5\frac{3}{4}d.$ ; for glass  $4d.$  to  $7\frac{1}{4}d.$ ; for linen  $8s. 1d.$  to  $18s. 9d.$ ; for canvas  $4s. 7d.$  to  $7s. 9d.$

'as' B. S., omitted in L.

7. Read 'haue had as yee knowe' B. S.

'ijj' L. B. 'twenty' S. According to Rogers' averages, 1546—7, 1547—8, and 1548—9 were remarkably cheap years (*Agriculture and*

*Prices*, IV. 261), though prices began to rise considerably in 1549, but this does not appear to have been due to a deficient crop. See below, p. 52, l. 22.

10. 'it' L. 'they' B. S.

19. 'dearthe' in its proper sense of dearness, rather than scarcity. See p. 37, l. 20 and compare Dr Furnivall's note, N. S. Soc. edition, p. v.

21. 'occupacion' B. S. 'occupie' L.

22. L. repeats 'youe all thre I meane youe all thre I meane.'

24. 'merchaunt' L. 'mercere' B. S.

Page 18, line 3. 'owght to' B., omitted in L. 'and haue geuen ouer to liue' S.

11. 'haue' B. S., omitted in L.

14. William Pisford, a grocer and mayor of Coventry, whose will is dated 1517, bequeathed £5 to the mending of the ways about the City; as well as sums to the drapers, tailors, tanners or any other craft that either find priest or pageant to the service of God (Dugdale, I. 185). Mr Henry Over, who was mayor in 1543, gave £400 for tradesmen and £100 to lie in the Council house, to be lent to any of the house upon pledge (Wanley's *Collections*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 6388). Sir William Whyte, another mayor of Coventry, left £140 to be lent similarly to poor tradesmen. The administration of this benefaction gave rise to much dispute at later times between the towns of Coventry, Leicester and Warwick. In some similar cases the trust was badly managed (Harwood, *Lichfield*, p. 316). These cases may serve as illustrations, though they were not the work of eminent cappers.

26. 'vprores.' The capper like the knight (p. 88, l. 17 below) takes the view that the uproars were largely due to the artisan population. The complete differentiation of town and country employments did not take place in England till the latter part of the XVIII. century (Cunningham, *Growth*, II. 480), and the continual outbreaks in Coventry seem to show that the craftsmen of that city had personal reasons for opposing enclosures. The earliest of these uproars at Coventry, which had reference to enclosures, was in 1374, when the Commons 'rose and cast loaves of bread at the mayor's head and cast open that which the mayor had inclosed.' In 1480 they rose and brake Briscow's close; in 1495, when Ford was mayor, there was 'much rising in Coventre.' In 1525, when Nicholas Haines was mayor, there was 'the Ill Lammas Day, on which the Commons of Coventre rose and pulled down the gates and hedges of the grounds inclosed; and they that were in the Cittie shutt

the Newgate against the Chamberlains and their Company. The Mayor was almost smothered in the Throng; he held with the Commons for which he was carried as prisoner to London: he was put out of his office and Mr John Humphery served out his year' (Wanley's *Collections*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 6388).

31. Read 'tounes end wherein the free men decayede are relyeuede' B. S. William Ford, Mercer, founded an almshouse at Coventry in 1529; it still remains and is a most beautiful example of a sixteenth century wooden house. Though the town has now extended much beyond it, it was formerly at the end of the town, as it was built near the site of the Grey Friars. (Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 1. 184 and map fronting 134.) Bablake Hospital, which was even more obviously at the town end (being close to the gate on the west side), can hardly be meant, since it was founded by Thomas Bond, a draper. The lands were granted to the city on 12 December, 1548, and it was continued as a charitable institution (Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 1. 193).

33. On local customs see Hall, *Customs*, 11. 161. The king granted a commission in 1367 to levy money at Coventry for building the wall; the 'custom' of the city was 2s. per tun of wine, 4d. per quarter of malt, 4d. per ox and 1d. per calf or hog, as murage. The cost of building was a heavy charge, and the murage was altered in 1370 (Poole, *Coventry*, 68), when 'the commons rose against the customes to bear the charge of walling.' This was the first rising of the commons in Coventry. (Wanley's *Collections*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 6388.) But there must have been frequent expenses for repairs two hundred years after the wall was begun; it seems just possible that the redemption of the custom referred to was effected by William Pisford. There was 'a common box in S. Mary Hall' which he had caused to 'be set there himself, to be applied to the common weal, and for the Common wealth when they shall have need, and to be no otherwise used.' He left £3. 6s. 8d. by his will (Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, 1. 185) to be given to this box. The difficulty about finding funds for the repair of the churches was strongly felt at this time (see below, p. 19, l. 3), and the maintenance of the walls must have been a heavy charge.

Page 19, line 1. 'my father in lawe.' If the foregoing explanation of the custom of the city and its redemption is correct, then William Pisford, grocer, was the benefactor referred to. It appears from a deed which is summarised both by Dugdale (*Warwickshire*, 1. 185) and Poole (*Coventry*, 297), and which has been kindly transcribed by Mr Browett of Coventry, that William Wygston, mercer, who

modified the arrangements and allowances at Ford's hospital, was the second husband of Agnes Pisford, the daughter of William Pisford the elder. William Wygston was a merchant of the Staple of Calais and was a Leicester man. He was alive in 1547, as he was steward of the chantry founded by William Pisford at the time of the dissolution. Article on *Ancient Guilds and Modern Friendly Societies* in Mander's *Collections for the History and Antiquities of the City of Coventry*, III. p. 288 (Free Library, Coventry).

3. 'it decayethe' &c. "Semblably they of Coventre declaring that where that cite was of myche fame and antiquitie, sume tymes very welthy though nowe of late yeares brought into decaye and poverté, and had not to the furniture of the holl multitude of the Commons there, being to the number of xj or xij thowsand howseling people, but two churches wherin Goddes service is doone, whereof thone, that is to saye, the Church of Corpus Christi, was specially mainteyned of the revenues of siche Guild landes...if therefore now by thact the same landes shuld passe from them it shuld be a manifest cause of thuttre desolacion of the cite, as long as the people when the churches were no lengar supported, nor Goddes service doone therin, and thother uses and employmentes of those landes omitted, shuld be of force constreyned tabandon the cite and seke new dwelling places." *Acts of the Privy Council* (6 May, 1548), p. 193.

13. 'doo rise' B. S., omitted in L.

31. This side note in B. is in the same hand as the latter part of the MS.

Page 20, line 2. 'xxx<sup>to</sup>' L. 'xxiiij' B. S.

4 and 5. 'ij<sup>C</sup>' L. 'too hundred' B. S.

5. 'agoe' L. 'paste' B. S.

14. 'make' B. S. 'kepe' L.

28. 'vs' L. 'youe' B. S.

31—33. S. omits 'and yet haue...we haue.'

Page 21, line 4. 'well haue' L. 'lyve well' B. S.

12. 'lacke of' B. S., omitted in L.

14. 'medecyne' L. 'fine' B. S.

23. 'of former vproes' S.

29. for 'christian,' L. has Xpian.

Page 22, line 1. 'enowghe of' B. S. 'englishe in' L.

6. 'yf' L. 'that' B. S.

13. Compare Latimer, *Sermons*, 178, "It would pity a mans heart to hear that that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford,

I cannot tell. There be few do study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the colleges; for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go other where to seek livings, and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity. Alas! what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness and utter decay of learning." Edgeworth, an opponent of Latimer's made a very similar complaint. (Seyer, *Bristol*, II. 220.) Compare p. 31, l. 33 below. Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 234.

17. 'Auditor and Receivour.' These were officials in connection with the Court of Surveyors which was constituted in 1542 (33 H. VIII. c. 39, §§ 2, 10—16). The clerk of the Petty Bag had direct responsibility in connection with this court (§ 17), and doubtless the clerk of the Hanaper was familiar with it too.

18. 'gentleman' L. 'greate manne' B. S.

22. 'pollytyque' B. S. 'publique' L.

33. 'chefly.' The hair strokes of this word and of 'gouernaunce' and 'every' (p. 23, ll. 1, 3) are carried over the edge on to f. 12; see note to p. 29, l. 19.

Page 23, line 8. 'forces' B. S. 'sorte' L.

'other,' this is corrected from 'some' in B. by the second hand.

15. 'the nowe' L. 'yea' B. S.

16. 'laste' B. S. 'lost' L. 'Normaynes' is corrected in Lambarde's hand from 'Romaynes.'

17. 'Brytons' L, corrected in Lambarde's hand from 'Romayns.' 'Romans' B. S.

'Brytayns' B. S. 'brutes' L.

30. 'apte' B. S. 'vnapte' L.

Page 24, line 24. 'so mannye cases' B. S. 'all those causes' L.

Page 25, line 7. 'and' B. S., omitted in L.

11. 'equivalent' L. 'equipolente' B. S.

18. 'seame' B., omitted in L.

31. 'discurre' B. 'sturre' S. 'discource' L.

Page 26, line 11. After 'them?' S. inserts, 'yes, surely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all the learned men heretofore to the exacte and perfitt knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference, and marking of circumstances? (yes indeede), so that out of their writings we learned it.'

14. 'coniuncte' L. S. 'conducte' B.



24. Flavius Renatus Vegetius (fl. 380 A.D.) was the author of a treatise *Rei Militaris Instituta* in five books.

25. Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, a native of Cadiz, wrote a treatise on Agriculture in twelve books in the first century A.D.

29. Doctor, in margin, inserted by second hand in B.; also on p. 31, l. 13.

Page 27, line 2. 'thinges' L. 'Scyencyes' B. S.

12. 'the earthe' L. 'to eare' B. S.

15. 'mowinge' L. 'Innynge' B. S.

17. 'veterinaria' B. S. 'veteremaria' L.

21. 'so' B. S., omitted in L.

22. M. Vitruvius Pollio composed a treatise in ten books, *De Architectura*, before 10 B.C.

25, 26. 'description' L. 'discussion' B. S.

Page 28, line 6. 'proffytablye' B. S. 'profitabby' L.

12. 'concernethe' L. B. 'confirmeth' S.

16. Plato, *Republic*, 473 D.

30. "Neither poor nor rich abode long at their studies in the University, to attain to any considerable degrees of learning. The poor could not because the encouragements there were scarce capable to maintain them; and the richer sort would not, choosing rather to follow some other course, because of the obscure and neglected condition learning then lay under." Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 234; compare also Ascham's letter on p. 242. See p. 22, l. 19, p. 31, l. 33 below.

Page 29, line 19. 'sound' S., omitted in L. 'soundithe' B. The e of contrarie on f. 15 runs over the rough edge to f. 16; the ms. cannot have been restitched since it was written.

'to' B. S., omitted in L.

20. 'conster' L. 'construe' B. S.

22. '5' L. 'seven' B. and S.; but five appears to be correct. Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorae*, xvii. 72. See p. 140, l. 7 below.

28. L. inserts 'so' after 'but.'

32. Οὐδὲὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶτω, is ordinarily attributed to Pythagoras. Compare Plato, *Rep.* 527 C.

Page 30, line 5. 'an' S. 'all' L. B.

Plato, *Republic*, 433 B.

15—17. 'I spake...learnynge' B. S., but L. reads 'I speake not muche of the common trade of learnynge.'

18. 'manye' B. S., omitted in L.

32. The knight's speech begins, 'On my faythe (quoth I) I am

gladde it was my chaunce to haue yow in my companye at this tyme, for of a wyse manne, a manne maye alwayes learne; but me thowght yee said,' &c. B., so also S.

Page 31, line 9. Strype writes, "Ecclesiastical preferments which formerly were the peculiar rewards of academics, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere unlearned laymen. So the Earl of Hartford held a deanery, a treasurership of a cathedral church, and four of the best prebends; and his son three hundred pounds a year out of a bishoprick. And learned men were seldom taken notice of, or had honours conferred on them; and if they obtained any rewards they were but small." *Cranmer*, I. 234. See p. 138, l. 19.

14, 15. 'xij or xvj' L. B. 'xx or xxx' S.

28. 'who, now seynge in stedde of honour and preferment, dishonour and hyndraunce, compenced for a rewarde of learnynge, will other putte &c.' B. The reading in S. is similar.

33. The small number of scholars at the Universities was a frequent complaint in Latimer's *Sermons*, "In times past when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the Universities with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeath great sums of money toward the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar in Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London, and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I inquire of it, and hearken for it," p. 64. Again on p. 102 he suggests that the decay of the Universities was connected with the difficulty of the yeomanry in educating their families, through the pressure brought on them by the enclosures. See *Supplication of the Poore Commons in Four Supplications*, p. 86 and also p. 22, ll. 15, 19, and p. 28, l. 30.

Page 32, line 10. 'rated' L. 'rented' B. S.

12—23. 'even by...theim at.' This is omitted in S. and the following sentence substituted, 'which great dearth (I speake in comparison of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a stay, euer after that basenesse of our English Coine, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng Henry the eyght.'

16. 'yea' B., omitted in L.

'they' B., omitted in L.

17. The price of cloth, which was exceptionally low, was at 52s. or 53s. the piece from 1530 to 1533; in 1548 it was 112s., and in 1549, 153s. Rogers, *op. cit.* IV. 587.

20. 'vente' B. 'event' L.

22. 'as' B., omitted in L.  
 26. 'exchaunge' B. S. 'excesse' L.  
 28. 'ye lurched some,' B. and S. read, 'as for example, because yee tochede sumwhat.' Halliwell explains this as an old word for 'to absorb' and refers to Bacon's *Essay* XLV. 'Cities...which lurcheth all provisions and maketh every thing dear.' It was probably the gold which was lurched in this fashion, as well as the old silver. W. Thomas, writing to the King in 1548, says, "As for gold if there be any quantity remaining, (as some men think but smal,) it cannot come to light; because that like as the value of our mony doth daily decay, so doth the gold encrease to such a value, that lying stil it amounteth above the revenues of any land. And he that shall live twelve months shall se, that an old angel shal in value and estimation want little of twelve shillings of our current money; if provision for redress of your Majesties coin be not had rather." Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. ii. 391. Compare the Proclamation of 11 April, 1849 in *All suche Proclamations as haue been sette furthe by the Kynge's Maiestie* from 31 Jan. 1547 to 31 Jan. 1550 (1550) [Brit. Mus. C. 12, b. 17]. See also introduction (p. xiii) and p. 45, l. 20, p. 78, l. 27, and p. 79, l. 14.

**Page 33**, line 1. 'at this daye' L. B. 'in a very shorte space' S.

- 2, 3. 'we haue now' B. L. 'hath bene since' S.  
 8. B. and S. read 'Yea, so menne commonlye saye.'  
 20. 'farriers' L. 'fermers' B. S.; here as in p. 32, l. 28, L. preserves a better reading than B. and S.  
 27. 'nowe' B. S., omitted in L.  
 28, 29. 'for showinge...late' omitted in S.  
 29. 'at the moste till' B., omitted in L.  
 33. 'vj' L. B. 'eight' S. The average price of unskilled labour given by Rogers for 1549 is 5*d.*, and for 1581, 8*d.* *Agriculture and Prices*, IV. 523.

34. 'at' B. 'of' L. 'to' S.

**Page 34**, line 11. 'pynnes' B. S. 'pence' L.

'before' B. S., omitted in L.

12. 'pence' B. S. 'ij<sup>d</sup>' L.

16. 'parte' B. S., omitted in L.

17. 'new' L. B. 'base' S.

17, 18. So L. B., but S. omits 'wheare...coyne.'

20. 'proportion' L. 'provicion' B. S.

23. 'magistrates and' L. 'Maiesties' S. omitted in B.

32. 'must nedes' L. B. 'sometimes doth' S. The manufacture

of gunpowder is said to have been introduced to England under Elizabeth (Camden, *Elizabeth*, 1561), and hence the modification of phrase by W. S. See however Latimer (*Sermons*, 261), who enumerates powder-makers among the workmen whose wages were in arrear; guns appear to have been commonly made in this country before that time.

Page 35, line 1. 'Therefore' B. S. 'Whereof' L.

5. 'habyliments' L. B. 'prouision' S.

11. 'If,' 'is' L. 'and yf' B. S.

15. Compare Latimer, "'He shall not multiply unto himself too much gold and silver.' Is there too much, think you, for a king? God doth allow much unto a king, and it is expedient that he should have much; for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spend much for the defence and surety of his realm and subjects. And necessary it is that a king have a treasure always in a readiness for that, and such other affairs as be daily in his hands: the which treasure, if it be not sufficient, he may lawfully and with a safe conscience take taxes of his subjects. For it were not meet the treasure should be in the subjects' purses, when the money should be occupied, nor it were not best for themselves; for the lack thereof might cause both it, and all the rest that they have, should not long be theirs." (*Sermons*, p. 97, also p. 299.)

22. 'the more proffytte &c.' B. S., omitted in L. Sir Thomas Smith seems not to have recognised this. While the subject of base money was under consideration, he 'wrote a letter to the Lord Protector, touching the benefit arising by the Mint while such moneys were coined.' (Strype, *Life*, 36.) See Introduction, p. xxix; p. 86, l. 12 and p. 103, l. 32 n.

Page 36, line 12. 'taulke emonge vs' L. 'hadde betweene vs here aparte' B. S.

13. 'No' B. S. 'O' L.

20. So in L. B., but after 'thinges' S. inserts 'in comparison of the former age.'

Page 37. TITLE. 'The seconde dialogue wherein the Causes or occacions of the said greves are ensearchede.' B. '.....are encreased.' S.

13. So in L. B., but after 'thinges' S. inserts 'in comparison of the former age.'

18. 'it' B. S. 'there' L.

19. So B. S., but L. reads 'this dearth.' See above p. 17, l. 19 n.

The sentence 'This is,' &c. is the first part of the Doctor's speech in B.

Page 38, lines 12 and 13. 'vij' L. B. 'xxx' S.

13. S. omits 'in this towne.'

15. 'vij' L. B. 'twelve' S.

17. So L. B.; but S. adds 'and triple.'

25 and 27. 'xx<sup>tie</sup>' L. B. 'xxx' S.

30. 'not' B. S., omitted in L.

Page 39, line 2. 'the most' L. B. 'a great' S. The rise of rents became much more noticeable during the reign of Elizabeth, for the obstacles to which the knight calls attention were only gradually overcome. Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, IV. 725.

11. 'manye' B. 'anie' L. S.

21, 22. 'Husbandman—shepe' is in Lambarde's hand.

23. 'meiney.' Dr Furnivall explains as 'the household' and refers to Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, l. 400.

27. 'in' B. S. 'my' L.

Page 40, line 3. 'xx<sup>tie</sup>' L. B. 'xxx' S.; but W. S. neglected to make the same correction two lines below where the edition has 'xx' like the MSS.

8. 'sholde' B. S., omitted in L.

17. 'other Countryes' B. S. 'theire commodities' L.

20. 'from' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

25. So L. B.; but S. omits from 'pay' to 'let my' on p. 41, l. 3, and reads 'let my Tenauntes rent bee increased.'

Page 41, line 10. 'shillynges' B. S., omitted in L.

'this payment' L. B., omitted in S.

21. 'my shiftes' L. 'the wall' B. S.

Page 42, line 1. 'let' L. 'sette' B. S.

6. So L. B., but after 'then' S. inserts 'Our Englishe Coyne being supposed to bee base, and of no such estimation in other countryes as within our owne Realme, as for the most parte it hath beene before that it was restored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth.'

10. 'capon at iiij d.' L. S. 'iiij d.' B. 'hen at a peny' L. 'j<sup>d</sup> ob.' B. S. As the passage is hypothetical in S. there is no attempt to adapt the figures to the rates of 1581, when wheat was averaging 2s. 1d. and barley 1s. 3d. the bushel. Rogers, *op. cit.* IV. 292.

16. 'whereof' B. S. 'whereas' L.

17. 'rate' L. 'wont' S. 'rente' B.

21. 'of his owne.' Compare the statute 24 H. VIII. c. 4 and continuing acts; for every sixty acres in tillage, quarter of an acre was to be devoted to growing flax or hemp.

27. 'case liue' L. 'wyse lyve' B. 'wyse want' S.  
**Page 43**, line 1. 'when' inserted by second hand in B.
6. 'and' B. S. 'as' L.
8. 'of velvet' S. B. 'now' L.
21. 'here' B. S., omitted in L.
25. So L. B., but after 'much' S. inserts 'vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne.'
31. So B. S., but L. reads 'sell it in.'
- Page 44**, line 3. 'commodity' B. S. 'commoditie' L.
6. S. is still hypothetical and reads, 'Now if our Coyne were not so allowed,' &c.
11. 'that' B. S., omitted in L.
15. 'beste' B. S., omitted in L.
29. 'suche' B. S., omitted in L.  
 'like' L. 'lyght' B. S.
32. 'What other' &c. is the last part of the doctor's speech in B. S. The knight begins with 'Percase.'
- Page 45**, line 5. So in L. B., but S. omits from 'I will' to 'tell youe' in l. 10.
- 17, 18. So in L. B., but S. omits 'whispered in my eare, and.'
- 19, 20. 'coine made beyond the seas.' See Introduction, p. xiii and p. 78, l. 27.
23. 'fealtes' L. 'fells' B. S.
- 27, 28. 'with whom the price is sett.' By 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2 the Lords of the Council were empowered, when complaints of the dearness of victuals were brought before them, to fix the prices of "chese, butter, capons, hennes, chekyns and other victualles." A similar power was exercised by Justices of the Peace, and by Mayors and other officers in many cities. "Also ye shall enquiry of Vytaylers, yf they sell their vitayles at resonable pryces, and for reasonable gaynes, according to suche lymitacyon as the Justicers of the peace have assessid vpon the same. And though the Justicers of the peace do make no limitacyon, yet ought they to sel their vitayle at a reasonable price, vpon paine to forfayt the double of that, that they shal enquire. 23 E. III. c. 6. And by the estatute made 2 & 3 H. VIII. c. 4, the Justicers of peace shall assess the pryce of beer and ale out of Cityes and Boroughes, and within Cyties and Boroughes, the Mayres and theyr offycers. 13 R. II. c. 8." Fitzherbert, *Justices of the Peace*, f. 132 b. The whole practice was criticised by Sir John Masone in a letter to Cecil, 4 Dec. 1550 (Fraser Tytler, *England*, 1. 341), and also by the author of *Polices to Reduce*

*this Realme of England vnto a prosperus Wealth and Estate*, p. 42.

“But ther is yet one other thing which wolde helpe somewhat for the chepnes of victuall, and that is, yf neyther the lorde Mayor of London nor no other officer might haue none auctorrite to sette eney price of victuall, For vndre the Cullor of a commone wealthe they abvse ther auctorrite vnto ther owne proper lucar. For yf eney mane do bringe eney Corne bi shippe vnto london, the lorde mayor hauinge eney plenty of Corne in granettes, then will his lordshippe sette hime souche a lowe price of his Corne that he shall haue litell liste to bringe eney more vnto the Cittye. So that whan by souche means he hathe dryven awaye all the Corne vitallers, thene he will sell his owne at what price hime selfe listeth. Lykewise whane the lorde mayor dothe comme into the markett and cawseth here and there a pigge to be pullid oute of a poore womans hande and to be solde by the Seriautes perchaunse vnto the Seriautes owne wife for halfe the price that it is worthe in the market, or cause the Seriaunte to sell ij or iij baskettes full of egges for twise as maney a penney as is commonly solde in the markete. Do this eney thinge helpe the generall price of victuall? No surely, but it dothe mouche hindre it, for she that hathe by this means loste so mouche money vpon one daye: muste nedes sell a greate deall the derer at other tymes: or elles she sholde not recouer her losses, and be able to paye her rente. Lykewise the wardens of the bouchers in london: to thentent that they wolde haue but fewe bouchers to come oute of the countrye vnto the marketes in london: when they perceve eney yonge man of the Country that hathe newly sete vppe bouchers occupacon Resortinge vnto the markettes in london with fleche, they by the Cullor of ther office and vndre pretense, that the said fleshe is olde killid, or otherwise fawted will sell all his fleshe at halfe the price it is worthe. And thusse they will sarve hime twise or thrise vntill they haue vtterly ondon hime and dryven hime frome the markett, or elles caused hime to sell at souche highe and vnreasonable prise as the compayney of Bouchers in london wolde haue hime to sell at. And thusse vndre the coulour of a Common weale they vse souche extreme tyrraney and Cruelnes that it wolde pittya mans harte to be holde it. I maruell therefor that this foresaid auctorrite is not taken awaye frome the foresaid officers, seinge that the longe experience haue so well declarid that the foresaid settinge of prices of victuall, do nothing at all bringe downe the highe price therof. But I marvell mouche more at those men which have not only all Reddy seine the successe of price settinge, but also the successe of the

moste parte of proclamacions and penauill Stattutes, and yet will holde oppinion, this present derthe of victuall maye be redressid bi setting of prices vppon victuall: but surly it is not the settinge of lowe prises, that will anye thinge amende the matter. But it muste be the takinge awaye of thoccation of the high prices....”

32. ‘not’ B. S., omitted in L.

Page 46, lines 4, 5. ‘thone waye’ B. S. ‘them’ L.

5. ‘enhance’ L. ‘exhauste’ B. S.

‘Cheif’ B. S.; L. has ‘cleif.’

7. S. reads ‘necessary commodities agayne.’

9. B. and S. read ‘that Homer sayethe.’

‘Glaucus’ B. S. ‘Claudius’ L. Compare *Iliad* vi. 234 f. The lines are quoted in the passage from the *Digest* referred to below, p. 47, l. 33.

10. ‘this’ B. S. ‘his’ L.

17. ‘long’ B. S.; L. has ‘lond.’

19. ‘thriue’ B. S.; L. has ‘triue.’

24. So B. S., but L. reads ‘be but no.’

32. ‘and’ B. S., omitted in L.

Page 47, line 10. ‘rather’ L. ‘lever’ B. S.

16. ‘thanne’ &c. B. The omission in L. is an obvious clerical blunder arising from a confusion of the repeated words ‘no more.’ Curiously enough, a similar omission occurs in S., though the sentence there has been recast so as to make grammar: the sentence then runs, ‘I cannot perceave that it maye bee remedied.’

20. ‘so’ B. S. ‘for’ L.

23. So B. S., but L. reads ‘But if either of youe.’

27. ‘could ye’ S. ‘wold be’ L. ‘coulede not’ B.

33. *Il.* vi. 234, vii. 472, *Od.* i. 430. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. c. 1.

6. ‘Homer makes no reference to coined money. A ‘talent’s weight’ of uncoined gold is sometimes mentioned,’ e.g. *Il.* xxiii. 751. Jebb, *Homer*, p. 69. Ridgeway, *Origin*, 2.

‘Civill Lawe.’ Lambarde has written out the quotations from the *Digest* xviii. tit. 1. 1 on the flyleaf at the end of his copy of the Dialogue *Libro primo de Contra. Emptione et Venditione*. Origo emendi vendendique a permutacionibus coepit, olim enim non ita erat numus nec aliud merx aliud preti[um] vocabatur. Sed vnusquisque secundum necessitatem temporum ac rerum vtilibus inutilia permutabant [sic], quando plerumque euenit, vt quod alteri superest, alteri desit. Sed quia non semper nec facile concurrebat, vt cum tu habeas quod ego desyderabam,



aut ego haberem quod tu cuperes, electa est materia cuius publica ac perpetua estimatio difficultatibus permutacionum aequalitate quantitatis subueniret. Ea materia forma publicæ æstimationis percussa, vsum dominiumque non tam ex substantia prebet, quam ex quantitate, nec vera merx vtrumque est, sed alterum pretium vocabatur.

Page 48, line 5. 'all wares' B. S., omitted in L.

6. 'hath' S. 'halfe' L. The sentence is unfinished in B., as the last ten words are omitted.

16. 'divers;' the rest of the Capper's speech is in Lambarde's hand,

20. On the evils of enclosure compare Hales' Charge, "Where there were in few years ten or twelve thousand people, there be now scarce four thousand; where there were a thousand, now scarce three hundred, and in many places, where there were very many able to defend our country from landing of our enemies, now almost none. Sheep and cattle that were ordained to be eaten of men, hath eaten up the men. \* \* The places where poor men dwelt, clearly destroyed; lands emproved to so great rents, or so excessive fines taken, that the poor husbandmen cannot live." Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* 11. ii. 359. Also Latimer, "Furthermore, if the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers and rent-rearers are hinderers of the king's honour. For where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog; so they hinder the king's honour most of all." Latimer, *Sermons*, p. 100; compare also pp. 66, 101 and 248. See also above, p. 15, l. 21, and p. 50, l. 16 and p. 52, l. 9 below. For other testimonies see J. Ross of Warwick, *Hist. Regum Angliæ*, p. 120; More, *Utopia*, p. 32; Starkey, *Dialogue between Pole and Lupsett*, p. 72.

25. 'to be' B. S., omitted in L.

27 and 28. 'xx<sup>tie</sup>' L. B. 'xxx' S.

29. 'dissolucion' L. 'desolacion' B. S.

32. So L. and B., but S. reads 'vprors that hath bene.'

Compare Latimer, "Covetousness was the cause of rebellion this last summer, and both parties had covetousness, as well the gentlemen as the commons. \* \* The commons thought they had a right to the things that they inordinately sought to have. \* \* Now on the other side, the gentlemen had a desire to keep that they had, and so they rebelled too against the king's commandment, and against such good order as he and his council would have set in the realm. \* I remember my own self a certain giant, a great man who sat in commission about such matters; and when the townsmen would bring in what had been in-

closed, he frowned and chafed and so near looked, and threatened the poor men, that they durst not ask their right. \* \* \* I for my part cannot tell which is sufficient. But we thought it was well that the tenants and poor commons should have sufficient. For if they had sufficient, thought I, they had cause to be quiet." *Sermons*, 247. Also *Polices to Reduce*, &c. pp. 12, 24.

Page 49, line 13. 'Devonshire' L. B. 'Northamptonshyre' S. Devonshire is the better reading, for it appears that this was enclosed and wealthy in 1607, when Northamptonshire was regarded as a typical unenclosed county. There must however have been some attempts at enclosure in Northamptonshire under Edward VI., as it is the subject of complaint, along with Oxfordshire and Bucks in *Certayne Causes* (p. 15, l. 21 n. above). Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry*, II. 702.

15. 'taken for a' B. S. 'a token of a' L.

'this' S. B., omitted in L.

22. The doctor here distinguishes; he condemns the enclosure of common fields, but not the enclosure of common waste unless it was unfairly done. So Hales in his Charge explains that the evil kind of enclosure is, when any man hath enclosed or taken away any other men's commons, or hath pulled down houses of husbandry and converted the lands from tillage to pasture. The economic advantage of enclosure, where fairly carried out, is fully recognised by Hales in his Charge. Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* II. ii. 362, "It is very beneficial to the common wealth; it is a cause of great encrease of wood."

26. 'commen' B. S. 'come' L.

29. On the advantages of severalty over open field cultivation, compare Fitzherbert, *Surveyinge*, c. 40, and Tusser, *Five Hundred Points*, c. 53.

32. 'a M' L. B. 'poore' S.

'cottagers' B. 'cottages' L. S.

Page 50, lines 6, 7. B. and S. omit 'the more is the pittie.'

10. 'well' B. S., omitted in L.

11. Compare Hales, "Let us have this godly opinion with us, that nothing can be profitable that is not godly and honest; nor nothing godly and honest whereby our neighbours and Christian brethren, or the commonwealth of our country is hurted and harmed." Strype, II. ii. 354.

12. 'they' B. S., omitted in L.

17. The attempt to restrain this tendency by laws had not been very successful. The chief acts were referred to by Hales in his Charge;

they are 4 H. VII. c. 16, 7 H. VIII. c. 1, 25 H. VIII. c. 13 and 27 H. VIII. c. 22.

The most detailed account of the progress of the movement before 1517 will be found in the very interesting inquisition printed by Mr Leadam in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S. VI. 167.

27. This may have been suggested by Ficinus' Argument to the *Hipparchus*, a dialogue which seems to have been much quoted at the time. (Compare W. Thomas' letter on the coin, *Strype, Ecc. Mem.* II. ii. 390.) At any rate a similar statement of current talk about self interest will be found in Starkey's *Dialogue*, E. E. T. S. p. 33. Pole is represented as solving the conflict between private and public interest by saying that the public interest is ultimately and truly the private interest. 'Yf men knew that when they loke to the commyn profyt, that they therwyth also regard theyr own singular and private' &c., *ib.* p. 66. Hales (*Strype, Ecc. Mem.* II. ii. 352) and Latimer (*Sermons*, 66, 238) seem merely to inveigh against 'avarice'; but the Doctor in this dialogue takes the characteristic view of XVII. and XVIII. century economists and shows how the statesman may play on self interest, so as to make it work for public good. See p. 121, l. 28 below.

**Page 51**, line 14. 'bee' B. S., omitted in L.

14. 'sheeps' B. S. 'sheape' L.

20. 'hyndraunce' B. S., omitted in L.

21. 'owr' B. S., omitted in L.

31. 'or for thother were' B. 'to be' L. 'were' S.

**Page 52**, line 9. The political dangers of a sparse population were strongly felt; an early instance is in regard to the Isle of Wight. 4 H. VII. c. 16. Compare also Hales' Charge (*op. cit.* 353) on the castles and bulwarks by the sea-side. See p. 48, l. 20.

15. 'abuse' L. B. 'vse' S.

22. 'ij' or 'iij' L. B. 'many' S. See p. 17, l. 3. Hales alludes to the cheapness of corn as compared with that of cattle in similar terms, but ascribes it to a different reason from that given by the doctor, l. 31 below. "Al things at this present, saving corn (which by reason that is in poor mens hands who cannot keep it, is good cheap), be so dear as never they were; victual and al other things that be necessary for mans use. And yet, as it is said, there was never more catle, specially sheep, than there is at this present. But the cause of the dearth is, that those have it that may chuse whether they wil sel or

no; and wil not sel it but at their own prizes. All corn would be likewise, if it were in their hands and might be wel kept." Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* II. ii. 359. (On this explanation of high prices compare More, *Utopia*, p. 34 and *Certaine Causes* quoted on p. 15, l. 21 n.) The rise in the price of cattle was certainly extraordinary; the decennial averages for oxen for 1531—40 was 28s. 7½d.; but in 1548 they were selling at 51s. 6½d. and in 1549 at 70s. 4d. Rogers, *op. cit.* IV. 352, 355.

30. 'thre or foure' L. B. 'manye' S.

31. Compare Latimer, who held that enclosures were diminishing the supply of corn, though it had not been noticed owing to the favorable seasons. "For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour,) now is let for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this 'too much' cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts: notwithstanding, too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kinds of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. These things with other are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound." *Sermons*, p. 99.

Page 53, line 3. 'an' B. S., omitted in L.

14. 'as' B. S. omitted in L.

'evere' B. 'neuer' L. S.

19. See p. 122, l. 25. This sentence is important as laying down a principle which was long acted on in this country, especially in the system of corn bounties introduced in 1689. Faber, *Agrarschutz*, p. 2. Compare also More, *Utopia*, p. 71. This was characteristically, but not exclusively, an English policy, for similar measures are attributed to the Emperor Frederick II. Milman, *Lat. Christ.* VI. 157.

29, 30. 'anone' B. S. 'a man' L.

33. 'reason' B. S. 'occasion' L.

Page 54, lines 5, 6. 'broken vp' B. S. 'browght downe' L.

17. 'make' B. S., omitted in L.

24. 'to' B. S., omitted in L.

26—32. 'Ye haue...one waie' L. B., but omitted in S. The measure of 15 H. VI. c. 2, which was rendered perpetual by 23 H. VI. c. 3, § 5, permitted export of corn without a license when the price was below a noble the quarter. This was intended at the time to encourage

agriculture, but owing to the change in the range of prices it had ceased to operate effectively in the time of Edward VI. The decennial average for 1511—20 was just above the noble, and after that time the average was much above it. Rogers, *op. cit.* IV. 292. The rule was altered by 13 El. c. 13, before W. S. prepared the dialogue for press.

Page 55, line 3. 'on' B. S. 'when' L.

5. 'the' B. S.; L. omits.

9. 'equivalent' B. L. 'good' S.

14. 'and proffittes of his staple' B. L. The loss of Calais in Queen Mary's reign rendered a reference to the staple out of date, and S. omits these words.

27. 'intricate' B. S.; L. has 'inscicate.'

29. 'youe' L. 'wee not' B. S.

Page 56, line 1. 'peltes' L. 'fels' B. S.

8. 'yowr woole' B. S. 'well' L.

12, 13. 'x<sup>d</sup>. the bushell,' i.e. a noble the quarter; see p. 54, l. 28.

This is one of the minor points which W. S. did not alter.

22. 'xii' L. 'well' B. S.

25. 'parte' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

28. 'plote' B. 'plucke' L. 'some part' S.

Page 57, line 1. 'never be able' B. S. 'be able never' L.

2. 'brede' L. B. 'herd' S. The husbandman was not merely a husbandman, and might perhaps be described as a grazier. Several graziers were mayors of Coventry in the XVI. century in particular; thus R. Nicklin, Grazier or Butcher, was mayor in 1550. Wanley, *Collections*, Brit. Mus. Harl. 6388. Poole, *Coventry*, 371.

15. 'doo and' &c. B. S. 'haue of oures' L.

17. The capper's principle was accepted by the legislature in all the attempts to regulate the prices of the necessaries of life; as e.g. the assize of bread, 51 H. III., or the assessment act of 25 H. VIII. c. 2. It underlay the attempt to regulate wages in accordance with the plenty or scarcity of the time, which was instituted under Richard II. (13 R. II. st. i. c. 8), and formed part of the duty of the Justices (Fitzherbert, f. xxxix b) long before it was reinforced by 5 El. c. 4. From these principles it naturally followed that the 'reasonable' price of wares of all sorts was greatly enhanced by a rise in the price of victuals, and that if the price of victuals were kept down, all native wares would be good cheap. Hence Hales holds out the expectation of a fall in the price of goods, if enclosures, with their supposed effect on the price of victuals, were done away. Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* II. ii. 363.

28. 'latten' B. S. 'talkinge' L. Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 4.  
**Page 58**, line 9. L. inserts 'to.'
10. 'they' S., omitted in L.
15. So in B. S., but L. reads 'goe not about.'  
**Page 59**, line 1. 'that' B. S., omitted in L.
2. 'may appere' B. S. 'as it appeareth' L.
3. Cicero, *Ep. ad Brutum*, i. 15. 3. The reference in the side-note is mistaken.
10. 'price' L. 'presentes' B. 'preferments' S.  
 'to' B. S., omitted in L.
25. 'length' S. 'lenghe' L. B.
27. 'husband' L. B. 'till' S.
31. The importance of acquiring treasure for political purposes, and for coinage, was strongly felt all through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there are no signs of attaching an exaggerated importance to it in this tract; indeed such exaggeration was much less common than is generally supposed. See p. 35, l. 15, p. 113, l. 16, and p. 127, l. 13.
- Page 60**, line 7. 'And...husbandrie,' omitted in B.
16. 'eges, butter and chese' L. B. 'Hennes, Capons and Chickens' S.
- Page 61**, line 4. 'scarce' B. S. 'scare' L.
- 5, 6. 'an vnfrutefull' B. S. 'a best frutefull' L.
20. Mr F. D. Matthew quotes the instructions to Willoughby in Hakluyt (III. 231) as illustrating this passage. That voyage aimed at commercial intercourse and not at plantation. The advantages of intercourse between different countries are fairly obvious, so far as natural products are concerned. It has been in connection with manufactures that there has been most occasion for strictly economic (as distinguished from political) jealousies between nations; with regard to natural products, like wool, the jealousy has only arisen indirectly, as they are the material for manufacture. Compare the Doctor's view on p. 67, l. 20.
27. 'as' B. S., omitted in L.
31. 'and' B. S., omitted in L.
33. 'canne' B. S., omitted in L.
- Page 62**, line 2. There is a note in the margin of L. in Lambarde's hand. "Wyne is nedful for the Caskes sake to be occupied for Vitayling in tyme of warre."
3. 'so' L. 'so so' B. 'indifferently' S.

5. 6. 'but mannye' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

17. 'merchante' L. 'mercuer' B. S.

Page 63, line 2. There is a note in the margin of L. in Lambarde's hand. See plate 1. "If we send out more comodities in valeu then we bringe home, the ouerpluis cometh in in coyne; but if we bringe in more, then the ouerpluis must nedes be paid for in moneye, and this is the measure of increasinge or diminishing the coyne, except of that litle which is found within the realme." The clear statements of the doctrine of the commercial balance of trade, in its bearing on the circulating medium of the country, both in the dialogue and by Lambarde, are of interest. A similarly clear statement occurs in the *Policies to Reduce* &c., p. 14. "The onlie means to cause mouche Bullione to be broughte oute of other realmes vnto the kinges mintes, is to provide that a greate quantite of our wares maye be carriede yerly into beyonde the Sees, and lese quantitie of ther wares be brought hither againe." More than half a century later a recognised authority like Gerard Malynes expressed himself as entirely sceptical about the influence exercised by commercial indebtedness in determining the flow of gold. *Centre*, p. 57.

3, 4. 'for so' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

4. Lambarde has noted in the margin, 'oportet patrem familias vendacem esse non emacem: Marc. Cato.' [Cato, *De Agricultura* 2.]

19. 'pouches' L. 'owches' B. S.

25. L. reads 'much, much.'

28. 'saltes' L. B. 'salt sellers' S.

Page 64, line 3. 'fresadow.' The glossary of the N. S. S. edition explains this hesitatingly as Frisian fine cloth.

6. 'fett' L. 'fetchede' B. S.

7. 'milliner' i.e. the dealer in goods from Milan.

'sene' L. B. 'heard' S.

'xx<sup>th</sup>' L. B. 'xl' S. Here again there is an alteration of date; but even though the whole is dramatic, it may be argued, as Dr Furnivall does, that this gives some indication of the age of the professed writer, and that W. S. was not a man who could pretend to much personal information about what occurred forty years before.

20. 'Pactolus' B. 'Pictagus' L. 'Pactogus' S.

24. 'people' B. 'prible' L. 'pryple' S. Dr Furnivall compares Harrison, *Description*, p. 147. Englishmen who could not afford Venetian glass were forced to "content themselves with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone." The argument is that by making glass ourselves we could make good the loss caused by the

payment of gold to procure glass from abroad. This was the usual mercantilist argument in regard to the planting of new industries. Practical efforts were being made at this very time to introduce the glass manufacture into England. See *State Papers Venetian*, 1550, No. 648, and *Commons Journals*, 22 Nov. 1549 and 30 Nov. 1549.

25. 'good' B. S.; L. omits.

Page 65, line 14. 'weighe' L. B. 'ponder' S.

19. 'in clothes or cappes' B. S.

21, 22. 'be long' L. B. 'come' S.

33. 'paper.' On early attempts at paper-making see Timbs, *Historic Ninepins*, 135; Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1. 201.

Page 66, lines 1, 3. 'as well as' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

Page 67, line 2. *Commons Journals*, 5 and 24 Jan. 1549; see above, Introduction, p. xviii.

7. The league with France, recently renewed (4 March, 1547, Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 139), had been made in 1546. It contained the following clause, which would have been 'touched' by the proposed measure, as caps of some sorts were apparently imported from France. (Compare Latimer, *Sermons*, 253.) Item quod omnia Munera sive Onera ab aliquo dictorum Principum in eorum Patriarum sive Dominiorum Partibus, juxta priorum Foederum Conditiones antehac usitata, citra aut infra 50 Annos ante datam Praesentium imposita, Mercatoribus aut Subditis alterius Principis ejusve Haeredum et Successorum nociva vel onerosa, durante hac Pace, penitus sint extincta, et quod talia et consimilia (hac Amicitia durante) amodo non imponantur; salvis tamen semper quoad alia omnibus Regionum, Urbium, et Locorum Statutis et Consuetudinibus, quibus nihil quoad eorum Jura per Praemissa derogatum censeatur. (Rymer xv. 95.) Foreign caps had been prohibited in 1512 (3 H. VIII. c. 15), but were admitted and the prices fixed by 21 H. VIII. c. 9.

16. After 'lawes' insert 'to bynde ovr owne Subiectes' B. S.

25. The Acts of 5 R. II. st. i. c. 3 and 4 H. VII. c. 10 prohibited the importation of Gascony Wine and Thoulouse Woad, except in English ships. In 1552 permission was given to import wine in the ships of any friendly country from Feb. 1st to Oct. 1st in each year (5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 18), and in 1559 the whole was repealed. The alleged reasons for so doing were, 'Synce the makying of whiche sayd Statutes, other forreyne Prynces, fynding themselves agreaved with the sayd severall Actes, as thincking that the same were made to the Hurte and Prejudice of their Countrie and Navye, have made lyke penall



Lawes agaynst suche as shoulde shippe out of their Countreys in any other Vesselles then of their severall Countreys and Domynions' (1 El. c. 13). Differential rates were imposed instead of enforcing a prohibition; but in 1563 the old prohibitory policy was revived (5 El. c. 5, § 8). The regulations were similar when the dialogue was written and in the time of W. S., though there had been a different system temporarily in vogue in the interval. There is a certain laxity in the reference in the dialogue: 'when we devised a law' is a loose way of indicating a measure passed as long before as the time of Henry VII.

33. The opinion that English commodities were indispensable to neighbouring nations was held all through the Middle Ages; instead of pushing a sale for them abroad, our statesmen were inclined to refuse to sell unless they got a really remunerative price. (Cunningham, *Growth of Industry*, 1. 124, 292, 373.) This view lasted for a long time in regard to English wool, which was supposed to be essential for the manufacture of some kinds of cloth. (Smith, *Chronicon Rusticum Preciosum*, II. 319.) Along with this, there was also a feeling that the English wares were, in modern language, things that would be 'productively consumed,' and that it was unthrifty to exchange them for goods that were mere articles of unproductive consumption. Compare Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, IV. 1, p. 177.

Page 68, line 3. S. omits 'without.'

5. 'know' L. B. 'heard' S.

6. 'Carnarvin' L. 'Caermarthyne' B. S. Carnarvon was in Wales, as organised by Ed. I. in counties, while Caermarthyne was in the marches, that is in the region under the jurisdiction of the Lords of the Marches before 1536. Carmarthen received a new charter, 17 May, 1545, and the bailiffs were regularly elected there. External evidence seems to render the reading of B. and S. preferable.

18. 'that' L. 'but aples' B. S.

22. 'sale' B. S. 'sall,' L.

31. 'not' B. L. 'many' S.

Page 69, line 2. After 'as' insert 'menne doo' B. S.

7. 'doe now a dayes' B. L. 'haue in times past' S.

12. So in L. B., but after 'thinges' S. inserts 'in comparison of former times.'

15. 'rathere remedyede' B. S. 'rarer remediall' L.

22. 'experience hathe' B. S. 'expenses haue' L.

30. 'what makithe it the mattiere' B. S. 'which maketh that matter' L.

Page 70, line 1. 'thoroughly.' L. has 'thoughly': in B. and S., 'groundlye.'

2. 'coulede' B.; L. has 'cloud'; in S. 'would.'

4, 5. 'himself' and 'his' are retained by W. S.

10. 'stint' L. 'estate' B. S.

18. 'onlie' L. 'hole' B. 'olde' S.

21. 'terme' B. S. 'time' L.

29. 'Estimat' B. 'estate' L. 'estimation' S.

Page 71, line 3. 'as' B. S. 'also' L.

4. 'an' B. S. '½' L.

7. 'ys' B. S., omitted in L.

16. 'for' L. 'vnder' B. S.

20, 21. 'wee haue' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

25. B. and S. omit 'can.'

27. Aristotle, *Ethics*, v. 5. See p. 108, l. 18.

32. Read 'meane wares' B. 'meane in wares' S.

Page 72, line 3. 'sumtymes' B. S. 'semeth' L.

5. The side-note refers to the passage in the Digest (xviii. tit. 1. De contrahenda emptione) where there is a reference to the lines of the *Iliad* (see p. 47, l. 33). The side-note in S. makes this clearer, as it runs 'Hom. F. de emptione.' F. is a common abbreviation for the Digest.

6. 'peltēs' L. 'fels' B. S.

7. 'over so much as we should vent out for,' omitted in S.

9. Read 'spende it in ovr needs' B. S.

11. 'that' B. S. 'with' L.

11, 12. Read 'the longe keypyngē' B. S.

12. 'for such' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

14. 'scarcetye' B. S. 'scarcelie' L.

23. 'apteste' B. S. 'and best' L.

28. 'thenne' B. S. 'that' L.

Page 73, line 7. 'for' B. S. 'of' L. Compare p. 108, l. 18 below. Lambarde has written out the quotation at the end of his copy. *Aristot. 5 Ethicorum cap. 5<sup>o</sup>*. Itaque res omnes oportet, quarum est contractus, quadam inter se similitudine respondere, quem ad vsum numus comparatus est, qui quoniam omnia metitur, idcirco medium ac mensura quodammodo efficitur\*. Sed introductus [numus] est ex instituto, quasi inopiae ac indigentiae praesidio futurus, ob eamque causam nomen duxit, non a natura sed a νόμος, Lege, atque in nobis est vt mutetur, aut reddatur inutilis\*. At vere vt dicam res inter se tam dissimiles non

possunt villo modo [apte] inter se componi, sed quantum satis est ad vsum, necessitatemque possunt. Vnum igitur aliquid necesse est adhiberi, idque [instituto, itaque] numus vocatur, quod omnia apte componat siquidem numo omnia ponderantur. Lambarde seems to have used the translation by Perionius (Paris, 1552), from which the words in square brackets are added.

9. 'neede' B. S., omitted in L.

13. Read 'spende in his howse' B. S.

'perceuyd' B. S. 'perceauē' L.

19. 'eyther' B. S. 'after' L.

21. Read 'weare no vse of' B. S.

**Page 74**, line 4. 'herolds' B. S. 'herodes' L.

27. 'it' B. S. 'is' L.

29. 'no' B. S., omitted in L.

31. 'and' B. S., omitted in L.

32. 'which' S. B. 'it' L.

**Page 75**, line 8. 'serues' S. B. 'semeth' L.

12. S. reads 'church vestures.'

19. 'againē' L. 'Dame' B. S.

21. 'fare.' 'far' L. 'fayre' B. S.

23. The allusion may be to the following passage. Novi ego quendam mei nominis, qui novae nuptae gemmas aliquot adulterinas dono dedit, persuadens, ut erat facundus nugator, eas non modo veras ac nativas esse, verum etiam singulari atque inestimabili precio. Quaeso, quid intererat puellae, cum vitro non minus iucunde pasceret et oculos et animum, nugas perinde ut eximium aliquem thesaurum conditas apud sese servaret? *Encomium Moriae* (1668), p. 121. Compare also More, *Utopia*, 97, 98.

26. 'keepe' B. S., omitted in L.

31, 33. 'the vses' &c. B. S. 'theire vses no gold nor silver doth clearly excell all other well' L.

**Page 76**, line 9. 'gadds or' B. S. 'goodes of' L.

11, 12. So B. S., but L. inserts 'whom' after 'Romanes.'

12. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. c. 3, 42.

20. *Inst.* II. tit. x. 1 *De testamentis ordinandis.*

26. So B. S., but L. inserts 'of' before 'the same.'

'the' B. S. 'by' L.

33. 'print' L. 'pece' B. 'Prynce' S.

**Page 77**, line 2. See p. 116, l. 8.

6. 'a' B. S. 'and' L.

8. 'Dli' L. 'half poundes' B. S.

9. 'thanne the one' B. S. 'the other' L.

12. 'senses.' L. has 'fenses.' 'censes' B. 'duties' S.

15. Compare Latimer. "I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you? Were it no wonder to hear that cloth makers should become poticaries? Yea, and as I hear say in such a place, where they have professed the Gospel and the word of God most earnestly for a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor gospel goeth to wrack. If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and wrack him till the sinews stretch again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to stretch him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the poticary; they call it flock powder; they do so incorporate it to the cloth that it is wonderful to consider; truly a godly invention." (*Sermons*, p. 138.)

Complaints of frauds in connection with the manufacture of cloth were exceedingly common; an Act which was intended to rectify the evil was passed in 1552 (5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 6). In this Act Coventry takes a very subordinate position, and it is evident that Worcester was the more important centre of the two: certain cloths made in both towns appear to be known as 'Worcesters,' and Coventry Frieze was no longer specially spoken of. In 1485 and 1495, however, the relative proportions of the trade at the two centres must have been quite different: the aulnage of Worcester and Hereford was then worth £13, of Coventry and district £23. (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 300a, 498a.)

24. 'the commendacion' B. S. 'common desceit' L.

Page 78, line 6. S. reads 'Dyd yee not see that our Coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it in the late yeares of King Henry the eyghte.'

10. 'but onelye' B. S., omitted in L.

14. 'now' L. B. 'then' S.

26, 27. S. reads 'after that our Coyne was based.'

27. 'conterfeted,' see Introduction, p. xiii, also p. 45, l. 19.

Page 79, line 9. 'wyne' B. S. 'orime' L.

13. 'haue ye' L. B. 'was there' S.

14. Compare the Proclamation, 11 April, 1549, 3rd year. "And further the kynges maiestie by the aduise aforesaied, straightly chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner persone do buye or sell, any of the saied coynes afore rehersed, for other price, then accordyng as thei be

valued, and appoynted by this the kynges Maiesties Proclamation. That is to saie, the Angell of Golde at ix. s. viij. d., the halfe Angell, at iiij. s. x. d. Tholde riall xiiij. s. vi. d., the new Soueraigne at xx. s., the halfe Soueraigne at x. s., and the croune at v. s. and so al other the kynges Maiesties coyne, accordyngly as thei be in this or others his Maiesties Proclamacions, cessed and valued, vpon pain that if any man, shall either buye or sell the saied coynes, or any of them, ouer and aboue the price aforesaied &c. [both buyer and seller shall forfeit ten times the value of the coin and suffer imprisonment]. And for asmuche as diuerse persones, within this Realme, as well Goldsmithes as Marchantes and men of other occupacions, hath vsed now of late, contrary to the lawes and statutes of this realme, to buye and sell the kynges maiesties coyne, of, and for higher price then it is, by his Maiesties Proclamacion, rated and valued, and so cull and trie out the finest and heaviest, and melte them doune, or otherwise make gaine vpon them leuyng the lightest and lest fine, onely to bee curraunt emonges the kynges Maiesties people, to the great empairyng of his highnes coyne, defraudyng of his subiectes. and disfurnishyng and slaundryng of the Mintes." *Proclamations*, ff. 31, 32. See above, p. 32, l. 28. See p. 106, l. 20.

19. 'shippes' L. 'heapes' B. S.

21. 'rehered' L. 'reiectede' B. S.

23. So L. B., but after 'selves,' S. inserts 'since the time.'

25. 'yee' B. 'they' L. 'wee payde dearer presently' S.

Page 80, line 2. 'in' B. S. 'out' L.

'be' L. B. 'proued after that time' S.

10, 11. 'yea in,' to 'youe so.' l. 19, omitted in S. On the changes of the coinage see above, Introduction, p. xiii.

21. 'theres' B. 'others' S. 'ours' L.

25. 'yea' S. 'ye' L. B.

Page 81, line 2. 'maintenaunce' L. 'mauraunce' B. S.

13. 'the other' B. S., omitted in L.

21, 26. 'countenaunce' B. S. 'continuance' L.

Page 82, line 1. The disturbances of 1549 appear to have been the occasion of the first appointment of Lord Lieutenants to keep good order and rule among their neighbours. Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* II. i. 278.

5, 6. 'vjd,'... 'iiijd' L. B. 'xijd...viijd' S.

7. 'from' S. B. 'for' L.

16, 17. 'cause' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

21. Read 'dyshe of sodde meate' B. S.  
 Page 83, line 10. 'daily' L. 'dewlye' B. S.
26. 'gentlewomen' B. S. 'gentlemen' L.
27. 'delicasyes,' S. 'delicastes' L. 'delicases' B.  
 Page 84, line 7. 'yomen' B. S. 'yemen' L. Compare Hales' Charge. Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* 11. ii. 353.
14. 'just' L. 'most' B. S.
21. 'shott' L. S. 'shocke' B. See Introduction, p. xxi.
22. 'buildinges.' Compare Harrison, *Description of England*, c. xii., Latimer, *Sermons*, 261.
26. 'and' B. S. 'of' L.  
 Page 85, line 9. So L. B., but S. reads 'there is comen to the crown of late yeares.'
15. 'there' B. S. 'ether' L.
20. 'riches of the' B. S.; L. omits.
- 21, 22. S. reads, 'that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time.'
24. 'now' L. B. 'after' S.
26. 'shall shortly' L. B. 'hath and will' S.
28. 'I' B. S., omitted in L.
29. L. has 'greater.'
30. L. inserts 'only' before 'taken.'
33. 'yowr' B. S. 'theire' L.
- Page 86, line 3. 'menne' B. S., omitted in L.
10. L. has 'an inestimable.'
12. 'lyken' B. S. 'like not' L. Compare Introduction, p. xxix, also p. 35, l. 20 and p. 103 l. 32 n.
20. 'runne' corrected by Lambarde from 'rivers,' which has not been deleted.
- 21, 22. 'came in of late' L. B. 'came into the king's coffers at the first' S.
22. 'se now' L. B. 'haue heretofore seene' S.
30. 'case' B. 'cause' L. S.
33. 'nervi' B. S. 'normi' L. Cicero, *Phil.* v. 2.
- Page 87, lines 17—33. S. omits 'Also I... cheifly our,' and substitutes, 'And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust, (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge Henry the eight,) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then the deprauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a little while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwarde. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure' &c.

17. 'and' B., omitted in L.  
 21. See 109, l. 16.  
 23. 'kepyng' B. 'beinge' L.  
 26, 27. 'nor wee' &c. B., omitted L.

**Page 88**, line 17. S. reads 'insurrections and vproares for the most parte.' See p. 18, l. 26.

25. 'not alwayes.' Massie, writing in 1758, inveighs strongly against the mischiefs caused by "removing multitudes of people from our natural and fixed basis, land, to the artificial and fluctuating basis, trade." *Plan*, p. 69.

31. The remainder of the tract from the Doctor's speech to the end is in a different hand, and written with much blacker ink than the earlier part of the Bodleian MS.

**Page 89**, lines 3—6. 'Yet were it' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

17, 18. read 'they reward and cherishe' B. S.

25. B. and S. omit 'from beyonde the sea and.'

**Page 90**, line 5. 'in dede' B. S. 'iudged' L.

15. 'your' B. S. 'oure' L.

24. See above, p. 88, l. 25 n.

**Page 91**, line 10. 'Well'...'opinion,' l. 20, omitted in S.; consequently the next speech is assigned to the Knight, which is obviously a mistake: compare p. 93, l. 31.

14. There does not appear to have been a heavy impost on cloth exported before the time of Queen Mary (Hall, *Customs*, II. 140); but it is noticeable that Hales had advocated a tax of the kind. (See above, p. xliv.)

15. 'subsidie.' See Introduction, p. xi.

20. The division of artificers is very instructive; it is mercantilist in character, as it groups occupations according to their influence on the treasure of the country; it is interesting to compare the arrangements in 5 El. c. 4, where a preference is shown for agriculture and employments subsidiary to agriculture.

**Page 92**, line 6. 'Therefore' B. S. L. has 'theefore.'

'cherishe' B. S. 'search' L.

8. 'which' S. 'that' B., omitted in L.

10. After 'lead' Lambarde inserted 'corne and grayne.'

15. 'it wolde' B. S. 'I could' L.

16. 'graunge' B. S. 'drudge' L.

20. 'as is said before,' omitted in S.; but see p. 51, l. 30 above.

21. 'be' S. 'bene' B.
22. Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, III. vi. 45.
28. 'marshes' corrected by Lambarde from 'marches.'
- Page 93, line 1. 'Spaine,' omitted in B. S.
2. 'as' B. S. 'is' L.
3. 'turned' B. S. 'tried owte' L.
7. 'pointers'; L. 'paynters' B. S., but the strings with tags, which pointers made, would be more likely to be imports, or possible exports, than the work of painters. See below, p. 130, l. 3.
- Page 94, line 5. 'we may' B., omitted in L.
8. 'lette wise' B. S. 'Likewise' L.
13. *Gen.* ii. 18 (Vers. Ant.), but confused with *Ecclesiastes* viii. 15.
25. 'Marie, I think that way' omitted in B. S., which substitute as continuation of preceding paragraph, 'And euen like wise sayde the merchaunte man, adding thereto that he thought that wolde rather be.'
- The Merchant's, Knight's and Doctor's speeches to the foot of the page (p. 95, l. 13) are in Lambarde's hand.
27. L. has 'of of.'
30. The contempt of 'paisantes' was common enough. "Item to the great nombre of people youe haue in fraunce. What maner of people be they? I say syr herald they be caytiues and wretches, lyuyng in lyke thraldome as they dyd to the romaynes, and geuyng tribute for theyr meate, drinke, brede, and salte, which for theyr wayke personayges and tymerous hartes, I may compare to the pignies who waged battayle agaynst the Cranes, so that I dare let slip a c. good yomen of england or wales, to v. c. of such ribaldry." Coke, *Debate of Heraldes*. On French men at arms compare More, *Utopia*, 30, 31.
- Page 95, line 13. 'iniuries' L. 'inrodes' B. S.
19. 'not require' S. B. 'raise' L.
25. 'subiectes onely' L. B. 'Englishe hearts' S.
- Page 96, line 13. After 'supper' B. and S. insert, 'And so we went together to our souper' &c.
- Page 97. TITLE. 'The thirde dialogue, wherein are deuised the remedies for the sayd griefes.' B. '.....same griefes.' S.
- line 1. 'Knight' in margin B. S., omitted in L.
- Page 98, line 2. So L. B., but after 'dearth' S. inserts 'in comparison of that former age.'
- 4, 5. So L. B., but S. omits 'the exhausinge of the treasure of this Realme. Thirdly'; and on line 6 substitutes 'Thyrdly' for 'Fourthely.'



The whole section on the base coinage and drain of bullion was omitted; hence the dialogue was made to consist of three divisions instead of four. Compare also the omissions in the *Table of Contents*, p. 8, l. 12.

Page 99, line 14. 'be' L. 'we' B. S.

19. 'wife of Ajax.' S. refers in margin to 'Cicero *Top.* lib. 5' [c. 16, 61]. This reference is not given in B.

Page 100, line 13. Latimer also tells the story. "Here by the way I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin sands, and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an old man, with a white head, and one that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter; for, being so old a man, it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Master More called this old aged man unto him, and said: 'Father,' said he, 'tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the sands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no ships can arrive here? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man tell any cause of it, ye of likelihood can say most in it; or at leastwise more than any other man here assembled.' 'Yea, forsooth, good master,' quoth this old man, 'for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company any thing near unto mine age.' 'Well then,' quoth Master More, 'how say you in this matter? What think ye to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich haven?' 'Forsooth, sir,' quoth he, 'I am an old man; I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands. For I am an old man, sir,' quoth he, 'and I may remember the building of Tenterton steeple; and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven; and therefore I think that Tenterton steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich haven.' And even so, to my purpose, is preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton steeple was cause Sandwich haven is decayed." *Sermons*, 251. The story is also told of Sandwich in Sir

- T. More's *Dialogue concernynge heresies*, Bk. iv. c. 2, Works, p. 277 H.
19. 'thronge' B. S. 'thinge' L.
32. 'manured' B. S. 'manered' L.
- Page 101, line 5. 'is' B. S., omitted in L.
10. The sentence is badly divided in L., 'weare wount to be. Once the husbandman is driven' &c.
30. 'they' B. S.; omitted in L.
- Page 102, lines 1 and 4. 'peces' B. S. L. has 'speces,' but in l. 3, L. has 'peces.'
2. 'no other' L. 'not their' B. S.
5. 'their' B. S. 'oure' L.
32. 'in' L. 'the' B. S.
- Page 103, line 5. 'but' B. S., omitted in L.
- 'siluer' B. S., omitted in L.
8. 'esteme' B. S. L. has 'exteme.'
13. After first 'peces' insert 'nowe' B. S.
23. 'firste' B. S. 'best' L.
25. So in L. B., but S. reads 'hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben.'
26. 'but a small proffitte and' L. 'but a momentain profit and' S. 'but a momentaunce at a' B.
27. 'may be sooner' &c. L. B., but S. reads 'Hee with his people might haue ben easly reuoked againe from the practice of that simple deuise.'
28. 'that' B. S., omitted in L.
31. 'is' L. B. 'was' S.
32. So L. B., but S. reads 'in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed' &c. The serious debasement took place under Henry VIII., and W. S. alters the passage so as to make it all apply to him, and not as in the MSS. to Edward VI. The following paragraphs are part of an argument addressed to Henry VIII. in favour of debasement. "And wher as I haue expressyd vn to your grace be fygure the grett aduantage and gayne vpon this alaye and coynnage. How meche more thane shalle your grace wyne. Be your exchange of the sayde meynte and coynnage by vertu of your moste hygh and dradde commaundment made and proclaymyde thorowout your contrays Ilys and senoryes in likemaner and forme as alle othir kyngys prynces dukys and bysshoppys dothe thorowout alle crystendom Nat only for thar owne syngular aduauntage and lycur but also for the mayntenaunce of thar contrayes lordshippys and senoryes by vertu of which proclaymacon

dothe charge and commaunde vpon payne sessyd at the fyrste tyme and afterwarde vpon payne of dethe that no man of what estate or degree he be off be so hardy to Resayue nor take for no maner of merchaundyse. No strange coyne myntyd out of thar sayd contrayes onlesse thay take yt for bolyon. Without that the sayde Strange moyntes be prouyd and valuyd be hys moynte mastres: yet notwithstanding thar valuacion. The sayde strange coynes shalbe sessyd of a lesse valew and some. Than thay be worthe So that all wayes thar contrays shalle haue the vantage and gayne of all other contrays. And specially of thys your Reame of England. Seyng that your gracijs heyghnes and your noble progenitors tyme without mynd hathe made no maner of coyne but only gold and syluer. Whyche alle the worlde couetyth to carry out of thys your Reame as well strangers as your owne sugettis.

Syr thar may be axyd a question. What aduantage shulde strangers haue to carry out golde and syluer out of your Reame. seyng the golde and syluer ys Ratyd at so heygh a valure.

The question ys sone awnsweryd for thar comyth nor Resortyth no strangers in to your Reame bryngyng onny maner of merchandyse but he Ratith hys wares after the hygh of the monay so that he shalbe neuer no losar by reason of carryng out hys monay But commonly thes strangers ar well assuryd yf thay bey anny of your commodites growyng within this your reame to be a losar. The reason why by cause alle your commedites be of lesse valew within thar contrays than within your Reame of England. The Reason why by cause euery stranger settyth most be thar owne commoditeys. Whiche ys a clene contrary to your sugettys. For dyuars your marchantys ar the desstroyars of your commediteys for lacke of good ordur and knowlegge and yett no staye made for the speciall ayde and mayntennaunce of your common welthe. For whan yt ys thought by your gracijs heyghnes and your noble counsellours. That nessassary yt ys to make Restraynte of sertayne wares cornes and odyr vytallis for a comon welthe. Than well ys he that can make his frendys vnto your grace ffor lysense of the same and consedryth no thyng neythar thaboundaunce in odyr contrays nor yet the scassete of thys your Reame; for yt apperyth by Reason that whanne the scassete ys within your reame yt ys to be thought aboundaunce in odyr pertyes. So as me semyth for lacke of dyscresson and knowlegge your commoditeys be loste.

Yet consyder farthar thaccasyon how and vnder what maner your comodytes be thus menysshyd and the pryncipall originall to be expressyd vnto your hyghnes. Dyuars causys I haue declaryd to fore.

But as me semyth the pryncipall cause ys sufferance. to suffyr the good actys to be broken whiche hatlie be made by your gracious heyghnes and that famouus prynce of memory your fadyr whos sowle god pardon. For the welthe of your commonns. So that dew execucion hadde ben made accordyngly.

Sufferance of strange coynes to be curraunt within your Reame and Senoryes.

Sufferance of your monay and coyne to be couayed out of thys your Reame of England.

Sufferance the kyng of skottys copper coyne to be curraunt in your towne of barwicke and the contray invyround.

Sufferance of false drapery to be drapyd withyn your Reame vnpounyshid.

Sufferance wollen clothe to be solde drapyd in strange prouences.

Sufferance of wollys shepe and other cattellys to passe ouer the zee.

Sufferance of artifycers to occupy in citey towne or borrow borne in strange prouences.

Sufferance of strangers kepe sollars sellars and shoppys whitin your citeie of london.

Sufferance to lett tokyns to be curraunt within your citeie of london in deression of your coyne.

Sufferance of straungers to kepe dayly markett in towne citeie and contrayes.

Sufferance to lette new taxsys to be leuyd within your townes contrary to your lawys and grauntis.

Sufferance of strayngers to haue Restitucion of your sugettys for causis commensyd beyonde the zee and no Redresse to the contrary.

Thus sufferance causyth thys grett mysere. And sufferance dysstroyeth your commodite.

[A]nd for the Remedy of many othyr dyuars Euylls which ys commyttyd dayly be theys secrette theys that be koynars and cleppers bothe of golde and syluer. whiche beryth dyshonour to alle prynces and also to the masters of thar myntes consederyng howe often tymes your common people be Robbyd in thar Reseyuyng of thar salarii and paymentes. And also for the profytt vtilite and amyte of euery of them to Entyrtaigne other. And to thende that merchaundise the more Joyusly may be occupyed And alle paymentys the more amyably to be made And also for keypyng them from theys troumpars and dyssayuars in ther Resayuyng of golde or seluer and to open all good vnderstandyng and knowlege to euery one of your sayde subiectys how thay

shalle take all maner of coynes bothe golde and syluer. Hauyng course And wyche ought nat to haue course. Accordyng to your moste hyghe and dradde commaundement vppon payne of confiscacion of body and goodys at the wylle and pleasure of your gracious hyghnes. And farther I haue deuysyd other dyuars coynes signifieng in the same your verray armys and baages that linially comythe vnto your grace be dessent with other noble and hyghe honnours manifestly knowyn thorowout all crystendome as defensor fidei and keypyng so many townes Iles and senoryes without your Reame of Englande ayenste the wyll and pleasure of all othyr your olde auncient ennemyes" &c.

From an address presented to King Henry VIII. by a minter named Nicholas Tyery who desired to undertake coinage for Ireland. (Camb. Univ. Library, Ff. ii. 22.)

Page 104, line 4. The effect of the debasement of the coin on prices was not generally recognised. The author of *Polices to Reduce the Realme of Englande* explicitly denied that this was the primary cause of the dearth and traced it to the state of the exchanges. "So that it is easie to be perceiued that al thinges is not now risen according to the Basenes of our coyne, But the moste thinges be risen of price according vnto the fawlinge of thexchange," p. 7. On this point Latimer was perfectly clear. "They say that the evilness of money hath made all things dearer." *Sermons*, 68.

"Thy silver is dross; it is not fine, it is counterfeit; thy silver is turned; thou hadst good silver.' What pertained that to Esay? Marry, he espied a piece of divinity in that policy; he threatened them God's vengeance for it. He went to the root of the matter, which was covetousness. He espied two points in it, that either it came of covetousness, which became him to reprove; or else that it tended to the hurt of the poor people: for the naughtiness of the silver was the occasion of dearth of all things in the realm. He imputeth it to them as a great crime. He may be called a master of sedition indeed." *Sermons*, p. 137, also 95.

14. 'yet remaininge' &c. So L. B., but S. reads, 'which afterwards remained did testifie; for yee should haue' &c., and past for present throughout remainder of speech. l. 19, for 'risethe,' 'rayseed'; l. 21, for 'makes,' 'made'; l. 23, for 'be,' 'haue ben'; l. 24, for 'makes,' 'made'; l. 25, for 'rerethe,' 'reared'; l. 26, for 'makes,' 'made.'

18. So in L.; 'the more somme' B. 'more number' S.

22. After 'thinge' S. inserts 'at the firste time.'

30. 'Now' to page 120, l. 9, 'the same.' S. omits and substitutes

*Knight.* 'If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be: how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princesse which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?'

*Doctor.* 'In deede, sir, I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayings in some parte) that notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubt here in moued very aptly, and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration: so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty, to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.'

*Knight.* 'Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnsupplied of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.'

*Doctor.* 'Well, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to yelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgements in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding that restitution made in our coin, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, the prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon the reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out the Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoever any Leases deuised for terme of yeares, by themselues or their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked

beyond the old: Yea, this rackynge and hoyssing vp of Rentes hath continued euer since that tyme, vntill this present day: Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day) to sel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares, wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forward, partly to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes, haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs agayne. The restoring of our good Coine, which allready is past, & before the improued rentes would only of it selfe haue ben sufficient to haue brought this matter to passe will not serue in these our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly cannot be without the common consent of our landed men throughout the whole realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter, to be the great store & plenty of treasure, which is walking in these partes of the world, far more in these our dayes, then euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not vnderstand of the infinite sums of gold & siluer, whych are gathered from the Indies & other countries, and so yearely transported vnto these costes? As this is otherwise most certain, so doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in these daies. It is their constant report, that in times past, & within the memory of man, he hath bene accounted a rich & wealthy man, & well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which (all things discharged) was clearely worth xxx. or xl. li.; but in these our dayes the man of that estimation, is so far (in the common opinion) from a good houskeeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seemed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.'

*Knight.* 'Yea, but (sir) if the increase of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth: then by likelyhood in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearely is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like sort, is raysed according to the increase of their treasure?'

*Doctor.* 'It is euen so, and therefore to vtter freely myne Opinion, (as I account it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue rehersed) to

reuoke or call backe agayne al our Englishe wares vnto their old pryces : so doe I not take it to be either profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers and theirs on the other side deare vnto vs: which could not be without great impouerishinge of the Common weale, in a very short time.'

Page 105, line 12. 'remedied' L. 'amendid' B.

13. 'vnder protestation' B. 'vnderstand' L.

16, 17. 'shoulde' &c. B., omitted in L.

25. The pernicious effects of this proposal were not obvious to the author of the *Policies to Reduce this Realme of Englande*, 49. "Than maye the kinges maiestie of euery thowsande poundes of Syluer bullion, cawse one hundrethe poundes worth to be coyned in grottes, of souche bignes weight and fynes, as were coyned in the tyme of kinge Henry the Seventh. Wherin his maiestie shall gayne nothinge by the Coynage. And then his maiestie maye coyne all the nyne hundrethe poundes at souche basenes as his maiestie now makethe. Wherby his maiestie shall gayne clerly aboue towo thowsande and fyve hundred pounce. Some foke perchaunce will thinke that it cannot well stonde with it selfe that we shoulde haue bothe fyne money and base money also. But it shall agree with hit selfe euen as well as did the fyrste coyne of Testornis and the laste which wente all wayes bothe at one value withoute eney difference, the fyrste neuerthelese hauing more then twice so mouche siluer in hime then the laste hade: but because that the kinges maiestie in his mynttes gaue no gaynes for the beste therfor they wente bothe at one value. So shall the fyne Coyne and the base coyne, the kinges maiestie gyuinge no gaynes goo as the fyne coyne dothe. And if they which will haue base money for ther bullion may haue ther money payed presentely. And they which will haue fyne Coyne to tarry for it a quarter of a yere, vppon a pretense that ther is but two or thre Coynes of the same money, then will the moste men sonner take the base money to be payed presently then to tarry enney whyle for the fyne money bothe beinge curraunt at one rate. But if I shoulde goo aboute herein to answeere euery obiection that maye be made agaynste my device, I shoulde then make a very longe boke."

Page 106, line 4. 'mend' B. 'make' L.

5. 'qu' L. 'jd' B.; this latter is the preferable reading, see l. 7, below.

20. See above, p. 32, l. 28, p. 79, l. 14, also Introduction, p. xiii 'for they' B., omitted in L.



31. 'nowe' B. 'new' L.

The method proposed by the doctor was the one actually adopted in the recoinage in 1560. Ruding, *Annals*, 1. 333.

Page 107, line 7. 'fautlie' B., omitted in L.

'we' L. 'they' B.

9. 'porcion' B. 'proportion' L.

10. B. reads 'well burdened' and 'but lefte.'

15. After 'lesse' B. inserts 'and make it pure.'

16. In this speech and in the first speech on p. 109 B. does not make the usual insertion '(quoth the Doctor).'

22. 'ye' L. 'he' B.

24. More, *Utopia*, 95.

26. 'pointe' L. 'coyne' B.

31. 'of other' &c. B. 'for other nations' L.

Page 108, line 10. 'at' B., omitted in L. See p. 73, above.

18. Besides the reference in the margin compare Aristotle, *Pol.* 1. 9. 8.

27, 28. 'if ye' and 'busshels' &c. B.; omitted in L.

29 and 30. 'ye' B. 'he' L.

Page 109, line 1. 'saye' B., omitted in L.

3. See note to 107, l. 16.

16. 'flaunders,' see p. 87, l. 21.

'bothe' B. 'but' L.

22. On the proportion of gold to silver at different times compare Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, 338. It has not been so constant as the Doctor supposed; it is interesting however to see that the Doctor recognised that the value of gold and silver do not merely depend on convention or authority, even though he does not refer to the importance of the cost of producing the precious metals as affecting their value. W. S. comes nearer to this.

28. Lambarde notes 'paulo ante finem' in the margin, and quotes the passage at the end of his copy; it appears to be summarised from the version by Ficinus, *Plato int. Hipparcho, vel lucri cupiditate*. Si quis dimidiam auri libram erogans, argenti duas reportaret, damnum esset, [i.e. duplum reportet argenti, lucrum, an damnum sit? HIP. Damnum profecto, o Socrates] nam pro duodecem duo [i.e. duodecuplo duplum] tantummodo recepit [i.e. solummodo capit] xxx. Neque enim eiusdem sunt pretii ac dignitatis argentum et aurum [i.e. non eiusdem dignitatis ac pretii est argentum, cuius est aurum]. Plato's *Works* (Greek and Latin), Lyons, 1590, p. 4, from which the words in square brackets are supplied.

Page 110, line 2. 'xld.'; both B. and L. read 'xl s'; but the argument is that gold is still worth twelve times as much as silver; and so one sixth of an ounce of gold (an angel) was worth two ounces of silver (twenty groats). And so forty pence (i.e. ten groats or one ounce) of silver were of the same weight as forty shillings in gold (i.e. as six angels or one ounce). Equal weights of silver and gold are worth forty pence and forty shillings respectively. See below, p. 111, l. 22.

8, 9. 'inconueniences' B. 'convenience' L.

12. 'do' B. 'to' L.

18. After 'heare' B. inserts 'se.'

Page 111, line 2. After 'shall' B. inserts 'go.'

17. B. reads 'olde rate.'

22. 'value, that is to say,' B. L. has 'valued oz.'

Page 112, line 2. B. reads 'be all at.'

7. 'estimate' B. 'estate' L.

15. 'coyned' B. L. has 'coine.' On the effects of a seigniorage compare Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, IV. 6, p. 225.

23. 'coyne' B., omitted in L.

30. 'payment' L. 'lew' B.

Page 113, iine 6. 'maiestie' B., omitted in L.

16. See above, p. 35, l. 15, p. 59, l. 31 and below, p. 127, l. 13.

21. B. omits 'or dearthe.'

22. 'municions' B. 'mmsions' L., probably meant for 'mūisions.'

Page 114, line 5. '100000<sup>li</sup>' L. 'a M<sup>l</sup>C pound' B.

'a thousand' B. '100000' L.

6. 'c' B. 'thousand' L.

10. 'nowe' L. 'noone' B.

12. 'and' B. 'as' L.

24. B. reads 'a carte or two.'

31. 'felonyes' B. 'felons' L.

32. 'it is lucre' B. 'that is liquor' L.

Page 115, line 1. 'well' B. 'we' L.

18. 'for all' &c. B., omitted in L.

22. 'it'; L. has 'is.'

25. 'Aenobarbus' B. 'Aenobardis' L. This appears to be a mistake; it was not Barbarossa but Frederick II. who had recourse to this ingenious expedient, at the siege of Faenza in 1240. The incident is fully described by Villani (*Istorie Fiorentine*, l. 5, c. 21) and might have been known to Hales from this source. A previous experiment

of the same kind was made by the Doge Domenico Michele in 1123 at Jaffa (Sanuto, *Vite de Duchi di Venezia in Muratori*, xxii. 487).

25. 'emperours' B. 'emperous' L.

27. '1193' B. L. has '192.' Frederick II. was born in December 1194.

Page 116, line 2. 'again' L. 'together' B.

8. See above, p. 77, l. 2. On the dealings of the Crown with the Fuggers of Antwerp at this time compare Froude iv. 251 and v. 11.

15. 'tenne' L. 'x' B.

22. 'euery' B. 'even' L.

Page 117, l. 12. 'in valwe' L. 'the value' B.

13. 'but' B., omitted in L.

22. 'was' B.; L. omits.

23. 'Alcumistes' B. L. has 'Almistes.'

27. 'called knight.' The name is not in the text, but in a side-note in B.; it seems in both cases to be a later insertion, and it presents some difficulty, as no man of the name of Knight can be identified in the mint, whose period of service would fit the story. Latimer refers to a similar, or possibly the same, case. "Some examples hath been of open restitution, and glad may he be that God was so friendly unto him, to bring him unto it in this world. I am not afraid to name him; it was Master Sherington, an honest gentleman and one that God loveth. He openly confessed that he had deceived the king, and he made open restitution." *Sermons*, p. 263. This was a very favourable view of the case; see Introduction, p. xxiii.

Page 118, line 1. 'M' L. 'two M' B.

3. An illustration of this practice is afforded by the will of William Pisford to which allusion has been made above (p. 18, l. 14 n.).

8. 'in' B. 'by' L.

16. 'xx nobles' or £6. 13s. 4d.

17. 'that'; L. has 'yf'; B. omits.

31. 'sins' B. 'seinge' L.

Page 119, lines 1, 2. 'shoulde be' B., omitted in L.

7. The assumption is that the restored coin is worth a third more than the current coin; this rate, which was a little more than the legal rate, is assumed throughout. The £100 of debased coin would be worth about £66. 13s. 4d.; and therefore the debtor would have to pay £33. 6s. 8d. (100 nobles) more than he bargained to do. If he paid 100 marks (13s. 4d.) it would really be fair; see l. 17, below.

10. 'nowe curraunte' L. 'newe corrected' B.

13. 'debtors' B. 'debtes' L.  
 17. 'converted' L. 'corrected' B.  
 21. 'do' B., omitted in L.  
 29. So in B., but L. reads 'vpon restitution.'  
 33. 'it' B., omitted in L.

Page 120, l. 1. 'but' B.; L. reads 'doe noe hurte to the fewest.'

11. 'amendment' L. B. 'what is to be hoped or wished' S.

25. The *Stanford Dictionary* gives instances of this proverbial saying in 1540, 1542, and 1626. It might be occasioned by the correction of 'poor degree' or 'low degree' in Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions, and in the primer of 1535, for the word 'meekness' by which Wyclif and the fifteenth century primers had rendered 'humilitatem.'

Page 121, line 2. The third 'to' S.; L. and B. omit.

24. So B. S., but L. reads 'partly to be.'  
 28. See above, p. 50, l. 27 note.  
 31. 'Ire' L. B. 'wealth' S.

Page 122, line 5. L. has 'by, by.'

8. Plato, *Hipparchus*, 232 C.

23. See above, p. 53, l. 19 and p. 54, l. 27.

Page 123, line 1. 'the' B. S. 'that' L.

9. 'thriue' B. S. 'trive' L.

11. See p. 54, l. 27 note.

18. 'a' B. S. 'as' L.

'of' S. L. 'by' B.

20. 'sanctuarie.' Compare *Laws of Alfred*, 13 and *Laws of Ethelred*, VII. 16.

27. 'this last nobilitie reputes' L. and similarly in B. 'many in these dayes reputes' S.

Page 124, line 8. 'that' B. S. 'to' L.

9. Read 'double talage' B. S. 'tillage' L.

13. 'moche' B. S. 'more' L.

16. 'men' B. S., omitted in L.

26. 'it' B. S. 'is' L.

27. 'gobbet.' On the open field system compare Seebohm, *Village Community in England*, chapters i. and ii.

Page 125, line 1. This speech is assigned to the Merchant both in B. and S.

13. B. omits 'saide townes, which was occasion of their wealthe in.'

15. 'of the' B. S., omitted in L.

26. 'garmentes' B. S. 'parmtes,' L.; see 126, l. 32.

28. 'the' B. S. 'that' L.

31—33. 'lether' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

Page 126, line 12. 'kniues' B. S. 'kiues' L.

From p. 126, l. 12, 'pinnes' to p. 127, l. 31, the Lambarde MS. is written by the same hand as the rest, but the letters are very carelessly formed.

16. 'shoulde' B. 'such as' L. S.

22. 'with those' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

30. 'couerlettes' B. S. 'coveletes' L.

'tapestry' B. S. 'tapstie' L.

'knitte' B. S. 'kind' L.

31—33. B. omits from 'cappes' to 'girdells' inclusive.

32. 'parmentes.' L. has 'parmtes' three times (p. 125, l. 26 and p. 128, l. 2). S. reads 'parchment' here. I cannot find the form 'parment,' but I venture to think that the name Parmenter is evidence of its use formerly.

Page 127, lines 2, 3. 'chestes' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

3. 'and' B. S. 'as' L.

13. See above, p. 35, l. 15, p. 59, l. 31, notes.

14, 15. 'bringes.' L. has 'kringes.'

18. 'vintoners' B. S. 'vittaylers' L. See l. 22.

22, 23. 'cordewayners' B. 'cardwinders' L. S.

26. 'they' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

27. 'pewterers' S. 'pointers' L., omitted in B. See p. 128, l. 2, and p. 130, l. 5.

33. 'kniues' B. S. 'kives' L.

Page 128, lines 2, 3. 'parmentes.' 'parmtes' L. 'parchement' B. S. See p. 126, l. 32. On p. 130, l. 5, 'parchment' is written clearly.

7. 'Coventrie,' see Introduction, pp. xv, xviii, xxvii. On the blue thread compare Poole, *Coventry*, p. 358.

12. 'those' B. 'the other' L. 'these two' S.

21. 'where' B. S., omitted in L.

23. 'Norwiche' L. B. 'truly I can not' S. Norwich was a very flourishing place in 1549, but it suffered greatly in consequence of Kett's rebellion; and the weaving industry was much decayed in 1565. After the Walloon settlement the trade revived, but it probably was not a typical example of a prosperous town in 1581.

24. S. reads 'for by a few worsted makers that some townes haue they are growen' &c.

27. Jealousy of alien workmen is very noticeable in England in the time of Edward IV. and subsequently (Hibbert, *Gilds*, pp. 64, 82. Ashley, *Economic History*, I. ii. 77). It was shown by many things during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; especially by the local opposition to the immigration of foreign protestants; and by the formation of companies (Cunningham, *Growth of Industry*, II. 37, 47).

29. 'straunge parties.' Strype, (*Ecc. Mem.* II. i. 378; Cranmer, I. 346) gives an account of the Strasburg weavers who were settled at Glastonbury by the Duke of Somerset. They subsequently migrated to Frankfort where they formed a considerable section of the more advanced reformers in the English congregation (*Brief Discourse of Troubles begun at Frankfort*, A.D. 1554, in *Phoenix*, II. 46). It appears that Somerset's settlement of weavers was established about 1550, so that was after the date of most of the events alluded to in the Dialogue.

**Page 129**, line 3. 'is,' L. has 'as'; omitted in B. S.

8. 'but' B. S., omitted in L.

9. 'haue' B. S., omitted in L.

10. 'regarded' B. S., omitted in L.

25. 'better craftes' L. 'suche craftsmen' B. S.

28, 29. 'common stocke of suche townes.' Funds for common purchases, especially of corn, were a regular institution in many towns (Ashley, *Economic History*, I. ii. p. 34). Compare the Chamberlain's oath at Leicester. "We shall improve the liveliehood belonging to the community of this town of Leicester to the most behove of the same Town; and the tenements thereof we shall sufficiently repair during our office. We shall endeavour also for to emprove the Chapman Guild to the utmost of our power" (Throsby's *Leicester*, p. 80). Money might be but a pledge from this common stock (see above, p. 18, l. 14). The money held in trust for orphans was also available for such purposes. At Coventry there was a court of orphans which was to be conducted exactly like that in London. Burton's *Translation of Charter*, MS. in Town Hall, Coventry, f. 148.

**Page 130**, line 5. 'pewterers' L. B. 'painters' S. See above, p. 127, l. 27.

11. 'twise' L. 'x tymes' B. S.

23. 'can' B. S. 'came' L.

24. After 'occupacions' L. inserts 'should.'

25. 'inhabite.' In the *Debate of the Heraldes* (1550), John Coke represents the French Herald as saying, "I wol approue by another reason that you cannot haue somoch people nor so good townes as we haue in Fraunce; and that is this, you haue more plenty of wolles in Englande to make cloth, then we, yet our clothiers dwel in good townes, who maynteyne thynhabitantes and pore people there, so that they get theyr lyuynge by spynnyng and cardyng, likewise, fullers, shermen, diers, and other occupasions for dressing of clothes, and also taylours, hosiers, cordwaners, barbour, bakers, brewers with other sortes of people lyue by them, and cannot be forborne where suche clothiers inhabite. It is not so in England for your clothiers dwell in greate fermes abroad in the countrey, hauyng howses with commoditis lyke vnto gentylnen where aswel they make cloth and kepe husbandry, as also grasse, and fede shepe and catell takyng therby awaye the lyuynge of the pore husbandmen and grasiers. \*\* Also the cloth made in fraunce exceedeth in true makyng, fines and goodnes the cloth made in Englande, which is by reason they haue no officers where theyr clothiers dwell to visite the true makinge therof, as we haue in good townes in Fraunce, or els it is for that they lacke knowledge or wyt." The English Herald replies, "Also yf our clothiers were commaunded to enhabyte in townes as they do in Fraunce, Flanders, Brabant, Hollande and other places, we shuld haue as many good townes in England, as you haue in Fraunce, and cloth more fyner and truelyer made." Bills on the subject were before the House of Commons 7 Dec. 1547, also 11 and 18 Jan. 1549. Acts in regard to Worcester (25 H. VIII. c. 18), Bridport (21 H. VIII. c. 12), York (34 and 35 H. VIII. c. 10), Bridgwater (2 and 3 P. and M. c. 12). Compare also Armstrong in Pauli, *Drei Denkschriften*, p. 64.

29. 'ij.' L. has 'ij.' 'three' B. 'two' S., and three are enumerated.

Page 131, line 1. 'in' B. S. 'them' L.

13. 'worldly' B. S. 'wordly' L. This curious form occurs in Hales' *Defence*, p. lii.

28. 'vs' L. B. 'them' S. There is here an indication that the Doctor is thought of as in orders; these indications are not entirely removed by W. S. throughout (l. 29), but they disappear from several phrases in his edition, p. 132, l. 8, 'the' for 'we,' p. 132, l. 19, omit 'us.' See also p. 139, ll. 8, 9.

29. 'vs' L. B. 'ours' S.

31. 'carnalitie' L. B. 'Licentiousnes' S.

33. 'fleshlie lustes' L. B. 'such' S.

Page 132, line 1. L. reads 'I thinke.'

2. 'pastors' B. S. 'pastures' L.

13. 'perfection' B. S. 'protection' L.

20. 'pastors' B. S. 'pastures' L.

28. 'had' B. S. 'have' L.

Page 133, line 8. 'see' B. S. 'so' L.

11. 'canons' B. S. 'common' L.

17. L. has 'discharge.'

18, 19. S. omits 'the preistes and other.'

20. "I would not that ye should do with chantry priests, as ye did with the abbots, when abbeyes were put down. For when their enormities were first read in the parliament-house, they were so great and abominable, that there was nothing but 'down with them.' But within a while after, the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save and redeem their pensions. O Lord! think ye that God is a fool, and seeth it not? and if he see it, will he not punish it? And so now for safety of money, I would not that ye should put in chantry priests. I speak not now against such chantry priests as are able to preach; but those that are not able. I will not have them put in; for if ye do this, ye shall answer for it." Latimer, *Sermons*, 123.

21. Read. 'What better execution of our canons and decrees doth our bisshops, deanes, and archedeacons in their uisitations' &c., B. S. Compare Latimer, *Sermons*. "Methink it should be grateful and pleasant to you to mark the earnest mind of your forefathers, and to look upon their desire where they say in their constitution, 'We command you,' and not, 'We counsel you.' How have we been so long a-cold, so long slack in setting forth so wholesome a precept of the church of England, where we be so hot in all things that have any gains in them, albeit they be neither commanded us, nor yet given us by counsel; as though we had lever the abuse of things should tarry still than, it taken away, lose our profit?" p. 55. "Wherefore lift up your heads, brethren, and look about with your eyes, spy what things are to be reformed in the church of England. Is it so hard, is it so great a matter for you to see many abuses in the clergy, many in the laity? What is done in the Arches? Nothing to be amended? What do they there? Do they evermore rid the people's business and matters, or cumber and ruffle them? Do they evermore correct vice, or else defend it, sometime being well corrected in other places? How many sentences be given there in time, as they ought to be? If men say truth, how many without bribes? Or if all things be well done there,



what do men in bishops' Consistories? Shall you often see the punishments assigned by the laws executed, or else money-redemptions used in their stead?" p. 52.

26. "They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the privy council, some to furnish the court, some are lords of the parliament, some are presidents, and comptrollers of mints.

Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question: I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home in his parish, while he controlleth the mint? If the apostles might not leave the office of preaching to the deacons, shall one leave it for minting?" Latimer, *Sermons*, 67.

30. "I heard of a bishop of England that went on visitation, and as it was the custom, when the bishop should come, and be rung into the town, the great bell's clapper was fallen down, the tyall was broken, so that the bishop could not be rung into the town. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it in the visitation. The bishop was somewhat quick with them, and signified that he was much offended. They made their answers, and excused themselves as well as they could: 'It was a chance,' said they, 'that the clapper brake, and we could not get it mended by and by; we must tarry till we can have it done: it shall be amended as shortly as may be.' Among the other, there was one wiser than the rest, and he comes me to the bishop: 'Why, my lord,' saith he, 'doth your lordship make so great a matter of the bell that lacketh his clapper? Here is a bell,' said he, and pointed to the pulpit, 'that hath lacked a clapper this twenty years. We have a parson that fetcheth out of this benefice fifty pound every year, but we never see him.' I warrant you, the bishop was an unpreaching prelate. He could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into the town, but he could not find any fault with the parson that preached not at his benefice. Ever this office of preaching hath been least regarded, it hath scant had the name of God's service." Latimer, *Sermons*, 207.

30. After 'not' insert 'in a manner' S.

33. 'iecture' L. 'construe' B. S.

Page 134, lines 3, 4. S. omits 'or for hatred of the bishoppe of Rome.'

7. 'ease' L. 'slacke' B. S.

18. 'Hetherto'—'and maners' p. 136, l. 5. S. omits this passage and substitutes, 'But to passe from these matters to others.'

28. 'trentalles' B. 'rentalles' L. "Your forefathers saw somewhat, which made this constitution against the venality and sale of masses, that, under pain of suspending, no priest should sell his saying of tricennals or annals." Latimer, *Sermons*, 56. Trentals were three masses said within the octave of a festival. Compare Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV. 32, and the visitation articles of 1550 in Burnet, v. 309.

29. 'holy' B. 'hole' L.

31. 'but' B., omitted in L.

Page 135, line 2. 'euer' B. 'either' L.

5. 'oure chauncelors.' This sentence is more suitable in the mouth of a 'quondam' bishop than to one of the inferior clergy. See also p. 136, l. 30, and Introduction, p. xxiii.

27. 'begge.' "It is no rare thinge to se the poore impotent creatures begge at Easter, to pay for the Sacrament when they receave it." *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, in *Four Supplications*, p. 86.

31. 'small' L. B. omits. Compare Latimer, "Though they should abuse it [images in church] these blanchers will be ready to whisper the king in the ear, and to tell him that this abuse is but a small matter; and that the same, with all like abuses in the church, may be reformed easily." *Sermons*, 76.

Page 136, line 16. 'gathered' L. 'geuen' B. S.

17—19. 'Than is' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

18. Lanfranc's Canon 13, at Winchester in 1071.

20, 21. 'ecclesiasticall' L. B. 'euangeliall' S.

23. 'referred to' B. S. 'reformed by' L.

30. 'oure owne privat,' see p. 135, l. 5 note.

33. 'Yet better' &c. B. S., omitted in L.

Page 137, line 4. 'neded' B. 'nedethe' L. S.

4. 'none' B. S. 'more' L.

5. 'nor' B. S. 'no' L.

8. 'Premunire' L. B. 'penurye' S. This was a real danger in the way of bishops who attempted to enforce reforms. See the case of Bishop Farrar of S. David's. Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 263.

10. Colet, *Convocation Sermon in Phoenix*, II. 8.
- 20—23. 'through' &c. B.; L. omits. S. appears to omit the same words but to attempt a correction and reads, 'the religion of Christ suffereth slaunder offence and reproch through our defaultes which' &c.
26. after 'benefices' insert 'to kepe residence' B. S.
32. 'the benefite' B. S. 'his benefice' L.
- Page 138, line 11. S. omits 'iiij or v.'
16. 'worste' L. 'first' B. S.
19. 'vppon benefice' L. 'and other like' B. S. See l. 28 note.
22. 'on' S. B. 'over' L.
24. 'through' B. S., omitted in L.
25. 'ij' L. B. 'xx' S.
26. 'x<sup>li</sup>' L. 'x<sup>lie</sup> poundes' B. 'xl' S.
28. See p. 31, l. 9. "What enormity is this in a Christian realm, to serve in a civility, having the profit of a provostship, and a deanery and a parsonage." Latimer, *Sermons*, 122. Sir T. Smith was Dean of Carlisle, Provost of Eton, and Vicar of Leverington.
- 31, 32. 'And then' &c. B. S., omitted in L.
- Page 139, line 7. 'vs' L. B. 'them' S.
8. 'youre' L. B. 'our' S. These two alterations at least disguise the fact that the Doctor was one of the clergy, as the MSS. represent. See p. 131, l. 28 n.
12. Cicero *De officiis*, I. 18.
23. See Introduction, p. xxii.
31. 'falte' B. S. 'facultie' L.
- Page 140, line 6. 'Pithagoras,' see above, p. 29, l. 22.
8. 'we' L. 'yee' B. S.; 'y<sup>oi</sup>' or 'they' is possibly the right reading.
26. 'to be' B. S., omitted in L.
28. 'in' B. S., omitted in L.
29. 'fight,' L. has 'sight.'
- Page 141, line 10. 'decide' B. S. 'destroie' L.
11. 'contentacion' L. 'contention' B. S. The longer form occurs in the Proclamation, 29 May, about King Henry VIII.'s debts. *Proclamations*, f. 2. b.
- 'ones' B. S. 'only' L.
13. 'when' B. S. 'wheare' L.
17. 'devisioun' L. 'destruction' B. 'diminishyng' S.
28. 'from' B. S. 'for' L.
- Page 142, lines 1, 2. 'all affection' B. 'partiality' S., omitted in L.
- 10, 11. S. reads 'these sorts, that is either touching the profites

and emoluments of the prelates and mynisters of the church, or touching points of religion.'

11. 'religion' &c. B., omitted in L.

12, 13. 'touching partly' &c.' L.; B. reads 'concerning both youe and us.'

22. So B. S., but L. reads 'honorably at Rome.'

23—26. 'As to'—'of them' S. omits.

26. 'decision' B. 'devisiō' L.

31. After 'handlinge' S. adds, 'if it please Christian Princes to houlde a Counsaile with that whore of Babylon.'

**Page 143**, line 7. 'againē.' B. omits the remaining sentences.

8. After 'towne' S. adds, 'But as yet truly I know not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too morrow morning, which if I do (in any thing that my simple iudgement will reache vnto you) you shall heare my farther opynion: in the meane time I pray you soo to thinke of mee as of one, that if I haue spoken any thinge whych may bee preiudiciall to the common weale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man, that can shew how all these griefes or the more parte of them may bee remedied by any other better meanes, for I knowe of many a thowsande in this Lande, I may worst speake in such a wayghty matter. And so heere for this presente I take my leaue of you all.'

## INDEX.

*(The first number indicates the page, the second the line.)*

- Abbeys **39** 9, **133** 20 n., *see* Monasteries  
 Aenobarbus, *see* Frederick  
 Ague **121** 11  
 Ajax **99** 19 n.  
 Alchemists **117** 8  
 Almaine **115** 26  
 Angel **xiii**, **32** 28 n., **79** 14 n., **80** 11, **110** 1 n., **111** 21, **116** 10, **118** 33  
 Apelles **11** 24 n.  
 Apples **68** 8  
 Apprentice **16** 3, **18** 8, **129** 5  
 Archdeacons **136** 7  
 Architecture **27** 23  
 Ardes **xxxvi**, **lxvii**  
 Argos **99** 20  
 Arians **141** 19  
 Aristotle **73** 7 n., **108** 18, **109** 3  
 Arithmetic **26** 31, **29** 9  
 Armour **34** 30, **86** 27  
 Artificers **xvi**, **xlvi**, **16** 2, **17** 25, **32** 7, **33** 19, **57** 11, **90** 32, **91** 20 n., **93** 5, **129** 30, and towns **130** 25 n.  
 Artillery **34** 32, **86** 28, **113** 22  
 Ascham **28** 30 n.  
 Astronomy **26** 9, **27** 10, **29** 10  
 Attorney **66** 14  
 Auditor **22** 17 n.  
 Authorship **x**, **xxv**  
 Avarice **50** 27 n., **121** 28, *see* Lucre  
 Bablake Hospital **18** 31 n.  
 Bailiff **68** 14  
 Bakers **92** 3, **127** 22  
 Balance of Trade **63** 3 n.  
 Bargains **119** 2  
 Barley **42** 9, **10** n.  
 Barns **114** 5  
 Barter **47** 33 n., **72** 3  
 Baxterley **xxiii**  
 Beasts **25** 17, **27** 18  
 Bacon, Mr T. **xxiii**  
 Beef **38** 18, **42** 11, **52** 24  
 Benefice **132** 30, **133** 12, **30** n., **137** 33, **138** 28 n.  
 Berkshire **xv**, **xxxix**, **xli**  
 Berwick **114** 19  
 Bills **111** 18,  
 Bills, in Parliament **xvii**, **xviii**, **xl**, **lxii**, **67** 2.  
 Birds **25** 18  
 Bishops **136**, *see* Rome  
 Blacksmiths **93** 8, **127** 23  
 Blue **128** 7 n.  
 Bodin, J. **xxxiii**  
 Bodleian MS. **xxxi**, **xxxiv**, **xxxvi**  
 Bond, T. **18** 31 n.  
 Bookbinder **65** 32  
 Boulogne **lv**  
 Brass **45** 10, **69** 18, **73** 21, **76** 12, **87** 13, **103** 1, **107** 17, **109** 19, **114** 14, **116** 32  
 Brewers **92** 3, **127** 22

- Bridges xviii, 16 10 n., 12, 18 14,  
125 5
- Bridgwater 130 25 n.
- Bridport 130 25 n.
- Bristol 68 23, 128 9
- Britons 23 17
- Broadcloth 65 4, 68 16
- Brooches 17 1, 63 19
- Broth 24 28
- Browett, Mr. 19 1 n.
- Brussels xxix
- Buckinghamshire xv, xxxvi, xxxix,  
xli, 15 21 n.
- Building 16 11, 27 21, 84 22, 99 3
- Bushel 108 22
- Butcher xxv, 45 27 n., 57 2 n.,  
92 2, 127 22, 130 18
- Butter 20 23, 38 10, 45 23, 56 10,  
60 16, 67 32, 78 11, 92 11
- Buttons 126 12
- Caesar 27 1, 95 4
- Calais lv, 19 1 n., 55 14 n.
- Cambridge 22 13 n., 31 33 n.
- Canons 133 11, 136 18
- Capon xliii, 13 2 n., 38 9, 42 10
- Capper xvi, xxv, 14 5, 30 17, 33  
19, 56 2, 57 17 n., 92 7, 93 7,  
127 27, 130 4
- Capping 128 26
- Caps xvii, xviii, 17 1, 33 23, 63  
26, 65 19, 67 7 n., 125 25, 126  
31
- Carmarthen 68 6 n.
- Carnarvon 68 6 n.
- Carpenter 15 31 n., 27 21, 84 33,  
92 2, 98 30, 127 23, 130 17
- Carriage 48 2, 60 27, 71 19, 114  
14
- Cathedral 133 27
- Cato 63 4 n., 83 7
- Cattle 15 18, 17 12, 37 18, 38 9,  
48 18, 120 6
- Causes 98 15
- Causes of Dearth* xl, xlii, 16 10 n.,  
*Causes, Certayne* xxxviii, 15 21 n.,  
52 22 n.
- Chancellor 135 5
- Chantries l, 18 19, 19 1 n., 85 10
- Chapman Gild 129 28 n.
- Cheese 20 23, 45 23, 56 9, 60 16,  
67 32, 78 11, 92 11
- Chester 68 23
- Chickens 38 10, 42 10, 94 22
- Choler 121 15
- Churchmen 20 30
- Cicero 14 26, 57 28 n., 59 3, 119  
33, 139 12
- Cities, *see* Towns
- City 13 11, 16 4, 18 30, 19 1
- Civil Law 47 33 n., 49 14, 72 5 n.,  
76 20
- Clay 64 24
- Clock 98 27
- Cloth xi, 33 24, 67 33 n., 68 31,  
77 15 n., 108 23, 112 11, 126 29,  
130 25 n.; customs on xxvi, xlv,  
91 14; price of 32 17 n.
- Clothiers xii, xlv, lxxv, 18 23,  
33 19, 56 2, 88 12, 90 15, 91  
16, 92 7, 93 5, 127 26, 130  
25 n.
- Coin xiii, xxi, 32 28 n., 44 3, 76  
5, 78 9, 79 14 n., 85 32, 87 18 n.,  
102 1, 103 19, 104 30 n., 105 16,  
25 n., 108 18, 109 16, 111 16,  
115 29, 116 11, 118 14; altera-  
tion of 34 9, 69 16, 80 18, 81 10,  
86 16, 99 33, 103 32 n., 104  
4 n., 119 7 n.; counterfeit xiii,  
45 19, 46 20, 78 27, 79 14 n.
- Coke, John 15 21 n., 130 25 n.
- Colet, Dean 137 8
- Columella 26 25 n.
- Commission 14 14; on Enclo-  
sures xi, xiv, xv, xxvi, xxix,  
xxxiii, xxxix f., 13 2 n., 14 15 n.,  
15 9
- Common Fields xlvi, 49 22 n.,  
29 n., 56 30, 124 19, 27 n.
- Common Stock 129 28 n.
- Companies 129 9
- Constantine 141 5
- Consul 123 22
- Copyholds lxi, 124 31
- Corn 17 6, 38 9, 48 17, 52 22 n.,  
31 n., 57 17, 59 24, 60 7, 68 9,  
70 3, 73 17, 90 21, 108 22, 114 6,  
120 6, 122 23; price of 17 7 n.,  
42 10 n., 52 22 n., 54 26 n.,

- 55 8; policy regarding 53 19 n.,  
54 26 n.
- Cornwall xi
- Cosmography 25 4, 26 2
- Cottages 49 31
- Council xxv, xxvi, 10 6, 28 32,  
120 21
- Counsel 110 22
- Counsellors 103 24
- Coventry xiii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii,  
xxii, xxiv, xxvii, xli, 57 2 n.,  
77 15 n., 128 7 n.; decay of 19  
3 n.; plays at 16 18 n., 18 14 n.;  
riots 18 26 n., *see* City
- Coverlet 93 8
- Covetousness, *see* Lucre
- Craftsmen, *see* Artificers, Occupa-  
tions
- Credit 77 2, 116 4
- Cup 103 5
- Custom xxvi, xlv, 54 32, 55 14,  
62 20, 65 7, 66 10, 77 12, 91  
14 n., 118 8; of city xxiv, 18  
33 n.
- Damsons 68 27
- Darcy xli
- Dearth xlii, 15 28, 16 2, 17 3, 17  
19 n., 33 2, 31, 35 2, 37 16, 47  
23, 48 11, 52 22 n., 70 2, 85 29,  
98 2, 99 30, 104 12, 30 n., 113 20,  
120 6
- Debtors 119 13
- Decay, of towns, xv, xlvi, 16 10 n.,  
19 3 n., 78 6, 125 4, 130 25 n.
- Dedication xxxii, xxxv, 145
- Devonshire 49 13 n.
- Diomedes 46 9
- Divinity 22 13 n., 28 21, 29 2, 37 6
- Doctor xxi, 13 24, 14 8, 20 26, 28  
21, 37 3, 131 28 n., 135 5 n.
- Dorset, Marquis of xl
- Dover 100 13 n.
- Easter 135 19
- Eggs 20 23, 38 10, 45 27 n., 60 16
- Elizabeth, Queen xxviii, xxxvi, 16  
18 n., 145
- Emperor 95 6, 115 25
- Enclosures xxi, liv, 13 2 n., 15  
13, 21 n., 18 26 n., 36 22, 48  
20 n., 49 13 n., 22 n., 52 31 n.,  
56 28, 98 5, 99 33, 120 13, 121  
7, 122 3, 124 13, *see* Commissior.
- England 68 7, 77 15, 84 6, 94 30 n.
- English 65 24, 94 27; language  
xxii, 22 7, 26 27
- Erasmus 75 23 n.
- Essex lviii, 49 13
- Eton xx, 138 28 n.
- Eutopia, *see* Utopia
- Experience 23 31, 24 1 f., 33 10  
49 10, 69 22, 80 7, 104 10
- Faenza 115 25 n.
- Farms 20 12, 81 1, 119 19
- Farriers 33 20
- Fee Farms xviii, xlv, 16 10 n.
- Fells 45 23, 56 1, 62 11, 72 6,  
92 10, 112 32, 124 8, 126 16,  
130 33
- Ficinus 50 27 n., 109 28 n.
- Fine 19 18
- Fitzherbert, Sir A. 45 27 n., 49  
29 n., 57 17 n.
- Fladbury xl
- Flanders 64 2, 85 4, 87 17, 93 20,  
32, 109 16, 130 25 n.
- Flax 42 21 n., 44 29, 69 1
- Fleetwood, T. xxxvi
- Ford, W. xvi, 18 33 n.
- Foxwell, Prof. xxix
- France xviii, 64 1, 67 7 n., 87 17.  
93 1, 32, 94 30 n., 95 10, 109 15,  
130 25 n.
- Frankfort xxvii, 128 29 n.
- Frederick Aenobarbus 115 25 n.,  
116 19
- Free 128 31, 129 4
- Free School xix
- Freizes 68 16, 77 15 n., 82 19
- Fresadow 64 3 n., 65 4
- Furnivall, Dr xxxv, 17 19 n., 39  
23 n., 63 24 n., 64 7 n.
- Ganges 64 20
- Garments 125 26
- Gates xli
- Geese 20 22, 38 14, 42 9, 57 2, 60  
16

- Gentlemen 17 28, 22 13 n., 32 5, 33 34, 38 1, 34, 81 14, 100 30, 101 7, 104 26, 108 9, 109 7, 125 33  
 Geometry 26 32, 27 20, 29 9, 32 n.  
 Germany 93 21  
 Glass 16 32, 17 3 n., 42 23, 44 20, 63 16, 64 13, 24 n., 68 1, 75 23 n., 78 15, 126 11  
 Glass-making 64 24 n., 127 33  
 Glastonbury 128 29 n.  
 Glaucus 46 9 n.  
 Glaziers 93 7  
 Gloucestershire lviii  
 Gloves 44 21, 63 28, 68 1, 125 31  
 Glovers 93 7  
 God 14 18, 17 4, 52 31, 61 20, 70 1, 120 5, 134 23, 136 4, 138 33  
 God's Board 135 19  
 Gold xiii, 32 28 n., 64 21, 68 32, 72 20, 74 9, 79 14 n., 87 32, 101 31, 102 14, 103 32 n., 104 30 n., 106 20, 109 22 n., 110 2 n., 111 21, 112 13, 114 13, 115 2, 116 33, 118 13  
 Goldsmiths 93 7, 106 13  
 Grammar 29 8  
 Grange 92 16  
 Graziers xxv, liv, lxii, 18 7, 57 2 n.  
 Grazing 52 20, 53 12, 56 10, 122 5, 124 3, *see* Sheep  
 Greece 59 5  
 Greeks 23 9  
 Grey Friars xvi, 18 31 n.  
 Groat xiii, 41 8, 71 4, 80 12, 106 15, 110 1 n., 111 22  
 Grocers 91 27, 127 19, 130 9  
 Gualter xxvi  
 Gunpowder 34 32 n.
- Haberdashers 64 8, 91 27, 127 18, 130 8  
 Hadleigh lxvi  
 Haines, N. xvi, 18 26 n.  
 Hales, Christopher xxvi  
 Hales, John x, xv, xvii, xviii, xxv, xxxv, xxxviii, xxxix f.; his Charge xxiv, xl, lvi, 14 30 n., 48 20 n., 49 22 n., 50 11 n., 17 n., 52 9 n., 22 n., 57 17 n.; his Defence xxvi, xxxix, lii, 13 2 n.; his school xix; lameness xix  
 Hales Place xix  
 Hales, Sir James xxi  
 Hallyng x  
 Hampshire lviii  
 Hanaper xxi, xxvi, xxviii  
 Harrison ix, 64 24 n.  
 Hens 13 2 n., 57 3, 94 22  
 Heralds 74 4; *Debate of*, *see* Coke  
 Hereford 77 15 n.  
 Hertford, Earl of 31 9 n.  
 Hertfordshire lviii  
 Highways 16 12, 18 14, 125 5  
 Hipparchus 50 27 n., 109 28 n.  
 History 25 5  
 Homer 47 33 n., 72 5 n.  
 Hospital xvi, 18 31 n., 125 6  
 Hospitality 138 22  
 Household 19 31, 34 35, 81 28, 84 27  
 Huntingdonshire xli  
 Husbandman xxv, 13 8, 27 8, 57 2 n., 101 7, 122 26, 123 5  
 Husbandry 27 9, 49 22 n., 60 6, 89 32, 100 32, 123 33, *see* Plough, Tillage
- Idleness 65 23  
 Impositions 35 12  
 Inholders 127 22  
 Instructions xli, lvi  
 Insurrection x, *see* Uproars  
 Interludes xii, 16 18 n.  
 Iron 16 28, 33 22, 34 31, 39 21, 40 12, 42 19, 44 28, 61 31, 68 4, 75 30, 127 5, 128 1  
 Isle of Wight 52 9 n.
- Jersey, Earl of xxxi  
 Joan of Kent xxii  
 Journeymen 15 31, 18 22, 33 33  
 Justices of the Peace xlv, li, 13 1, 14 15 n., 45 27 n., 57 17 n.
- Kendal Cloth 82 18  
 Kenilworth 16 18 n.  
 Kent xxii, 49 13, 100 13 n.  
 Kersey xlv, 68 32, 82 23, 126 29  
 Kett 128 23 n.



- Knight (of the Mint) 117 27 n.  
 Knight xvii, xxv, xxvii, 12 23, 19  
 26, 22 25, 45 8, 67 1, 110 31,  
 120 19  
 Knives 16 33, 64 5, 125 32, 126  
 12  
 Labourers 15 31 n., 33 33  
 Lambarde, W. ix, x, xxvii, xxviii,  
 xxx, 12 16 n., 23 16 n., 17 n.,  
 39 21 n., 47 33 n., 48 16 n., 62  
 2 n., 63 2 n., 4 n., 73 7 n., 86  
 20 n., 92 10 n., 28 n., 109 28 n.;  
 his MS. xxx, xxxiv, xxxvi  
 Lancaster xxvi  
 Landlord 118 27, *see* Rent  
 Languages 22 3, 30 20  
 Latimer xxi, xxii, xxxviii, 100  
 13 n.; and Sharrington 117 27 n.;  
 and Tenterden 100 13 n.; and  
 coinage 104 4 n.; and wages 34  
 32 n.; and treasure 35 15 n.;  
 on clothiers 77 15 n.; on cove-  
 tousness 48 32 n., 50 27 n.; on  
 dearth 52 31; on ecclesiastical  
 abuses 133 20 n., 21 n., 26 n.,  
 30 n., 134 28 n., 135 31 n., 138  
 28 n.; on enclosures 48 20 n.;  
 on riot 48 32 n.; on Universi-  
 ties 22 13 n., 31 33 n.  
 Latin 22 15, 57 28, 123 2  
 Law 28 23, 37 7, 50 17 n., 58 2,  
 140 1, *see* Civil Law  
 Laymen 131 32, 134 12, 139 9  
 Lead 45 23, 67 11, 68 32, 73 22,  
 78 12, 92 10, 112 32, 114 15  
 Leadam, Mr 50 17 n.  
 League 67 7 n.  
 Learning 21 24, 30 24, 37 9, 58 12  
 Lease lii, 19 23, 38 31  
 Leather 33 8, 67 27, 97 14, 115  
 25 n.  
 Leather money 69 31, 115 30  
 Leicester 19 1 n., 129 28 n.  
 Leicestershire xv  
 Libripendes 76 19  
 Logic 27 24, 29 9  
 Logician 140 5  
 London xiii, xviii, 16 9, 19 32,  
 31 33 n., 68 23, 81 30, 83 14,  
 114 19, 126 2, 129 28 n.; Lord  
 Mayor of 45 28 n.  
 Lords Lieutenant 82 1 n.  
 Lucre xxiv, lxxv, 13 2 n., 50 27 n.,  
 60 30, 77 27, 114 32, 121 30,  
 122 9, 134 20, *see* Profit  
 Magnificat 120 25 n.  
 Malt 20 23, 57 12, 68 19  
 Malynes 63 3 n.  
 Manuscripts xxix f.  
 Market 87 10, 122 25, 123 11  
 Marprelate xxviii  
 Marshes 92 28  
 Mary, Queen xxvi, 91 14 n.  
 Masons 84 33, 92 2, 127 23, 130  
 17  
 Massie 88 25 n.  
 Measure 73 5, 108 19  
 Meiney 39 23 n.  
 Mela 92 23  
 Men of arms 94 16, 95 16  
 Mercers xiii, xxiv, 32 27, 56 2,  
 91 26, 101 8, 106 13 127 19,  
 130 8  
 Merchant xxiv, 13 11, 18 30, 19  
 1 n.  
 Milan 64 4  
 Milliners 64 7, 91 27, 127 18  
 Ministers 131 28, 142 12  
 Mint xxix, xxxvi, 35 19, 22 n.,  
 103 32 n., 111 18, 116 11, 117  
 28  
 Minters 103 32 n., 107 1, 116 3  
 Misteries 89 14  
 Monasteries xviii n., xxii, xliii,  
 xlix, 85 10, *see* Abbeys  
 Money 32 13, 73, 103 32 n., 114 8,  
 115 16, 127 24, *see* Coin, Paper,  
 Leather  
 Moral Philosophy 12 1, 28 3  
 More, Sir T. xxvii, 14 7 n., 100  
 13 n., *see* Utopia  
 Music 29 9  
 Mutton 38 18, 42 11, 52 24  
 Neat 57 2, 60 15  
 Nichols x, xxx  
 Nicklin, R. xxv, 57 2 n.  
 Noble 118 16, 119 7 n., *see* Angel

- Normans 23 16  
 Northamptonshire xv, 15 21 n.,  
 49 13 n.  
 Norwich 128 23 n.  
 Occupations 36 23, 49 2, 89 11,  
 93 17, 125 12, 127 11, 130 24  
 Oil 16 28, 62 2, 69 1, 80 16  
 Olives 92 31  
 Opinions 21 18, 22 9, 29 13, 31 15,  
 98 7  
 Oranges 44 21, 68 1  
 Orphans 129 28 n.  
 Over, H. 18 14 n.  
 Oxford xv, 22 13 n.  
 Oxfordshire xv, xxxix, xli, 15 21 n.  
 Pactolus 64 20  
 Paget, Sir W. xli  
 Paper 16 31, 63 20, 65 33 n., 78  
 16, 126 31  
 Paper makers 93 7, 130 7  
 Paper money 69 31  
 Parks 92 27  
 Parliament xvii, xxv, xxvii, xxviii,  
 xl, 67 2, 110 22, 120 21, 137 12  
 Parments 126 32 n., 128 2 n.  
 Pasture xlvi, 50 16, 54 9, 57 26,  
 81 25, *see* Enclosures  
 Pawle xxvi  
 Peasants 94 30 n., 123 28  
 Pebbles 64 24  
 Peru 64 18  
 Peterborough xv  
 Pewter 67 32  
 Pewterers 127 27, 130 5  
 Pheidias 11 24 n.  
 Physic 28 23, 37 7  
 Physician lxvi, 37 7, 121 10  
 Pigs 20 22, 38 9, 42 10, 57 2, 60  
 16, 94 22  
 Pilgrimages 16 21 n.  
 Pilot 10 14, 30 13  
 Pinnars 93 9  
 Pins 16 33, 34 11, 63 20, 126 12,  
 128 1  
 Pippin 44 21, 68 26  
 Pisford, Agnes 19 1 n.  
 Pisford, W. 18 14 n., 33 n., 19  
 1 n., 118 3 n.  
 Planets 26 9, 27 11  
 Plato 14 22, 28 15, 29 31, 30 4,  
 109 28 n., 122 8  
 Players xii  
 Plays 16 18 n.  
 Plough 15 19, 39 21, 51 25, 53 19,  
 56 22, 57 21, 59 13, 89 32, 123  
 19, *see* Husbandry, Tillage  
 Pluralities 133, 137 14  
 Pointers 93 7 n., 130 3  
 Points 63 20, 93 7 n., 128 10  
*Polices to Reduce* &c. xxix, 45  
 28 n., 63 2 n., 104 4 n., 105  
 25 n.  
 Policy 11 32, 22 26  
 Poticary 77 15 n., 127 19  
 Prayer 120 8, 135 6  
 Preach 22 7, 28 22, 133 30 n.  
 Precious Stones 72 26  
 Premunire 137 8 n.  
 Preston xxv  
 Prices xxxiii, 17 7 n., 27, 19 9, 33 16,  
 39 2 n., 18, 41 31, 42 10 n., 47  
 10, 52 22 n., 53 6, 54 4, 67 33 n.,  
 104 13; and Coinage 104 4 n.,  
 30 n., 105 25 n.; reasonable 57  
 17 n.; set 42 16, 45 27 n.  
 Prince xxxiii, 67 8, 74 18, 77 2,  
 109 23, 113 16, 116 4, 139 3  
 Proclamation xii, xiii, 32 28 n.,  
 79 14 n., 111 15; against tumult  
 xl; on Enclosures 13 2 n.  
 Procurations 136 12  
 Profit 66 19, 80 24, 81 8, 103 26,  
 111 10, 118 9; of grazing 124  
 11; of tillage 53 19, 56 22, 57  
 21, 59 21, 60 3, 122 6; private  
 50 8, 60 5, *see* Lucre  
 Proportion 107 26, 109 18, 117 17  
 Protector, *see* Somerset, Duke of  
 Pythagoras 29 22 n., 32 n., 140 6  
 Rarity 73 31, 75 17  
 Receiver 22 17 n.  
 Rent xlvi, 19 19, 38 5, 41 2, 47  
 23, 52 31 n., 81 2, 86 3, 100 26,  
 104 30 n., 108 20, 112 7, 113 3,  
 118 28; rise of 39 2 n.  
 Residence 133 23, 137 13  
 Rewards 58 3, 59 2

- Rhetoric 27 25, 29 9  
 Romans 23 9, 18, 76 12, 95 2,  
 123 21  
 Rome 83 4, 123 22; Bishop of  
 liii, lv, 134 4, 142 4, 31 n.  
 S., W. ix, xxxii f., 17 7 n., 32 12 n.,  
 34 32 n., 36 20 n., 39 11 n., 42  
 6 n., 10 n., 43 25 n., 44 6 n., 54  
 26 n., 56 12 n., 64 7 n., 67 25 n.,  
 70 4 n., 78 6 n., 80 10 n., 87 17 n.,  
 98 4 n., 103 27 n., 104 30 n., 109  
 22 n., 123 27 n., 128 23 n., 131  
 28 n., 137 20 n., 139 9 n., 143  
 8 n., 145  
 Sacraments 134 23  
 Salt 42 20, 44 28, 61 31, 68 4  
 Sanctuary 123 20 n.  
 Sandwich xxiii, 100 13 n.  
 Sapsworth, Prof. xxvi  
 Saunders, W. xvi, xxv  
 Saxons 23 16  
 Scarcity 123 14  
 Schism 141 14  
 Sciences 22 10, 28 25, 29 5, 123  
 32, 127 32  
 Scripture xxii, 22 6, 29 26, 139 22  
 Seal 77 17, 131 4  
 Searchers 46 20, 79 1  
 Self-interest xxiv, *see* Lucre, Ava-  
 rice, Profit  
 Senate 95 8  
 Shakespeare ix, xvi, xxxv, xxxviii  
 Sharrington, Sir W. xxiii, 117  
 27 n.  
 Sheep xi, xliii, xlvi, lviii, lviii, lxiii,  
 13 2 n., 15 17, 20 13, 35 24,  
 39 22, 48 20 n., 51 14, 52 8,  
 22 n., 57 2, 60 15, 90 7  
 Shepherd 13 2 n., 15 21 n., 48  
 20 n., 52 8, 90 12  
 Shillings xiii, 32 28 n., 109 10,  
 110 2 n.  
 Shoemakers 33 19, 92 1, 130 17  
 Silk 16 28, 42 31, 44 33, 62 3, 68  
 4, 80 16, 101 29, 126 13  
 Silver xiii, 32 28 n., 45 12, 64 25,  
 68 32, 71 5, 72 21, 74, 75, 87  
 32, 101 31, 102 14, 103 2, 32 n.,  
 104 4 n., 30 n., 105 25 n., 107  
 17, 109 22 n., 110 2 n., 112 9,  
 114 13, 115 2, 116 33, 118  
 13  
 Smith, Sir T. ix, x, xxiii, xxviii,  
 xxxvi, lxxi, lxxii, 35 22 n., 138  
 28 n.  
 Smith, W. xxxvi, lxvii  
 Solon 59 3 n.  
 Somerset, Duke of xv, xxix, xxxix,  
 xl  
 Somersetshire lviii  
 Southampton 68 23  
 Spain 64 1, 20, 93 1  
 Spice 16 30, 42 23, 44 33, 62 2,  
 68 4, 101 29, 126 13  
 Stafford, W. xxxv  
 Stamp 72 31  
 Staple 19 1 n., 55 14 n.  
 Starkey, Thomas xxiv, 50 27 n.  
 Steeple 100 13 n.  
 Stint 70 10  
 Strangers 44 8, 45 25, 47 3, 55 4,  
 63 2, 65 2, 69 5, 78 7, 87 5, 101  
 16, 103 17, 113 33, 116 7, 127 6,  
 128 27 n.  
 Strasburg xxvi, 128 29 n.  
 Strawberries 68 27  
 Strype xxviii, xxix, 31 9 n.  
 Subsidy xi, 35 12, 91 15, 118 8,  
 132 30  
 Surrey lviii  
 Sussex lviii  
 Swords 127 33  
 Synod 136 11, 141 27  
 Tagus 64 20  
 Tailors 92 2, 127 22, 130 17  
 Tallage 91 2, 124 9  
 Tanners 92 7, 127 27  
 Tapestry 85 3, 126 30  
 Tar 39 22, 40 12, 62 1  
 Tax 124 5  
 Tenant 119 1  
 Tenterden xxiii, 100 13 n.  
 Testons xiii, xxix  
 Text xxxvi  
 Thomas, W. 32 28 n.  
 Thread 128 7 n., 130 7  
 Tilers 92 2  
 Tillage 15 16, 50 5, 53 13, 54 14,

- 57 27, 120 17, 122 12, *see* Husbandry, Plough  
 Tin 45 23, 67 10, 68 32, 73 21, 78 11, 92 10, 112 11, 114 14, 126 16, 130 32  
 Tithes 118 3 n., 134 13  
 Token 69 28  
 Towns xviii, xlv, liii, 16 8, 68, 77 14, 93 4, 98 6, 125 4, *see* Decay  
 Travels 25 2  
 Treasure 35 5, 15 n., 59 31 n., 63 14, 64 28, 66 21, 69 4, 79 18, 85 5, 87 28, 89 21, 91 25, 93 11, 98 4, 105 23, 113 17, 123 14, 127 14, 130 3  
 Treaty xviii, 67 7 n.  
 Trentalles 134 28 n.  
 Trifles 63 10, 68 29  
 Tumults 49 9, 50 3, 93 26, 94 17, *see* Upfroars  
 Tyery, N. 103 32 n.  
 Tyndale, W. 120 25 n.  
 Universities xxi, xxxiii, 22 13 n., 28 30 n., 29 6, 31 33 n., 32 1  
 Upfroars xi, xl, xli, lviii, 15 22, 18 26 n., 21 23, 48 32 n., 90 28, *see* Tumults  
 Utopia 14 7 n., 52 22 n., 53 19 n., 75 23 n., 94 30 n., 107 42  
 Vacation xxvi, 10 16  
 Vegetius 26 24 n.  
 Velvet 43 7  
 Venice 64 4, 89 16, 115 25 n., 128 14  
 Vent 88 18, 90 20, 93 27, 122 19  
 Venus 11 24  
 Veterinaria 27 17  
 Victual xlii, 17 3, 19 12, 20 20, 32 8, 33 21, 46 22, 59 33, 60 15, 85 15, 120 7  
 Victuallers 92 3, 127 22, 130 18  
 Vines 92 31  
 Vintners 91 27, 127 18, 130 9  
 Visitations 133 21 n., 136 8  
 Vitruvius 27 22 n.  
 Wages 15 31 n., 125 8; assessment of 57 17 n., 82 3, 98 33  
 Wales 68 6  
 Walloons 128 23 n.  
 Walls 16 10 n., 18 33 n., 125 9  
 War 22 26, 23 28, 26 17, 27 5, 35 6, 84 2, 90 24, 94 2, 113 20, 115 27  
 Warwick, Earl of xl, xli  
 Warwickshire xv, xxii  
 Weavers 128 28  
 Weights 76 16  
 Westminster xx, 64 12  
 Wheat 42 8, *see* Corn  
 Whyte, Sir W. 18 14 n.  
 Willoughby 61 20 n.  
 Wiltshire lviii  
 Wine 16 28, 42 23, 44 33, 62 2, 67 25 n., 68 3, 80 16, 101 29, 126 13  
 Wisdom 24 5  
 Wood, Anthony à i, xxxv  
 Wool 33 22, 35 24, 42 11, 43 8, 45 22, 56 1, 62 11, 65 19, 67 10, 33 n., 68 17, 78 11, 80 17, 88, 11, 90 7, 92 10, 101 29, 112 11, 124 7, 126 16, 130 32; restraint of 54 25  
 Worcester xxi, 77 15 n., 130 25 n.  
 Worsted makers 92 8, 127 27, 128 21, 130 3  
 Wrestling xiii, 16 19  
 Wyclif 120 25 n.  
 Wygston, W. xxv, 19 1 n.  
 Yates, John x  
 Yeoman 31 33 n., 82 9, 84 7, 94 30 n.  
 Youth 29 17, 30 8, 139 32  
 York 16 18 n., 130 25 n.  
 Zurich xxvi





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Lamond, Elizabeth,		254
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