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THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY,

VOLUME THE SECOND:

CONTAINING

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF JOHN OF BRABANT AND
HENRY AND THOMAS OF LANCASTER, 1292-3.

HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, 1551-2.

THE REQUEST AND SUITE OF A TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISH-
MAN, WRITTEN BY WILLIAM CHOLMELEY, 1553.

DISCOVERY OF THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL
IN MARCH 1627-8.

TRELAWNY PAPERS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM TASWELL, D.D.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.III.

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THE REQUEST AND SUITE
OF A
TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMAN.

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM HOLMELEY,
LONDYNER,

IN THE YEAR 1553.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY OF ADVOCATES OF EDINBURGH,

BY

W. J. THOMS, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LIII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following curious Tractate will, it is believed, be found of considerable interest, not only from the peculiar doctrines of political economy advanced by the writer, and from the arguments by which he endeavours to establish his views, but also from the picture which he exhibits of our commercial relations with the great mart in the Low Countries and elsewhere, of the condition of our mercantile marine, and of the manner in which, at the time when he wrote—the close of the reign of Edward the Sixth,—our coasts were fished, not by ourselves, but by our neighbours (see p. 14).

It is now printed for the first time from a MS. volume in 12mo. written on vellum in black letter, and apparently in the hand of "William Cholmeley, Londyner," the author. This volume is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh. It has been well bound, and is still in good condition, though the gilding has faded. The MS. undoubtedly at one time belonged to Edward the Sixth,* as the Royal arms with the initial E. on one side and R. on the other are stamped on the boards, with scriptural sentences above and below. Thus the one side has "AN IDLE OR DISCEITFULLE HANDE MAKETH POORE;"

* The Member of the Camden Society to whom the Council are indebted for calling their attention to this volume, spoke of it as having been addressed to, and having been the property, of Queen Elizabeth. The date, however, and the mention at p. 13 of the "King's Majestie," shows that it was addressed to Edward the Sixth, and the initial E. on the binding refers to that sovereign.

then the arms, and below, "BVT A DILIGENT HAND MAKETH RYCHE.—PROVERB. 10." And the other "NO MAN LYGTHEH A CANDLE AND PVTTEH IT"—then the arms; then—"IN A PRIVY PLACE NEITHER VNDER A BVSHELL. —LVCE, 11."

How this volume passed from the library of the sovereign cannot now be ascertained; but it has been in possession of the Faculty of Advocates for nearly a century and a half, as is proved by the following inscription written on the back of the title:—

"D. Gulielmus Blackwood, Mercator Edinburgensis, hunc librum Bibliothecæ Facultatis quæ Edinburgi est, donavit 22 April. 1705."

The signature "Gulielmus Blackwood" is at the bottom of the page, and there is no doubt the inscription is in his handwriting. It is not unlikely that he may have been a relative of Sir Robert Blackwood, who was Provost of Edinburgh 1711-12.

The Discourse itself contains nothing to identify the writer beyond his name—William Cholmeley; the addition, which tells us that he was a "Londyner;" and the passage (p. 19) where he speaks of himself as being "a grosser and one that selleth spyces." Upon these hints, I have been enabled by the assistance of my friend Mr. Corner, F.S.A. to identify him with a William Cholmeley, of London, grocer, whose will, dated 28th May, 1554, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 20th of June in the same year. It is a small fact, but strongly corroborative of their identity, that, as in his Tract he calls himself simply "Londyner," so in his will, instead of adopting the usual form of the time and calling himself "Citizen and Grocer of London," he merely describes himself as William Cholmeley, of London, Grocer.

By this will, which it will be observed was executed and proved during the first half of the year following that in which the Tract

now printed was composed, he appoints his wife Agnes and his sons Henry Cholmeley and William Cholmeley executors, and John Rivers, grocer, overseer. He bequeaths one moiety of his estate to his wife, and the other moiety to his two sons, and his small gold chain to Rivers, his overseer. There is no mention in it of his place of residence, or even of the parish or district of London in which he resided. It was probably in the suburbs, as, upon reference to the books of the Grocers' Company, he does not appear to have been a member, although his sons Henry and William both were; the former having been one of the wardens of the Company in 1546, and the latter having been admitted to the freedom as apprentice of Edmund Style (an alderman) on the 21st June, 1536.

Poor Cholmeley speaks of himself (p. 4) as "being no man of great substance," which is confirmed by his will, for his legacies were few and small,—twenty shillings each to three persons; and, although he must have been an old man, the same document shows us that he was still in trade, inasmuch as in it he releases William Peartree, his apprentice, from the rest of his term of service.

The woollen manufacture, as the early staple of England, was at all periods the subject of frequent legislative enactment, and we may probably find the occasion of Cholmeley writing the present tract in the great interest which was felt in the wool trade in his time, as is shown by the fact that in addition to what he calls the king's "gratious last Acte," namely, the 5th and 6th of Edward VI., entitled, "An Acte for the Meterage of Wollen Clothe," by the 14th Section of which it is enacted that Mayors, &c. of London and other cities shall appoint "searchers of cloths who may examine the same as to the dressing, dyeing, and pressing thereof," the wool trade was

the subject not only of several other Acts * passed during the short reign of the Sixth Edward, but was moreover the occasion of differences between the two Houses; for, on the "Bill for the True Making of Broad Cloth" being read in the House of Lords on the 5th April, certain doubts being found in the same, several Lords were appointed to meet with some of the Lower House for their full instruction therein. A Bill for making broad cloth in cities and towns was also read the third time on the 29th of March following and rejected.

WILLIAM J. THOMS.

Christmas, 1852.

* 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 2, an Acte for the true making of wollen clothes. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 7, an Acte lymittinge the tymes of buyinge and sellinge of woolles. Ibid. cap. 8, an Acte lymittinge what persons shall weave or make brode wollen clothe. 7 Edw. VI. cap. 8, an Act for the true fulling and thieking of caps. Ibid. cap. 9, an Acte for the true makinge of white playne streightes and pynned white streightes in Devon and Cornwall.

THE REQUEST AND SUITE, &c.

BEYNG moved by the instinct of nature, moost dreade Sovereigne, to wish good unto this my naturall contrey, I have sundrye tymes considered the goodly and ryche commodities wherwith the Almightye Maker of all thinges hathe so abundantly blessed this littell corner of the earth.

And fynding the same to be so nedefull to man's beyng, that for the necessitie of them no nation maye lacke them; and so perfect, that for the goodlynes of them all nations be desyrous of them, I was occasioned greatly to lament that eyther for lacke of thinges therunto belongyng, eyther for lacke of studious desyre of the knowledge to do thynges perfectly and well, or else for lacke of wyttis apt to receyve the knowledge of such thynges, we were not able to adde that perfection to our commodities which nature hath left to be finyshed by arte.

But when I considered how the unserchable purpose of God hath, by the lacke of necessarie commodities, dryven all the nations of the earth to seke one upon another, and therby to be knyght together in amitye and love, I thought, that as this realme lacketh (and that naturally) thynges necessarily required to the perfecting of oure commodities, it myght also be a thyng naturall to the English nation, to be so unperfect of wytt that we coulde never be able to attayne to the knowledge of true and perfect workemanshype, because God woulde dryve us therby to suffer other nations to have a commoditie by makyng oure commodities perfect.

Which my conjecture semed to me so muche the more probable, for that it hath ben attempted at sundry tymes, and that by the high

powers of this realme, to have that thing well and perfectly done by the Englyshe nation, for the accomplishing wherof nothing is wantyng, saynge only the knowledge to use those thinges aryght wherwith it is done; and yet to this daye it coulde never be brought to passe.

This, notwithstanding I have conceyved a better opinyon of God's mercyfull kyndnes towardis us Englyshemen, then that the inhabilitie of oure wyttes shuld be the cause that we attayne not to this knowledge; and do rather ascrybe it to oure beastly blyndnesse, which wyll not suffer us to searche for that knowledge which oure wyttes are able enough to attayne, as experience teacheth us in suche of the Englyshe nation as have earnestly bent themselves to the studie of musycke, or any other the liberall artis.

I am perswadyd therefore that God hath not enryched us with commodities which we can not through the weakenes of oure wittis make perfect; but rather, we beyng beastly mynded, and sekyng to gayne much by doynge lyttle, every man sekeyng his owne pryvate commoditie, without regarde of the weale publike, do not diligently applye oure good wyttis to the serchyng oute of good knowledge, but to the inventyng of subtyle dysceyte (wherin we excell al other nations), to our pryvate advancement, but the decaye of the publycke weale of oure contrey.

For as God hath enryched us with woulle, leade, lether, and tynne, so hath he enryched other contreyes with other commodities which we may in nowyse lacke. And yet he hath not denied to any of those nations the power of reasone, wherby they maye be able to make those theyr commodities so perfect by workemanship, that they nede none of oure helpe in the doying therof. So in lyke maner God hath not gyven us woulle in such goodly plentye, and so fyne, to make us sheperdes only and merchauntis of woule, denying us the power of reasone to worke the same in cloth and cappis, as fynely, truly, and perfectly, as any other nations shal be able to doe.

It is oure gredeye desyre of gettyng pryvate commoditie therefore that causeth us falsely to accuse the almyghtie maker of all mankynde of ingratitude towardes us, affirmyng that he hath denyed us the

aptnesse to conceyve knowledge, wher as no nation under the heaven is more bounde to give God thankes in this behalfe then we are.

I therefore, as one to whom God hath gyven leaste knowledge, have attempted to playe the part of younge David, to take awaye the rebuke of my contreyemen, and to be revenged upon them that falsely have reported that oure most lovyng Father and mercyfull Lorde hath dealt most unlovyngly and unmercifully with us Englyshe men, denying unto us the thinge which he hath graunted to all mankynde by nature, that is, the aptnesse of wytt to be perfect workemen.

And because that amonge oure commodities ther is none more nedefull to be wrought by us Englyshemen then woulle, forasmuch as of it are made boeth cloth and cappis, which every man muste necessarily weare, I have attempted to have the same wroughte and dyed within this realme by Englyshemen, as substanti allye, truly, and perfectly well, as ever it was, is, or can be done in Flanders or in France, or any other parte of all the whole worlde.

And because the greatest difficultie, and only harde poynte of this myne attempted enterpryse, consisteth in the true and perfecte dyinge of cloth and cappis, with wodde and mader; I thought good to trye first what myght be done therin, not doubtyng to bryng all thinges easily to passe, if I mighte once attayne to the knowledge of the hardest poynt.

And to atchyeve this my first purposed enterpryse, I sent to Anwarpe, and there procured for wages a man verye expert in the feate of dyinge, and wyllinge to serve in Englande, so that he myght sustayne no losse nor displeasure, if for lacke of water good for that purpose he could not performe the thinge that I requyred; for the dyars of Englande have raysed a foule slaunder upon the famouse river of Temys, and all other waters of this your majesties realme, affyrmyng that the water therof wyll not serve to dye substanciall, true, and perfect colours withall, whear as no water in the whole worlde serveth better for the purpose, then my workeman hath tryed the water of Temes to do.

To take away this let of this workman's connyng, I my selfe (beinge no man of great substance, and yet able to sustayne so muche losse if it had so chaunced) toke the whole adventure in hande, determyng to put in hasarde so muche for the wealth of my contrey.

And susteyneyng no losse by the firste adventure, but enjoyng a sufficient gayne, I conditioned with my sayde workeman for the terme of x yeres, makyng a dyar of your majesties boroughe of Southwarke (who hath al maner implement to dying belongyng) halfe partnar with me duryng the tyme of the covenante made with my workeman, because that of my selfe I am not able (neyther hath it been my bryngyng up) to furnishe a dye house with all thinges thereto belongyng.

Thus have my partnar and I occupyed togyther the space of three yeres last past, either for us gayneing clearly by yere one hundred markes at the least upon the only dyinge of carsayes, broade clothes, and cappis, after the maner of the dyinge in Fraunce and Flaunders; which workemanship by my workeman done, and by the wearyng tryed, is founde to be as good, substanciall, true, and perfect as any that hath ben or is dyed in the realme of France, Anwarp, or any other place beyonde the seas; which thyng must nedis be very beneficiall to me and my partnar, for as much as ther is none in all this realme that doeth or can do the thing but only oure only workeman and suche as have or shall learne it at his hande, which can be none but suche as we must nedis have great commoditie by.

Notwithstanding, I for my parte, nothyng regardyng the pryvate gayne that doeth and myght growe to me warde by the meane of the singularitie of the feate, used by none other in all this realme, but by me and my partnar; have thought it my duitie to make the thinge knowen to your majestie, that by thadvise of your most honorable counsellours your auctoritie myght make the feate common to all your loveing and faythfull subjectes, not only the dyars of the cite of London, but of all other cities and townes in al your majesties

dominions, to the greate honoure of this realme in the abandonyng of all desceytfull coloures, and takyng away the reproche and shame of the Englysh nation, which is recomed to be so grose wytted that they be not able to attayne to the knowledge of the perfect workmanship of their owne commodities, to the full contentation of your majestie and of your nobles, who are or shall be dellyted in the wearynge of true and perfect good cloth trewly dyed at a reasonable pryce, rejecting all vayne and unprofitable silkes which at this daye are al to excessyve a pryce; and to the incomparable commoditie of this your majesties realme and subjectes in that behalfe, wherby the same maye in tyme be enryched with infinite treasure, as forthwith I shall declare.

Fyrst, it may pleas your majestie to understande that yerely ther is caryed out of this realme by Englyshe merchauntes and strayngers to the number of one hundreth and fyfitye thousande broade clothes at the least, undyed and undressed.

Secondly, that the same be all wrought in Flaunders, Holland, Brabant, Zealande, Eastlande, and Doucheland, to the setting of worke of two hundreth thousande persons and above.

Thyrddly, that upon every of the sayde clothes is gayned by the cloth workars and dyars towardis their lyveing and sustentation at ye least xx^s. which amounteth to the summe of j^c. l^m. poundis by the yere, besydes the gayne that ryseth upon the utteraunce of so much woade, mather, allume, and other thinges as necessarily appertayneth to the dyinge and dressyng of those clothes.

Fourthly, that our marchauntis do by martyng in Anwarp spende yerely in packehouse romes, in chambers, and oftyng with expenses in journeyng to and fro, ye summe of xxij^m poundis, which summe beinge added to the former summe of j^c. l^m. poundes, amounteth to j^c lxxij^m li. which might growe of the laboure of youre majesties subjectis by true and perfect dyinge and dressyng of cloth, if the same were done within your realme, if the Englysh nation helde their marte within your majesties sayd realme of Englande.

Fyftly, and laste, it may please your majestie to understande, that

the martyng of oure marchauntis of Anwarp is the drawing thither of the whole worlde of marchauntis, which are in number even xxⁱⁱ tymes so many as our marchauntis be, and spende xxⁱⁱ tymes so muche as oure marchauntis do, which is iij^j xl^m li. to the greate enrichyng of those contreys; which great commoditie, or at the least waye the greatest part therof, shulde be ours, if our marchauntis helde ther mart within this realme; for all marchauntis of this part of the worlde doe and must of necessitie seke our cloth as the chepe marchaundice that marchaundizeth in all quarters of the worlde as well as golde and sylver do.

But nowe me thyncketh I see a whole legion of marchauntis, dyars, and drapers of this realme of England (even utter enemies to the weale publicke of the same) bendyng them selves agaynst myne enterprise, who (no doubt) wyll brynge in a whole sea of objections agaynst that which I have wrytten, wherfore I have thought it mete that I answer to suche theyr objections as seame to have in them some shewe of trueth, to thentent that your majestie maye understande that I have not rashely enterprised to geve your majestie information in these thinges without consideryng what wylbe sayde to the contrarye by them that feare the losse of a singular commoditie, when publyke weale shalbe advanced.

The fyrst objection:—

And fyrste standeth forth the drapar, and he objecteth for his parte sayinge, Our Englyshmen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French blacke lyke as the Frenchmen and Flemmynges, wherfore we must nedis have them dyed beyonde the seas.

The seconde objection:—

Then steppeth forth the dyar, and sayth that the water of England wyll not serve to dye those coullors withall.

The thyrde objection:—

Then sayth the marchauntman, if we shulde not carie oure clothe beyonde the seas undressed and undyed we shulde not hold our mart ther, and then howe shulde our navye be mayntayned?

The fourth objection :—

Agayne, another objecteth and sayth, If we shulde not have oure mart beyonde the seas, and let them have our cloth undressyd and undyed, they woulde make cloth them selves; so shoulde we be in a farre worse takyng then now, ffor then we shoulde have no utteraunce of our cloth at all.

The ffyfte objection :—

Another sayth, that dyinge wasteth much wode, and we have scarsitie of wode alrebye, and nede not to have all oure cloth dyed at whome to make our wode more scant, as it must nedes do.

The syxte objection :—

And yet another, how were it possible that we shulde be able to bryng this thinge to passe, seyng we must nedis have boeth worke men and stuffe to worke withall from them, that woulde rather spende greate treasure then we shulde be able to do it.

The seventh objection :—

And yet one more objecteth, sayinge, what if the Spaniardis shoulde stay ther oyles, as they have of late stayed theyr alume, so that none myght passe but upon lycence, how shoulde we then have oyles to worke oure woules withall?

Here is an heape of objections. But if it shall please your majestie to marke howe I have learned by experyence to answer them, I do not doubt but it shal be a matter for your grace to laugh at, to consyder how these men, blynded with a present pryvate commoditie, do bende them selves to bryng upon themselves and theyr posteritie an universall decaye and utter destruction.

Firste, where the draper sayeth that oure contrey men can not dye the Flemmyshe and Frenche colours; his meanyng is that they can not dye it so muche for his profyt; for if these coulours were commonly in this realme, then coulde not the draper sell that yarde of Frenche or Flemmysh blacke for iiii^{li}. or more money, which standeth hym not in xx^s., as I am able to prove that they do now. And yet ther objection is true; our contrey men can not dye those colours aryght. But what may a man conclude upon this propo-

sition? It semeth that the drapar woulde conclude thus: oure contreyemen cannot dye the Flemmysh and French colours; *ergo*, it were not good, or it is not possible, for them to learne. But a logitian wyll conclude thus: *Ergo*, it were good that they did by some meane learne it, for these colours are necessary for the Englysh nation. But our drapar seeth no farther then his present commoditie; he seeth not that the excessyve pryce of his fyne blacke shall dryve men rather to weare velvet and worsted of Saynt Thomas, or sylkes of Italy and Spayne, then so muche over bye his good colour. No, he seeth not how his presente commoditie spryngeth of the presente discommoditie of his neyghbours and contreyemen, and that he doeth styll empoveryshe his contreyemen and enryche the straungers; which must nedis, at the last, decay them by whom the drapar hym selfe hath his commoditie,—and wher is master drapar then? Thus your majestie may perseyve after what sorte the drapar, havynge respecte to his present commoditie, doeth all that in hym lyeth to pull upon hymselfe, and all other his contreyemen, an universall decay and distruction.

Then where the dyar sayth that the waters of this contrey wyll not serve to set suche colours, it procedeth not of knowledge, as it appeareth by that my workeman hath and doeth with the water of Temmis set as good colours as ever wer sett in Flaunders or Fraunce. But they woulde fayne that the water should not serve, because it wer not good theyr ignoraunce to be knowen, and the great gyle uttered, wherby they also have a pryvate commoditie, in that they have as much monye for a false colour as they shulde have then for a true coloure. They would not be bounde to the degrees of wodde, as the dyars ar at Anwarp, and be in other contreys. They would not that men should knowe the first degree of wodde that apperteyneth to a blacke, nor the seconde, thurde, nor fourth degree; they woulde not that men shulde be so wyse to understande, whan they go to see or bye a pece of cloth, to know what wodde and howe much, or what coste was put theron; noe, it is not convenient for the dyars, nor yet for the drapars profitis that we Englyshmen shulde be so skylfull,

for that the best wodde that our dyars occupye is masterynge as they terme it, and that is the blacke panne of rynes, barkes, galles, coppores, afterwarde floryshed up with a shewe of disceytfull brasell, wherby they take great hyre for slender coste. But now master dyar, supposyng to take me in great advantage as a lyar, wyll stoutly saye that they do wodde all theyr clothes that serve for blacke. Indede for the greater parte I graunt they so do, but as the Englyshe proverbe goeth, "as good never awhytt, as never the better," for that they geve suche wodde for a blacke as scantly wyll serve for a grene or tawny; gevyng the fonde drapar for *iiij^d* in wodde that is not worth *j^d*, and suche as when mader cannot serve to make it a treu, good, and perfecte blacke, but rather a redd, it is then cast into the blacke pan, and there fynished. Thus and for their occasions the dyar saith, that the water will not serve, because they would not have it serve, respectyng only ther owne present commoditie, not consyderyng that theyr contreyemen that be thus desceyved by them shall at the last fall to wearyng of cheper coullours; suche lyke as they have alrebye done, not only to the utter decaye of all dying in this realme, but also to the great diffacyng of oure owne commoditie by wearyng of cloth, for at this daye no man almost wyll meddle with any coullours of clothe touchinge wodde and mader, unlesse it beare the name of Frenche or Flaunders dye; so that partly by that so manye as be able to bye a cloth dyed in Flaunders or Fraunce, wyll not medle with any cloth that is dyed within this realme. This must nedis (in tyme) brynge an universall decaye upon the dyars, as a just plague for that they, respectyng their pryvate and present commoditie only, cannot se their owne decaye, which is even at hande. It were to longe to declare to your majestie all the ignorance of this sorte of people, which causeth them to destroy not only that wodde, allum, and mader which they bestowe upon the cloth that they wodde, but also washe awaye and poure downe the gutters, well most as muche good stuffe as they cast awaye upon the cloth, and all is because they knowe not (neyther will they learne) to order it aright; wheras my forsayde workeman, as one knowyng the nature of

things wherwith he worketh, bestoweth all upon the cloth, and maketh a true, even, and perfecte colour, without any waste of stufte, or dysceyte of any desceytful thinges; which oure dyars in no wyse can doe; and all these colours can my workeman doe, which the dyars of Englande cannot doe, out of whight wolen clothes and carseys, as fyrst grenes, tawneys, blewes, sadde or light, mourrey, browne blewes, and sadde or light blackes, or othere whatsoever to wodde and mader appertayneth.

Now, for the marchaunt man's objection, wherin he demaundeth how oure navye shoulde be mayntayned, if we shoulde dresse and dye our cloth at home, and not holde our mart in some foren contry. I saye, and experyence shall prove it, that oure navye should be better mayntayned then it is nowe; for how is it Holland, Sealland, and Flaunders have so great a multitude of great hulkes and shippes? are they not maintayned by the menes of the mart at Anwarpe? But the marchaunt man sayeth, what speake you of a marte at Anwarpe and a mart at London? do ye loke to have all this parte of the worlde to come to your marte in Englande, as they doe to Anwarpe? Naye, it will not be; indede I woulde not wyshe so manye. But I am right sure that of all quarters some woulde seke us, and that so many as we shoulde desyre; for with what wyll the Italyans passe beyound them into Turky, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other farre contreys and cyties, to fetche sylkis, spyces, drugges, jewellis, currantes, gallis, malmesey (here brewydd), golde, and suche lyke, but with cloth? yea, with Englyshe cloth. And they be no longer marchauntis then they have clothe to travell withall as marchauntis. Wherwith wyll the Easterlyngis marchaundize, trucke, and bye the commodities of Polerlande, Russlande, Sweaneland, Pomerlande, Toterlande, and suche other farre contreys passynge to Rye and Revell that waye eastwarde; as masts, waynescote, hemp, pytche, tarre, ashes, wax, fflex, copper, yron, and corne, which commeth so plentuously oute of Pollande? but even with Englyshe cloth. Wherwithall wyll the Spaniardis and Portugalles traffycke into Calicute, into Affrica, Barbaria, Nova Hispania, into the yles of Canarya, into

Perew, Brasilia, and manye dyverse ilandis and contreys, to fetch sugar, spices, wodd, brassell (a fauls colour), golde, and other commodities? even with Englyshe cloth, as the chyffyst and best marchaundice, that marchaundizeth to them as well as golde and silver, for they are not so madde to carry coyne unto these straunge nations for straunge thynges as we do. Wherwithall woulde the colde and large contreys of Douthlande, Almayne, and Hungarye cloth themselves, and consume the commodities which they make, as ffustians and many other, if they shulde not have oure Englyshe cloth? Wherfore it is evydent that all such as must necessariye be marchauntis into all these contreys wyll seke oure cloth in Englande, as they do nowe in Flaunders, and as they have done in tymes past in Sealande, Callis, Brydges, and Englande. And so shall oure navy be as well mayntayned by them as the navye of the emperour's lande is nowe, by passynge into all partes of the worlde with marchaundyce; yea, and oure own shippes shal be hyred to brynge whome to us all suche commodities as we shall desyre to have, boeth to satisfye oure selves and other contreys also, to the great enrychinge of the kyngis maiestie, by his custome, and also by his welthy commons; whoe must nedis be welthy, by makyng the uttermost of their owne commoditie at the handes of straungers, without anye losse sustayned by adventure, and resevyng all foren commodities also by the one halfe better cheep without adventure, then they do nowe, takyng upon them all the adventure, and levyng all theyr gaynes upon ther neyghbours at home, to whome they make sale of such vayne thinges as they brynge us from beyounde the seas; for they sell oure Englyshe cloth as good cheep in Anwarp and in Spayne at this daye as ever they dyd, and so have they done all this tyme of the dearth of cloth here, and paye double for all thinges that they bryng us thense. So that the clothe which they carrye oute wyll not answer in vlew those thinges which are yerely brought into this realme, for oure clothe is solde to the straungers at his olde pryce; but the marchaundice that commeth in is doubled. As if the vlew of all thinges that come into the realme in one yere did in tymes past amount to cccc^m^u. the same

is solde to us nowe at DCCC^m^{li}. or rather XC^m^{li}. Oure marchauntis therefore are dryven to cary oute all thinges that may be made marchaundice. And wher all wyll not serve, menyne must nedes be dysbursed and convayed hence. And be it presupposed, that in one yere they disburse but l^m^{li} over and besydes the valew of the cloth and other marchaundice that is carryed from hense in x yeres, this amounteth to v^c^m^{li}, which is no small sum of monye. Neyther is it any mervayle though all our olde angelles be flowen into Flaunders and Fraunce, and oure newe sufferantes sent after, with all oure fyne sylver, bothe olde and newe, seyng ther must so muche goe yerely. And yet I durst be bolde to saye (if the trueth wer knowen as it doeth partly appeare) that within these xij. yeres last past this realme hath ben robbed of a thousande thousande, and two hundreth thousande powndis, and rather more. And this thinge can never be remedyed, unlesse the Englysh nation withdrawe ther mart from Flaunders, for oure martyng there hath drawne thither such a nest of marchauntis, and hath so enryched them with oure commodites, that they are able and doe knytt themselves in such companyes, contractis, counters, and felowshipps, that so longe as they maye have our cloth brought to them they doe and wyll make us seke them, and give them oure clothes at ther owne pryce, and give them ther owne askyng for what soever commoditie is to be had of thers there; oure marchauntis therefore that alledge the decaye of oure navye, are but blynded with present commoditie which they have by sellyng the marchaundice that they bryng home at to excessyfe a pryce, and by byeing and conveyghing oure fyne golde and sylver, which must nedis in tyme be the utter decaye of the whole realme, and consequently of the marchauntis themselves also; but if so muche monye as the realme is yerely robbed of were yerely bestowed upon seamen, I dout not but we shoulde have as manye of your majesties subjectis fyshing in your streames as be now of Hollanders, Sealande men, and Flemmyngis; and as manye takyng fysh upon your majesties coostis of Irelande as there be nowe Spaniardis. So that oure navye nedeth not decaye by withdrawing the mart from

Anwarpe. But one lett among other is, that oure marchauntis feare they should be to seke, and be set to a newe lesson, if they shoulde leue ther olde marte towne and seake a newe, which they can neyther alow nor seke, because of the present gayne, which they now gredely follow.

Well, now let us goe to the fourth objection, which maye seme to ryse upon the answer to the thyrde. If we call home oure mart (sayth one) other nations wyll make cloth themselves, and then what shall we doe with oure mart at home. I graunt they wyll make cloth, and they doe make cloth, yes, even as good as any is made in Englande; but not without Englyshe woul. No, neyther can all other nations make the xxxth part so muche as the worlde requyreth and necessytie must nedis have, excepte they have oure Englysh woules. Suche is oure plentye and fyennes of woule, and theyr scarcitie and grosenes.

But what shall we saye to the fyfte objection, wherin it is sayde that we must have al thingis to this workemanshipp belonging, and workemen also from them that would spende great treasure of monye; yea, I think and beleve v. myllyons of golde rather then we should be able to doe it, or brynge this enterpryce to pass; and therefore it is not possyble for us to bryng it to effect. I answer, that it is verrye trueth, we must nedis have oure wodde out of Fraunce, oure mather out of Flaunders, and oure allum out of Spayne. And at the fyrst we must have workemen out of some of theyse contreys to teach oure workemen the feate. But after that oure men be instructed what nede we any of ther workemen? But if we dyd nede them coulde we lacke them? No, noe; when they shall not have our cloth to worke, they wylbe glad to be ryd of ther people that lyve by the working of it, and the workmen as gladd to be ryd of ther contrey to be there wheare they myght worke and lyve. But then they woulde kepe from us wodde, mader, and allum. How doe the Spaniardis and Flemmynges kepe theyr allum and mader from the Frenchmen in this tyme of theyr wars? I am sure the Frenche men sende not theyr clothe into Flaunders to be dyed there. The

commoditie of a contrey is lyke the water of a great ryver, and as they that stop the course of a ryver, and wyll suffer no man to fetch the water from them, shall have more discommoditie by the keyping of the water then others can have by the lacke of it, and yet in short tyme it wyll breake from them, magre theyr headdis, and so they that lacked it a whyle shall have the more plentye of it; even so, they that shall kepe the commoditie of theyr contrey from them that have the thing that it serveth for, shall at the laste (yea and that within short space) be glad to let it have the ryght course, and content themselves to be marchauntis to those places where the utteraunce of theyr commodities lyeth moost best. But now master objector wyll saye that I have made a good symilitude agaynst my selfe; for if we stop oure cloth and woule a whyle, we shalbe glad to let the Flemmynges have it agayne. It is true, so long as we are not perfecte workemaneshippe, we shall never have the utteraunce of halfe the cloth that oure woule wyll make; but if oure workmanship were once perfect, we coulde not have so muche woule growyng in Englande as we myht utter in cloth. And I am sure it is no smale sum of mony that is bestowed yerely in Flaunders coloured cloth, in Frenche dyed cappis, in hattis, and Spaynishe feltis, only to be worne in Englande (settyng a worke all nations, but ours keypyng in ydlenes,) which should not nede if our dye were as perfect as theirs, for we have the princypall, which is fyne woule, without which theyr coloure is to smalle purpose to marchaundice. I graunt we shoulde for a tyme have a sharpe conflycte with those stoute enymes whome we have with oure commodities and treasure enryched. But those souldiours are not worthy prayse that wyll for one sharp assalt of theyr enimyes gyve over ther hold. Neyther will they that entende to kepe a fort gyve it over so longe as they knowe them selves to be strong enough, and to have sufficient vitayles to kepe the holde longer then theyr enimyes shal be to contynew the sydge. We might well suffer lack of thinges belongyng to pleasure (for a time), but of thingis necessarye to lyveing, as meat, drinke, and cloth, we shall have plentye longer then the

Flemmyngis shalbe able to kepe from us theyr mader or any thinge ells of theyrs, unlesse we would suffer oure grounde to lye untylled, and loke to lyve lyke idle luskis, as everye man (welmoost) woulde do at this daye, and as a great many are dryven to doe, by the reasone that oure marchauntis carrye away oure commodities unwrought, whereupon oure people shoulde be set on worke. And to have abundaunce of the best commoditie (which is woule), a greate part of oure necessarye tyllage is turned to pasture, so that when reasonable wetheryng fayleth us we are dryven to provyde corne out of forren contreys, to our great discommoditie and dishonoure of this realme, the grounde whereof is most fertile and apt for tillage; and this thinge must nedes be a decaye at the laste, as it partly appeareth; for notwithstanding the seasonable wetheryng that we have hadde these late yeres, yet doeth grayne and all thingis nourished by tyllage, (that is to say, hennys, capons, and all other pultrye, great oxen, swyne, and thyngis belongyng to housewiferye,) holde styll an unreasonable pryce. It is playne, therefore, that theise objectours have an yeie only to their present commoditie, nothing what distruction it bryngeth to theyr contrey. And styll they harp on this one stryng—How can it come to passe, we are not able to compas it? It is treuth we are not, unlesse we abate of oure pleasures, and content oureselves for a tyme with necessaryes. But if the marchauntis of London, which are the cheff, and other abrode, woulde take as great travell and byde as great adventure to profyte theyr contrey, by maynetayning theyr contreyemen in worke, and utteryng thyngis wrought by them, as they doe in carying away the thingis that shoulde be wrought by them, and in bryngyng tryfelyng thynges nothyng profitable to theyr contreyemen, but hurtfull, mayntayning the hole worlde of workefolke; then should we see that they coulde fynd the means to compasse not only this smalle matter, but manye other. And if the drapars, dyars, and clotheworkers were as wylling to bestow monye in the advaunceyng of the publicke weale as they are in feastyng in theyr hallis at the chosinge new wardyns, and tryumphyng when an

heade offycer of the cytie chaunceth to be one of theyr companye, then coulde they save somewhat towards the compassynge of this matter. There is no doubt, moost dreade soverayne, that if every man were wylling, the matter woulde be founde lyght ynough, for nothyng is harde to them that be wyllinge.

To the syxt objection (which is, that dyinge wasteth much wode) I answer thus: it wasteth muche wode in verye dede, but yet it wyll not destroye so much wode these hundreth yeres as the unsati-able desyre of pasture for sheep and cattell hath caused to be stocked up by the rotis within these xxxⁱⁱ yeres laste paste, contrarye to the lawes of this realme. Well, that answer satisfieth not; wherfore I saye that we have plentye of sea cole in many partes of this realme, so that we may in moost partis of this realme have them to serve our turne in dyinge as well as the Flemmingis have, and as good cheape, for they burne and occupye none other fuell then coles that are dygged out of the grounde, lyke as our smythes doe. Oure dying therefore should not be wastfull to oure wodis, but rather a preserveyng, by staying the Newcastell colys at home, for then shoulde oure dyars that do nowe wast much wode in dyinge disceytful coloures, burne no wode at all, and yet shoulde they dye as true and perfect coulours, and to them more benefytt.

To the seventh and laste objection I saye (as the Englysh proverbe souneth) "If the skye fall we shall take many larkis." It is a thyng much to be feared that the Spaniardis will not utter suche commodities growynge in theyr contrey as they must nedis lyve by, without the utteraunce wherof they can not have such forren commodities as they muste nedis have. And though it were to be feared, yet nede not we to feare, for when they can have none of oure cloth in Flaunders wyll they not bryng us oyles to have oure cloth at oure handis, as well as they suffer us to have it now without oure commoditie made perfect, halfe wrought and halfe unwrought? But I thynke it shulde be a great deal more for oure profite, if they did not only restrayne theyr oyles and allum, but all theyr other wares also, which are but tryffles, and thinges belongyng to lycorous lippis,

meter for children then reasonable people at that pryce. Yea, I woulde wysh that the pryces of all the Spaniardis tryflyng wares were enhaunced to fyve tymes the valew that they be at, though they be in verye dede at so excessyve pryces allredy, that no wyse nation woulde bye so many of them as we doe, at so unreasonable price. But if they wer reysed to v. tymes this unreasonable price, I thynke then we shoulde learne wytte, and fynde a mart towne at home, and not abyde so great adventure in carrying oute so good commodities to bryng home tryffles, with as great daunger, not only by sea but also there by restraynt of forren prynces. And yet the pryce of those tryffles is metely well enhaunced, as I (beynge a grosser, and one that selleth spyces) am well able to declare. As fyrst pepper, wont to be solde for xx^d the pounde, now solde at iij^s the pounde. The reysons or dried grapes of Spayne, which (in tyme that I have knowne) were boughte for vj^s viij^d the hundreth, and myght be retayled for i^d the pounde, to a great lyving, and are now solde to us for xxi^s, and can not be retayled under ij^d ob. the pounde. The sugar that I have knowne at iij^d the li. is nowe at xiiij^d. The almons at xvij^s the hundreth within these fewe yeres, but nowe at liij^s iij^d. White sope at xvij^s, now at xliij^s, &c. &c. The allum somtyme at vj^s viij^d the hundreth, nowe at xxvj^s viij^d. Oyle wont to be solde for ix^{ll} or x^{ll} the tunne, now is solde for xxiiij^{ll}. Dates, somtyme at xvij^s ye hundreth, now at xlviij^s. Maces for v^s the li. now at xx^s the pounde. Fyggis at xx^d the tapnet, nowe at iij^s. And so of all other, as well in hole as in part, touchyng spycery. And as it is in spyces, so is it in sylkes, so in wynes, which do us more hurt then good, in lynnyn cloth, thredde, and all other thingis wherof many (suche as be profitable) myght be made in the realme, if houswifrye dyd florische amonge us. And a greate manye were better spared then bought, and yet we bye them at an excessyve pryce, by reasone that we seke them so gredely. But this objector sayth that I know not what I saye, in that I affirme oure sekynge of merchaundice to be one great cause of the enhaunced price. For the exchange (sayth he) is the cause, by the meanes of the basynge of oure

coyne. Indede the exchange doeth hurte somewhat ; as to saye in every hundreth xxx^{li}, but the exalting of marchaundice of foren contreys was in every hundreth cc. and ecc; which robbery the realme of all oure golde and sylver, and wyll doe, if remedy be not pryved, besydes the plage and hurt that every man feleth in ye derenesse of them. But whoso loketh well about hym shall fynde that evyn in Spayne, and in the great mart towne of Anwarpe, all wares are dearer now by doble, and in most wares by trebyll pryces, then they were xj or xij yeres past. And this can not be by the exchange, when they receyve oure cloth for ther wares at the same pryce and valew to them that they had them in tymes past. It is the compaynes and fellowshipps of marchauntis of Anwarpe, with ther great stockes and substaunce of monye, knowyng ye folly of oure marchauntis and nation how to leade them, who are theare confederated and bent agaynst the Englysh nation, intendencyng to make us pay well (as we doe in dede unreasonably) for oure manyfolde bables that we bye of them, and so to force us to seke upon them to take our cloth (which they woulde sew to us for if we woulde once be wyse), and to conveygh oure fyne gold and sylver out of this realme to gyve them theyr owne askyng for theyr pynnes, theyr paynted papers, head clothes for women, with fore slevs and neckerchefes, glasses, hobby horses, babies for oure children, and a thousande such like thingis, which all we myght well forbear. Yea and a great deale of our sylkes also, and other thinges which we have in high estimation. So that if we woulde refrayne theyr vanities, and take no more at ther handis then we have nede of, oure commodities (beyng wrought within this realme) woulde be of valew sufficient to answeare all that we shoulde nede to bye of other nations, and to bring in ours, and besydis great treasure of gold and sylver agayne, wherof they have now, and also have caused us to robbe oure selves to enryche them, to the great enpoverishyng of your majesties poore commons, and greater dishonour of the whole nation of Englysh men. Supposyng that it shalbe verye requisith and expedyent to worke all theise or anye part of the premysses in moost

secret maner, that no nation may know or be of counsell in any the foresayde devysed purposes, least they knowyng therof we might be not only prevented but also moche hyndered, for they woulde wrastell sore no doubt, and seke manye meanes, and that by all extremities, then they woulde receyve so great a foyle, and so moche to be hyndered in theyr common wealth.

Thus have I, (accordyng to my bounden ductie,) declared to your majestie what it hath pleased God to bryng to passe by myne adventure and diligent travell, trustyng that your majestie, (tenderyng the publicke weale of this your realme, and seyng the myserable state that your subjectes are brought into by the meanes that the chiefe commodities wher upon they shoulde be set on worke are caryed beyonde the seas unwrought, and the same beyng by your majesties auctoritie stayed at home in this realme and perfectly wrought by youre majesties subjectis, this great misery shoulde be remedied and great wealth brought into this realme agayne,) wyll use your auctoritie in commaundyng the Lorde mayor of the Citie of London, with his brethren the Aldermen, upon the losse of their auctoritie and office, under your gracious majestie, to see that in the Citie of London all maner of cloth be truely and perfectly dyed, after the maner of Anwarp, which is the just ende and lymyt of trewth in that behalfe. And that no cloth be suffered to be solde in the citie that is disceytfully dyed, wherof the citie floweth, notwithstanding your gracious last Acte, and the serchers appoynted for the same. And that no cloth dyed beyonde the seas be suffered to be solde within the Citie of London upon the losse of the same.

This they may doe by procuring out of Flaunders iij or iiij workemen, honest and expart in the feate of dyinge, which they may doe with small charge. For the workemen wil be gladde to serve for xx^u markis a piece by ye yere, or xx^l at the moost, and to teach our contreyemen for the same monye.

This charge will not be so great in the whole as the byldyng of one corner of the hospitallis hath bene, which never the lesse they full godly have finyshed. And yet it wyll be a greater, and a more

certaine and durable foundation of relief for the poore, then manye such hospitallis can be, and shall be a greater dede of charitie; for if it be charitie to sucker a thousande, it is greater charitie to sucker many thousandis, even a hundreth thousandis or two, by the advauncyng of true dyinge and dressing of cloth, true dyinge and makyng of cappis, which now are made in other contreys, beyng no defaulte in us but only for the dye. And because the commoditie of profyt and gayne chiefly partayne to the dyars, clothworkers, and drapers (as loth as they be to have it brought to passe), it were convenient that these companyes shoulde be at all the chargis; as well of the provydyng of workemen, as for the mayntaynyng certayne honest searchers,—men skylfull in the coulours of cloth, to make weekly diligent search for the true execution of the premisses. And the charge to be geven them also upon the losse of theyr lyberties and fredom for ever.

Thus offeryng my simple labours and travell in this behalfe to your majestie, I submytte my selfe to your majestie to be an instrument in all that I and my workman can doe towards the accomplishing of this my desyred purpose, which I doe not doubt but your majestie wyl by your auctorytie brynge to passe, to the glorie of God, your majesties hartie rejoycing, and great wealth of your poore subjectis. The kyng of all kyngis, the gyveare of all thingis, worke this wyl in your heart, and graunt that you maye lyve in good health to reygne over us your majesties subjectis, and se your chyldens' chylde, and this your realme, in as muche wealth as ever your fathers' fathers have sene it.

SO BE IT.

Your majesties faythfull and obedient subject,

WILLIAM CHOLMELEY, LONDYNER.

PROVERBES, 20.—A Kyng that sitteth on the throne of judgement, and lokyth well about hym, dryveth away all evyll.

Anno D'ni 1553.

THE DISCOVERY
OF THE
JITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL
IN MARCH 1627-8:
AND A LETTER FOUND IN THEIR HOUSE,
(AS ASSERTED,)

DIRECTED TO THE FATHER RECTOR AT BRUXELLES.

EDITED BY
JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

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M.DCCC.LII.

