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Early English Text Society.

Extra Series, XII.

PR III
ES
no. 12

England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

A Dialogue between
Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer
in Rhetoric at Oxford.

LGR
10/2

By
Thomas Starkey,

Chaplain to the King.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE, NOTES AND GLOSSARY,

BY

J. M. COWPER.

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF THOMAS STARKEY,

EDITED BY

SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE, B.A.

(WHICH FORMS PART I. No. XXXII, 1878.)

PART II.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.,

PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING-CROSS ROAD.

1871.

[Reprinted, 1898.]

Price Twelve Shillings.

Early English Text Society.

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The Early English Text Society was started by Dr. Furnivall in 1864 for the purpose of bringing the mass of Old English Literature within the reach of the ordinary student, and of wiping away the reproach under which England had long rested, of having felt little interest in the monuments of her early language and life.

On the starting of the Society, so many Texts of importance were at once taken in hand by its Editors, that it became necessary in 1867 to open, besides the *Original Series* with which the Society began, an *Extra Series* which should be mainly devoted to fresh editions of all that is most valuable in printed MSS. and Caxton's and other black-letter books, though first editions of MSS. will not be excluded when the convenience of issuing completed Texts demands their inclusion in the Extra Series.

During the thirty-five years of the Society's existence, it has produced, with whatever shortcomings, an amount of good solid work for which all students of our Language, and some of our Literature, must be grateful, and which has rendered possible the beginnings (at least) of proper Histories and Dictionaries of that Language and Literature, and has illustrated the thoughts, the life, the manners and customs of our forefathers and foremothers.

But the Society's experience has shown the very small number of those inheritors of the speech of Cynewulf, Chaucer, and Shakspeare, who care two guineas a year for the records of that speech. 'Let the dead past bury its dead' is still the cry of Great Britain and her Colonies, and of America, in the matter of language. The Society has never had money enough to produce the Texts that could easily have been got ready for it; and many Editors are now anxious to send to press the work they have prepared. The necessity has therefore arisen for trying whether more Texts can be got out by the plan of issuing them in advance of the current year, so that those Members who like to pay for them by advance Subscriptions, can do so, while those who prefer to wait for the year for which the volumes are marked, can do so too. To such waiters, the plan will be no injury, but a gain, as every year's Texts will then be ready on the New Year's Day on which the Subscription for them is paid.

The success of this plan will depend on the support it receives from Members, as it is obvious that the Society's printers must be paid half or two-thirds of their bill for a Text within a few months of its production. Appeal is therefore made to all Members who can spare advance Subscriptions, to pay them as soon as they get notice that the Texts for any future year are ready. In 1892, the Texts for 1893 were issued; in 1893, those for 1894 and 1895; those for 1896-8 in 1896.

The Subscription to the Society, which constitutes membership, is £1 1s. a year [and £1 1s. additional for the EXTRA SERIES], due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid either to the Society's Account at the Head Office of the Union Bank of London, Princes Street, London, E.C., or by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N., and crossed 'Union Bank of London.' (United-States Subscribers must pay for postage 1s. 4d. a year extra for the Original Series, and 1s. a year for the Extra Series.) The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists; but Members can get back-Texts at one-third less than the List-prices by sending the cash for them in advance to the Hon. Secretary.

April 1898. For this year the Original-Series Texts were issued in 1896. Those for 1899 are now ready. The texts of several other works are now printed. **Members are asked to send their two- or three-years' subscriptions for both Series at once in advance.**

For 1897, the Original-Series Texts are, No. 108, *Child-Marriages and Divorees, Troth-plights, Adulteries, Affiliations, Libels, Wills, Miscellanea, Clandestine Marriages, Depositions in Trials in the Bishop's Court*, Chester, A.D. 1561-6, with *Entries from the Chester Mayors' Books, 1558-1600*, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall,—a most curious volume, full of the social life of its time;—and Part II of the *Prymer or Lay-Folks' Prayer-book*, edited by Mr. Henry Littlehales, with a Paper by Mr. Bishop on the Origin and Growth of the Prymer.

For 1897, the Extra-Series Texts are LXXI, *The Towneley Plays*, re-edited from the unique MS. by Mr. George England, with sidenotes and Introduction by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A.; LXXII, Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, A.D. 1411-12, with 14 *Minor Poems*, now first assigned to Hoccleve, from the De Guilleville MS. Egerton 615, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. Furnivall; the latter forms Part III of Hoccleve's Works; LXXIII, Part II of Hoccleve's Works is Hoccleve's *Minor Poems II*, from the Yates Thompson (late Ashburnham) MS., edited by Mr. Israel Gollancz, M.A.

The Original-Series Texts for 1898 are Nos. 110, 111,—Part II, Sections 1 and 2, of Dr. T. Miller's *Collations of Four MSS. of the Old-English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History*.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1898 are No. LXXIV, *Secreta Secretorum*, 3 prose Englishings, one by Jas. Yonge with interesting passages about Ireland, edited by Robert Steele, B.A., Part I; and No. LXXV, Miss Morrill's edition of the *Speculum Guidonis* in the Society's Guy-of-Warwick Series.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1899 ought to be the Second Part of the prose Romance of *Melusine*—Introduction, with ten facsimiles of the best woodblocks of the old foreign black-letter editions, Glossary, &c., by A. K. Donald, B.A., if he can be found; and a new edition of the famous Early-English Dictionary (English and Latin), *Promptorium Parvulorum*, from the Winchester MS., ab. 1440 A.D.: in this, the Editor, the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A., will follow and print his MS. not only in its arrangement of nouns first, and verbs second, under every letter of the Alphabet, but also in its giving of the flexions of the words. The Society's edition will thus be the first modern one that really represents its original, a point on which Mr. Mayhew's insistence will meet with the sympathy of all our Members. But if neither of these Texts is forthcoming in 1899, a substitute for it will be found in the probable 1900 Texts mentioned below.

The Original-Series Texts for 1899 will be No. 112, *Merlin*, Part IV, Prof. W. E. Mead's *Outlines of the Legend of Merlin*, with Glossary, &c., and No. 113, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius de Consolatione*, Plutarch's *De Curiositate*, and part of Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, edited from the unique MS. (a portion in the Queen's own hand) in the Public Record Office, London, by the late Miss C. Pemberton, with a Facsimile, and a note on the Queen's use of *i* for long *e*. The Original-Series Texts for 1900 will be No. 114, Part IV (the last) of Prof. Skeat's edition of Aelfric's *Metrical Lives of Saints*; and No. 115, *Jacob's Well*, a quaint allegorical treatise on the cleansing and building-up of Man's Conscience, edited from the unique MS. in Salisbury Cathedral, by Dr. J. W. Brandeis, Part I.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1900 will be chosen from Mr. I. Gollancz's re-edition of two Alliterative Poems, *Winner and Waster*, &c., ab. 1360, just issued for the Roxburghe Club; Dr. Norman Moore's re-edition of *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London*, from the unique MS. ab. 1425, which gives an account of the Founder, Rahere, and the miraculous cures wrought at the Hospital; or *The Craft of Nombryng*, with other of the earliest english Treatises on Arithmetic, edited by R. Steele, B.A., or *Alexander Scott's Poems*, 1568, from the unique Edinburgh MS., ed. A. K. Donald, B.A.; or Miss Mary Bateson's edition of George Ashby's *Active Policy of a Prince*, &c., from the unique MS., A.D. 1463.

An urgent appeal is hereby made to Members to increase the list of Subscribers to the E. E. Text Society. It is nothing less than a scandal that the Hellenic Society should have nearly 1000 members, while the Early English Text Society has only about 300!

The Original-Series Texts for 1901 and 1902 will be chosen from books already at press: Part II of the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall; Mr. Gollancz's re-edited *Exeter-Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part II; Dr. Bruce's Introduction to *The English Conquest of Ireland*, Part II; Dr. Furnivall's edition of the *Lichfield Gilds*, which is all printed, and waits only for the Introduction, that Prof. E. C. K. Gonner has kindly undertaken to write for the book. Dr. G. Herzfeld's re-edition of the Anglo-Saxon *Martyrology* is all in type. Part II of Dr. Holt-hausen's *Vices and Virtues* needs only its Glossary.

The Texts for the Extra Series in 1901 and 1902 will be chosen from *The Three Kings' Sons*, Part II, the Introduction &c. by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; the Parallel-Text of the only two MSS. of the *Owl and Nightingale*, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes (at press); Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, edited by Dr. Furnivall; Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, in English verse by Lydgate. (For the three prose versions—two English, one French—an Editor is wanted.) Mr. Steele has also in type the earliest Treatise on *Arithmetic*, englisht from Johannes de Sacro Bosco. Some of these Texts will be ready in 1899. **Members are therefore askt to send Advance Subscriptions for 1899 and 1900**, in order that the 1899-1900 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finisht. The Society's experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society's purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation's thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year's work will then be ready for issue on New Year's Day. Members are askt to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finisht all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Lord Aldenham's MS., he having generously promist to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie, when on his deathbed, charged a friend to burn *all* his MSS. which lay in a corner of his room, and unluckily all the E. E. T. S.'s copies of the Deguilleville prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies, Mr. Currie having died in debt.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinage de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.¹ Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A. D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford²; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condense and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:³ "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,⁴ Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pelerinage* into a prose *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*.⁵ By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentiond, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pelerinage de l'Homme*, A. D. 1355 or -6, was englisht in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguilleville's *A B C* or *Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 main gaps, besides many small ones from the tops of leaves being burnt in the Cotton fire. All these gaps (save the A B C) will be filld up from the Stowe MS. 952 (which old John Stowe completed) and from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399,⁶ and Additional

¹ He was born about 1295. See Abbé GOUJER'S *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M.

² These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

³ Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.

⁴ According to Lord Aldenham's MS.

⁵ These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

⁶ 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

22,937¹ and 25,594²) are all of the First Version. Lydgate's text is in the press for the Society, edited by Dr. Furnivall.

Besides his first *Pelerinage de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'aime separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soule* (with poems by Hocceve), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,³ at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Soule* will be edited for the Society by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner after that of the *Man* is finisht, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Lord Aldenham's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the *Pilgrimage of Jesus*, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin redaction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press, a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—tho' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to manage. If the Paris text cannot be parallelised, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The profits from these sales, after the payment of costs arising out of the issuing of such Texts to Students, will be applied to the Society's Reprints. Five of its 1866 Texts, and one of its 1867 (now at press), still need reproducing. Donations for this purpose will be welcome. They should be paid to the Hon. Sec., Mr. W. A. Dalziel, 67 Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be lookt on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,⁴ Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölbing has also undertaken for the Society's Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the *Anceren Rivole*, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English. Mr. Harvey, too, means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

¹ 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

² 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.

³ Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damnd souls, fires, angels &c.

⁴ Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercell Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year's income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1886-7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has in hand for future volunteer Editors, copies of 2 or 3 MSS.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonel Kölbings, volunteers Hausknecht, Einkenel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser;—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Hungary, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Profs. Mead, Perrin, McClintock, Triggs, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

ORIGINAL SERIES.

Half the Publications for 1866 (13, 14, 15, 18, 22) are out of print, but will be gradually reprinted. Subscribers who desire the issue for 1866 should send their guineas at once to the Hon. Secretary, in order that other Texts for 1866 may be sent to press.

The Publications for 1864-1897 (one guinea each year, save those for 1866 now half out of print, two guineas) are :—

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|------|
| 1. Early English Alliterative Poems, ab. 1360 A.D., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. | 16s. | 1864 |
| 2. Arthur, ab. 1440, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. | 4s. | " |
| 3. Lauder on the Dewtie of Kyngis, &c., 1556, ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. | 4s. | " |
| 4. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, ab. 1360, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. | 10s. | " |
| 5. Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617, ed. H. B. Wheatley. | 4s. | 1865 |
| 6. Lancelot of the Laik, ab. 1500, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. | 8s | " |
| 7. Genesis & Exodus, ab. 1250, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. | 8s. | " |
| 8. Morte Arthure, ab. 1440, ed. E. Brock. | 7s. | " |
| 9. Thynne on Speght's ed. of Chaucer, A.D. 1599, ed. Dr. G. Kingsley and Dr. F. J. Furnivall. | 10s. | " |
| 10. Merlin, ab. 1440, Part I., ed. H. B. Wheatley. | 2s. 6d. | " |
| 11. Lyndesay's Monarchie, &c., 1552, Part I., ed. J. Small, M.A. | 3s. | " |
| 12. Wright's Chaste Wife, ab. 1462, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. | 1s. | " |
| 13. Sainte Marherete, 1200-1330, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne; to be re-edited by Prof. Herford, M.A., Ph.D. | | 1866 |
| 14. Kyng Horn, Floris and Blancheflour, &c., ed. Rev. J. R. Lumby, B.D. | | " |
| 15. Political, Religious, and Love Poems, ed. F. J. Furnivall. | | " |
| 16. The Book of Quinte Essence, ab. 1460-70, ed. F. J. Furnivall. | 1s. [In print.] | " |
| 17. Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers the Plowman, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. | 1s. [In print.] | " |
| 18. Hali Meidenhad, ab. 1200, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. | | " |
| 19. Lyndesay's Monarchie, &c., Part II., ed. J. Small, M.A. | 3s. 6d. [In print.] | " |
| 20. Hampole's English Prose Treatises, ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. | 1s. [In print.] | " |
| 21. Merlin, Part II., ed. H. B. Wheatley. | 4s. [In print.] | " |
| 22. Partenay or Lusignen, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. | | " |
| 23. Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, 1340, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. | 10s. 6d. [In print.] | " |
| 24. Hymns to the Virgin and Christ; the Parliament of Devils, &c., ab. 1430, ed. F. J. Furnivall. | [At Press. | 1867 |
| 25. The Stacions of Rome, the Pilgrims' Sea-voyage, with Glene Maydenhod, ed. F. J. Furnivall. | 1s. | " |
| 26. Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, from R. Thornton's MS. (ab. 1440), ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. | 2s. | " |
| 27. Levins's Manipulus Vocabulorum, a ryming Dictionary, 1570, ed. H. B. Wheatley. | 12s. | " |
| 28. William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, 1362 A.D.; Text A, Part I., ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. | 6s. | " |
| 29. Old English Homilies (ab. 1220-30 A.D.). Part I. Edited by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. | 7s. | " |
| 30. Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. | 2s. | " |
| 31. Myrc's Duties of a Parish Priest, in Verse, ab. 1420 A.D., ed. E. Peacock. | 4s. | 1868 |
| 32. Early English Meals and Manners: the Boke of Norture of John Russell, the Bokes of Keruyng, Curytase, and Demeanor, the Babees Book, Urbanitatis, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall. | 12s. | " |
| 33. The Knight de la Tour Landry, ab. 1440 A.D. A Book for Daughters, ed. T. Wright, M.A. | 8s. | " |
| 34. Old English Homilies (before 1300 A.D.). Part II., ed. R. Morris, LL.D. | 8s. | " |
| 35. Lyndesay's Works, Part III.: The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. | 2s. | " |

- Merlin, Part III. Ed. H. B. Wheatley. On Arthurian Localities, by J. S. Stuart Glennie. 12s. 1860
- Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part IV., Ane Satyre of the Three Estaits. Ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. "
- William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, Part II. Text B. Ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 10s. 6d. "
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 Mulcaster's Positions 1581, and Elementarie 1582, ed. Dr. Th. Klæhr, Dresden.
 Caxton's Recuyell of the Histories of Troye, edited by H. Halliday Sparling.
 Walton's verse Boethius de Consolatione, edited by Mark H. Liddell, U. S. A.
 The Gospel of Nichodemus, edited by Ernest Riedel.

The Society is anxious to hear of more early Dialect MSS. John Lacy's copy, in the Newcastle-on-Tyne dialect, 1434, of some theological tracts in MS. 94 of St. John's College, Oxford, is to be edited by Prof. McClintock. More Hampoles in the Yorkshire dialect will follow. The Lincoln and Norfolk Wills, already copied by or for Dr. Furnivall, unluckily show but little traces of dialect.

More members (to bring money) and Editors (to bring brains) are wanted by the Society.

Library
OF
The University of N. C.

England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

A Dialogue between
Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer
in Rhetoric at Oxford.

By

Thomas Starkey,

Chaplain to the King.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY,

BY

J. M. COWPER.

[Reprinted 1898.]

Library
of
The University of N. C.

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P R E F A C E.

§ 1.

THE fierce passions which agitated men's minds during the reign of Henry VIII. scarcely fitted them to chronicle with calmness and without bias the condition of the country. Party spirit ran high in every direction ; on the king's marriages, on his supremacy, on matters of faith, on politics. Under these circumstances it is of the first importance, in considering this period of our history, that authorities should be tested, whether they wrote to serve party ends, or under a sense of cruel personal wrongs, or whether they wrote for the love of truth, and with the hope of ameliorating the condition of the suffering and oppressed.

One trustworthy record we have, one which has ever been appealed to as authentic, as giving us an unbiassed statement of the miseries which were endured by the poor, and of the pomp and wastefulness of the rich. I refer to the *Utopia*. The *Dialogue* now published is hardly of less interest and less importance than More's *Ideal Republic*. Its unimpassioned statements respecting men, its judge-like suggestions for improvement, its keen appreciation of what would profit the country, and make men wiser, happier, and better, give it a value which few works of the time possess.

Many of the controversial writings of this period are disfigured by such unsparing abuse of foes that we can hardly be too chary in receiving their testimony as matters of fact. Whether the country was that happy Arcadia which some would have us believe, or that "hell upon earth" which others describe it, cannot be ascertained

from the fierce invectives of many of the writers whose names are at times, advanced in evidence. This question is more likely to be solved by a reference to such works as the *Utopia* and the *Dialogue* between Pole and Lupset, than to the *Complaint* of "Roderick Mors." Not that I wish to undervalue Brinklow's book, which gives another side of the question. As in many other cases, it is probable that truth lies between the two. More and Starkey may have touched many evils with a gentle hand, and many more they may have left untouched; but those they do lay bare, have a semblance of truthfulness which it is not easy to gainsay.

No writer, that I know of, has described our country as the blissful abode of the poor; but it is to be hoped there were some happy spots, where, as a rule, the poor had plenty, and where liberty and religion prevailed. Such spots there may have been. It is certain that there were larger tracts where these blessings were not found—where oppression, hatred, envy, and unredressed wrongs urged men to rebellion—where the small farmer and the agricultural labourer were evicted by wholesale—where the villages and towns were allowed to fall into ruin, the churches only being kept, because they would shelter the sheep which now covered the land. Fathers and mothers were compelled to beg, daughters were driven to Bankside, and sons to the gallows. No poor-houses, the sweating sickness destroying men by thousands; the poor lying and dying, untended and uncared for, by the sides of the ditches, corrupting the air around. No Edile to watch over the cities, and keep the filth from accumulating in the narrow streets, and no Censor to control the morals, which were in keeping with the dwellings of the people.

The times were out of joint. The clergy were accused of being superstitious, idle, and vicious. The lawyers were guilty of bribes, and of perverting justice. And Justice herself, unrelenting in hanging, by twenty at a time, men who must steal or starve, was blind to the miseries, and deaf to the cry of the poor, when the rich man was the oppressor. Such are some of the topics touched upon in this book.¹

¹ See Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, in the Reign of Henry VIII. By J. S. Brewer, M.A., vol. ii. cclxxii.

§ 2.

The decay of villages and towns, the destruction or desecration of churches, and the wide-spread poverty among the poor, are among the more prominent subjects discussed in this work. How far this decay and depopulation extended, and in how far the writers upon these subjects are to be trusted, it is difficult to determine. When we find it stated that the number of parishes in England was estimated at 52,000,¹ we do not wonder that Mr Froude should consider calculations based upon such an assertion as "of the most random kind."² But large as the number is, it is confirmed by another writer. A Tract now preserved in the Lambeth Library, and to which I shall have to refer hereafter, says, "There is in England towns and villages to the number of 50,000 and upward;" and I suspect that by giving a little wider meaning to the sentence, and a meaning which this writer probably had in his mind, we shall find that there were in England, if not 52,000 parish churches, yet that there were 52,000 towns, villages, and hamlets, averaging at least ten houses in each. Even now these hamlets are known in many parts by a distinct name, and are separate parishes in all things to those who dwell in or near them, except that they have no church, and are not separately rated to the poor.

That the decay in the country was extensive there can be no doubt whatever. The proofs are numerous in the literature of the time; and the statements of various writers are confirmed by the Statute Book. Many are the Acts of Parliament which were called into existence by it, or in which it is referred to.³ Many of the places enumerated as having fallen into decay had been fortified; but fortified or unfortified, the evil was confined to no particular locality or county, it was general.⁴

¹ There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households.—*Supplication of Beggars*. Fox, iv. 659. Townsend's ed.

² Froude, Hist. i. 3.

³ See 4 Hen. VII. c. 16; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 18, 19.

⁴ The names are York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester,

The cause of this decay is generally attributed to sheep-farming and the enclosure of lands. Wherever the finest wool was grown, there noblemen and Abbots enclosed all the land for pasture. They levelled houses and towns, and left nothing standing except the church, which they converted into a sheep-house. They turned all dwelling-places and all glebelands into a wilderness.¹ The preamble to 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13, confirms the picture drawn by Sir Thomas More. It asserts that divers subjects of the king had daily studied how they might get into as few hands as possible, great multitude of farms, as well as plenty of cattle and sheep, converting such lands as they obtained to pasture, "whereby they had pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the old rates of the rents of the possessions of this realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it." It was asserted that since the reign of Henry VII. in some places all the town was decayed; that in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, were many landowners who cared nothing for tillage, or the breeding and rearing of cattle; that where the land had been tilled it was now encumbered with sheep, and the cottages destroyed.

It was calculated, as we have seen, that there were 50,000 towns and villages in England: it was further calculated that for every town and village on an average there was one plow less since the year 1485. This would make a total loss of 50,000 plows, each of which, it was estimated, was able to maintain six persons, "that is to say, the man, the wife, and four others in the house, less and more." This made it appear that 300,000 persons, "who were wont to have meat, drink, and raiment, uprising and downlying, paying scot and lot to God and the king," had been deprived of their means of support. "And now they have nothing, but go about in England from door to door, and ask their alms for God's sake. And

Portsmouth, Poole, Lynne, Faversham, Worcester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pomfret, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Great Wycomb, Guildford, Estredforde (?), Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, Berwick, Shafton, Sherborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymton, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Liskeard, Lowestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, Helston, Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerson, Ilchester, Maldon, and Warwick.

¹ Utopia, p. 41.

because they will not beg some of them do steal, and then they be hanged. And thus the realm doth decay.”¹

Later on Latimer and Bernard Gilpin brought forward the same charges. They described the covetous engrossers as extortioners and violent oppressors, through whose covetousness villages decayed and fell down,² and thousands of poor were driven to beg. The Ballads³ give a similar cry:—

“ Envy waxeth wondrous strong,
The rich doth the poor wrong ;
God of his mercy suffereth long
The devil his works to work.
The towns go down, the land decays ;
Of cornfields, plain lays⁴;
Great men maketh now-a-days
A sheepcot of the church.

“ The places that we right holy call,
Ordained for Christian burial,
Of them to make an ox’s stall
These men be wondrous wise.
Commons to close and keep ;
Poor folk for bread to cry and weep ;
Towns pulled down to pasture sheep :
This is the new guise⁵.”

Notwithstanding all the efforts which had been made to check this decay, though Right Reverend Fathers had declaimed against it, and Acts of Parliament had declared it an offence, the evil still went on ; and so late as the 39th Eliz. another Act was passed against the decaying of houses and husbandry. To this Act no further reference is necessary. Enough has been adduced to show that the decay and depopulation were realities, and not a party cry, and that they pressed with great severity upon the poor.

¹ See a dateless Tract, entitled *Certayne causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, etc.*, Lambeth Library.

² Latimer’s Sermons, p. 33, ed. 1869 ; B. Gilpin’s Sermon before Ed. VI. p. 33, ed. 1630.

³ *Now-a-days, Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i., edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., 1868.

⁴ Lays, grass lands.

⁵ Guise, fashion.

§ 3.

Sheep-farms, untilled lands, and enclosures are terms which are met with everywhere in connection with these times. In the preceding section something has been said upon these topics, as they are so closely allied that these are generally adduced as the causes of decay and depopulation. The fineness of the English wool soon attracted buyers, and, as a natural result, its price went up in the markets. Landowners and land-holders were not slow to perceive the advantages to be gained by converting arable lands into pasture. A ready market, and high prices for wool; little or no attention required; one shepherd to be kept in place of the many men required to grow corn—no wonder that it became the rage to enclose lands on all sides—that men who were compared to Nimrods, cormorants, and plagues, found means to enclose thousands of acres within a single fence—that husbandmen, by trickery or by fraud,¹ were thrust out of their own—that they were compelled to part with what little they had of this world's goods—that men and women, husbands and wives, orphans and widows, weeping mothers and young children, “small in substance, but many in number,” were driven from their homes without a resting-place before them. No wonder the “poor seely souls” fell to begging or to stealing; either of which courses was almost certain to end at the gallows.²

By this change in farming, in some parishes where, from time out of mind, two hundred persons had lived in comfort, the number was diminished, husbandry was not followed, churches were destroyed, Christian people buried, but unprayed for; cities and market towns were ruined, and the necessaries of life made scarce and dear.³ Eighteen years later, and the shadows of this picture seem deeper.

¹ Lever, quoted by Mr Froude (v. 112), exclaims, ‘Oh, merciful Lord, what a number of poor, feeble, blind, halt, lame, sickly—yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed with them—lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster. It is the common custom with covetous landlords to let their housing so decay, that the farmers shall be fain for small regard or coin to give up their leases, that they taking the ground into their own hands may turn all into pasture. So now old fathers, poor widows, and young children lie begging in the streets.’

² Utopia, p. 41; B. Gilpin, p. 33.

³ Preamble, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

Again it is "the lands are put to pasture, and not to tillage, towns and churches are pulled down, old rents are enhanced, or brought to fines so excessive that no poor man can meddle therewith. The prices of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, poultry, eggs, are almost doubled, and a marvellous number are unable to provide meat, drink, and clothes, and are so discouraged that they fall daily to theft, or pitifully die of hunger and cold."¹

But we need not confine ourselves to Acts of Parliament to show the extent of the miseries resulting from sheep-farming and enclosures. The ground was "marvellously fruitful, but in consequence of the abundance of cattle, and the numerous graziers, a third part of it was left uncultivated. Everywhere a man might see parks paled and enclosed, and full of animals of the chase."² Latimer probably understood the question as well as any man of his day. He had risen from the small homestead, and, when standing before the King and his Court, the condition of the people was rarely absent from his mind. "If," said he, "the King's honour standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the King's honour. For where there were a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog: so they hinder the King's honour."³ The statutes had failed in the object for which they had been enacted. They were good, the meetings and sessions were numerous; but in the end of the matter there came nothing forth.⁴ The Act against pulling down farm houses was evaded by repairing one room for the use of a shepherd; a single furrow was driven across a field to prove that it was still under the plough; the cattle owners, to escape the statutes against sheep, held their flocks in the names of their sons or servants; the high ways and the villages were covered in consequence with outcast families who were wholly reduced to beggary.⁵

In 1549 the rebellion broke out. How it was suppressed we need not say here. In the following year Robert Crowley published his *Way to Wealth*, a few words from which will give the wrongs, real or fancied, which made men rebel. If, he says, I should demand

¹ Preamble, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ² Polidore Vergil, B. i. p. 5, Camden Soc.

³ Sermons, p. 40. ⁴ Latimer's Sermons p. 41. ⁵ Froude, Hist. v. p. 111.

of the poor man what he thinks the cause of sedition : I know his answer. The great farmers, the graziers, the rich butchers, the men of law, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords, and I cannot tell who. Men that have no name, because they are doers in all things that any gain hangeth upon—men without conscience—men utterly devoid of God's fear—yea, men that live as if there were no God at all ! They would have all in their own hands ; would leave nothing for others ; would be alone on the earth ; men that would eat up men, women, and children are the causes of sedition. They raise our rents, and enclose our commons. We cannot stay in the country, but we must be their slaves ; and to go to the cities we have no hope. We must needs fight it out, and die like men.¹ Some had fought, and had died like men ; and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, had preached a thanksgiving sermon among their bodies as they lay with stiffening limbs, and faces upturned to the stars.²

Wrong triumphed in the land. The religious houses were suppressed ; the fountain of charity was dried up ; the country was in the agonies of a change which must work its weal or its woe ; and the poor wept, begged, stole, rebelled, and died—often “like men.”

§ 4.

“Valiant beggars,” “sturdy vagabonds,” and thieves were another source of trouble to the country, and an evidence of its unprosperous condition. Laws had been made, but had failed in their object,³ but the failure is not to be attributed to the “foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed.”⁴ The causes of this excessive number of idle, wandering, houseless poor are to be looked for in the wholesale evictions which followed on the introduction of sheep-farming, and to the numbers who returned from the wars maimed and lame.⁵ The ranks of the idle and unoccupied were also increased from the trains kept by noblemen. When a servant fell ill, he was thrust out of doors, because gentlemen preferred an idle servant to a sick man. When the master died it frequently happened that the

¹ The Way to Wealth, etc. ² Froude, Hist. v. 191. ³ Utopia, p. 51.

⁴ Froude, Hist. v. 68. ⁵ Utopia, p. 38.

heir was unable or unwilling to keep so great a retinue as his predecessor, and then the servants were cast upon the country—some in their prime, some past it. Unable or unwilling to work, they either starved manfully or played the thieves.¹

When Sir Thomas More wrote (1516), the religious foundations were in a position to do much to relieve the necessities of the poor, and, on the whole, they seem to have performed this part of their duty, if not with that nice discrimination upon which the charitable people of our day pride themselves, yet with a liberality that saved many from perishing. Thirty years later, when the *Supplication of the Poor Commons* appeared, this resource of the destitute had been suddenly taken away. The religious houses had been suppressed, their estates had been given away or divided, and the small tenants expelled from their holdings to add still more to the idle and the vicious. It was thought when Henry turned out the monks, that the "poor commons" would be the gainers by the change. "But alas, they failed of their expectation, and are now in more penury than ever they were." Although the monks got the devotions of the charitable, "yet the poor impotent creatures had some relief from their scraps, but now they have nothing. Then had they hospitals and almshouses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their number great, but now much greater." Instead of sturdy monks, sturdy extortioners had stepped in, who so oppressed the "poor commons" that many thousands who had before lived honestly and well, bringing up their children in profitable employment, were now constrained to beg, borrow, or rob. Their children grew up in idleness; the submissive "to bear wallets," the sturdy "to stuff prisons, and garnish gallows-trees."²

From this it is clear that the evils under which the poor groaned in More's time, were fearfully aggravated when Henry's "hoar hairs were a token that nature made haste to absolve the course of his life."³ The "little finger" of the earlier days had grown into

¹ *Utopia*, p. 38.

² *The Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546.

³ *Supplication*, etc. Henry seems to have been no exception to the premature ravages which time made upon men at this period. "In that age life wasted and waned apace. Men were old and worn out at 60. Lewis XII. did not live to complete his 54th year, and was a wreck, not merely by the

the "loins" of the later, and the "whips" had changed into "scorpions." Honest households were made followers of less honest men's tables. Honest matrons were brought to the needy distaff to gain their bread. Men children of good hope in the liberal sciences were driven out as day labourers, to support their parents' decrepit age and abject poverty. Forward and stubborn children shook off the yoke of obedience, and, after a brief life of wickedness, died the death of felons. Modest, chaste, and womanly virgins were compelled to single servitude, or to marry perpetual miserable poverty—while the immodest and the wanton became "Sisters of the Bank,"¹ finally lying and dying in the streets, full of plagues and full of penury.²

That those who had introduced so much misery and crime should be energetic in its punishment is no more than might be expected; and we find that hanging was of the commonest occurrence. Though twenty were hanged at one time upon a single gallows, and though few escaped, yet in every place thieves were plentiful. A few thought the punishment too severe for men to whom no other means of gaining a livelihood were open, and suggested employing them in quarries and mines, for the sake of giving the criminal work, and saving his life; but by the majority death was judged the only cure.³

§ 5.

The morality of the clergy is a question which it is unnecessary to dwell upon here. Often as they are mentioned and often as their

report of his enemies, but by his own admissions to Suffolk and others. Francis I. died at 53; Maximilian at 60; Charles V. at 59. Wolsey, who passed for 'an old man broken with the storms of state,' even before his fall, died at 55. More remarkable still, Henry VII., whose portraits show indications of extreme age in the wasted face and neck, the long bony fingers and feebleness of their grasp, died at the early age of 52, completely worn out in mind and body. The fearful excitement through which they had passed told heavily upon them; like men who had struggled and buffeted for life in a stormy sea, and saved it only to drag out a few weary years on dry land."—*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, v. 2, p. i. *note*.

¹ Bankside, infamous for its stews. See Latimer's Sermons, p. 81, and Ballads from Manuscripts, i. p. 25, *note*. ² Crowley's Informacion.

³ Utopia, pp. 37, 48. For further information see Ballads from MSS., vol. i. *passim*; and for the means employed by the Protector Somerset, and the rings which the slaves of private persons were to wear on their necks, arms, or legs, see the same vol. pp. 121—123. See also Froude, *Hist.* v. pp. 68, 69.

failings are pointed out, there is but one reference¹ to the shocking charges which have been so frequently brought against them. But then the reference is made in such a manner, and received so much as a well-known truth, that this absence of specific charges must not be taken as a proof that the clergy were free from the faults under notice, but rather as confirmatory of the general opinion concerning them. The little attention bestowed upon the subject in the *Dialogue* must be held as a sufficient excuse for its being only hinted at here. Those who are anxious to know more may consult Mr Furnivall's Introduction to *Ballads from Manuscripts*, where they will find a mass of evidence collected in support of the charge.

From Starkey's work we gather that the Bishops kept trains of idle serving-men, thus following the example of the temporal lords; that priests were idle and unprofitable; that they were too many in number,² but too few in goodness; that they were selfish, and cared only for the wool of the flock; that they were ignorant,³ vicious, and superstitious. It is asserted that the admission of priests and friars at an early age was an evil; that celibacy ought to be abolished; that priests and prelates were non-resident—all these charges we can have no difficulty in admitting: they were part and parcel of the system.

Latimer was unsparing in his remarks upon the shortcomings of bishops. He declared that ever since they had been made lords the plough stood still, no work was done. They hawked, they hunted, they carded, they diced; thus following the example of the highest in the realm in practices which descended to the meanest.

¹ p. 200.

² Your realm is overcharged through the great multitude of chantry priests, soul priests, canons residentiaries in Cathedral churches, prebendaries, monk pensioners, morrow-mass priests, unlearned curates, priests of guilds and fraternities, or brotherhoods, riding chaplains, and such other idle persons, [who] are wasters, spoilers, and robbers.—*A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord, etc.*, 1544.

³ Many . . . having neither learning nor other godly qualities, apt, meet, or convenient to be in spiritual pastors, be now admitted to have cure of souls. And some such that did never know what is a soul, nor yet be able to have care over one soul, be now admitted to have charge over a hundred and many more, to the increase of all ignorance, and all popish blindness.—*A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord.*

Their neglect of preaching was a natural result of their lordly living, and their employment in duties which were the proper work of laymen. If a person were admitted to view hell, and the devil were to show him the unpreaching prelates who had there found their home, he would see as many as would reach to Calais—he would see nothing but unpreaching prelates.¹ But Latimer could say a good word when he deemed that good word deserved; and one such may fitly come in here, because it bears witness to certain good qualities which Pole undoubtedly possessed. “I never,” he says, “remember that man [Cardinal Pole] methinks, but I remember him with a heavy heart. A witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in favour that—if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king’s proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been Bishop of York at this day. He would have done much good in that part of the realm, for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way.”²

The custom of pluralities was another source of complaint against the clergy. In 1529 an Act³ was passed to put an end to the abuse and remove the scandal, but the exceptions made the Act nugatory. Spiritual men of the King’s Council might keep three livings; chaplains to the Queen and members of the royal family might keep two each. An Archbishop and a Duke might keep six chaplains; a Marquis and an Earl might keep five, and each of these chaplains was

¹ Sermons, p. 114. Compare

Quevedo, as he tells his sober tale,
Ask’d, when in Hell, to see the royal jail :
Approved their method in all other things,
“But where, good sir, do you confine your kings ?”
“There,” said his guide—“the group is full in view.”
“Indeed !” replied the Don—“there are but few.”
His black interpreter the charge disdain’d—
“Few, fellow !—there are all that ever reign’d.”

Copper : Table Talk, ll. 94—101.

² Sermons, p. 133. It is most likely that Pole would have made a “preaching prelate” had his fortune been to be placed among the clergy of his own country. As a matter of fact he was not ordained a priest until his elevation to the Archiepiscopal See.—*Hook’s Lives of the Archbishops*, iii. pp. 11, 310. And, if he preached before, his powers as a preacher seem to have been quite unknown, *Ib.* 527.

³ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

entitled to retain two benefices ; and so on, until we wonder why the Act was passed at all. The clergy were to preach in their parishes at least four times a year, but when the chaplains had availed themselves of their privileges and the graduates of the Universities had claimed the immunities due to them, nonresidence and neglect of preaching were still the rule,¹ and still gave rise to the complaints and sarcasms of the people.

Of the bestowal of church preferment upon the young we need only quote Pole as an example. At seventeen years of age he was nominated to the prebend of Roscombe, and when he was nineteen to that of Gatcombe Secunda, both in the Cathedral of Salisbury ; and at the age of eighteen he received the deanery of Wimborne Minster.²

But this was not all. It was complained that surveyors, alchemists, and goldsmiths received benefices which ought to have been given to godly and learned men. The Church was charged with encouraging superstition, with advocating the invocation of saints, with placing before the works of mercy the giving to churches and images ; with teaching that the clergy could not err ; and the story of their elevating the blood of a duck to be honoured instead of the blood of Christ, "the winking Rood of Boxley," and the "Holy whore of Kent," were cast in their teeth. They were called ravenous wolves ; they were accused of selling their congregations, and of caring for nothing but the yearly rents which were raised from their parishes.³

§ 6.

If men of religion were a scandal to their profession, men of law were not slow to follow the example. If prelates cared not who sank or swam, so long as their incomes were sure ; and if priests only cared enough for the flock to secure the fleece ; judges and others connected with the law paid no regard to justice ; lucre and favour ruled all ; "matters were ended as they were friended : " causes which might have been concluded in three days occupied as many years ; the covetous and greedy minds of the advocates, the 'cormorants' of the law courts, destroyed all law and all good

¹ Supplication of the Poor Commons. ² Letters and Papers, &c., ii. No. 3943.

³ A Supplication of the Poor Commons.

policy. That the Spiritual Courts had failed was not to be wondered at. That the laws were too numerous, too confused, and ill-understood, are subjects upon which nothing need be said. But that the administration of the law was infamous is a statement which requires a little consideration.

The Utopians had but few laws themselves, and reproved other nations for the innumerable books of laws and expositions of laws which they possessed. It was considered contrary to all right and justice that men should be bound to laws so numerous that no man could read them, and so obscure that no man could understand them. From Utopia all attorneys, proctors, and serjeants were banished, as men who craftily handled matters and disputed with subtlety. There every one was allowed to plead his own cause before the judge, and to tell him his story instead of telling it to his man of law. Thus there were fewer words, and the judge could easily weigh the statements of a man who had not been instructed with deceit.¹ There can be little doubt but that Sir Thomas More was here describing the laws and lawyers of his own time. Earlier in his book he introduces a lawyer to ridicule his method of pleading, but if we smile at the humour of the author, we cease to wonder that justice was delayed, and that Wolsey should have to complain in open court of the gross ignorance of the legal profession.²

. In consequence of the delays and expense of law, clients abandoned their rights, rather than incur the vexation and the cost. Perjury, it was said, was permitted in chancery for the sake of gain, and men were tossed from court to court. To prevent appeals one writer suggests that none but men of known ability should be elevated to the bench, and that appeals should be abolished. The courts were too numerous, and were "filthily administered." The Court of the Marshalsea and the Court of Augmentation were declared to be standing evidences of the mercy of God, else fire would have descended from heaven and destroyed them.³ The judges were

¹ Utopia, p. 128.

² Lives of the L. Chancellors, i. 506 (2nd ed.). Wolsey intended to found an institution to encourage the systematic study of all branches of the law. Had his fall and death been delayed, the "twins of learning" would most likely have been increased.

³ Mors' Complaint, chap. xi.

accused of being drunkards, whoremongers, and covetous persons, from whom it was hopeless to look for justice. Their partiality, their "suppressing the poor," their aiding the rich for lucre, their condemnation of the innocent while allowing the guilty to go free, brought down the vengeance of God upon all places.¹

Bribery was an accusation commonly brought against the lawyers. Latimer charges them with following assizes and sessions nominally to serve the King, but really to gain their own selfish ends. Money was heard everywhere among the judges, and many were the devices to make bribery wear an honest face, or to screen it from the observation of men. If a man were rich, he soon saw the end of his matter; if poor, he might go home in tears for any help the judge would give him.² The devil was said to be pretty well occupied on the bench, inducing judges to bribe, to lay heavy burdens on poor men's backs, to make them commit perjury, and to bring into the place of judgment all impiety and all iniquity.³ They meddled with pitch, and were defiled with it. As pitch pollutes the hand that touches it, so bribes bring perversion of justice.⁴ We have seen that if a mortal were admitted to the infernal regions, unpreaching prelates would extend as far as the eye could reach; but if the same mortal were favoured with a sight of the bribing judges, he would see so many that there was scarcely room for any others.⁵ The sturdy bishop must have been consoled with the thought that they became the "Devil's Own" at last.

Severe remedies were proposed for these evils. One suggested that judges and pleaders who received bribes should lose the right hand;⁶ and another that they who delayed a suit should pay the costs of both parties;⁷ but, while a sense of honour was un-

¹ Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, etc., 1545.

² Sermons, p. 72.

³ Sermons, p. 113.

⁴ Sermons, p. 151. Bernard Gilpin says: And being thus tormented, and put from their right at home, they (the poor) come to London a great number, as to a place where justice should be had, and there they can have none. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech; their servants must have bribes, and that no small ones. *All love bribes.* The lawyers . . . laugh with the money which maketh others to weep; and thus are the poor robbed on every side without redress, and that of such as seem to have authority thereto.—*Sermon, &c.*, pp. 29, 30.

⁵ Sermons, p. 173.

⁶ Mors' Complaint, chap. ix.

⁷ See p. 191 of this volume.

known, these suggestions for punishment, and these denunciations of the crime, were of little advantage. The proposal to admit only the honest and virtuous to practise in the law courts sounded well, but where were the honest and virtuous to be found? and the suggestion that only gentlemen having "either land, office, or fee to maintain themselves withal," should be admitted, was simply Utopian.

If such men could have been found, the chaos of laws might have been reduced to order; the "subtlety of serjeants" and the liberty of judges might have been controlled; the "statutes of the kings" might have been regulated; barbarous and tyrannical laws might have been repealed; and obsolete or harsh and oppressive institutions might have been swept away. But these honest, virtuous, and self-denying men were not then to be found; and, until they were, until the nobility had received, what they so much needed, a moral and intellectual education, none of these things could be brought about. While men studied rather to bring up good hounds than wise heirs, it was scarcely possible that the profession of the law should be other than it was—infamous.

§ 7.

Living as Pole did in an atmosphere of learning, mixing at Oxford before his departure from England, and during his whole life on the Continent, among the most renowned scholars of the day, we should naturally expect to find him depicted as anxious to impress upon his countrymen the advantages of a good education. In this we are not deceived. He points out that among the principal ill customs tolerated in England, was the education of the nobles, who were commonly brought up in hunting, hawking, dicing, carding, eating, and drinking—in short, in all kinds of vain pleasures. Severe as are his remarks, there was much truth in what he said. The nobles in great numbers grew up without any scholarship worthy of the name.¹ But the times in which they lived must have sharpened their wits in no small degree, else Henry and Elizabeth could not have been surrounded by such men as the reader will call to mind.

¹ Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, i. 261, ed. 1860.

The remedies proposed, viewed in the light of modern times, seem remarkable. As Latin and Greek were deemed the foundation of all good learning, the young were to spend their early years in these studies. But, to permit of this, good schools were required. Further than this, it is recommended that several small schools should be united under one competent master. It was well understood that three or four small schools, with an income not large enough to maintain an efficient master, must all be failures. Join such schools, allow their endowments to go into one common fund, then an "excellent" master could be obtained, and the school would flourish. From such schools the universities were to be replenished. Such scholars as the master and other learned men appointed as examiners should judge fit for the honour, should go to one of the universities, there to be instructed in the liberal sciences, and be made preachers of the doctrine of Christ.

Learning without virtue was held to be pernicious; but though the studies in grammar-schools and universities were confused, and resulted in a paucity of learned men, morality was altogether despised. If the universities were left unreformed, learning would fail. It is a matter for regret that the methods to bring about this reformation were deemed to require one or two more books, which seem never to have been written. The clergy were in the same condition as the nobility. They were not brought up in virtue and learning, nor were their attainments tested before they were admitted to the priesthood, and they could not, except with disadvantage, preach that to the people of which they themselves were ignorant. Commonly they could only patter over matins and mass, mumbling words which they did not understand. Alter these things, educate your nobles and clergy, and a true commonwealth will follow.

If Pole held these opinions at the time when this Dialogue was written, he had not departed from them when he came as a Legate to his native land. In 1556 appeared the "*Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli*," in which, among other things, bishops are exhorted to live soberly, chastely, and piously. And, lest their moderation should be attributed to avarice, they are advised to use the whole of their surplus income in maintaining Christ's poor, in

the education of boys and young men, and in other pious works. In the Articles which he drew up for the Visitation of his Diocese, but which death did not allow him to hold, the twentieth, "touching lay people," was, "Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic and men of good upright judgment, and be examined and approved by the ordinary." In the "Reformatio," already alluded to, he charged many ecclesiastical persons with involving themselves in low and discreditable employments, with neglecting the study of learning, and with doing nothing consistent with their order; and decreed that they should apply themselves to study and learning, and to do other things suitable to their individual character. Regulations were also made for the greater efficiency of schools attached to cathedrals and religious houses.¹

§ 8.

In how far does this book accurately represent the opinions of Pole? Starkey was at one time his intimate friend—do the acts of the Cardinal's after life agree with the sentiments expressed here? The answer is that, generally speaking, they do. The repudiation of Catharine of Arragon, and the marriage with Anne Boleyn, soured Pole's whole after life, and made him, who might in his young days have held the highest honours in the State, an outlaw, a rebel, and a plotter against his country. He ought not to be blamed for refusing the Archbishopric of York. The chance of his marriage with Mary may have had something to do with it, but is it not possible that his high soul rebelled against the simoniacal act? It cannot be doubted that the offer was made to buy over Pole's learning and influence to the project of the King. The offer was not accepted, and Pole's continued residence on the continent, where the events of England seem to have reached him often through conspirators, who would colour events which needed no colouring, only tended to widen the breach between him and the King. This will account for one difference between Pole's sentiments as depicted by Starkey and his feelings as described by himself. In the Dialogue Henry is

¹ Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, iii. pp. 306, 307, 429.

spoken of as a prince whose "prudence and wisdom" are "lively law and true policy." In the "De Unitate" the King is compared to the worst tyrants of antiquity, even with Lucifer himself.

Another subject, in which the reality of after life differed from this Dialogue, is sufficiently marked to call for brief notice. No opinion is advanced with more persistency than that respecting the necessity of giving the people the services of the Church in their own native tongue. It was ordained to be said in the church for the edifying of the people, from which it follows that either the service must be said in English or the people must be taught Latin. It was considered not only expedient but necessary, that all divine service should be celebrated in English. More than this: the Gospel also ought to be translated. If these things were done, if all public and private prayers were put into English, instead of being the destruction of religion, as some thought, more fruits of the Christian religion would be seen; and men would do for love what human law could not compel them to do.

Mixing with company which will have to be described hereafter, there can be little doubt that at one period these were Pole's real opinions; but when his life had been embittered by disappointments, and when he had seen the lengths to which men went during the reign of Edward VI., not much surprise need be felt that his feelings on some things became changed. Lupset is made to say, "Translate the Bible, and conduct divine service in English, and we shall see as many errors here as there are in Germany—we shall have diversity of sects in religion in plenty." The diversities had come. And when the Cardinal prepared for his Visitation, the fifteenth article to be inquired of the clergy was, "Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church?" This seems to betray an intention of prohibiting such practices where they were found to exist. But in the question of translating the Scriptures no change is evident. In 1555 a legatine council was commenced for the reformation of the Church. What passed in the council we do not know. The result was published in a number of decrees.¹ Among other works

¹ *Reformatio Angliæ*, etc.

proposed, a translation of the New Testament was ordered.¹ In this Pole seems to have remained faithful to his early opinions.

Pole may perhaps be classed among the Reformers of the Church, but he remained to the last a faithful supporter of the papal supremacy—he never seems to have doubted on that head. “*Tu es Petrus*” was ever before him. But in other respects he was a reformer. The doctrine of justification by faith was received by him in its entirety. Of Luther he is made to speak with moderation. Henry abhorred Luther, and it would have been rash in Starkey to have said more than he has said; but from other sources, from Pole’s employment by Paul III. as one of the Cardinals and prelates appointed to confer upon a reformation of the Church, and the *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia*, we learn what his opinions were. After this he was appointed to the Council of Trent, which gave a death-blow to all hopes of reform, and from it Pole withdrew as soon as he could.

His companions, his friends, on the Continent, were always among the most saint-like and the best. No narrow-minded bigot, no immoral man, ever seems to have found favour with Pole. The Court of Leo X. was at once profligate, polite, and learned, but of religion there seems to have been the smallest amount. While the common people were sunk in heathenish superstitions, a tendency opposed to religion was observable in the higher classes, and one could not be considered accomplished who had no trace of heterodoxy in his opinions of Christianity.² From such unpromising elements rose the Oratory of Divine Love, a society which bound its members to morality of life and a better observance of divine worship. “When Rome was sacked, when Florence had become a despotism, when Milan was a battle-field,” Venice became the home of many distinguished men.³ Whether Pole joined the Oratory of Divine Love does not appear,—he certainly became intimate with some of its illustrious members during his visits from Padua to Venice.

Bembo, famous in Italian as well as in Latin literature; Caraffa, hard, passionate, and inexorable, now a reformer, but afterwards, as

¹ Hook, Archbishops, iii. 302, *note*, N.S.

² Ranke’s History of the Popes, p. 22, ed. 1859. ³ Hook, Abps, iii. 53, N.S.

Paul IV., Pole's persecutor and tormentor; Gregorio Cortese, the patristic scholar; Priuli, Pole's attached friend during twenty-six years; Marco of Padua, noted for his profound piety; Contarina, who was ignorant of nothing that man could discover, who wanted nothing that God has revealed to man, and who laboured earnestly to bring peace to the Church; Lampridio, the philologist; Beccatelli, Pole's secretary and biographer; Dudithius, his translator; Peter Martyr, the Protestant leader, and sometime Oxford Professor of Divinity;—these were some of the more important men among whom Pole was received as a friend. All believers in the doctrine of justification by faith, all impressed with the absolute need of a reformation in the Church, they only differed in the matter of the supremacy. But when the Trentine Council had defined certain doctrines, then their relation towards each other was altered.

Of the angelic Vittoria Colonna; of Giovanni Matteo Giberti; of Giovanni Morone, imprisoned and examined before the Inquisition; of Marco Antonio Flaminio, whose works were prohibited in the Index Expurgatorius of Paul IV.; of Pietro Carnasecchi, who died a martyr, nothing need be said here. Pole was the friend of all, and it will cause little surprise that a man who had been on intimate terms with these, should, when the opportunity offered, be accused as a heretic. Such was the fate of Pole. At the end of 1549, when there was a probability of his elevation to the papacy, Cardinal Caraffa based a charge of heresy against him on account of his leniency to the Lutherans. When Julius III. was elected, this charge was withdrawn, but in 1557, when Pole was Archbishop of Canterbury, the charge was revived, and he was summoned before the Inquisition to clear himself or be condemned. Political events occurred to distract the attention of the Pope, and Pole did not appear to answer the charge; but it was not withdrawn: the citation was never revoked, and Pole died a reputed heretic.¹

In the Dialogue the right to depose a tyrant is clearly asserted; in the "De Unitate" the right to rebel is frequently affirmed, and if the King will not listen to the remonstrances of the people, he him-

¹ Hook, and Ranke, *passim*.

self should be deposed. Further, it is maintained that, in conferring the crown, the people reserved to themselves the right to depose the elected monarch, if he violated the constitution or encroached upon the rights of the subject.¹ There are other points of agreement which need only to be mentioned. In the Dialogue Pole is made to advocate the appointment of abbots and priors for three years only. When he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was restoring the old religion, the Benedictines were again placed in possession of Westminster Abbey, and Feckenham was appointed abbot for three years. Here he would have the incomes of bishops divided into four parts: (1) to rebuild ruined temples and churches; (2) to maintain poor youths in study; (3) to be given to poor maids and others; (4) to maintain the bishop and his household. In the "Decrees," issued by him,² he recommends a similar course to the bishops—expenses of themselves and dependents, expenses to meet the burdens of the Church, the rearing up and nurture of Christ's poor, and the education of youth.

The following words might almost have been copied from the Dialogue:—"He [Pole] is accustomed to say that he must be prudent, and wait for a suitable opportunity. This sounds well; but the favourable time and opportunity will never come, now that so many people seek in such various ways to deny the benefits and glory of Christ. When will he declare himself?"³ Compare these expressions with, "They who without regard of time and place will set themselves to handle matters of State, may be compared," etc. (p. 22). "To attempt the handling of matters of State, without regard of time or place, seems to me great madness and folly" (p. 23). "Whenever the prince shall call me, I shall be ready; but I must tarry my time—I will tarry my time" (p. 214). Lupset is wisely made to say, "Some men so curiously and narrowly ponder time and place, that in all their lives they neither find time nor place" (p. 23). And so it was with Pole.

¹ Hook, *Archbishops*, iii. p. 73, 90, N.S.

² *Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis*, etc.

³ Vergerio, quoted in Hook, *Abps*, iii. 154, N.S.

On the whole this Dialogue may be taken as fairly representing Pole's opinions. In some important matters he changed, but in the main he seems to have remained faithful to what is here put into his mouth.

§ 9.

I have thus touched upon what seem the chief points of this book. The others must be left to the reader's own curiosity. The dry discussion on perfection, on the opinions of ancient philosophers, the dignity of man, the liberty of the will, the good of individuals, the origin of civil life and forms of government, and other matters of a similar kind, is not very interesting, and the reader may skip the first two chapters of the Dialogue without loss.

The MS. from which this work has been edited was discovered by the Rev. Professor Brewer, in the Record Office. I have not seen it. It was copied for me by Mr W. Morris Wood, and all the difficult passages carefully examined by Mr E. Brock. To these gentlemen and to Mr Furnivall my best thanks are due.

The language is more awkward in appearance than difficult to read. As a rule, the *y*'s in the middle of a word may be taken for *i*'s, and those in the last syllable of words may be ignored.

The old punctuation, and the sentences, so long and so involved, rendered it at times difficult to catch the author's precise meaning. I have repunctuated the book throughout, and, to make it more readable, I have shortened the sentences considerably. I have also adopted a uniform use of capitals. In the MS. no rule whatever is followed.

The abstract which follows gives, in modern English, the most interesting points of the book, and it will, it is hoped, prove of some benefit to the general reader.

J. M. COWPER,
Davington Hill,
Faversham.

January, 1871.

§ 10.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

LUPSET having known and been familiar with Pole for a long time, has desired to commune with him, and is glad that at last he has found him at leisure at Bisham, where the memory of his ancestors may perchance move him to the purpose which Lupset has in view. Pole owns that he has leisure, and inquires what it is which makes Lupset so earnest.

Lupset answers (p. 2, par. 3) that the matter is great, and concerns the whole order of Pole's life. He has often wondered that Pole, after so many years of study spent abroad, and with such experience of mankind, has not applied himself earnestly to politics, that his friends and countrymen might at last receive the benefit of this learning and experience. All men are born to communicate to others the gifts which they themselves have received; Plato, Lycurgus, and Solon need not be mentioned as men who influenced cities, countries, and nations for good. A man who is so infatuated with the pleasure of his own studies, that he entirely neglects the service of his country, is greatly to blame, and is censured as one who regards not the duties to which he is bound by nature. Of this disregard of duty many men accuse Pole, telling him that, since he has been so carefully brought up by his country, he ought now to devote himself to advancing the good of the nation. To this he is as much bound as the child is to maintain his father who, by sickness and age, is unable to support himself. Pole, drowned in the pleasure of letters and private studies, gives no ear to his country, which earnestly calls to him for some aid. Lupset urges him to wake out of this dream; to remember his country; to look to his friends, and to consider the duties which he is bound to fulfil.

Pole owns Lupset's purpose is good, and that it is no small matter of which he has been speaking. It is, he says, *a good thing and a noble virtue to help one's country* and friends, but Lupset must remember the common saying, "He was never good master

that never was scholar ; nor never good captain that never was soldier ;" and he thinks it better to learn to rule himself before attempting to govern others. He never heard of a mariner able to govern a great ship who could not first manage a little boat ; and so, when he has had sufficient experience in ruling himself, and can, in the opinion of others, do that well, then he may not refuse to consider the needs of his country, and endeavour to rule others. Still he thinks there is much doubt in the view taken by Lupset. He will be glad to do his best, and follow that in which consists the perfection of man ; but whether this perfection lies in active life and the administering of the affairs of the country, or whether it lies in contemplation and knowledge, he is not at all sure. The perfection of man is to be found in his mind—in reason and intelligence ; and the knowledge of God and of Nature should be the end of man's life. Consequently ancient philosophers forsook the meddling with the affairs of the State and devoted themselves to study. It seemed better to them to know the secrets of Nature than to understand the order and rule of cities and towns ; better to know the laws which Nature has planted in the heart of man, than the laws which have been devised by the wit of man. Therefore, granting him to be competent to interfere in politics, he doubts whether it were best to do so or not.

Lupset (p. 5, par. 5) says no man doubts his ability, and Pole's talking of his inability is only an excuse. He is surprised that Pole should refer to ancient philosophers after so many years of study in the school of Aristotle, who clearly teaches that man's perfection stands in active and contemplative life united ; one is the end of the other. This may be seen by common experience ; all endeavours in matters of the commonwealth have for their end the quietness and tranquillity of the people ; and to this end every honest man ought to look when he undertakes affairs of State. First he should make himself perfect, and then communicate this perfection to others. Virtue that is not published for the good of others is of little avail ; it is like treasure confined in coffers. All gifts of God and Nature must be applied to the common profit ; by doing thus man follows the nature of God, who gives to every creature a part of His goodness.

It is not enough for a man to get knowledge and virtue as the

old philosophers did, taking no pleasure in anything else, and despising the politic life of man. A man must study to communicate his virtues to others—this is the end of civil life and the true administration of the commonwealth. This the ancient philosophers avoided, ever delighting in their own private studies. Notwithstanding this, Lupset will not affirm that they did nothing in thus abstaining from public affairs. Perhaps they found themselves unfit, perhaps they were learning first to rule themselves. However this may have been, they were deceived. Learning and a knowledge of man's nature may be very pleasant, but they are not to be preferred to justice and policy. Who would not, if he might know all the secrets of Nature, leave all to help his country by prudence and policy?

That which is best is not of all men at all times to be followed. A sick man had better seek health for himself than study to procure good for his country. Aristotle says it is better for a man in poverty to study to get riches than philosophy; and yet philosophy of itself is to be preferred to riches. And although high philosophy is a greater perfection of the mind, yet the interfering with matters of the commonwealth is more necessary, and ought ever to be chosen first, as the chief means by which we attain to the other. All prudence and policy tend to bring the country to quietness and civility; that each man, and so the whole, may at last attain to that perfection which is due to the dignity of mankind. As the body is most perfect when it can beget its like, so the mind is most perfect when it communicates its virtues to the benefit of others. Then is it most like to the nature of God, whose infinite virtue is most perceived in that He communicates His goodness to all His creatures. And so it is not to be doubted that the ancient philosophers who avoided public life were as greatly to be blamed as those who evaded their duty. Thus, continues Lupset, if you will follow these philosophers, you will not follow that which you most desire; that is to say, the best kind of life, and that which is most suited to the nature of man.

Pole (p. 8, par. 6) says Lupset has well satisfied his doubts, but inasmuch as what he has advanced is founded on what may be considered doubtful grounds, he has brought him into another uncertainty. Man is born, Lupset has said, to civil and politic life, but to

Pole it seems just the contrary ; for if to live under a prince or council in cities and towns is politic order and civil life, it seems plain man was not born thereto, in that he lived many years without any such policy. And further, during this time he lived more virtuously and more according to the dignity of his nature than he now does in politic order and civility. Even in our own days we see men who live out of cities and towns and have fewest laws to govern them, live better lives than those do who reside in goodly cities and are governed by many laws. In great cities are most vice, most subtlety and craft ; and in the country most virtue and simplicity. In cities and towns you may see what adultery, murder, vice, usury, craft, and deceit ; what gluttony and pleasure there are, in consequence of the society of men. In the country these are avoided, because men do not live together after the "civility" advocated by Lupset. Pole concludes that, if this is civil life, it seems to him man was not born thereto, but rather to live in the wild forest, as men are said to have lived in the golden age.

Lupset complains that Pole has misunderstood him : this is not the civil life he meant. What he intended *by civil life* was the living together in good order, one ever ready to do good to another, and all conspiring together, as it were, in virtue and honesty. This is the true civil life. If men so abuse the society of men in cities and towns, we may not cast them down, driving the inhabitants to live in the forest as men did before. The fault is neither in cities nor in laws, but it is in the malice of man, who abuses what was given to him for his good, and turns it to his own destruction, as he does with almost everything that God and Nature have given him. He abuses his health, strength, and beauty ; his wit, learning, and policy ; his meat and drink ; and, in short, almost everything. Yet these things are not to be cast away, nor to be taken from the use of man. The society of man is not to be accused as the cause of these disorders, but rather such great, wise, and politic men as flee from office and authority, by whose wisdom men might be kept in order. These men are to be blamed ; for as men at the first were won from rudeness to civil life by the persuasion of wise men, so by like wisdom they can be kept therein. Therefore, concludes Lupset, you, Master Pole, had

better apply your mind to restore this civil order, and to maintain this virtuous life in cities and towns.

Pole says (p. 10, par. 8) he won't cavil, but Lupset must hear him doubt yet a little further. The assertion that civil life is a conspiracy together in virtue and honesty, not only places the matter in greater doubt, but brings all into uncertainty and confusion. The Turk will say his life is most natural and politic. The Saracen, that his agrees best with man's dignity. The Jew will affirm his law to be above all other laws, as received from God's own mouth ; and the Christian believes his law and religion most agreeable to reason and nature, as being confirmed by the Divinity of God. Thus it seems all stands in the judgment and opinion of man, and no one, by Lupset's definition, can certainly affirm what is politic and civil life.

Lupset says this is a cause of no small doubt among some, because there are men who hold that the only difference between virtue and vice rests in opinion only. He will try to prove that virtue stands by nature, and then will try to show how the contrary opinion came into men's minds. Man, he says, excels all other creatures in dignity, and is set by Providence to rule all things in the earth. The old philosophers called him an earthly god, and lord of all other beasts and creatures, every one of which is subdued to his use. Then consider his works, the cities, castles, and towns which he has built ; the laws, statutes, and ordinances which he has devised ; the arts and crafts which he has invented ; the labour he has bestowed upon the earth to make it yield fruits for his sustenance : all these show man's dignity and prove his nature to be divine. And as he excels in dignity, so his virtues correspond. They are established by nature, and are common to all mankind, as are equity and justice, temperance and courage. Nature also inclines man to live in civil order, and has rooted in him a reverence to God, whereby He is honoured as the Governor and Ruler of the world. These and other virtues are planted in the heart of man by Nature, and are not conceived by any vain opinion. And although some nations do live as though they had forgotten their natural dignity, yet few or none of them there are who do not consider that they have fallen from their original excellency, and ever strive against their manner of living. This rule is

called "the universal and true law of nature," and is common to all nations.

But here Lupset goes on to note (p. 15, par. 9) that Nature, as in so many other things, requires the diligent aid of man in these virtues and this natural law, else will they soon become corrupt. There are so many dangers to them that, except there is some good provision for their culture, they can never bring man to perfection. Wherefore all nations have certain customs and laws for the maintenance and advancement of these virtues. These customs and laws are known as civil law. Civil law is far different from the universal law of nature in that it varies in every country and almost in every city and town. It rests wholly in the consent of man, and changes according to time and place. The law of nature is unchangeable. It is the foundation of civil law, which must ever be referred to it. Civil law is but a means to bring man into obedience to the law of nature, from which all spring, as brooks and rivers from fountains and wells.

To be obedient to the civil law, so long as it is not contrary to the laws of God and Nature, is always a virtue ; but to it all men are not bound. With us it is esteemed a virtue to abstain from flesh on a Friday, but the Turks take no notice of such a custom. With us it is a virtue for priests to live chaste ; with the Greeks it was not. And so in many other customs it is evident that to be obedient to the laws is a certain virtue, but that kind of virtue which rests entirely in the opinion of man. So it is plain that virtue stands partly in nature and partly in opinion, and not in opinion only. Those who affirm the contrary do not comprehend the order of Nature ; they cannot conceive the dignity of man ; they do not discern the power of natural law.

Thus, continues Lupset (p. 18, par. 9), you have heard my opinion of the cause of these errors. They who maintain that there is no difference between virtue and vice, except opinion only, measuring man's dignity by his deeds, and seeing he so commonly follows vice, affirm that there is no virtue, but that men agree to call that virtue which is not virtue at all. This is as much as to say that by nature there is no virtue because most men follow vice. They do not con-

sider the frailty of man, his negligence, his ill education; but of the effect they judge all to stand in the opinion of man. And, although different nations differ in policy, each judging its own to be best, yet in those things which naturally pertain to man's dignity they agree. All think God should be honoured; all are bound to aid one another; all find it convenient to live in civil life. However civil laws may differ, so long as men keep this natural law, so long they live well, and will, in the end, be saved. This is the opinion of some wise men, but we may safely leave it to the secret judgment of God. The diversity of sects and laws need not trouble us, it most likely belongs to the nature of man, as much as does diversity of language. Notwithstanding this diversity, civil life may be defined as "a politic order of a multitude, conspiring together in virtue and honesty," to which man is ordained. This is the end of man's life; to this every man ought to refer his thoughts and deeds; every man ought to aid this, and endeavour to set it forth.

Pole answers (p. 21, par. 10) that he never had any doubt of the matter which Lupset has been urging, but it has pleased him to hear the same so confirmed that no man may call it in question. If it is good to help one, it is much better to help many; for a man in so doing approaches nearest to the nature of God. Let it be agreed that every man ought to advance the good of the commonwealth, yet there is another thing to be considered: at some times and in certain places this is not to be attempted by a wise man; as in time of tyranny, or where rulers are only intent on private gain. Among such a wise man's counsel would be laughed at. In such cases it is no wonder that wise men have abstained from interfering. Some by attempting to do good have been exiled, some imprisoned, and some put to death. If Plato had found a noble prince in Sicily he would have shown greater fruits of his wisdom. If Tully had not lived during the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Rome would have profited more by him. If Seneca had lived under Trajan, instead of under Nero, his virtues would have been otherwise esteemed. So it is evident virtue cannot always show its light. Plutarch compares such as will not regard time and place, to men who being in the dry and seeing others in the rain, must needs go out and get wet them-

selves without doing any good to anybody. Those who run to courts, where every man speaks of the commonwealth in order to obtain something for himself, are soon corrupted with the same opinions. It is hard to be daily among thieves without becoming a thief. Every man, for the most part, becomes like those with whom he associates. Wherefore to attempt to handle matters of State without regard of time and place is madness and folly

Lupset thinks there is some truth in this, but so much regard to time and place is not needed as some seem to judge. So carefully they consider time and place that in all their lives they find neither the one nor the other. This is frantic folly, and has caused the destruction of many commonwealths. It has caused much tyranny, which might have been avoided if wise men had left such foolish respect for time and place. There can be no doubt that in our time we have a most wise prince, whose one aim is the good of his country, and that now is Pole's time to promote his country's good.

Pole says he is bound now, and promises to allow no occasion for helping the State to pass by. And now, because such a noble prince is on the throne, and the time is ripe, and he has leisure, he will devise something touching the order of the commonwealth, more especially as Parliament is now assembled. He proposes (p. 25, par. 14) to discuss (1) What is the *true commonwealth*, in what it consists, and when it most flourishes. (2) To examine into *the decay of our country*, with its *faults* and *disorders*. (3) To *devise a remedy* for this *decay*.

Lupset agrees, but warns Pole to beware of Plato's example, whose order of commonwealth is but a dream which can never be brought to effect.

CHAPTER II.

POLE commences by urging Lupset to be carefully attentive, and to express his mind freely wherever he thinks the arguments used are weak; he also bids him doubt, because doubting brings the truth to light. He thinks that if men knew for certain what the commonwealth is they would not neglect it as they do; for now every man has it in his mouth, but few have it in their hearts. This evidently

comes of false opinion, because no man willingly hurts himself. This he trusts to make clear.

Lupset questions the truth of what Socrates says about ignorance being the source of all vice, and wishes to examine this assertion. It is commonly said that those who do wrong do so against their own conscience. Every man knows he should be virtuous, yet men are not virtuous; and every man knows he should study the public good, yet every one seeks his own profit. Hence it appears vice should be attributed to malice rather than to ignorance. Besides, we cannot have free-will without a knowledge of good and evil.

Pole says this seems to be a controversy not only between the common people and the learned, but also between Aristotle and Plato; but the controversy is more one of words than anything else. Aristotle says the mind at first is like a clean tablet, ready to receive any impressions. At first it has no knowledge of truth, but afterwards by experience and learning the will is formed. If the will be persuaded that good is ill, and ill good, it will choose the ill and leave the good. But if the opinion is confirmed with right reason it will choose the good; if it be weak it will choose the ill. Socrates was wont to say if the mind were instructed with sure knowledge it would never err. Aristotle says that they who have this opinion of good, in however slight a degree, always feel "a grudge of conscience" when they do wrong. But Plato calls this wavering knowledge ignorance. There is nothing in the controversy between them but words only. If man had a sure knowledge of good he would never leave it. If the reason be commonly blinded with any persuasion, it is hard to resist it; and on this account men take away the liberty of the will, and say it is driven by strong opinion to do this or that; but without doubt, instruction and wise counsel may bring the will out of captivity. But pleasure and profit so blind reason, that it is hard to overcome a wrong persuasion. This is the cause of the destruction of all commonwealths, when every man, blinded by pleasure or profit, leaves the best and takes the worst. Pole concludes that Socrates is right, and that ignorance is the fountain of all ill, vice, and misery, in public as well as in private life.

Lupset thinks that, if this is true, men are not so much to blame.

If they knew better they would do better. But Pole (p. 31, par. 5) denies it. Ignorance does not excuse errors of life, but rather makes a man more worthy of punishment. "He that kills a man drunk, sober shall be hanged." A man is himself the cause of this ignorance, because if he had listened to the wise and prudent he would not have been so led by it. Lupset here asks to return to their purpose, that they may the easier avoid this ignorance, this fountain of all ill.

Pole agrees, and says that the prosperity of the individual and the prosperity of a country rest in the same thing; and if we can find out what that thing is, we can ascertain what is that which in every city or country we call the true commonwealth. Lupset sees a doubt here. If the common good rise from the individual good, then every man should strive to advance the individual good; and so that which just before has been said to be the destruction of the commonwealth must by this reasoning promote its prosperity.

Pole (p. 33, par. 9) denies this, and says the two agree very well—over much regard of private gain ever destroys the common, just as a moderate regard to the one will promote the other. If every man would cure one we should have a true commonwealth. But now, when so many are blinded with the love of themselves, it is necessary for those who have any regard for the public good to correct this inordinate self-love, just as physicians have to attend on those who give themselves to inordinate diet. If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed. Many things are necessary to the well-being of every man, but only three need be mentioned; in health, strength, and beauty "stands the first point required to the weal of every particular man." The second point of man's well-being is riches, for without riches he will be troubled with infinite cares and miserable thoughts. And to riches must be added children and friends. The third and most important point is "the natural honesty and virtue of the mind." If a man have health and riches, he is counted happy, though he never even dream of virtue. But the virtues of the mind surpass all bodily virtues and all worldly treasure. Of what use are health, strength, and riches to a man who cannot use them? To such they are destruction. Health is to be

studied for the mind's sake. Riches are to satisfy bodily wants, and to help the needy and the miserable. But virtue alone can show the right use of both health and riches, and it is the chief point of all. Then religion must be added, and the man who is in possession of health, strength, beauty, riches, and religion, is in a prosperous state.

Lupset (p. 39, par. 12) says Pole has spoken well, but he fears that if the prosperity and happiness of man rest in these things, but few are prosperous, few happy. A man may be as perfect as St Paul, yet if he fall into sickness or poverty he is not in a prosperous condition. Besides, it is contrary to the opinion of wise men, who have ever held that virtue keeps a man from misery and places him in felicity. And to this agree the doctrine and practice of Christ, who called them blessed who were in adversity, and chose His disciples from the simple and poor. Pole confesses that these remarks are to the purpose, and promises not to let them pass unexamined. Some say man consists of soul only, and that it is this whereby he is man and not a beast. Others say he is made up of the union of body and soul, and this he thinks is correct. Felicity in the highest degree can only spring from virtue and worldly prosperity; because then man is without any impediment of body or mind; for these should flourish together. It cannot be doubted that a man confirmed by perfect and sure hope may attain to the happiness of the world to come, though troubled with adversity here. But because worldly prosperity is so full of peril it is commonly said it is hard to have heaven here and hereafter. Christ said they who have their hearts fixed on the love of riches, and they who are drowned in pleasures may attain to the life to come; but He does not exclude the upright in mind. Some, perceiving their own weakness, retire from the world altogether, and it is not amiss of them; but they are like mariners who never leave the haven for fear of storms. He who in dangerous prosperity governs his mind well and keeps it upright, is more perfect and deserves more praise than he who runs into a religious house. To return: though a man troubled with adversity may by patience attain heaven, and as riches do not exclude him, the most prosperous state is that where virtue and worldly prosperity are combined. To this Lupset agrees, but asks whether there can be

degrees of felicity? He cannot see how they who have virtue and worldly prosperity can be happier than those who have virtue alone.

Pole's reply (p. 45, par. 15) to this is, if man be the soul only, then virtue alone gives him high felicity; if he be soul and body it does not. But many other things are required by reason whereof felicity admits of degrees. Lupset agreeing, Pole goes on to compare the State to a man. The people are the body; civil order and law the soul. The good of every country arises from three things: (1) From the number of people; if they be too many or too few there is poverty. The population must be suited to the place. They must also be healthy and strong; and a man's body is strong when every part does its duty quickly and well. The king may be compared to the heart; officers appointed by princes to the head, eyes, ears, and other senses; craftsmen and warriors to the hands; plowmen to the feet. And all these must be in due proportion, else will there be deformity. (2) There must be friends, riches, and abundance of necessaries. Poverty is the mother of envy, malice, dissension, and many other mischiefs. The country must also have friends among those living near. (3) There must be good laws put into effect by the rulers. Without these all other advantages are of no avail; necessaries and people are useless if the latter will not obey order—they will only be abused to the destruction of the commonwealth.

Lupset here (p. 51, par. 20) asks Pole to define what he means by "policy," "civil order," and "politic rule," terms which have been often used. Pole promises to satisfy him on these points. There was a time when man had no cities, no religion, but wandered abroad in fields and woods like the beasts. So he continued till certain men of wit and policy, with eloquence and philosophy, considering his nature and dignity, persuaded him to forsake his rudeness and follow order and civil life, building cities in which he might defend himself from wild beasts. Then ordinances and laws were devised, rude and imperfect like the people themselves, but improving as time went on. There were various kinds of government, some by a king, some by a council, and some by the whole body of the people, as was found suitable. The form of government

is immaterial so long as they who are in authority study to promote the public good. But when they look to their own pleasure and profit this good order is turned into tyranny, there is no politic rule, no civil order. The end of all politic rule is to induce people to live virtuously. Without these—civil order and politic rule—there can be no true commonwealth; for as in man there only are quietness and felicity where mind and body agree, so in a country there only can be perfect civility where all the parts agree, each doing his duty; rulers administering justice, people yielding all humble service. Thus when each does his duty, all may attain a high felicity. As the health of a man (p. 57, par. 21) stands not in the health of one member but of all, so a true commonwealth does not stand in the prosperity of one part but in all the parts together. Where the prince is chosen by free election, that is deemed by some to be the best form of government. Increase of population and multitude of cities and towns are sure signs of prosperity; and where these are seen we may rest assured there is a true commonwealth.

Lupset (p. 59, par. 22) expresses himself satisfied with the explanation given, but regrets it because hitherto he has thought Christendom has had in it a true commonwealth. Now he perceives it lacks many things. He thinks much depends on fortune. Pole says that although the state of Christendom is not perfect, it is the best that has been or ever shall be established; it is the nearest to perfection and most convenient to man, and tends towards the attainment of everlasting life. He thinks much depends upon fortune, which has great power in all worldly affairs; for who does not see how riches and health, authority and dignity, are rendered uncertain by fortune? Yet the happiness of a country does not absolutely depend upon it. It is no imperfection to a man or to a commonwealth that many outward things are often altered by fortune.

Lupset does not like to see such power given to fortune, but Pole says it can no more deprive a man of happiness than clouds can prevent the shining of the sun. A man may suffer from adversity here, yet if he live virtuously and honestly, God will give him felicity hereafter. But still he thinks man cannot have the highest felicity if he

lack worldly prosperity. Lupset is comforted (p. 64, par. 28) by hearing Pole confess that all men may get to heaven at last. Pole says he has no doubt about it, and that he differs in this from the "common sort of men." We must regard the future life as well as the present, and use our prosperity well. Pole concludes by repeating much that he has said before, that public good should be in a man's heart as well as in his mouth; that it should be the end of all his thoughts; that as a mariner who brings his vessel safely into port preserves his own life and the lives of others—so in the State, if a man saves others he saves himself also. Lupset professes himself satisfied, and doubts not that if men would well consider what has been said there would be more regard to the commonwealth here than there is. But he fears it is almost impossible to found such a commonwealth in England as Pole has described. Pole now proposes to spy out common faults, and at last find means to restore our commonwealth.

CHAPTER III.

POLE commences by repeating that, after defining a true commonwealth, it is expedient to examine into the faults and disorders which hinder its prosperity. Lupset thinks little diligence is required in this, as it is easier "to spy two faults than amend one." It is by no means hard to see the faults which prevail in our own country. No man can deny that there is *great decay* when he sees the ruinous condition of cities, castles, and towns, and the poverty of the inhabitants; or when he looks at the ground which used to be well tilled, but now lies waste; or when he considers the manners of the people and their order of living, which are as far from what they ought to be as good from ill, as vice from virtue. All these evils are as clear as the day. Pole does not admit that all is so clear, or that it requires so little diligence; without care wrong conclusions may easily be drawn. He then goes on (p. 71, par. 7) to speak of the *faults* which he perceives in the *body politic*. First he notices the lack of people. This he considers to be evident by observing how much better cities and towns were inhabited in times past than they are now. Many *houses are in ruins*, and many with-

out inhabitants. Further ; many villages have *utterly decayed*, and where Christian people were nourished, now you only find wild beasts ; where many houses and churches once stood, there is *nothing but sheepcots and stables*. This condition of things is not confined to one or two places ; it prevails generally throughout the realm. This decay of cities, towns, and villages plainly shows a *scarceness of men*. Then crafts have declined, and much *land lies waste* and untilled ; which things could not be if there were no lack of people. The ground is not barren, as some men think ; it only requires the labour of man to render it fruitful.

Lupset does not agree. He thinks (p. 74, par. 12) that the ruin of cities and towns, the decay of crafts, and the barrenness of the ground, do not argue a lack of population, but *idleness*. No matter how populous a country may be, if the people are idle there must be ruin and decay. He considers that, so far from having too few people, we have too many, and that this is the cause of the scarcity of food, for want of which many die, or live very wretchedly. Pole asks him to compare the country now with what it has been or with other countries which are naturally not more fruitful than ours, and yet sustain more people. Then he must confess to a lack of people. The country, he maintains, has been more populous than it is now. Referring to France, Italy, and Spain, he says they, in a like or less space than ours, sustain more people than England does, which is easily seen by the number of their cities, castles, and towns. He owns that we have *many idle people*, more than any country in the world, but we must not attribute the ruin and decay to them. It is true that if they were well occupied we should be better off than we are ; but, putting idle and diligent together, we have not so many as we ought to have, and as the land, well tilled, would sustain. As to scarcity of food, it does not prove over great numbers, it only proves the negligence of those we have. But there is another disease more grievous than this which has been mentioned. A great part of the people we have (p. 76, par. 15) are *either idle or ill occupied*, and but few exercise themselves in doing that which would maintain the commonwealth. Look at the idle rout kept by noblemen, bishops, and others. Look at the priests, monks, friars, and canons, with all

their idle train, and you will find many who are only burdens on the earth. They are like the drone bees in a hive which only consume the honey gathered by the diligent bee.

Lupset (p. 77, par. 16) thinks the earth is so fruitful that with little labour she will nourish mankind, as she does beasts, birds, and fishes, and that if a few people busy themselves "the rest may live in triumph, at liberty and ease." Pole accuses him of speaking as though he fancied man born to idleness, which is not true. Man was born to labour, and not to live as an unprofitable weight and burden on the earth. It is not necessary that all should be tillers of the ground; some must be priests, some gentlemen to govern the rest, and others to be servants, but all in due proportion. Of these classes there are too many, especially of those who are in the service of gentlemen and lords. You will not find so many in any other country of the world. Lupset takes this for great praise, because if there were no yeomanry we should be in a shrewd case; in them stands the chief defence of England. But Pole maintains that "in them stands the beggary of England." Still, if they were exercised in feats of arms they might be suffered. But they pay so little attention thereto that in time of war it is necessary for plowmen and labourers to take weapons in hand, else we should not long enjoy England; so little confidence is placed in the yeomanry. As of priests, friars, and monks we have too many, so have we of yeomanry, and they make the politic body unwieldy and heavy.

Not much less mischievous than the idle are the *ill occupied* (p. 80, par. 21). By these Pole means such as are busied in making or procuring things which minister only to the pleasures of others; such as ornamenting wearing apparel, procuring new kinds of meats and drinks; singing men, "curious descanters, and devisers of new songs, which tend only to vanity." To these he adds all merchants who export necessaries and import only "trifles and conceits." All such are ill occupied and unprofitable. Lupset thinks Pole too severe, and that he would take away all pleasure and all ornaments. Pole answers that he would not take away all pleasure from man, but he would banish all the ill occupied of whom he has spoken, and with them all their vain pleasures and ornaments, bringing in, in their

place, the true pleasure of man, and the true ornaments of the commonwealth.

Another disease (p. 82, par. 25) which gives much trouble to the State is the *jealousy which exists between classes*. Laymen "grudge against" spiritual men, the commons against the nobles, subjects against rulers. This is so evident that no arguments are needed. It is like a pestilence. Again, there is a want of proportion (p. 83, par. 29); one part is too great, another too little; one part has too many, another too few. There are *too many priests*, but *too few good clerks*; monks and friars are too many, good religious men too few. *Too many proctors, too few good judges*. Exporters of necessaries too many, importers of what is good too few. Servants, craftsmen, and makers of trifles too many, occupiers and tillers of the ground too few; making in our body politic a monstrous deformity. The country is also *weaker* than it has been in times past, and less able to defend itself from enemies. There *never were so few good captains as now*, never so few exercised in deeds of arms, as may easily be seen by those who will compare the present with the past, when our enemies dreaded and feared us. These are the faults which are common to the whole body.

Pole now (p. 85, par. 33) proposes to speak of particular faults, or faults which pertain to particular classes. Princes, lords, and bishops look chiefly to their own pleasure and profit; *few regard the good of the commons*. Princes and lords seldom look to the good of their subjects; they only care about receiving their rents and maintaining their pompous state. For the rest they care not whether the people "sink or swim." *Bishops only study how they may get the wool*, leaving the simple sheep to wander in the forest and be devoured by wolves. Judges and ministers of justice are ruled by lucre, "*and matters are ended as they are friended*." These faults are seen in spiritual and temporal rulers: none regard their office and duty, and they can only be compared to a man in a frenzy. Plowmen, labourers, craftsmen, and artificers are negligent and slow, by reason whereof come much dearth and penury. The waste ground, the scarcity of food, the dearth of manufactures show great negligence. If plowmen were diligent, there would be less waste ground;

if artificers were industrious, manufactures would not be so scarce and so dear. The truth is, *the English are more given to idle gluttony* than any people in the world. Thus Pole, having declared the general and particular faults of the body politic, proposes to seek out what is required for its prosperity; and this he thinks will not be hard because there is no man so blind as not to see the poverty of this realm. Lupset is surprised at such a statement, as our country has ever been esteemed rich. In our wool, lead, tin, iron, silver, and gold, and in all things necessary to the life of man, our country may be compared with any other. Pole answers him that he speaks like a man of the old world. Undoubtedly our island has been the most wealthy in Christendom, and that not many years ago, but it is much altered. Where riches and liberality were, you will now find *wretchedness and poverty*; where there was abundance, you will now find scarceness. No one can doubt this who sees the multitude of beggars and the fewness of people. In no other country will you find so many beggars as we have in England. All classes, the plowman, the artificer, the merchant, the gentleman, yea, princes, lords, and prelates, cry that they lack money. Look at the *dearth of corn, of cattle, and of food*: it cannot be denied that a common dearth argues a great lack. We must confess to the penury of our commonwealth. Lupset does not think this well proved. Beggars do not prove poverty, but idleness; and as for the complaints of all classes, men so esteem money that had they ever so much they would still complain, and many would even feign poverty. If we examine into the matter he thinks we shall find England richer than any other country about us, for in France, Italy, and Spain it cannot be denied that the commons are poorer than they are with us. Then as to the dearth of necessaries, it is the same in all places. When God sends seasonable weather we have enough; when He chooses to punish us we have lack. Pole grants that other countries may be poorer than ours, but this he maintains does not affect the question. Ours is certainly poorer than it ought to be, and the scarcity does not arise from the common ordinance of God. Lupset agrees in this, and says "some have too much, some too little, and some never a whit."

Pole now (p. 92, par. 43) refers to outward things required for the maintenance of the commonwealth, and sees great faults in the building and clean keeping of cities, castles, and towns. Man has no care for the future, each only regards his own pleasure. This, Lupset says, is quite true. When he travelled in France and Flanders he thought he was in another world, the cities and towns were so well built, and so clean kept, every city seeming to strive which should be best built and kept cleanest. But here in England the people seem to study how the *cities, towns, and castles may soonest fall into ruin and decay*. Every gentleman lives in the country, few inhabit cities and towns. He goes on (p. 93, par. 46) to complain that the merchants export such necessaries as cattle, corn, wool, tin, lead, and other metals, and bring in, in their place, only such things as tend to the destruction of our people. Such as "delicate wines, fine cloths, says and silks, beads, combs, girdles and knives, and a thousand such trifling things," which could either be well spared or our own people might be employed in making them. This he considers a great hurt to the clothmakers of England; the wines, he says, impoverish many gentlemen, and cause much *drunkenness* and idleness among the poor. As men are so prone to pleasure it would not be amiss to restrain the use of this wine. He would have some for the use of the nobles, but even here moderation would be good. And so of silks and says, it is convenient to have some for the use of the nobility. Here he notes another disorder, which is, that now hardly any man will wear home-made cloth, but every man must have his fustians and silks from abroad, which causes many crafts to fall into decay. Then as to *excess of diet*, there never was such feasting and banquetting, and so many kinds of meats as there are now, "and specially in mean men's houses." Now a gentleman must fare as well as lords and princes used to fare. And this they take for an honour. It is a dishonour, it is a detriment to the commonwealth, a nourisher of idleness, and a cause of sickness. It is a common proverb that "many idle gluttons make victuals dear." Complaint has been made of the ill building, yet *men build beyond their degree*—a mean man will have a house fit for a prince. Pole does not object to this, because it is a great ornament, if they

build with timber and stone obtained at home, and do not gild and daub the posts with gold (p. 95, par. 52). Lupset says many build more than they or their heirs can keep in repair, and so places fall into ruin. Pole holds that the greatest fault is "in consuming of gold upon posts and walls."

Another fault which Lupset notices is in the extensive *enclosure of arable land*; where there used to be corn and fruitful fields now is but pasture, by "reason whereof many villages and towns are in a few days ruinate and decayed." Pole says this has been a fault many a day, but not so great a one as it appears. Our food does not consist of corn and fruits of the ground only, but also in cattle, and we cannot breed and rear these without pasture. This enclosing is also *for sheep*, by the profit of which the wealth of the country is much increased. Lupset says we pay too much regard to the nourishing of sheep. Commonly they die of scab and rot in great numbers, and this because they are fed on pastures which are too fat for them. As to other cattle he thinks too little attention is given to breeding them. Generally they are killed early or sold to those who do not intend to rear them. And so, although we have overmuch pasture, we have too few beasts which are profitable to man. And then these pasture farms get into the hands of a few rich men, to the exclusion of the poor from their means of living, and the worse tilling of the ground. Pole says it remains now to note the disorders and ill government which will be found in the country. This will require diligence, and will be found more difficult than the subjects which have been discussed before.

CHAPTER IV.

POLE commences by stating that it is well known this country has been governed for many years by princes who have judged that all things pertaining to the State have depended only upon their will and fancy, and that whatever they purposed was to be allowed without resistance from any private subject. It is commonly thought that a prince possesses arbitrary power. This has ever been a source of great destruction, not only to England, but to all other countries where similar opinions prevail. It is as true as the Gospel that no

country can prosper which is ruled by a prince who succeeds to the throne, not by election, but by birth. Those who succeed in this way are rarely worthy to have such high authority. Lupset begs Pole to be careful, as what he is saying may sound like treason. Would he have a king with no more authority than one of his lords? It is generally held that the king is superior to all laws; that he may loose and bind as he will. Pole answers that this is a disease, which, when examined, will be found to be the root of many others. It is the highest form of government to be governed by a prince and to obey him if he excel all others in wisdom and virtue, but it is most pestilent and pernicious, and full of peril if he is not. As our princes are not chosen from the most worthy he thinks it is not expedient to commit to them such authority as is due to "singular virtue and most perfect wisdom" only. It is better to restrain the authority of the prince and commit it to a common council or parliament, because such prerogative given to one man is the ruin of all laws and policy, just as the dispensations of the Pope have been the destruction of the law of the Church. This is easily seen, because there are few laws and statutes made by parliament which, by proclamation and license of the king, are not abrogated. Till this is redressed it will avail but little to make good laws. It is a great fault for one man to be able to dispense with laws and to excuse the breakers of the laws; and to make leagues and peace with other nations. It is indeed to open the gate to all tyranny; it is the destruction of all civility, and turns order and rule upside down. One cannot compass as much as the wit of many, as it is commonly said, "many eyes see better than one."

Lupset (p. 104, par. 4) marvels much at Pole's statements, because it seems that he would allow the state of a prince without the authority of one. If a prince cannot moderate all things according to his pleasure he must very often call parliament together, and this would give great trouble to the commons. Pole says, in answer to this, if kings were chosen for their virtues and fitness to rule, then they might have this authority; but they come by succession, and are ruled by affection, and draw all things to their lust. Such authority he maintains to be pernicious and hurtful, and a great destruction to

our country, as has been perceived many times by our forefathers, and would be now, only we "have a noble and wise prince who is ever ready to submit to his council, nothing abusing his authority." Lupset confesses to seeing a fault here, but how is it to be redressed? Pole says he will see when time and place require it; and then repeats what has been said about kings by succession being a fault, and that they generally abuse their power. Lupset hardly knows what to say. When he hears Pole's reasons they seem like truth; but when he considers the nature of our people, "succession of blood, and not by election," seems very expedient; as the end of all law is to keep the citizens in unity and peace. If kings were chosen by election he thinks civil war would ensue, because every man would be king, every man would think himself as worthy as another. Our people are of such a nature that they would be sure to abuse such liberty if they had it. Pole asks (p. 107, par. 9) what can be more contrary to reason than for a whole people to be ruled by a man who commonly lacks all reason? Look at the Romans, Lacedemonians, and Greeks, they chose their rulers by free election. This *succession by inheritance* was brought in by tyrants and barbarous princes, and is contrary to nature and reason. This is more evidently seen in private families, where, if the son be prodigal or vicious, the father is not bound to make him his heir. Much more ought this to be admitted in a realm; if the prince be unworthy to succeed his father, another should be chosen by free election. Still, as our people are now affected, and as the state of the country is, "ill it is to take our prince by succession, and much worse by free election." In all which Lupset agrees.

A similar fault, but not so great, Pole says exists in the *succession of private men* (p. 108, par. 11). By law the eldest brother succeeds, to the exclusion of all others from the inheritance. To utterly exclude the younger children from all share in the property seems to be far out of order. Reason and nature require that children of the same father and mother should have a portion of the patrimony. Utterly to exclude them diminishes the love between father and child, and increases envy and hatred between those whom nature has bound together. Lupset cannot understand what Pole means. It seems as though he would subvert the whole policy of the realm. Such things

as make to the honour of our country he esteems faults. Pole asks him, then, to give a little of his mind on this subject, which Lupset proceeds to do by assuming that laws were made for the people, and not the people for the laws; and therefore that all such laws as keep the people in good order are to be allowed. Those who made this law of inheritance well considered the sturdy nature of Englishmen, who, without heads and rulers, would be without all order. Consequently they ordained that in every great family the eldest should succeed "to maintain a head," who by authority should better restrain the rudeness of the people. It is certain that, if the lands were equally divided amongst brothers, in a few years head families would decay; and then the people, deprived of heads and rulers, would soon disturb the good order which during many ages has prevailed. If you deprive the nobles of their great possessions, nobles and commons would be so confounded that there would be no difference between them. Lupset cannot grant that this law of inheritance is contrary to nature, because the disposition of worldly goods does not always rest in the free-will of man, but may be regulated by the law so as to maintain good policy. Pole says though these reasons seem to be strong they are not hard to answer; there is, however, some truth in them. The rudeness of our people makes rulers necessary, and in great families this order of succession might remain. But surely some provision should be made for the younger brothers, so that they need not depend wholly upon the courtesy of their eldest brother, whose love is often so cold that he leaves them in poverty. If the law were confined to princes, dukes, earls, and barons, it would be all very well, but it becomes intolerable when it is applied to "gentlemen of mean sort." We might take example from the Romans, who divided their heritages equally. The mischief sprang from a certain pride by which every Jack would be a gentleman, and every gentleman a knight or a lord. Lupset says Pole has well declared his mind on this subject, and he cannot but acknowledge a "misorder." In France, Flanders, and Italy, they do make a provision for the younger brothers. He has ever thought the entailing of lands to be an error, and thinks it would be well to discuss it now, as it causes many heirs to regard neither learning nor virtue, because

they are sure to be inheritors of a great portion of entailed land. Pole reminds him that the law does not command the entailing of lands, it only permits it. Lupset replies that herein is the error. In great families it might be permitted, but in base families it ought not to be allowed, as it produces much inequality, and much hatred and malice. This Pole admits.

Pole then goes on to speak of another custom (p. 114, par. 19), deserving as much reproof as the last-named. If a man who holds his lands by knight's service dies, leaving his heir under age, his lands fall into the hands of the lord, who has also *the ward* and *tuition* of the heir. It is unreasonable to commit him to one who is not related to him, and who is not bound to render any account to any man, especially as the guardian may marry the heir to whom he thinks best. Lupset thinks the custom just and reasonable, and refers to its origin. Pole says he cannot be persuaded that the custom is good. He does not deny that they who gave lands to their servants might make conditions of ward and marriage; but we must look higher, and consider the nature of the commonwealth; and Lupset, owning the custom "smelleth a little of tyranny," confesses it is a great error.

The next fault which Pole notices (p. 117, par. 25) is that in case a man have a suit in a shire and wishes to trouble his adversary he can remove his cause by writ to Westminster, by which the unjust cause frequently prevails in consequence of the inability of the other party to follow him thither. - Lupset maintains that the fault lies in the party so removing the cause and not in the law, which he defends, because in the shire matters are so bolstered by affection and power, that justice cannot be had there. The law, Pole says, is to blame in allowing the appeal without just cause, and in this Lupset agrees. The next fault is "concerning the *process in suits and causes*." Matters remain unsettled for two, three, or four years, which ought to be finished in fewer days. "Hungry advocates and cormorants of the court" study to delay causes, but the law is to blame by allowing them to stop process for trifles.

Another error is in the *punishment for theft* (p. 119, par. 33), which is too severe: for every little theft a man is hanged. Lupset

says with all its strictness it is not sufficient to deter others from theft. If a punishment even more severe could be devised he thinks it would be well, for theft disturbs all quiet life. Pole thinks the punishment ought to be moderated. The *punishment for treason* is too severe—heirs and all the children lose their lands, and creditors are defeated of their debts. Lupset thinks the traitor ought to suffer in his body, goods, children, and friends, that others may beware. Pole goes on to note the liberty which is given in accusing any one of treason. Light causes of suspicion ought not to be admitted.

Lupset calls attention to the use of the *French tongue in our laws*, and considers it ignominious and dishonourable to our nation. To this Pole adds *church law in Latin*, and then proceeds to the faults in the spirituality. First he refers to the authority of the Pope, who takes upon himself to dispense with the laws of God and man for money. And as for the authority given to St Peter, it was nothing like that which popes usurp; and the power of dispensation was given by man, not to the Pope alone, but to him and his College of Cardinals. The power given by God extends to the absolution of sin only. In abusing his power the Pope destroys the whole order of the Church. From this same ground spring also the Appeals to Rome, which are a dishonour to our country, and require so controlling that every trifling cause should not be referred thither. The *payment of annates* is unreasonable, as they only go to maintain the pride of the Pope, and cause war and discord among Christian princes (p. 126, par. 61). Lupset thinks they were devised to maintain the majesty of the See of Rome and to defend the Church; but Pole answers that the majesty of the Church stands in its purity, and that Christian princes ought to defend it. *Appeal to the Court of Arches and Probate* in the Archbishop's court are also faults, and the cause of many disorders. Other spiritual faults are, the early age at which a man is admitted to the priesthood; the admission of youths to religion; and the *celibacy of the clergy*.

Pole now (p. 128, par. 77) proposes to examine the customs "which seem to repugne to good civility." The principal of these is the *education of the nobility*. They are brought up to hunting, hawking, gambling, eating, and drinking; and nothing else is thought fit for

a gentleman. Then each must keep a court like a prince, and have his idle train to follow him. In this stands the beggary of England. If they are not clothed in silks and velvets, and if they have not twenty different dishes at meals, they think they lack honour. Lupset cannot deny these things, but adds that a knight or a mean gentleman here has as great a number of idle men as a great lord in France; where, instead of wasting their estates in this manner, they marry their children and friends therewith, and keep the younger members from dishonour and shame.

Pole then looks at the customs of the spirituality; the bishops, abbots, and priors, and the "*great sort of idle abbey lubbers,*" fit only to eat and to drink; the *election* of bishops, abbots, and priors (p. 131, par. 91); the *defective education* and *vicious lives* of churchmen; *non-residence* of the clergy (p. 133, par. 101); the performance of *service in Latin*, and the singing thereof, which is more to the pleasure of the ear than the comfort of the heart. Lupset thinks Pole inclined to imitate the Lutherans, who have all their service in the vulgar tongue; but he would not follow them. If we have the Gospel put into our own language we shall have as many errors and sects as there are in Germany. Pole says Lupset seems to be afraid of following in Luther's steps, which he will not do, although Luther and his disciples are not so wicked that they err in all things. Pole will not so abhor their heresy that he will fly from the truth. He approves their manner of conducting service because he thinks it right and true. Divine service is to be said for the edifying of the people. If this is true, it must either be said in a language which they understand, or they must be taught the language in which the service is said. But this is not possible. Therefore he thinks it is necessary that not only should divine service be conducted in English, but that the Gospel should be translated also. As for the errors that people run into, it is not because the Gospel is in the vulgar tongue, but it is because they lack good teachers. He maintains that the custom is bad by which we have not the Bible in our language, and the service said in a tongue which the people do not understand. If Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose could hear our "curious cantering" in churches "they

would drive it into taverns, comedies, and common plays." Lupset acknowledges that it is necessary to have all laws, religious and civil, and divine service also, in our own mother tongue.

The *privileges of the clergy* are next called in question by Pole (p. 138, par. 107), who inquires whether it is convenient that priests guilty of crime should never be cited before a secular judge? Lupset's reply is that he would make an allowance for the dignity of the priesthood, a phrase which Pole declares he cannot understand. If they do amiss, they ought to receive a more severe punishment. They ought to be honoured for their virtues only. If privileges are granted, every "idle lubber" who can either read or sing will make himself a priest, not because he loves religion, but because under the pretence of religion he may indulge in all lusts without fear of punishment. Lupset does not know what answer to make, especially as in the spiritual courts they have no punishments suitable to the crimes which are committed. The privilege now is pernicious, but was convenient in the early Church. Is the exemption of religious houses and colleges from their bishops reasonable? is the next inquiry made by Pole, and Lupset grants it is not. A similar answer is returned to questions on the privileges of sanctuary, by which murderers, thieves, and fraudulent debtors escape the punishment due to their crimes.

Having mentioned all the "misorders" which have come to his remembrance, Pole proposes to adjourn for two or three days.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

POLE opens this second part of the dialogue by referring to the difficulties which lie in their way. To speak of faults and deficiencies in the commonwealth has been an easy task when compared with that of finding remedies. Under these circumstances, he proposes to ask wisdom from God. To this Lupset readily agrees, remarking that if old authors and poets called upon their gods, much more ought members of the Christian flock to call upon God who has promised to hear them. They then retire to hear a Mass in honour of the Holy Ghost. Then Pole (p. 145, par. 7) describes the course to be taken, and after recapitulating part of what has been said, goes on to speak of the great *lack of people*, and to propose the only remedy—"natural procreation," to be brought about by marriage. If man would but follow reason there would be no difficulty; but after a trial of thousands of years, it has been found that "by instruction and gentle exhortation" man cannot be brought to perfection; and that the fear of punishment is the only thing which will bring him to consider his proper dignity. How then can the "gross and rude people" be allured to follow that which shall be deemed necessary? How can they be *induced to marry*? He thinks "by privilege and pain." Lupset here breaks in with an idea, to which he hardly dare give utterance; that is, that "the law of chastity ordained by the church" which binds so many people, is a great hindrance to the increase of the population (p. 148, par. 12). This law might, in his estimation, be relaxed with advantage. Pole thinks the law was useful when first instituted, but now he confesses it is not so, and would at least allow all secular priests to marry. With regard to "monks, canons, friars, and nuns," he thinks there ought to be Abbeys, to which, after lawful proof of chastity, they might retire. This liberty to retire from the world he considers a great comfort to many feeble and weary souls who have been oppressed with the vanities of the world, but he quite agrees that secular priests ought to marry.

Another hindrance to the increase of population lies in *the multitude of serving men*, who spend all their lives in service, and never have the means to marry. An ordinance that no gentleman should be allowed to keep more than he can "set forward to some honest fashion of living and lawful matrimony," would cure this. Many now cannot marry because of poverty (p. 150). To remedy this, houses should be built in the wild and waste places, and given with a portion of land to their servants for a nominal rent. By this means, many would be induced to marry, and the country would gain not only in population, but the waste grounds would be well tilled. Besides this, he would recommend the custom of the Romans for imitation, and grant special privileges and exemptions to all who had five children.

The penalties to be incurred by such as *abstained from marriage* are next considered (p. 151). They should never bear any honours, or any office in the city or town where they live; they should pay an income tax of one shilling in the pound yearly on all amounts coming in "either by fee, wages, or land;" and every man who was worth more than five pounds in movable goods should pay three-pence in the pound. The money thus obtained should be distributed, partly to those who had more children than they could well keep, and partly in endowments for poor damsels and virgins. When a bachelor dies one half of his goods shall go for the above purposes; and the whole of a priest's at his death. This Pole considers to be a "singular remedy for the slenderness for our politic body."

The second disease to be considered is *idleness* (p. 152, par. 15). Though the body be weak and slender, yet is it "bollen and swollen out with all humours." The cause of the disease must be removed before we can cure the disease itself; and the cause lies in the ill bringing up of youth. As the young grow up hoping to live pleasantly in service with some nobleman or other, an ordinance should be made, compelling every man to place his children to learning or to some craft at the age of seven years; and the curate of the parish should have chief authority to see the law obeyed. To encourage "arts and crafts," every man who excelled in his calling

should be rewarded by the liberality of the prince. As for such as delighted in idleness and followed no trade at all, they should be banished. It avails but little to increase the population if idleness is not done away. Lupset thinks the remedy a short one, and tells Pole he must show more at large how the youth are to be brought up in arts and crafts. But Pole says that is not his purpose; it would require a whole book. He intends only to touch on general points, and leave the rest to those in authority.

Those who are *busy to no purpose* are next to be considered. Such as merchants and craftsmen, who are occupied about vain pleasures, singers, players upon instruments, and many who are called religious men, but are not. If they were well brought up the root of this disease would be cut away. These "artificers of vanity" must perish if the idle did not maintain them. Our rulers must give heed to this good education of youth, for it is the foundation of all remedies for political diseases, and without it nothing can avail.

But human nature is weak and given to pleasure. It would be well, therefore, to make a law forbidding merchants to bring into the country such things as allure only to pleasure and pastime; among which *wine* is the cause of much harm, and the quantity imported must be limited to what is required "for the pleasure of noblemen and them which be of power." *Exports*, also, must be regulated, and must be limited to such things as we have in abundance; the merchants bringing in, in return, only such things as cannot be made in our own country. Officers similar to the Roman Censors should be appointed to carry out these regulations:—to see that men are well and usefully employed, and to superintend the education of youth. Lupset thinks all this very good, but reminds Pole that he has left unnoticed half the ill-occupied persons—such as live in monasteries and abbeys.

Of *religious persons* Pole says a great many are unprofitable (p. 156, par. 19); but he would not have them and their monasteries taken away: he would have only some good reformation made. He would not allow youths to be in them at all, but only such men as are moved by a fervent love of religion. If this gap were stopped religious men would be fewer in number, but better in life. But as

this is not the place to discuss this matter, he defers it for the present, and proceeds to consider the *discord and division* which are so rife. He considers this the very foundation of ruin, and cites Italy as an example in his own day. He considers that this pestilence in the commonwealth arises from a "lack of common justice and equity. One party has too much, and the other too little, of such things as should be equally distributed among citizens." To keep the body politic united provision must be made that every man may follow his trade, and that one trade shall not interfere with another: "for this causes much malice, envy, and debate, both in city and town, that one man meddles in the mystery and craft of another." One man is not contented with his own profession or manner of living, but directly he sees another better off than himself, he leaves his own business for the other. A penalty must be incurred by such men, and they must be constrained to follow their own trade. If they are seditious and despise this order, they must be banished or punished with death. "This compelling of every man to do his office and duty" would "conserve much this body in unity and concord," and in time remove all divisions.

Pole then goes on to the next disease, which he has called a *deformity* (p. 159). It has been observed that there is a want of proportion in the members,—some being too numerous, some too few. As of plowmen and tillers of the soil, there are too few; of courtiers and idle servants, too many; too few good artisans, too many superstitious priests; and so of many other orders. The cause of this is the natural inclination which man has to pleasure, quietness, and ease, so that men choose the easiest trades, and those in which there is the most hope of gain. "To correct this fault this must be a chief mean—in every craft, art, and science, some to appoint, expert in the same, to admit youth to the exercise thereof; not suffering every man without respect to apply themselves to every craft and faculty." The officers thus appointed should judge for what a youth's wits fit him, and to that place him. Then if a man did not apply himself with diligence to his craft, the officers should appoint him to some other; and so this politic body should grow to a marvellous beauty. Lupset is pleased with this proposal, and sees that, if it were put in

practice, every man would be following the business for which he was suited.

The *weakness* of the body next engages Pole's attention (p. 160, par. 21), by which he judges the country is not well able to defend itself from outward enemies. This he attributes to the neglect of martial exercises by the nobility and their servants. He would prohibit all unprofitable games and idle exercises, and compel them to apply themselves to such feats of arms as are necessary for the defence of the realm, with the same diligence that husbandmen apply to the cultivation of the ground. In every city and town he would have a place set apart for this purpose, as the Romans did, and the Swiss now do. Even in villages, when the people were assembled, he would not have such exercises forgotten. It is certain that this custom has been neglected for many years, and that, in consequence, the people are less valiant, and more given to pleasure than they were. We cannot continue without war, and unless the people are trained to arms we shall be in danger of losing our country. If the remedies mentioned are well applied, the particular diseases of the commonwealth will soon be cured. Lupset thinks Pole ought to have dwelt more on the means of cure; but Pole says his intention was only "to touch certain general things," leaving the rest to the prudence of those who are in authority. If he were to enter into particulars too much time would be required.

If we could find means to cure the head (p. 162, par. 25), all other disorders would soon be healed. Plato in his commonwealth desired above all things to see good rulers, because then laws would not be needed. Lupset thinks Plato only dreamed. A commonwealth such as his will never be seen, unless God should send angels to make a city. Pole reminds Lupset that the rulers he looks for are not such as Plato or the Stoics describe. If men could be found to seek the public good above all things, they would be sufficient; and our country is not so barren of good men but some might be found, especially if attention were paid to the education of the young. The one thing needed is a good prince. Lupset says this rests with God only, which Pole grants, adding, however, that God requires diligence to be used in all things pertaining to man's happiness,—without this

diligence man can have nothing perfect. Of all creatures man is most perfect ; to him was given reason by which to govern himself. But with reason God gave him certain affections and vicious desires, which, without care, overrun reason, and reduce man to the level of the brutes. If he had so much reason that these vicious desires could not prevail, he would have been as an angel, and the world would have been without the nature of man. Some men have more light than others, and this is why one man is wiser than another, and one nation more prudent than another. But none are so rude that they cannot subdue their affections. Every man, when he follows reason, and whole nations, when they live in civil order, are governed by the providence of God. When they are without good order they are ruled by tyranny. God does not provide tyrants to rule. *Man cannot make a wise prince out of a fool*, nor make him just who takes pleasure in tyranny. *But he can elect him that is wise and just*, and can depose a tyrant ; and if we would cure this frenzy we must not have princes by succession. Let us amend this fault, and we need care little for others. To say that God chooses tyrants to punish people is against religion and reason ; we might as well say He compels a man to follow his evil inclinations. If we attribute tyranny, which is the greatest of all evils, to God, we must attribute all ill to the Fountain of all goodness ; which is flat impiety. There is no need to remove tyranny in our days, because we have such an excellent prince ; but after his death parliament should choose the man who is most apt for the office and dignity of king. If we determine that the heir shall succeed, we must join to him a council, not of his choosing, but chosen by a majority in parliament. Lupset objects to this on account of the labour which would devolve upon the parliament.

Pole now unfolds *his plan of this council* (p. 169, par. 35). The Great Parliament should only assemble to elect a prince, or for some other urgent cause. But the *authority* of parliament should ever remain in London to repress sedition and defend liberty. This authority should rest in a council of fourteen, and its duty should be to see that the king and his council do not violate the laws ; to call the Great Parliament when necessary ; and to “ pass all acts of leagues,

confederation, peace, and war." Everything else should be under the rule of the king and his council ; but without his proper council, he should do nothing. The king's council should consist of ten : two bishops, four lords, and four men learned in the law. Then, though we took our prince by succession, this council "should deliver us from all tyranny, setting us in true liberty." All inferior officers would be called to account, and the people would be cured of that negligence which allows the land to lie untilled, and crafts to be "so ill occupied." If the *Statute of Enclosure* were put in force, and pasture land turned into arable, as it was before, there would be abundance and prosperity. All drunkards and gamblers—those who "lay the ground of misery and mischief, as well as the doers thereof," would be punished. Gluttony and idle games, which lead to adultery and robbery, would be removed ; and poverty, which comes of neglect, would give place to plenty.

Pole again reverts to the necessity of *restricting imports and exports* (p. 172). *Wool* must not be carried out of the country, but must be made up into cloth at home. At first our cloths would not be so good as those made abroad, but there are merchants who will undertake to make English cloths equal to foreign in a few years, if the prince will help them. This would be of great benefit to England, because they who now fetch our wool would be glad to fetch our cloth, and our people, now "wretched and poor," would find employment. The same may be said of our lead and tin. Merchants carry out the metal, and bring it in again made into vessels. The merchants must not bring in such things as we can make at home. Wine, velvets, and silks they may bring in, but only in limited quantities. The *Statute of Apparel* must be revived ; *taverns* prohibited ; unreasonable dues on imports of necessaries abolished—more than half of these dues go to the king ;—English vessels employed rather than foreign ones ; and farmers must rear more cattle ; for by their neglect there is a dearth of food.

Another evil which Pole points out (p. 175) lies in the *enhancing of rents*. If the farmers pay high rents they must sell dear ; "for he that buys dear may sell dear also justly." To remedy this he would have all rents lowered to what they were "when the people of Eng-

land flourished;" for now, by ill government and the avarice of rulers, they are brought almost to the misery of France. All kinds of food are dearer than they were, and consequently craftsmen sell their wares dearer. If the things noted concerning merchants, labourers, and farmers were remedied, we should have abundance again; this miserable poverty would soon be taken away; lusty beggars and thieves would be but few or none at all; and as for those who are impotent they could easily be nourished, either after the manner lately devised in Flanders, or by the charity of the people.

Lupset thinks something is required besides abundance; we must have "all common ornaments" if we will have a perfect State. Pole's reply is that these ornaments, such as goodly cities, castles, and towns, will soon follow, with magnificent houses, and fair temples, and churches. To provide these he would have men lay by a certain sum yearly, according to their ability. It would be well if officers were "appointed to have regard of the beauty of the town and country, and of the cleanness of the same, which should cause great health," and prevent the pestilence, which is such a frequent scourge. If cities are to be restored and made as beautiful as they are in other countries, our gentlemen must build houses in them and live there, and see to their management, instead of living "sparkled in the fields and woods, as they did before there was any civil life known." By such means we should have all ornaments suitable to "our country, which will not suffer to be so ornate and so beautiful . . . as Italy, France, and Germany" (p. 178).

CHAPTER II.

LUPSET commences by asking Pole to proceed with his remedies to keep the body in health. Pole answers that the diseases being cured health must of necessity follow. In health much depends upon temperance, and sober men generally have healthy and wealthy bodies. If we can but correct the faults in our policy, prosperity will be sure to follow. Of this Venice is an example: it has continued in one order over a thousand years; and the people, in consequence of their temperance, are as healthy and wealthy as any on earth. We must be compelled by the law to follow the temperance

of these men, then there need be no fear for our prosperity ; especially if we remove all faults from our policy. The ruin of countries always follows some tyranny, or some sedition in consequence of some disorder in the government. *Tyranny*, he goes on to say, is the root of all sedition, and the ruin of civil life, and we must above all things see that it has no place with us. A country that is oppressed with tyranny, however splendid and populous its cities may be, is most miserable. As no prince can be found who will regard justice above all other things, we must be careful that by no prerogative he usurp by authority such a tyranny as acts of parliament have given under the pretence of majesty. The laws, not the prince, must govern the State. On this account wise men, considering the nature of princes, affirm that *a mixed State is the best*, because when one has authority and he chances to be corrupt, the rest must suffer. To avoid this the authority of the prince must be moderated, and how to do this must now engage our attention.

Our ancestors, considering this tyranny, and wishing to avoid it, instituted the office of Constable of England to counterpoise the authority of the prince. They gave the Constable authority to call parliaments if he judged the king were inclined to tyranny. But because the princes did not approve of having one in such high authority the office has been suppressed. As this is so, Pole thinks (p. 182) it would be better to give the authority held by the Constable to several rather than to one, the Constable being head of this council, which should represent the whole body of the people. Here follows a repetition of what is said about the Council of the Great Parliament and the King's Council of Ten (p. 169, par. 35).

The *mode of election* again appears (p. 184, par. 5) to demand attention. Lupset thinks the old families should elect the prince, else war and sedition would ensue. But Pole quotes Venice as an example of good order. If our king's power were limited there would be less ambition than there is now. The power the prince possesses often brings on civil war. The *best* way is to *elect* the prince, but as "we are barbarous," "in the second place and not as the best," it is "convenient to take him by succession." In all which Lupset concurs.

Among other faults Pole observes (p. 186) one in *bringing up the nobility*. Generally even when their parents are alive they are brought up without any care, and when they are orphans the case is much worse, for they frequently fall into the hands of such guardians as only endeavour to spoil them of their property, or else to marry them to suit their own designs. These things must be remedied. The old laws must be abrogated; guardians must render a strict account of all properties received, and of the care they have bestowed upon the education and training of the ward. There is not in any country any regard paid to the training of youth in common discipline and public exercise. Every man engages a private tutor to educate his children in letters, but feats of arms and chivalry are utterly neglected. Some ordinance ought to be made for the joining of the two, as we have in our "universities, colleges, and common places to nourish the children of poor men in letters; whereby comes no small profit to the realm." It is most necessary that certain places should be appointed for the bringing up of the children of the nobility together, and to these they should be compelled to send their children. To teach them, wise and virtuous men should be appointed. The pupils should be instructed in learning and feats of arms, fit for such as should hereafter be captains and governors. It would be a noble institution, and much good would spring from it; and without it our realm will never approach perfection. Our fathers were liberal in building abbeys and monasteries, for the exercise of a monastic life, and they have advanced virtuous living. Their example we ought to follow in building places, or else in changing some that we have, such as Westminster and St Alban's, for the training of the nobility. There are over many of these religious houses, and if they were converted to this use, the nobles might there learn the discipline of the commonwealth. Now the nobles think they were born only to spend the lands their ancestors provided, never looking to anything but pleasure. Here Pole would have them learn what they are and what position they are likely to occupy, and carefully prepare themselves for it. At void times they should "exercise themselves in feats of the body and in chivalry," which are useful in times of war and peace. Then they would be

worthy of their name, they would be nobles indeed, and true lords and masters, and the people would gladly obey them. Lupset thinks it would be a noble institution, and hopes he may live to see it put in effect. It would soon bring forth Plato's commonwealth, or rather the institution of Christian doctrine, if there were men to instruct them in the sum of the Gospel. That, Pole says, is to be understood; "that is the head discipline and public" which he spoke of before. If this were done it would profit more than the monks have done in very many years; and youths, "as stars, should light in all parts of the realm," and put in effect that of which the monks have only dreamed.

Lupset refers again *to wards* (p. 189, par. 11), abuses in which matter would be remedied by this institution; and not only for wards, but also for all the nobility, whose education is generally neglected, because more is thought of hawks and hounds than of children—"they study," Pole says, "more to bring up good hounds than wise heirs." He then refers again *to appeals to London*, which must be abolished; the nobility should see that justice is done among their servants and subjects, and only causes which they cannot decide must be removed. In cases of appeal the party condemned must pay the costs. This would end controversies and restore confidence and quietness. Severe penalties must be imposed upon such advocates as induce their clients to bring unjust causes, and upon those who attempt to prolong them. Lupset says there is no denying that the covetous minds of the lawyers is the great cause of long suits, and as a remedy he would admit none to practise except such virtuous and honest men as have enough private means to maintain themselves. But is there not another cause of long suits? To this Pole answers (p. 192, par. 14) yes, "and that is the fountain and cause of the whole matter." Our *law is confused*, it is infinite. The subtlety of one serjeant destroys the judgment of many wise men. The judgments of years are infinite and of little authority. The judges are not bound to follow them, but they judge as the serjeants instruct them, or according to circumstances. To remedy this we must do as Justinian did with the Roman law. Statutes made by kings are too numerous, as were the constitutions of the

Emperors. He would have the laws reduced to a small number, which should be written in English or Latin. If they were in Latin then students of civil law might study the Roman laws where they would find much more to their advantage than in the Old French. Besides, the laws themselves are barbarous, and many of them must be abrogated. This is the only remedy for faults already mentioned. If the nobility were instructed in the laws as they ought to be, our country would soon be in as prosperous a condition as any other—perhaps in a better condition. If two things were effected—the Civil Law of Rome adopted for our Common Law, and the nobility in youth compelled to study it—there would be no need to seek for particular remedies for the disorders in the realm, for public discipline would easily redress all. Lupset thinks it would be hard to bring such reforms about, and Pole goes on to show that it would be easier than at first sight appears. A good prince would soon accomplish the work, and his authority is all that is required.

The succession and *entailing of lands* next (p. 195, par. 16) engage Pole's attention. Younger brothers must be provided for; the law which puts heirs out of fear of parents must be abolished—the sons should "stand upon their behaviour," and, unless they behaved well, the father, after proof before a judge, should have power to disinherit them. Lupset remembers that this was the custom among the Romans, and agrees, generally, in what has been said.

CHAPTER III.

LUPSET now inquires what Pole has to say concerning *theft and treason*. Pole's answer is, Remove the cause, and you will soon find a remedy. The cause of theft lies in the number of idle persons, and in the defective education of youth: correct these, and the great cause will be removed. Still, if a man through weakness fall to "picking and stealing," he should be apprehended and put to some public works. This would be more grievous to him than death is reputed to be. As has been said, the punishment for this kind of stealing is too severe. Highway robbery, murder, and manslaughter should be still punished with death. And treason also should continue to be a capital offence, without depriving the children of the

criminal of their father's property. A man who lays a charge of treason against another without just grounds should be punished with death. But if tyranny were taken away there would be no cause for treason—"for tyranny is the mother of treason." This is a gospel word. Lupset agrees that most faults may be referred to that principle, or else to the bad education of the nobles. Pole goes on to say that Plato in his Commonwealth insists upon the instruction of his officers and governors, and considers good rulers to be living laws. A good prince would remedy all faults ; without one all good counsel can be of no effect. Faults among the spirituality now require attention (p. 198). And first, the *Pope usurps authority* to dispense with all laws without consulting his Cardinals, who are appointed to have the authority of a General Council in things pertaining to the good of Christendom, or of any controversy in any nation thereof. But now the Pope, usurping a sort of tyranny under the pretext of religion, defines all, and dispenses with all, as he wills. He should still be taken as the Head of the Church, because that authority is given to him by a General Council. An ordinance is needed to prohibit the removal of any cause, except causes of schism, out of the realm. This liberty of *appeal to Rome* has been a great destruction to England, as Pole could, by many stories, declare. As a recognition of the Pope's superiority Pole would still pay *Peter pence*, but not annates, except in the case of Archbishops, who should, after election at home, receive institution at the hands of the Pope. As for bishops, there would be no need for them to run to Rome ; our own archbishops should institute them at home. By paying these annates we have been maintaining the pomp of the Court of Rome, giving to the Pope that which ought to have been distributed among our own poor in England. Lupset asks what is the difference between *sending first-fruits to Rome* and spending them here "among whores, harlots, and idle lubbers?" There is a difference, Pole says. In the latter case it is spent in our own country. But this leads to another question—the *manner of living among bishops and abbots*. He would have every bishop's income divided into four parts. One part to build ruined churches in their dioceses ; a second to maintain poor youths in study ; the third to be

given to poor maidens and others ; the fourth part to be reserved for the maintenance of himself and his household. Abbots and priors he would have elected every three years according to the custom in Italy. They should give an account of their office, should live among the brethren, and not "triumph in chambers as they do now."

Considering that those who have great possessions will not spend them according to reason (p. 201), he would have some authority to regulate their expenses after the manner of the Romans, who had a law constraining men to frugality. Something after the plan above proposed for bishops would, he thinks, be suitable. As poor men are compelled to pay tithes, so parsons and curates should be compelled to distribute all they have to spare among the poor of their parishes. Besides, they should be compelled to reside upon their benefices, there to teach and preach, and see to the distribution of their goods themselves, except in the case of some few who might be required by the prince or in cathedral churches. These latter should not be resident with such an idle company as they are now, but should be counsellors to the bishop, men of great learning and virtue, helping to set in order the rest of the diocese, and observing that inferior priests did their duty. He would have none admitted priests until they were thirty years of age, because this admission of "frail youth," without proof of virtue and learning, is the ground and mother of all disorder in the Church and religion. "Of this fountain springeth all the slander of the Church by misbehaviour." The advantage of this would not be confined to the Church, because the common people ever look to the life of prelates and priests, taking them for an example.

As Latin and Greek are the foundation of all learning (p. 202), in the study of which those destined for the Church must pass their youth, *good schools must be founded* and presided over by prudent and learned masters. It would be well to unite two or three small schools, with incomes of ten pounds a-year, and make one good school with an excellent master. Above all things, let the school-master remember that he must study to bring up his pupils "no less in virtue than in learning ; for look, how they be customed in

youth, so after they follow the trade either of vice or virtue. Therefore there must be as much regard of the one as of the other. For the learning without virtue is pernicious." A similar order must be observed in the Universities, that the seed planted by the school-master may bring forth good and perfect fruit. *Universities and grammar schools require to be reformed.* The order of studies must be amended, and things which are now neglected must have attention. But how and by what means these reforms are to be brought about Pole cannot now show. Among the wise men who have written on this subject is the Bishop of Carpentras, whose counsel ought to be followed.

Lupset here (p. 204, par. 7) reminds Pole that he has not supplied certain officers who would be of service in our country. Pole would have in every great city one superior officer to see that all others did their duty. Like the Censors of Rome, Lupset replies; and then goes on to say that he would have yet another officer who should have charge of the ornaments and health of the city—an edile, in fact. Pole now proposes to conclude. Correct, he says, the general errors, especially the education of the nobility and clergy, and we shall have a near approach to a true commonwealth. We should have a multitude of people, an abundance of necessaries, and love one to another, "every one glad to help another to his power: to the intent that the whole might attain to that perfection which is determined to the dignity of man's nature." Lupset doubts the ability of law to bring man to this perfection,—and Pole confesses it cannot: it is only a means to an end. Christ alone can make man perfect: He alone can supply the law's defects. This is certainly the work of God (p. 207, par. 14), but He has ordained that man shall obtain no good without labour, diligence, and care. Christ used two means to establish His law at the beginning—example of life, and exhortation. And now it must be established chiefly by the preachers and by their godly living. It is needful therefore only to admit such to preach whose life and doctrine is proved to be good. "For now-a-days the *preachers slander the Word of God* rather than teach it, by their contrary life." True, answers Lupset, but how can we make them? Man cannot do it, is Pole's reply; he can only

make an ordinance that such alone as God has made worthy to preach shall receive the authority of a preacher. This man can do as well as ordain how he shall be brought up at the Universities. But this is not the place to enter upon it, especially as Erasmus has written his "Treatise on the Study of Divinity," and his "Book of the Preacher." Things are so far out of order that few men are less fit to preach the Gospel than those who profess to preach it: they are arrogant without meekness; all "affects" rule and reign in them, without any sparkle of reason. There is no need to show up their faults or their instruction, which Erasmus has done with eloquence and wisdom. An ordinance must be made commanding Heads of Colleges to see our youth brought up after the manner set forth by the Bishop of Carpentras and others. Then, in a few years, we should see preachers who would induce the people to follow the Gospel. But still all rests with God, who is "no acceptor of persons." How a man should "institute his mind to receive" sound doctrine Erasmus has shown in his "Instruction of a Christian Man."

Referring to public ordinances (p. 211, par. 16) Pole goes on to repeat what he has said of the necessity there is for *translating the Bible into English*, and having all public and private prayers in our mother tongue. It is thought that the putting of our law into English would be the destruction of religion; as though the law, if it were known, would make man forsake the law. And to have service in a strange tongue is like telling a tale to a deaf man. If preachers were well brought up, the Gospel faithfully translated, and all divine service in English, we should see more fruits of religion than we now do.

Thus briefly have been discussed during these three days (1) *What is a Commonwealth*, and in what it consists. (2) *What our country lacks* thereof. (3) How and by what means our *faults may be corrected*. And Pole, as it is late, wishes to end, unless Lupset has more to say.

Lupset has but one thing to remark upon:—As all men are bound to set forward this commonwealth, he would once more urge Pole not to allow this occasion to slip, lest men call him ungrateful

to his own country. Pole assures him that he lives but to serve his country, but "I must tarry my time." And this he repeats after Lupset has told him to put himself forward, that he must not wait to be called. To Pole's objection that he will not "spot his life with ambition," Lupset says, when men desire to bear office that they may advance this commonwealth, it is not ambition, but virtue. Sluggish minds live in corners and are content with private life, but noble hearts ever desire to govern for the good of the multitude. Pole declines to show his mind on these matters because it is late. He will defer the discussion of them till more convenient leisure. He begs Lupset to rest assured that he shall find no fault or negligence in him, but that he will ever find him ready to do his duty to his prince, his country, and his God.

NOTES.

Bysham, p. 1.—Bisham is a parish about four miles from Maidenhead. The Abbey, now the seat of G. Vansittart, Esq., was founded by the Knights Templars. In 1338 it was changed into an Augustinian Priory by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Some short time before the dissolution it was again changed, this time into a Benedictine Abbey. In 1518, the King and the Princess Mary retired to the Abbey on account of the prevalence of smallpox, measles, and the great sickness. The King presented it to Anne of Cleves. The Princess Elizabeth made it her home for about three years. Some of the Earls of Salisbury, Neville the King-maker, the famous Marquis of Montague, and Edward the last Plantagenet, were buried in the Abbey, but their monuments have all disappeared.

Archery, pp. 79, 160, 161.—"The legislature, it has been said, enjoined the assiduous practice of archery. The statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. I. cap. 6, enacts that 'every man between fifteen years of age and sixty years shall be assessed and sworn to armour, according to the quantity of his lands and goods. . . . For forty shillings lands, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a dagger. And all others that may shall have bows and arrows.' By statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV., all able-bodied men were required to employ their leisure at the butts, 'as valiant Englishmen ought to do.' But the Wars of the Roses had found the bowmen more than enough of practice, and the reaction from the fierce struggle between York and Lancaster was shown in the disinclination of the higher classes for the tilt-yard, and of the yeomen for exercise at the butts. Archery, therefore, was falling into disuse, when, in 1511, Parliament re-enacted the statute of Winchester, with the additional provisions that 'every man being the king's subject, not lame, decrepit, or maimed, being within the

age of sixty years, except spiritual men, justices of the one bench and of the other, justices of the assize, and barons of the exchequer, do use and exercise shooting in long-bows, and also do have a bow and arrows ready continually in his house to use himself in shooting. And that every man having a man child or men children in his house shall provide for all such, being of the age of seven years and above, and till they shall come to the age of seventeen years, a bow and two shafts to learn them and bring them up in shooting; and after such young men shall come to the age of seventeen years, every of them shall provide and have a bow and four arrows continually for himself at his proper costs and charges, or else of the gift and provision of his friends, and shall use the same as afore is rehearsed.' In 1541 an amended edition of this statute was passed. Amongst other additional provisions, each village was required to maintain a pair of butts, and no person under the age of twenty-four was to be permitted to shoot with the light-flight arrow at a distance of less than 200 yards; and that the games which had usurped the place of the archery-drill might be effectually abolished, it was enacted that 'no manner of artificer or craftsman of any handicraft or occupation, husbandman, apprentice, labourer, servant at husbandry, journeyman or servant of artificer, mariners, fishermen, watermen, or any serving man, shall from the . . . Feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, clash, coyting, logating, or any other unlawful game out of Christmas, under the pain of xx^s, to be forfeit for every time; and in Christmas to play at any of the said games in their masters' houses or in their masters' presence; and also that no manner of persons shall at any time play at any bowl or bowls in open places out of his garden or orchard, upon the pain for every time so offending to forfeit vi^s viii^d.'"—*St Paul's Mag.*, vol. v. pp. 330, 331, Art. *Rural England*, A.D. 1500—1550.

Annates or Firstfruits, pp. 126, 199.—The Acts passed restraining the payment of Annates to Rome, are 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

In the following year (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3) an Act was passed which provided that these Annates or Firstfruits should be paid to the Crown. In the next year (27 Hen. VIII. c. 8) an explanatory Act was passed. In the 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, c. 8, the whole of these Acts were repealed, but as soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne another Act (1 Eliz. c. 4) was passed again forbidding the payment of Annates to Rome, and commanding them to be paid to the Queen. What Annates or Firstfruits were, and to what extent the payments had reached, with the abuses, will be clearly seen from the preamble of the first Act referred to and from what follows it. "Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long experience, that great and inestimable sums of money are daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of money as the Pope's Holiness, his predecessors, and the Court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, or postulated to be Archbishops or Bishops within this Realm of England, under the title of Annates, otherwise called Firstfruits; which Annates or Firstfruits heretofore have been taken of every Archbishopric or Bishopric within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for confirmations, elections, admissions, postulations, provisions, collations, dispositions, institutions, installations, investitures, orders, holy benedictions, palls, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great sums of money, before they might receive any part of the fruits of the said Archbishopric or Bishopric, whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof, not only the treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveyed out of

the same, but also it hath happened many times, by occasion of death, unto such Archbishops and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their consecration, that his or their friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said Annates and Firstfruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished; and forbecause the said Annates have risen, grown, and increased, by an uncharitable custom, grounded upon no good or just title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the said Annates or Firstfruits have been paid, or surety made for the same; which declareth the said payments to be exacted and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice: The Noblemen therefore of this Realm, and the wise, sage, politic Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great sums of money, under the title of Annates or Firstfruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said prelates and this Realm; which Annates or Firstfruits were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian people against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and conscience; insomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of Rome, since the second year of Henry VII. unto this present time, under the name of Annates or Firstfruits, paid for the expedition of Bulls of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, the sum of 800,000 ducats, amounting in sterling money, at the least, to 160,000 pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm: And albeit, that our said Sovereign Lord the King, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, are as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any people be within any Realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annates or Firstfruits be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this Realm now represented by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and Commonwealth of this Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of Annates or Firstfruits: And because that divers prelates of this Realm are now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes above-said, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained."

The Act (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3) transferring these annates to the king seems to have given some cause for dissatisfaction. Thus in "Mors' Complaynt" we read:—"The Pope, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, made a law that every bishop should lack the first year all the fruits of his bishopric, though the bishop were so worthy his living the first year as the worthiest of all the Apostles. And he ordained that these Firstfruits should neither be given to blind nor lame, but to himself to maintain his pride.* This condition of the Pope is now confirmed in England with an Act of the Parliament, whereby not only bishops must pay the Firstfruits of their bishoprics, but also every parson and vicar of his benefice, and every lord the Firstfruits of his lands. In which Act the Pope's condition is not put away, but it is two parts greater than ever it

* See p. 200, l. 119.

was. For where the bishops did only pay the Firstfruits then, now the parsons pay, the vicars pay, the lords pay, and in conclusion all men must so often pay, pay, that a man, if he take not good heed, would think that the Latin *papa* were translated into English, here is so much paying on every side.”*

Dean Hook has the following note on “Tenth and Firstfruits :”—“The history of that property is remarkable. It was originally a papal usurpation: it was taken from the Pope and attached to the Crown by Henry VIII. ; it was given to the Church by Queen Mary ; it was again attached to the Crown by Queen Elizabeth ; it was restored to the Church by Queen Anne ; and now, through the medium of Queen Anne’s Bounty Board, it is administered by the bishops and deans of the English Church for the augmentation of poor benefices.”†

The Statute of Enclosure, p. 171.—The Statute against Enclosures was passed in the 7 of Henry VIII. The Preamble and Section I. are quoted by Mr Furnivall in the Introduction to Ballads, etc., p. 6. Other statutes on the subject may be seen in the same Work, also the Petition of 1514 and the King’s Proclamation in pursuance of it (pp. 101, 102). The following may also be quoted from the Appendix to Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. vol. ii., p. 1546 :—“Decree in Chancery by my Lord Cardinal, 12 July, 10 Henry VIII., that all who have pleaded the King’s pardon, or submitted to his mercy for enclosures, shall within forty days ‘pull down and lay abroad’ all enclosures and ditches since the 1 Henry VII., under a penalty of £100, unless they can bring evidence that such enclosure is more beneficial to the commonwealth than the pulling down thereof, or is not against the statutes about the decay of houses.”

The statutes prohibiting enclosures had remained, especially in the northern counties, unenforced ; and the small farmers and petty copyholders, hitherto thriving and independent, found themselves at once turned out of their farms, and deprived of the resource of the commons. They had suffered frightfully, and they saw no reason for their sufferings. From the Trent northward, a deep and angry spirit of discontent had arisen, which could be stirred easily into mutiny. Froude, iii. 93 (1536).

Gluttony and Drunkenness, pp. 87, 94, 95, 171, 172.—“We send to other nations to have their commodities, and all is too little to feed our filthy flesh. But the singular commodities within our own realm we abhor and throw forth as most vile, noisome matter. Avidiously we drink the wines of other lands ; we buy up their fruits and spices, yea, we consume in apparel their silks and their velvets. But, alas ! our own noble monuments [of learning] and precious antiquities, which are the great beauty of our land, we as little regard as the parings of our nails.”—*Bale’s Leylande’s Laborious Journey*, ed. 1549, lf. 39.

“What comessacyon, drunkenness, detestable swearing by all the parts of Christ’s body (and yet calling them in scorn ‘hunting oaths’), extortion, pride, covetousness, and such other detestable vice reign in this your realm.”—*Supplication to Our Sov. Lord*.

In 1518 (Oct. 5), the bridal ceremonies connected with the betrothal of Mary to the Dauphin commenced at Greenwich. The bill of fare for October 7 included the following :—

Bread, 3000 loaves (13 qrs. 7 bushels of wheat).	Ale, 6 tuns, 7 hhd.
Wine, 3 tuns, 2 pipes.	Beeves, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ carcasses.
	Muttons, 56 carcasses.

* The Complaynt of ‘Roderyck Mors, chap. xvi., 1536. See also Froude, i. pp. 353—357 ; vi. 397-8.

† Lives of the Archbishops, iii. 399, note, N.S.

Veals, 17.	Pigeons, 384.
Porks, 3.	Quails, 150.
Fat hogs, 4.	Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.	Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.	Pears, 3000.
Kentish capons, 67.	Apples, 1300.
Coarse capons, 84.	Butter, 367 dishes.
Chickens, 324.	Eggs, 2500.
Pullets, 30.	Cream, 16½ gallons.
Swans, 15.	Milk, 16 gallons.
Cranes, 6.	Frumenty, 6 gallons.
Rabbits, 372.	Curd, 7 gallons.
Rabbits, young, 24.	Flour, 2 qrs. 4 bushels.
Partridges, 42.	Mustard, 6 gallons.
Plovers, 132.	Vinegar, 6 „
Teals, 78.	Verjuice, 4 „

Although we have omitted many things, the above will give some idea of the enormous quantity of food which was got rid of in some way. Doubtless much was given away in alms, and much wasted, but allowing for these there remains enough to lead us to believe that the charge of gluttony and drunkenness was made on good grounds.—*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII. vol. ii., 1515. See also Preface, clxiii.

In November following an Embassy of four persons was sent to France. Unfortunately a storm compelled them to leave a part of their train behind them. On the 1st of December, the mayor and merchants of Abbeville presented them with *three puncheons of wine*. On the 3rd, they were at Amiens, where, being Friday, the burgesses offered them great carps, great pikes, trouts, barbels, crevisses, great eels, and *four puncheons of wine*.—*Ib.* Pref. clxvi.

Then as now the ale-house competed with the church:—

“ And lightly in the country
 They be placéd so
 That they stand in men's way
 When they should to church go.
 And then such as love not
 To hear their faults told,
 By the minister that readeth
 The New Testament and Old,
 Do turn into the ale-house,
 And let the church go.”—*Crowley's Epigrams*, l. 6 (1550).

“ Few of our drunkards
 Do use to rise early;
 But much of the night
 They will drink lustily.

But, alas! many curates,
 That should us this tell,
 Do all their parishioners
 In drinking excel.”—*Ib.* lf. 17.

Gambling, pp. 77, 171, 172.—The 33 Henry VIII. c. 9, was passed “for the maintenance of Artillery, and debarring unlawful games.” It enacted that no manner of persons of what degree, quality, or condition soever, should for

“gain, lucre, or living” keep any place for bowling, coiting, closh-cayles, half-bowl, tennis, dicing table or carding, or any other manner of game prohibited by any former statute, or any unlawful new game now invented or made.

In an account of a banquet given by Wolsey, we are told of the guests that “after gratifying their palates, they gratified their eyes and hands; large bowls, filled with ducats and dice, were placed on the tables for such as liked to gamble.”—*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., ii, c. lxi.

Latimer says, there is such dicing-houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also.—*Sermons*, p. 161.

The nineteenth article to be inquired of the clergy of Canterbury by Pole was “Whether any of them do use unlawful games, as dice, cards, and otherwise, whereby they grow to slander and evil report?”

Gambling seems to have been common among all classes.

Wool, Tin, Lead, p. 173.—Crowley, in his epigrams, sums up the advantages of these three products thus :

“This realm hath three commodities,
Wool, tin, and lead,
Which being wrought within the realm,
Each man might get his bread.”

Dress, pp. 89, 90, 174.—“Is there not such excess and costliness of apparel because of diversity and change of fashions, that scarce a worshipful man’s lands, which in times past was wont to find and maintain twenty or thirty tall yeomen, a good plentiful household for the relief and comfort of many poor and needy; and the same now is not sufficient and able to maintain the heir of the same lands, his wife, her gentlewoman or maid, two yeomen, and one lackey? The principal cause hereof is their costly apparel, and specially their manifold and diverse changes of fashions, which the man, and specially the women, must wear upon both head and body. Sometime cap, sometime hood; now the French fashion, now the Spanish fashion; then the Italian fashion, and then the Milan fashion; so that there is no end of consuming of substance, and that vainly and all to please the proud foolish man and women’s fancy. Hereof springeth great misery and need.”—*Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord, etc.*, 1544. The mischiefs arising from this excess according to this writer we need not quote.

Acts of Parliament vainly endeavoured to regulate dress. See 37 Edw. III. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, where the apparel of all classes from the plowman to the esquire is regulated. The Acts 3 Edw. IV. c. 5, and 22 Edw. IV. c. 1, were repealed by 1 Henry VIII. c. 14, and another Act substituted. This is probably the statute referred to on p. 174, l. 1089. The Act 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 2, for the reformation of excess in apparel, may also be referred to.

Laws in English, p. 193.—As far back as 1362 the attention of the Legislature was called to this subject. “Because the Laws, Customs, and Statutes of the said Realm be not commonly known in the same Realm, for that they be pleaded, shewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said Realm, so that the people which implead, or be impleaded, in the King’s Courts, and in the Courts of others, have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their serjeants and other pleaders; and that reasonably the said Laws and Customs would be the more learned and known, and better understood, in the tongue used in the said Realm, and by so much every man of the said Realm might the better govern himself without offending the law all pleas which shall be pleaded in the Realm, shall be

pleaded, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and . . . entered and inrolled in Latin."—36 Edw. III. c. 15.

Peter-Pence, p. 116.—King Offa (died 793). is said to have established the tribute called Peter's pence. He is said to have founded a Saxon hostelry in Rome for the use of students, and this tax of a penny on each house was for its support. Edward I. was the first who objected to pay tribute to Rome. The statute passed in his reign (35 Ed. I.) was confirmed by the 4th and 5th Ed. III. The Statutes of Provisors enacted in this latter reign may also be consulted. Edward refused to pay the tribute, and his nobles supported him (Ranke, *Popes*, p. 13, ed. 1859). The payment of Peter's pence was forbidden by the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. This Act was repealed by 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, and revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1. The tribute sometimes went under the name of Romescot, sometimes Rome fee (Rome-feoh).—*Minsheu*.

Bishop of Carpentras, pp. 203, 210.—Jacopo Sadoletto, Jacques Sadolet, Jacobus Sadoletus, James Sadolet, a man well spoken of for piety, benevolence, and learning, was born at Modena in 1477. He was educated at Ferrara and Rome, where he gained admission into the family of Cardinal O. Caraffa. His scholarship attracted the attention of Leo X., by whom he was made a papal secretary, and rewarded with the bishopric of Carpentras.

By Adrian VI. and Clement VII. he was employed but a short time, and was then allowed to retire to Carpentras. Here his house became the resort of the learned, and he gained for himself the title of father of his people. By Paul III. he was created a cardinal, and accompanied that pontiff to Nice when he negotiated between the Emperor and the King of France. But with Paul his straightforwardness was not more acceptable than it had been with Adrian and Clement, and he once more turned his steps to Carpentras.

The purity of Sadoletto's Latinity was praised by Erasmus as being superior to his own. His works were numerous, and are said to have shown considerable reading. His Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul was, at the instance of his enemies, condemned at Rome. This caused him some annoyance, and led him to appeal to the Pope, by whom the book was declared to be catholic.

He lived on friendly terms with Melancthon and Calvin. When Zuingle died, and Erasmus and Luther spoke severely of him, Sadoletto dwelt chiefly upon those points in his character which he could praise.*

Pole seems to have spent two or three years at the Monastery of Carpentras, and having commenced or renewed his acquaintance with this excellent and amiable man at Avignon, to have continued a warm friend until Sadoletto's death in 1547.

The book referred to in the text in such laudatory terms is entitled *De Liberis recte instituentis*. It was published in 1533, and became very popular.

Ediles—Public Health, p. 205.—The need of some authority to regulate cities and towns was forced upon men's minds by the prevalence of the Sweating Sickness. Erasmus wrote to Wolsey's Physician, suggesting among other remedies, the appointment of ediles, in the following words:—"I am frequently astonished and grieved to think how it is that England has been now for so many years troubled by a continual pestilence, especially by a deadly sweat, which appears in a great measure to be peculiar to your country. I have read how a city was once delivered from a plague by a change in the houses, made at the suggestion of a philosopher.† I am inclined to think that this also must be the deliverance of England.

Hook's *Archbishops*, iii. 49, N.S.

† The "philosopher" which changed the houses and delivered London was the Great Fire of 1666.

"First of all, Englishmen never consider the aspect of their doors and windows; next, their chambers are built in such a way as to admit of no ventilation. Then a great part of the walls of the house is occupied with glass casements, which admit light, but exclude the air, and yet they let in the draft through holes and corners, which is often pestilential and stagnates there. The floors are in general laid with a white clay, and are covered with rushes, occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale-droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. Whenever the weather changes a vapour is exhaled, which I consider very detrimental to health. . . . I am confident the island would be much more salubrious if the use of rushes were abandoned, and if the rooms were built in such a way as to be exposed to the sky on two or three sides, and all the windows so built as to be opened or closed at once; and so completely closed as not to admit the foul air through chinks; and for as it is beneficial to health to admit the air, so is it equally beneficial to exclude it. The common people laugh at you if you complain of a cloudy or foggy day. Thirty years ago if ever I entered a room which had not been occupied for some months I was sure to take a fever. More moderation in diet, and especially in the use of salt meats, might be of service; more particularly were public Ediles appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud and urine, and the suburbs kept in better order."—*Letters and Papers*, Hen. VIII. vol. 2, ccix. note.

Erasmus, pp. 210, 211.—The Treatise on the Study of Divinity is *Paraclesis, id est adhortatio ad Christianæ philosophiæ Studium*, 1st ed. 1518.

The Book of the Preacher is, *Ecclesiastes, sive de ratione Concionandi*, 1st ed. 1535.

The Instruction of a Christian Man is probably the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, 1st ed. 1503. Erasmus also wrote *Institutio principis Christiani*, and *Symbolum sive Catechismus*.

Ypres, p. 176.—A hundred years ago there were in Ypres three hospitals for the sick; one house for poor old men, another for poor old women; one hospital for educating poor boys, another for poor girls. In these both boys and girls were taught how to get their living, and supplied with a sum of money on leaving, to enable them to start in the world.

In addition there was a bequinage where unmarried women lived, receiving a small allowance which, added to what they earned or had, was enough to keep them. They dressed alike as a sisterhood, and were free to marry, but seldom did so.* I have not ascertained when these various institutions were established, nor who were their founders.

I am indebted to Mr W. M. Wood for the following account of the practice in Venice about this time:

"Of common provision and charitable deedes.—They diligent vse in prouision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good cheape, theyr common graner (whiche is a myghtie greate house) is in maner alwayes furnisshed. So that lyghtly in the citee can be no great dearth, because many times of their owne common purse, they are contented to lose for the poore peoples reliefe (thoug another time they pay them selves the double).—They haue also certaine schooles or felowships, gathered together for deuocion, as one of sainte Marke, an other of saint Rooke, one of this saint, an other of that, which (beyng for the most part substanciall men) doe releue a nnumber of the poore after this sorte.—They geue them oncs a yere a course liuery, with

* See Martinière's *Grand Dictionnaire, Geographique, Historique, &c.*, Paris, 1768.

a certaine smal stipende, for the which the poore man is bound to carie a taper at one of the bretherne or sisters burial; and, besides that, to attend certeine holidiaies at the schoole, where the principal bretherne assemble, to dispose vnto the mariage of poore younge women, and in other good woorkes, that parte of money that theyr rate for the time dooeth allow; and afterwards (wyth theyr priestes and clerkes) goe a procession a certayne circuite, in the which the pore men lyke wyse cary their tapers before them.—Furthermore, there are certeine hospitalles, some for the sicke and diseased, and some for poore orphanes, in which they are nourished vp til they come vnto yeres of seruice; and than is the man childe put vnto a craft, and the maidens kepte till they be maried. If she be fayre, she is sone had, and little money geuen with hir; if she be foule, they auance hir with a better porcion of money.—For the plague, there is an house of many lodgeinges, two miles from Venice, called the *Lazaretta*, vnto the whiche all they of that house, wherin one hath been infected of the plague, are incontinently sent, and a lodgeyng sufficiente appointed for them till the infection cease, that they may retourne.—Finally, for prisoners, they haue this order: Twise a yeere, at Christmas and Easter, the *Auditori* dooe visite all the prisones in Venice, and there geue audience vnto all creaditours that haue anye debtour in prison for the summe of .50. duckates and vnder. If the partye be liable to paie, daies are geuen, and sureties founde; and if the debt be desperate, than doe they them selves agree with the partie for more or lesse, as the likelihode is, and pay hym of the common purse. So that ere euer they departe, they empty the prisones of all them that lie for that summe.”—*The Historye of Italye, &c.*, by William Thomas, edit. 1561, the chapter on leaves 82 and 83, under the general heading “The Venetian Astate.”

[The Dialogue.]

[PART I.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1. ¹ **Lupset.**—Much [tyme] past, *Master Pole*,² [1] haue desyryd [greatly to commyn] wyth yow, [beyng] mouyd therto by the [great] frenchype *and* famylyaryte wych, of youth growyng betwyx vs, ys now so by 4
vertue incresyd *and* confyrmyd, that nature hathe not so sure a band *and* knot to coupul *and* joyne any hartys togyddur in true lou[e] *and* amyte. Wherfor I am 14
ryght glad, *Mastur Pole*, that I haue, now at thys tyme, here found you, both, as me semyth, at conuenyent leser to commyn *and* talke, *and* also in thys 10
place of Bysham, where as the image *and* memory of your old aunceturys of grete nobylyte, schal, as I trust, styr *and* moue your hart *and* mynd to the same purpos that I wold now *and* long haue desyryd to commyn 14
vnto you.

L. has long desired to talk with Pole,

and is glad to find him at leisure.

2. **Pole.**—Troth hyt ys that leyser here, as you say, lakkyth non at al; but, I pray you, what ys that, gud Mastur *Lupset*, that you seme so ernystely to wyl? Hyt apperyth to be, by your begynnynge, some grete 19
mater *and* weyghty.

P. asks, "What is the matter?"

¹ The numbers are not in the MS., but are inserted for convenience of reference.

² In the MS. proper names and the words which commence a fresh sentence frequently begin with a small letter. For the sake of uniformity, capital letters have been substituted in all such cases.

L. replies,
"The matter
concerns the
whole of your
life.

3. **Lupset.**—Troth hyt ys a grete mater in dede,
and, as to me hyt semyth, touchyng the hole ordur
of your lyfe, *Master Pole* ; and schortly to schow you,
24 wythout long cyrcumstaunce, thys hyt ys. I haue
much *and* many tymys maruelyd, resonyng wyth my
selfe, why you, *Master Pole*, aftur so many yerys spent
in quyet studys of letturys *and* lernyng, *and* aftur such
experyence of the manerys of *man*, taken in dyuerse
29 *partyes* beyond the see, haue not before thys settyllyd
your selfe *and* applyd your mynd to the handelyng of
the materys of the *commyn wele* here in our owne
natyon ; to the intent that bothe your frendys *and* *cun-*
trey myght now at the last receyue *and* take some frute
34 of your long studys, wherin you haue spent your hole
youth, as I euer toke hyt, to the same purpos *and* end.
You know ryght wel, *Master Pole*, that to thys al men
are borne *and* of nature brought forth, to *commyn* such
gyftys as be to them gyuen, ych one to the profyt of
other, in *perfayt* cyuylyte ; and not to lyue to theyr
40 owne plesure *and* profyt, wyth[out] regard of the wele
of theyr *cuntrey*, forgettyng al justyce *and* equyte. I
nede not to reherse to [you] (to whome the storys are
bettur knowne then to me,) the exampul of *Plato*,
Lycurgus, nor of *Solon*, by whose wysdome *and* pollycy
45 dyuerse cytes, *cuntreys* *and* natyonyys were broug[h]t to
cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke lyfe ; wych, yf they had not
regardyd, but folowyd theyr owne *pryuate plesure *and*
fantasy, had yet remeynyd in theyr old rudenes, *and*
lyuyd lyke wylde bestys in the woodys, wythout lawys
50 *and* rulyys of honesty. Wherfor me semyth, who so
euer he be wych, drawn by the swetenes of hys studys,
and by hys owne quyetnes *and* plesure mouyd, leuyth
the cure of the *commyn wele* *and* pollycy, he dowth
manyfest wrong to hys *cuntrey* *and* frendys, *and* ys
playn vniust *and* ful of iniquyte ; as he that regardyth
56 not hys offyce *and* duty, to the wych, aboue all, he ys

After so much
study you must

apply yourself
to the
commonwealth,

as *Plato*, *Lycur-*
gus, and *Solon*
did,

[* Page 28.]

or you wrong
your country,
and neglect
your duty.

most bounden by nature. Of thys, Mastur Pole, many 57
 men dow you accuse, saying that, syns you haue byn of Men blame you
 even now
 for this neglect ;
 your cuntrey so wel nuryschyd *and* brought vp, so wel
 set forward to geddur prudence *and* wyse[dom], you
 ought now to study to maynteyn *and* avaunce the wele
 of thys same your cuntrey,¹ to the wych you are bounden
 no les then the chyld to the father, when he ys by 63
 syknes or age *impotent and* not of powar to helpe hym
 selfe. You see your cuntrey, as me semyth, requyre you see your
 country require
 your help, but
 give no heed
 thereto."
 your helpe, and, as hyt were, cry *and* cal vnto you
 besyly for the same, *and* you, as drownyd in the plesure
 of letturys *and* pryuate studys, gyue no yere therto ; 68
 but, forgettyng hyr vtturly, suffur her styl to want your
 helpe *and* succur apon your behalfe, not wythout gret
 iniury. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, now at the last wake
 out of thys dreame ; remembyr your cuntrey, loke to
 your frendys, *consydur* your offyce *and* duty that you 73
 are most bounden vnto. And so now thys you haue
 breuely hard the cause of my cummyng *and* purpos at
 thys tyme.

4. *Pole*.—Maystur *Lupset*, your purpos is gud, *and*
 touchyth, as you sayd, no smal mater. In dede, hyt P. owns it is
 a noble virtue to
 serve one's
 country,
 can not be denyd but hyt ys a gudly thyng to med-
 dyl wyth the materys of the *commyn* wel, *and* a nobul
 vertue to dow gud to our frendys *and* cuntrey, to the 81
 wych, as you say, we are borne *and* brought forthe.
 Wherfor not wythout a cause you exhorte me therto, [Page 29.]
 as to the end of al mannys studys *and* actys, *and* [the]
 best thyng in thys lyfe to be atteynynd vnto. Thys ys
 your purpos ; but, *Master Lupset*, here we must a lytyl 86
 stey. Me semyth you remembyr not the *commyn* say-
 ing, "He was neuer gud mastur that neuer was scoler,
 nor neuer gud capitayne that neuer was soudiar." I
 thynke hyt veray *conuenient*, befor I begyn to meddyl but before we
 can rule others,
 we must learn
 to rule
 ourselves.

¹ "cuntrey" is slightly scored out.

wyth the rule of other, surely to lerne to rule myselfe ;
for he that *can* not *gouerne* one, vndowtydly lakkyth

93 craft to *gouerne* many. I neuer hard of any maryner
abul to *gouerne* a gret schyppe, wych neuer could
gouerne wel a lytyl botte. Wherfor, when I haue had
suffycyent experyence of the rulyng of my selfe, *and* by
the opynyon of other jugyd to dow that ryght wel,

When he has
had experience
he will do his
best,

98 then, *perauentur*, I wyl not refuse the causys of my cun-
trey *and* rulyng of other. How be hyt, *Master Lvpset*,
in your *communycatyon*, me semyth, lyth no smal dowte.
I wold be glad to dow the best, *and* that to folow

102 wherin lyth the *perfectyon* of man ; but wether hyt
stond in the actyue lyfe, *and* in admynstratyon of the
maters of the *commyn* wel, as you seme to say, or els
in the *contemplatiue* *and* knolege of thynges, hyt ys
not al sure. For, seyng the *perfectyon* of man restyth in
the mynd *and* in the chefe *and* puryst parte therof,

either in active
or contemplative
life.

108 wych ys reson *and* intellygence, hyt semyth, wythout
dowte, that knolege of God, of nature, *and* of al the
workys therof, schold be the end of mannys lyfe, *and*
the chefe poynt therin of al men to be lokyd vnto.

[* Page 30.]
Old philosophers
applied them-
selves to study,

Wherfor the old *and* antique **phylosopharys* forsoke
the medelyng with materys of *commyn* welys, *and*
applyd themselfys to the secrete studys *and* serchyng

115 of nature as to the chefe thyng wherin semyd to rest
the *perfectyon* of man ; and thus to them hyt apperyd
that prudence *and* pollycy were not to be comparyd
wyth hye *phylosophye*. Bettur hyt semyd to them to
know God *and* the hole course of nature then to know
the ordur *and* rule of cytes *and* townys ;—bettur to

and thought
philosophy best :

and that it was
better to know
nature's laws
than man's.

121 know the lawys that nature hath set in mannys hart
surely, then the lawys wych mannys wyt hath deuysyd
by pollycy ;—of the wych, the one *perteynyth* to the
cyuyle *and* polytyke lyfe ; the other, to the quyat *and*

125 *contemplatyue*. Wherfor, though I were in dede apte to
meddyl wyth the materys of the *commyn* wele, yet hyt

may be dowtyd, *Master Lvpset*, as hyt apperyth, whether 127
hyt be best so to dow or not.

5. *Lvpset*.—Wel, *Master Pole*, as touchyng your
aptenes, I wyl now no ferther reson, of the wych no
man doth dowte : wherfor thys ys but an excuse ; *and*
so that *parte* I wyl leue. But, Syr, of your dowt I 132
somewhat wyth my selfe now dow maruayle. For
though hyt be so that many of the auneyent phylo-
sopharys, for the mayntenaunce of theyr idul *and* slomer-
yng lyfe, dowtyd much therof, yet, me semyth, you,
aftur so many yerys had in the study of the scole of 137

Arystotyl, schold no thyng dowte therin at al ; in so
much as he techyth *and* scho[w]yth most manifestely
the perfectyon of man to stond joyntely in both,
and nother in the bare contemplatyon *and* knolege of
thyngys separat from al besynes of the world, nother in 142

L. says
Aristotle taught
that perfection
consists in
contemplation
joined to an
active life.

the admynstratyon of materys of the commyn wele,
wythout any ferther regard *and* dyrectyon therof ; for
of them, aftur hys *sentence*, the one ys the end of the
other. As we may also see by commyn experyence, al
laburys, besynes, *and* trauayle of wyse men, handelyd 147

in materys of the commyn wel, are euer referryd to thys
end *and* purpos, that the *hole body of the commynalty
may lyue in quyetnes *and* tranquyllyte ; euery *parte*
dowyng hys offyce *and* duty ; *and* so, as much as the
nature of man wyl suffer, al to attayne to theyr natural 152
perfectyon. To thys euery honest man, medelyng in the

[* Page 31.]

commyn wele, ought to loke chiefely vnto ; thys ys the
marke that euery man, prudent *and* polytyke, ought to
schote at ; fyrst, to make hymselfe perfayte, wyth al
vertues garnyschyng hys mynd ; *and* then to commyn
the same perfectyon to other. For lytyl avaylyth vertue
that ys not publyschyd abrode to the profyt of other ;
lytyl avaylyth tresore closyd in coffurys, wych neuer ys 160
communyed to the succur of other ; for al such gyftys of
God *and* nature must euer be applyd to the commyn

Every man
must strive to
make himself
perfect, and then
try to improve
others,

- 163 *profyt and vtylyte*. Wherby *man*, as much as he may,
 thus following the nature of God; schal euer folow the nature of God, whose infynyte
 gudnes ys by thys chefely declaryd *and* openyd to the
 world, that to euery thyng *and* creature he gyuyth
parte therof, accordyng to theyr nature *and* capacitye.
- 168 So that vertue *and* lernyng, not *communyd* to other, ys
 lyke vnto ryches hepyd in cornerys, neuer applyd to
 the vse of other.
- (5.) Therfor hyt ys not suffycyent, a man to get
 knolege *and* vertue, delytyng hymselfe only therwyth,
- 173 as the old phylosopharys dyd, wych toke such plesure
 in pryuate studys, that they despysyd the polytyke
 lyfe of *man*; but chefely he must study to *commyn*
 hys vertues to the profyte of other. *And* thys ys the
 end of the cyuyle lyfe, or, as me semyth, rather the
- 178 true admynystratyon of the *commyn* wele; the wych you
 see now, Mastur Pole, how thes phylosopharys, by
 whose exampul you appere to excuse your selfe, most
 avoydyd *and* vniustely fled, ouer much delytyng in
 and this the philosophers did not do. theyr owne pryuate studys. How be hyt, I wyl not yet
- 183 say *and* playnly affyrme that therin they dyd vtterly
 nought, so absteynyng from the *commyn* wele; the
 wych, *perauentur*, they *dyd, other bycause they found
 [* Page 32.] themselfe not met to the handelyng of such materys,
 or els bycause they wold, as you sayd of your selfe,
- 188 fyrst lerne to rule themselfe befor they toke upon them
 any rule of other. But thys one thyng I dare affyrme,
 —that yf they dyd for thys purpos abstayne, as therby
 to attayne hyar *perfectyon*, *and* so to folow the best
 trade of lyfe, then they surely were deceyuyd; for
- 193 though hyt be so that lernyng *and* knolege of nature be
 a plesaunt thyng, *and* a hye *perfectyon* of mannys
 mynd *and* nature, yet yf you sundurly compare hyt
 Knowledge is not to be compared to justice;
 wyth justyce *and* pollycy, vndowtydly hyt ys not to
 be preferryd therto as a thyng rather to be chosen *and*
- 198 folowyd. For who ys he so fer wythout reson, that

wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study *and* for who would not help his country rather than know the secrets of nature?
 labur, know al the secretys of nature, leue al that
 asyde, *and* apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole
 cuntrey by prudence *and* pollycy, non other wyse then
 he wold dow wych lakkyth fode necessary to hys body,
 rather procure that, then the knolege of al natural 204
 phylosophy?

(5.) For euer that wych ys best ys not of al men
 nor at al tymys to be persuyd; hyt ys mete for a
 man beyng syke rather to procure hys helth, then to
 study about the procuryng of the commyn welth. Hyt 209
 ys bettur, as Arystotyl sayth, for a man being in gret
 pouerty, rather to procure some ryches then hye phylo-
 sophy; *and* yet phylosophy of hyt selfe, as al men know,
 ys fer to be preferryd aboue al wordly ryches. *And* so, But philosophy is to be preferred to riches,
 lyke wyse, al be hyt that* hye phylosophy *and* contempla- [* Page 33.]
 tyon of nature be of hyt selfe a grettur perfectyon of 215
 mannys mynd, as hyt wych ys the end of the actyue lyfe,
 to the wych al mennys dedys schold euer be referryd; yet
 the medelyng wyth the causys of the commyn wel ys
 more necessary, *and* euer rather *and* fyrst to be chosen,
 as the pryncypal mean wherby we may attayne to the
 other. For hyther tendyth al prudence *and* pollycy, to 221
 bryng the hole cuntrey to quyetnes *and* cyuylyte, that
 euery man, *and* so the hole, may at the last attayn to
 such perfectyon as by nature ys to the dygnyte of man
 dew; wych, as hyt semyth, restyth in the commynyng
 of al such vertues, as to the dygnyte of man are con- 226
 uenyent, to the profyt of other lyuyng togydur in
 cyuyle lyfe *and* polytyke; ye, *and*, as hyt were, in the
 formyng of other to theyr natural perfectyon. For lyke
 as the body of man ys then most perfayt in hys nature
 when hyt hath powar to gendur a nother lyke therunto, 231
 so ys the mynd then most perfyte when hyt communyth
and sprethyth hys vertues abrode, to the instructyon of
 Man's mind is most perfect

- when it
endeavours to
communicate that
which is good to
others ;
- 234 other ; then hyt ys most lyke vnto the nature of God,
whose infynyte vertue ys therin most perceuyd, that
he commynyth hys gudnes to al creaturys—to some
more, to some les, accordyng to theyr nature *and*
dygnyte. Wherfor hyt ys not to be dowtyd, but yf thos
- 239 antyent phylosopharys, mouyd by any plesure of theyr
secrete studys, abhorryd thys from the polytyke lyfe
and from thys commynyng of theyr vertues to the
profyt of other in cyuylyte, they were gretely to be
blamyd, *and* by no mean *can* be excusyd, as they wych
- 244 pretermytyd *and* left theyr chefe offyce *and* duty, to
the wych they were by nature most bounden. For, as
you playnly, Mastur Pole, now see, the perfectyon of
man stondyth not in bare knolege **and* lernyng wyth-
out applycatyon of hyt to any vse or profyt of other ;
- not in obtaining
knowledge
without
application.
[* Page 34.]
- 249 but the veray perfectyon of mannys mynd restyth in
the vse *and* exerceyse of al vertues *and* honesty, *and*
chefely in the chefe vertue, where vnto tend al the
other, wych ys dowteles the *communyn*g of hys wys-
dome to the vse of other, in the wych stondyth mannys
- 254 felycyte. So that thys, *Master* Pole, now you, I trow,
playnly dow see, that yf you wyl folow the trade of the
ancyent phylosopharys, you schal not folow that thyng
wych I am sure you aboue al other most desyre ;—that
ys to say, the best kynd of lyfe *and* most conuenyent to
- So the ancient
philosophers
must not be
followed.
- 259 the nature of man, wych ys borne to *commyn* cyuylyte,
one euer to be redy to helpe another, by al gud *and*
ryght pollycy.
6. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master* Lvpset, you haue ryght wel
satisfyd me in my dowte, I *can* not deny ; but yet (in
- P. says one
doubt is
removed,
- 264 so much as your *communycatyon* ys groundyd on that
wych semyth dowtful) therwyth you haue brought me
into a nother getur then that. You sayd last of al, *that*
man ys borne *and* of nature brought forth to a cyuylyte,
and to lyue in polytyke ordur,—the wych thyng to me
- but a greater
is left.
- 269 semyth clene contrary. For yf you cal thys cyuylyte *and*

- lyuyng in polytyke ordur, a commynalty to lyue other vnder a prynce or a commyn counsel in cytes *and* townys, me semyth man schold not be borne therto, for as much as man at the begynnyng lyuyd many yerys wyt[h]out any such pollycey ; at the wych tyme he lyuyd more *vertusely*, *and* more accordyng to the dygnyte of hys nature, then he doth now in thys wych you cal polytyke ordur *and* cyuylyte. We see also now in our days thos *men* wych lyue out of cytes *and* townys, *and* haue fewyst lawys to be gouernyd by, lyue bettur then other dow in theyr gudly cytes neuer so wel byllyd *and* inhabytyd, gouernyd wyth so many lawys for commyn. You see by experyence in grete cytes most vyce, most suttylty *and* craft ; and, contrary, euer in the rude cuntrey *most study of vertue *and* veray true symplycyte. You se what adultery, murdur, *and* vyce ; what vsury, craft, *and* dysceyte ; what glotony *and* al plesur of body, ys had in cytes *and* townys, by the reson of thys socyety *and* cumpany of men togydur, wych al in the cuntrey *and* rude lyfe of them ys avoyded, by the reson that they lyfe not togydur aftur your cyuylyte. Therefore yf thys be cyuyle lyfe *and* ordur, to lyue in cytes *and* townys wyth so much vyce *and* mysordur, me seme man schold not be borne therto, but rather to lyfe in the wyld forest, ther more folowyng the study of vertue, as hyt ys sayd men dyd in the golden age, where in man lyuyd accordyng to hys natural dygnyte.
7. *Lvpset*.—Nay, Maystur Pole, you take the mater amys. Thys ys not the cyuyle lyfe that I mean,—to lyue togydur in cytes *and* townys so fer out of ordur, as hyt were a multytude conspyryng togeddur in vyce, one takyng plesure of a nother wythout regard of honesty. But thys I cal the cyuyle lyfe, contrary, lyuyng togydur in gud *and* polytyke ordur, one euer redy to dow gud to a nother, and, as hyt were, conspyryng togydur in
- 272 aurea etas¹
Man at the beginning lived more virtuously than now,
- 277 and men out of cities live better than those in them.
- 282 [* Page 35.]
- 287 And so he thinks it better to live in a forest and study virtue,
- 293 as men did in the "golden age."
- 299 L. says, "You take me amiss.
- Civil life is the living together in virtue,
- 304

¹ In margin of MS.

- 305 al *vertue and honesty*. Thys ys the veray true *and cyuyle lyfe*; *and* though hyt be so that *man* abusyth the *socyety and cumpany* of *man* in *cytes and townys*, *gyuyng hymselfe* to al *vyce*, yet we may not therfor cast *downe cytes and townys, and dryue man* to the *woodys*
- and if men do not so live, the fault is in them, not in cities.
- 310 *agayne and wyld forestys*, wherin he lyuyd at the fyrst *begynnyng rudely*; the faut wherof ys nother in the *cytes nor townys*, nother in the *lawys ordeynyd therto*, but hyt ys in the *malyce of man*, wych abusyth *and turnyth* that thyng wych myght be to *hys welth and*
- 315 *felycyte* to *hys owne dystructyon and mysery*; as he doth al most al thyng that *God and nature* hath *proudyd* to hym for the *mayntenance* of *hys lyfe*. For how abusyth he *hys helth, strangth, and buety,*
- 319 *hys wyt, lernyng, and pollycy*; how al *maner of metys and drynkys* to the *vayn plesure* of the *body*; *ye, and schortly* to say, *euery thyng* al most he abusyth; *and yet they thynges* are not therfor vtturnly *to be cast away, nor to be taken from the *vse of man*. And so
- Man abuses almost every-thing, [* Page 36.]
- 324 the *socyety and cumpany* of *man* ys not to be *accusyd* as the cause of *thys mysordur*, but rather such as be *grete, wyse, and polytyke men*, wych *flye from offyce and authoryte*, by whose *wysdome* the *multytude* myght be *conteynyd and kept* in *gud ordur and cyuy-*
- and those who avoid office are to blame for it;
- 329 *lyte*; such I say are rather to be *blamyd*. For, lyke as by the *persuasyon* of *wyse men*, in the *begynnyng*, *men* were brought from *theyr rudenes and bestyal lyfe*, to *thys cyuylyte* so natural to *man*, so by lyke *wysdome* they must be *conteynyd and kept* therin. Therfor, *Master Pole*, wythout any mo *cauyllatyonys*, me *semyth*, hyt schold be best for you to apply your *mynd* to be of the
- and so it would be well for you to do what you can."
- 336 *nombur* of them wych study to *restor thys cyuyle ordur, and maynteyn thys vertuose lyfe*, in *cytes and townys* to the *commyn vtylyte*.

8. **Pole.**—As for *cauyllatyonys*, *Master Lvpset*, I purpos to make non, except you cal them *cauyllatyonys*

- wych I cal resonyng *and* dowtyng for the cleryng of the truth, of the wych sort I wyl not yet cesse to make more when so euer your *communycatyon* ys not to me clere ; therfor, wyth *pardon*, you must patyently here me dowt a lytyl ferther, mouyd of your wordys. You sayd ryght now *that* thys cyuyle lyfe was a polytyke ordur, *and*, as hyt were, a *conspiracy* in honesty *and* vertue, stablysc[h]yd
347
- by *commyn* assent ; thys, me semyth, bryngyth the hole mater in more dowte then hyt was yet before, ye *and* bryngyth al to vncertaynty *and* playn *confusyon*. For they Turkys wyl surely say on theyr behalfe that theyr lyfe ys most natural *and* polytyke, *and* that they *con-*
352
- sent* togydur in al vertue *and* honesty. The Sarasyn *con-*
trary, apon hys behalfe, wyl defend hys pollycy, saying that hys of al ys most best *and* most *conuenient* to mannys dygnyte. The Jue constantly wyl affyrme hys law to be aboue al other, als receyuyd of Goddys owne mouth *immedyaty*. *And* the Chrystun man most surely
358
- beleuyth that hys law *and* relygyon ys aboue the rest most agreabul to reson *and* nature as a thyng *confermyd* by Goddys owne dyuynyte. So that by thys *mean hyt apperyth al stondyth in the *jugement* *and* opynyon of man, in so much that wych ys the veray true polytyke
363
- and* cyuyle lyfe, no man surely by your dyffynytyon can affyrme wyth any *certaynty*.
9. *Lvpset*.—Wel, Syr, thys ys no smal dowte to some men wych now you haue mouyd. Wherfor, bycause suche ther be wych couertly take away al cyuylte, *and* wold bryng al to *confusyon* *and* tyranny, saying ther ys no
369
- dyfference betwyx vyce *and* vertue but strong opynyon, *and* that al such thyngys hang of the folysch fancy *and* *jugement* of man ; I schal fyrst schow you how vertue stondyth by nature *and* not only by the opynyon of man ; and second how *and* by what mean thys folysch opynyon cam in to thos lyght braynys. *And*, fyrst, thys ys certayn and sure,—that man by nature fere excellyth
- P. says,
he is in more
doubt than
before ;
- all now seems
confusion ;
- all nations say
they live in
virtue and
honesty—
Turks,
Saracens,
Jews, and
Christians.
- [* Page 37.]
- L. sees the force
of this doubt,
and proceeds
to show,
- First, That virtue
stands by nature,
and not by
man's opinion
only. Second,
How this fancy
came into men's
brains.

- 377 in dygnyte al other creaturys in erthe, where he ys by the hye prouydence of God set to gouerne *and* rule, ordur *and* tempur al to hys plesure by wysdome *and* pollycy, non other wyse then God hym selfe doth in
- 381 heuyn gouerne *and* rule al celestyal thyngys immediatly. Wherfor he was of the old phylosopharys callyd a erthely god, *and*, as hyt wer, lord of al other bestys *and* creaturys, applying them al vnto hys vse, for al be vnto hym subiecte, al by pollycy are brought to hys obedyence, ther ys no best so strong, fers, or hardy, so wyld, oode, or cruel,
- 387 but to man by wysdom he ys subduyd ; wherby ys perceyuyd euydently the excellent dygnyte of hys nature. And ferther more, playnly thys thyng to see, let vs, as hyt were, out of a hyar place, behold *and* consydur the wondurful workys of man here apon erth ; where fyrst we schal se the gudly cytes, castellys, *and* townys, byllyd for the *settyng forth of the polytyke lyfe,
- 394 pleasauntly set as they were sterrys apon erthe ; wherin we schal see also meruelus gud lawys, statutys, *and* ordynancys, deuysyd by man by hye pollycy, for the maynteynyng of the cyuyle lyfe. We schal see infynyte strange artys *and* craftys, inuentyd by mannys wyt for
- 399 hys commodyte, some for plesure, *and* some for necessaryte. Ferther, we schal see how by hys labour *and* dylygence he hath tyllyd the erth, *and* brought forth infynyte frutys for hys necessary fode *and* plesaunt sustenaunce ; so that now the erth, wych els schold haue leyne lyke a forest
- 404 rude *and* vntyllyd, by the dylygent labour *and* pollycy of man ys brought to maruelous culture *and* fortylite. Thys, yf we wyth our selfe reson *and* consydur the workys of man here apon erth, we schal nothyng dowte of hys excellent dygnyte, but playnly affyrme, that he hath
- 409 in hym a sparkul of Dyvynyte, *and* ys surely of a celestyal *and* dyuyne nature, seyng that by memory *and* wyte also he conceyuyth the nature of al thyng. For ther ys no thyng here in thys world, nother in heuyn aboue,

The old philosophers called him an earthly god, lord of all other beasts and creatures.

His excellent dignity ;

his wonderful works ;

[* Page 38.]

good laws,

strange arts and crafts,

prove his divine nature.

nor in erth byneth, but he by hys reson *comprehenydyth* 413
 hyt. So that I thynke we may *conclude* that man by
 nature, in excellence *and* dygnyte, euen so excellyth He excels all in
 dignity,
 al other creaturys here apon erthe, as God *excedyth* the
 nature of man.

(9.) And now to our purpos. Thus hyt *apperyth* 418
 to me, that lyke as man by nature excellyth al other
 in dygnyte, so he hath certayn *vertues by nature [* Page 39.]
conuenient to the same excellency, they wych, by the opy- and his virtues
 correspond
 with it.
 nyon of man, are not *conceyuyd* and groundyd in hart,
 nor yet be not *propur* to one natyon *and* not to a nother, 423
 but *stablyschyd* by nature, are *commyn* to al mankynd.
 As, by exampul, ther ys a certyn *equyte and* *justyce*
 among al natyonys *and* pepul, wherby they are *inclynynd*
 one to dow gud to a nother, one to be *bunfycyal* to a
 nothur, *lyuyng* *togydder* in a *cumpynabul* lyfe. *And*, 428
 lyke wyse, ther ys a certayn *temperance* of the plesurys
 of the body, wych ys not *mesuryd* by the opynyon of
 man, but by the helth therof *and* natural *propagatyon*,
 as to ete *and* drynke only to supporte the helth *and*
 strength of the body, *and* to vse moderate plesure wyth 433
 woman; for lawful increse of the pepul ys, among al
 men *and* al natyonys, *estymyd* vertue *and* honesty. *And*
 in lyke maner man, wyth grete *currage* to defend hym- courage every-
 where are
 considered
 virtues.
 selfe from al violence of other iniurys or wrongys, ye
and *patyently* to suffur al such chaunce as *can* not be
 avoydyd, ys, amonge al pepul, taken as a nobul vertue. 439
 Ther ys also a certyn wyt *and* *pollycy* by nature gyuen
 to man in euery place *and* *cuntrey*, wherby he ys *in-*
clynynd to lyue in cyuyle ordur accordyng to the dygnyte
 of hys nature; *and* to perceyue the mean how he may
 attayn therto, ther ys, ferthermor, in al men by nature, 444
 wythout any other instructyon, rotyd a certayn reuer-
 ence to God, wherby they honowre hym as *gouernour*
and rular *of al thys world. For yet ther was neuer na- Man's reverence
 to God
 universal.
 tyon so rude or blynd but for theys cause they relygyously
 [* Page 40.]

- 449 worschyppeyd *and* honowryd the name of God. These
 These and other
 virtues are
 planted in man's
 heart by nature;
 vertues, *and* other lyke, wherby man, of nature meke,
 gentyl, *and* ful of humanyte, ys inclynyd *and* sterryd
 to cyuyle ordur *and* louyng cumpany, wyth honeste be-
 hauyour both toward God *and* man, are by the powar of
- 454 nature in the hart of man rotyd *and* plantyd, *and* by no
 vayn opynyon or fansy conceyuyd. *And* thought hyt be
 but many live as
 though they had
 forgotten their
 natural dignity,
 and fall from its
 excellency.
 so that amongys al natyonys many so lyue, as they had
 vturly forgotten the dygnyte of thys theyr nature, *and*
 had no such vertues by nature in them set *and* plantyd ;
- 459 yet among them al, few ther be, or non, wych, so
 lyuyng, juge themselfe to dow wel, but thynke them-
 selfe they are slyppyd *and* fallen from the excellency of
 theyr nature, wyth grete *and* contynual gruge of con-
 scyence inwardly. For they haue rotyd in theyr hartys
- 464 a certayn rule, euer repugnyng to theyr maner of lyfyng,
 wych they, by necligente incontynence, suffur to be cor-
 rupt; the wych rule, so certayn *and* so stabul, ys callyd
 of phylosopharys *and* wyse men, the vnyuersal *and* true
 law of nature, wych to al natyonys ys commyn, no
- 469 thyng hangyng of the opynyon *and* folysch fansy of
 man. In so much that yf man, by corrupt *jugement,
 wold extyme vertue as vyce, no thyng regardyng hys
 owne dygnyte, yet vertues, by theyr owne nature, be no
 les vertues, nor mynyschyd of theyr excellency, by any
- 474 such frantyke fansy; no more then yf al men togydur
 wold conspyre that there were no God, who by that
 folysch opynyon schold no thyng be mynysched of hys
 hye maiesty, or yf they wold say that he nother gou-
 ernyth nor rulyth thys world, yet theyr opynyon makyth
 no les hys hye prouydence. Wherfor playnly hyt ap-
 peryth that thes vertues stond not in the opynyon of
 man, but by the bunfyte *and* powar of nature in hys
 hart are rotyd *and* plantyd, inclynyng hym euer to the
- 483 cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of hys
- This law of nature
 is common to all
 nations.
- [* Page 41]
- Wherefore it is
 plain these virtues
 do not stand in
 opinion,

nature ; *and* thys inclynatyon *and* rule of lyuyng, by
 thes vertues stablyd *and* confyrmyd, ys callyd, as I sayd,
 the law of nature, wych though al men folow not, yet
 al men approue.

but by the power
 of nature.

486

(9.) But here we must note, that lyke as in many
 thyngys, wych by experyence we dayly se, nature re-
 quyryth the dylygence of man, leuyng them vnper-
 fayt of themselfe, as the sedys *and* frutys of the grounde, wych
 sche wyl neuer bryng to perfectyon, yf man wythhold
 hys dylygence *and* labour ; so in thes vertues *and* law
 of nature, sche requyryth the ayd *and* dylygence of man,
 wych els wyl soone be oppressyd *and* corrupt. * Ther be

But here we must
 note the many
 things in which
 nature requires
 the diligence of
 man.

494

[* Page 42.]

in mannys lyfe so many occasyonys of destroyng these
 sedys *and* vertues, plantys *and* lawys, that excepte ther
 be joynyd some gud prouyson for theyr spryngyng vp
and gud culture, they schal neuer bryng forth theyr
 frute, they schal neuer bryng man to hys perfectyon.

Dangers to
 virtue.

499

Wherfor amonge al men *and* al natyonys, as I thynk,
 apon erth, ther be, *and* euer hathe byn, other certayn
 custumys *and* manerys by long vse *and* tyme confyrmyd

All nations have
 certain customs
 and manners,

and approuyd ; other lawys wryten *and* deuysyd by the

504

polytyke wytte of man receyuyd *and* stablyschyd for
 the mayntenaunce *and* setting forward of thes natural
 sedys *and* plantys of vertue ; wych custume *and* law by
 man so ordeynyd *and* deuysyd ys callyd the cyuyle law,
 for bycause they be as meanys to bryng man to the per-

called civil law,

509

fectyon of the cyuyle lyfe ; wythout the ordynance of
 thes lawys, the other sone wylbe corrupt, the wedys wyl
 sone ouergrow the gud corne. Thys law cyuyle is fer
 dyfferent from the other ; for in euery cuntrey hyt ys
 dyuerse *and* varyabul, ye almost in euery cyte *and* towne.

which differs from
 the universal law
 of nature, and
 varies in every
 country.

Thys law takyth effecte of the opnyon of man, hyt
 restyth holly in hys consent, *and* varyth accordyng to
 the place *and* tyme, in so much that in dyuerse tyme
and place contrary lawys are both gud, *and* both con-
 uenyent to the polytyke lyfe. Wher as the law of

519

- 520 nature ys euer one, in al cuntreys fyrme *and* stabul, and
 The law of nature never for the tyme varyth ; hyt ys neuer chaungeabul ;
 is unvariable, the consent of man doth no thyng therto ; hyt hangyth
 no thyng of tyme nor place, but accordyng as ryght
 [* Page 43.] reson ys euer one, so ys thys law, *and* neuer *varyth
 525 aftur the fansy of man. Thys law ys the ground *and* end
 of the other, to the wych hyt must euer be referryd, non
 other wyse then the conclusyonys of artys mathematical
 and is aided by are euer referryd to theyr pryncypullys. For cyuyle
 the civil law. ordynance ys but as a mean to bryng man to obserue
 530 thys law of nature, in so much that, yf ther be any
 cyuyle law ordeynyd wych can not be resoluyd therto,
 hyt ys of no value ; for al gud cyuyle lawys spryng *and*
 yssue out of the law of nature, as brokys *and* ryuerys
 out of fountaynys *and* wellys ; *and* to that al must be
 535 resoluyd *and* referryd as to the end why they be or-
 deynyd, to the obseruatyon wherof they are but as
 meanys.
- Thus we see that (9.) *And* thus now I thynke, Master Pole, we may
 virtue and see that al vertue *and* honestye restyth not in the strong
 honesty do not opynyon of man, but that, lyke as ther ys a certayn law
 rest in opinion only, but also in nature ; by nature ordeynyd to induce *and* bryng man to a lyfe
 541 by nature ordeynyd to induce *and* bryng man to a lyfe
 conuenyent *and* accordyng to hys excellent dygnyte, so
 ther [is] a certayn vertue *and* honesty consequently an-
 nexyd to the same law, wych by the powar of nature only,
 545 *and* no thyng by the opynyon of man, ys so stablyd *and*
 set, that al be hyt, that al men by yl educatyon corrupt,
 wold consent *and* agre to a contrary ordur, yet were
 that law, that vertue *and* honesty, of no les powar,
 549 strength, nor authoryte. And lyke as to thys law of na-
 ture ys consequently *annexyd thys natural vertue *and*
 honesty,—wych in euery place *and* tyme ys of equal
 powar,—so ther ys to law cyuyle, *and* the obseruatyon
 therof, couplyd also a certayn vertue *and* honesty, wych
 lyke to the law only remenyth in the opynyon of man
 555 *and* hath hys strength *and* powar therof. For though
- [* Page 44.]
 and are joined to
 civil and natural
 law.

hyt be so that, to be obedyent to the lawys cyuyle, so long as they be not contrary to the law of God nor of nature, ys euer vertue *and* honesty ; yet to thys law or that law, al men are not bounden, but only such as receyue them, *and* be vnder the domynyon of them, wych haue authoryte of makyng therof. As to absteyn from flesch upon the Fryday, wyth vs hyt ys now reputyd a certayn vertue, wyth the Turkys no thyng so ; prestys to lyue chast, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue *and* honesty, wyth the Grekys hyt ys no thyng so ; to mary but one wyfe, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue also, wyth other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, *and* Sarasyns, hyt ys no thyng so. *And* thus in infynyte other hyt ys euident to se, how that to be obedyent to the lawys in euery cuntrey hyt ys a certayn vertue, but of that sort wych hath hys strength *and* powar holly of the opynyon *and* consent of man. *And* so thys ys truth as now you may see, that vertue *and* honesty partely stondyth by nature *and* partely by the opynyon of man ; wherby now you may perceyue the pestylent persuasyon of them wych say *and* affyrme betwyx vyce *and* vertue *no dyfference to be, but only strong opynyon *and* fancy ; they wold bryng al to confusyon, *and* leue no ordur by nature certayn. But the veray cause of theyr error ys arrogant blyndnes ; they thynke themselfe to be of such hye pollycy that no man may see so fer as they, *and* indede they see les then other. Such haue only a lytyl smateryng in gud lernyng *and* hye phylosophye ; they comprehend not the hole ordur of nature ; they conceyue not the excellent dygnyte of man ; the[y] depely consydur not the maner of lyuyng accordyng to the same, by the reson wherof they can not dyscerne the powar of thys natural law ; they can not see thys hye vertue *and* honesty couplyd therto. But bycause man, yf he be brought vp in corrupt opynyon, hath no perceyueance of thys natural law, but suffryth hyt by neclygence to be op-

556
Civil laws only binding on those who receive them.

561

566

To be obedient to the laws is a virtue.

571

So you see virtue stands by nature and opinion.

[* Page 45.]

577

He proceeds to show,

581

secondly, the cause of their error who say

586

there is no difference, except opinion, between virtue and vice.

591

592 pressyd, as ther wer no such sedys plantyd in hym ;
therfor they say, al stondyth in the opynyon of man, al
restyth in hys fansy, *and* that hys consent only makyth
both vertue *and* vyce.

(9.) *And* thus now, *Mastur Pole*, you haue hard
597 schortly, aftur myn opynyon, the cause of such errors,
wherby some are dryuen to juge al vyce *and* vertue

They are blind
and do not
consider man's
divinity.

only to *consiste* in the opynyon of man, wych ys arro-
gant blyndnes, no thyng *consydering* the dygnyte of
man, nor the lyfe accordyng to the same ; but of hys

602 actys mesuryng hys dygnyte, affyrme playnly, that seyng

[* Page 46.]

*so *commynly* he folowyth vyce, that, by nature, vertue
ther ys non, but that only men *conspyre* by consent to
cal vertue that which indede ys non. Wych ys much

They say by
nature there is
no virtue,

lyke to say, as yf al men wold by consent, agre, *and* *con-*
607 *spyre* to say ther were no God, that theyr folysch consent
by *and* by schold take away the nature of God. Wherin

because most
men follow vice :

you see the grete foly *and* blyndnes, wych ys no les in
thys, to say that vertue, by nature, ther ys non, bycause
the most *parte* of men folow vyce, *and* in theyr hartys
dow, as hyt were, *conspyre* agayne the dygnyte of vertue
and nature of man. They *consydur* not the fraylty of

614 man, wych seyng the best folowyth the worst, *ouer*
comme by sensual plesure ; they *consydur* not the nec-
lygence of man, wych suffryth hys sedys, by nature in-

they do not
consider the
blindness which
comes of bad
education.

instincte, by wordly occasyonys to be *ouer* run ; they *con-*
sydur not the blyndenes of man, wych by yl educatyon
grouth in hym ; but of the effecte folyschely they juge
al to stond in the opynyon of man ; *and* thys ys the
cause of theyr folysch erreure. And so now of thys to

Hence these
errors.

622 make answeere to your dowte, *Master Pole*, me semyth
no thyng hard at al ; for though hyt be so that the
Turke, *Sarasyn*, *Jue*, *and* *Chrystun man*, *and* other dy-
uerse sectys *and* natyon[ys], dyssent *and* dyscorde in the
maner of pollycy, euery one jugyng hys owne to be best,
yet in al such thyng as *perteynyth* by *nature to the

[* Page 47]

- dygnyte of man *and* maner of lyuyng accordyng to the same, they consent *and* agre, wythout any dyscord or dyuersyte. Al juge God aboue al to be honowryd as *gouernour and* rular of thys world ; al juge one bound to ayd *and* succur a nother ; al juge hyt to be conuenient to lyue togyddur in polytyke lyfe. So that in the law *and* rule by nature conuenient to the dygnyte of man, *and* in al vertue *and* honesty annexyd to the same, surely they agre. Wherfor, al be hyt the[y] dyssent in theyr cyuyle ordynance *and* polytyke mean of the obseruance of thys commyn law, yet hyt ys not to be dowtyd but the cyuyle lyfe ys a polytyke ordur of men conspyryng togyddur in vertue *and* honesty, of such sort as by nature ys conuenient to the dygnyte of man. *And* as touchyng the dyscord in the *partycular* mean of kepyng thes lawys, plantyd by nature, as some men thynke of hye wysdome and leryng, hyt gretely forsyth not at al ; for how dyuerse so euer they cyuyle lawys be, and varyabul in euery secte *and* cuntre, yet so long as man ordryd therby fayllyth not from the ground *and* erryth not from the end, but kepyth thys natural law, insewyth the vertue annexyd to the same, he then folowyth the polytyke ordur, *and* kepyth gud cyuylte. In so much that the Jue, Sarasyn, Turke, *and* More, so long as they obserue theyr cyuyle ordynance *and* statutys, deuysyd by theyr old fatherys in **euery* secte, dyrectyng them to the law of nature ; so long, I say, ther be men wych ernystely affyrme them to lyue wel, *and* euery one in hys secte to be sauyd, *and* non to perysch vturly ; seyng the infynyte gudnes of God hathe no les made them aftur hys owne ymage *and* forme, then he hath made the Chrystun man ; *and* the most parte of them neuer, *perauentur*, hard of the law of Chryst. Wherfor, so long as they lyue aftur the law of nature, obseruyng also theyr cyuyle ordynance, as mean to bryng them to the end of the same, they schal not be damnyd.

628
In all things which pertain to man's dignity, all nations agree,

633
although they differ in civil affairs.

638
643
However diverse civil laws may be, yet the people which keep them,

and strive to live up to the law of nature,

650
655
660
[* Page 48.]

shall not be damned.

- 664 Thys I haue hard the opynyon of grete wyse men, wel ponderyng the gudnes of God *and* of nature ; but whether hyt be so or not, let vs, aftur the mynd of Sayn Poule, leue thys to the secrete iugement of God ; *and* of thys be assuryd, of thys be certayn, that our lawys *and* ordynancys be agreabul to the law of nature, seyng they are al layd by Chryst hymselfe *and* by hys Holy Spryte. We are sure they schal bryng vs to our saluatyon yf we gyue *perfayt* fayth *and* sure trust to the promys of God in them to vs made. Thys to vs faythful *and* Chrystun
- 674 men ys no dowte. Therfor how other sectys schal dow, to what *perfectyon* so euer theyr lawys schal bryng them, let the secret wysdome of God therof be juge, and let vs be assuryd that our lawys, by Chryst the Sone of God, *and* by hys Holy Spryte incresyd *and* *confyrmyd*, schal bryng * vs to such *perfectyon* as accordyth to the
- [* Page 49.]
- 680 dygnyte of the nature of man. Of thys thyng we are by fayth *confyrmyd*, more sure, more certayne, then of thos thyngys wych we se, fele, or her, or by any sens may perceyue. Wherfor, Mastur Pole, let thys *dyuersyte* of sectys *and* lawys no thyng trowbul vs at al, wych, *perauentur* of necessitye, folowyth the nature of man, non other wyse then the *dyuersyte* of language *and* tong.
- 687 For lyke as man naturally ys borne to speke *and* expresse the *conceyte* of mynd one to a nother, *and* yet to no *partycular* language they are borne, so to folow the law of nature al men are borne, al natyonys by nature are inclynyd therto ; *and* yet to no *partycular* mean by
- 692 cyuyle ordynance deered they are nother bounden nor borne. Therfor, notwythstondyng thys *dyuersyte* of sectys *and* lawys, we may yet ryght wel affyrme the *dyfynytyon* of the cyuyle lyfe before sayd to be ryght gud *and* resonabul, wych ys a polytyke ordur of a multytude *conspyryng* togyddur in vertue *and* honesty, to the
- 698 wych man by nature ys ordeynyd. Thys ys the end of mannys lyfe ; to thys euery man ought to loke ; to thys

But let us leave this, as St Paul did, to God, and rest assured that our laws are agreeable to the law of nature.

The diversity of sects and laws must not trouble us more than the diversity of language.

Notwithstanding this difference of laws, we may still affirm that civil life is a politic order of many agreeing together in virtue and honesty.

euery man ought to referre al hys actys, thoughtys, *and* 700
 dedys ; thys euery man to hys powar ought to ayd *and*
 set forthe ; thys (al downtys layd aparte) euery man ought
 to study to maynteyn. * Wherfor, Maystur Pole, now I [* Page 50.]
 wyl in thys cause no more reson wyth you, but pray
 you, al occasyonys drawyng you from that layd asyde, to 705
 apply your selfe to the handelyng of the materys of the
commyn wele, wych you know ryght wel ys the end of
 al studys, *and*, as you wold say, the only marke for
 euery honest mynd to schote at.

He again urges
 Pole to affairs of
 state.

10. *Pole*.—Maystur *Lupset*, you haue sayd ryght 710
 wel ; *and* though in dede I dowtyd no thyng of thys
 mater, that you so ernystely moue me vnto, yet hyt hath
 plesyd me wel to here you, wyth such phylosophycal
 resonys out of nature drawne, confyrme the same, so
 manyfestely *and* clerly declaryng hyt, that no man may 715
 dowte therof. For yf hyt be a gud thyng to helpe one,
 hyt ys vndowtydly much bettur to helpe many, ye *and*
 best of al to helpe a hole cuntrey ; in so much that man
 so dowyng neryst approchyth to the nature of God, who
 therby ys most perceyuyd to be God, that he *communy-*
catyth hys gudnes to al other. Therfor, *Master Lvpset*, I 721
 am content. Let vs agre apon thys, let vs take thys as a
 ground, that euery man ought to apply hymselfe to the
 setting forward of the *commyn wele*, euery man ought
 to study to helpe hys cuntrey. Yet ther ys a nother
 thyng to be consyderyd, wych hath causyd many grete,
 wyse, *and* polytyke men to abhorre from *commyn welys*, 727
and thys ys the regard of tyme *and* place. For though
 hyt be so that a man to meddyl wyth materys perteyn-
 yng to the wele of hys hole cuntrey, ys * of al thyng
 best *and* most to be desyryd, yet in some tyme *and* cer- 731
 tayn place hyt ys not to be temptyd of wyse men, wych
 ryght wel perceyue theyr labour to be spent in vayn ; as
 in tyme of tyranny, or in such place where they that
 rule are bent only to theyr pryuate wele. What thynke

P. owns the force
 of the
 reasoning,

and says how
 good it is to
 help a whole
 country ;

but there is
 another matter
 to be considered.

[* Page 51.]

Sometimes this
 is not to be
 attempted,
 as when tyranny
 and selfishness
 prevail.

736 you among such the conseyll of a wyse man schold
 avayle? Wythout dowte hyt schold be laughyd at, *and*
 no thyng at al hyt schold be regardyd, no more then a
 tale tollyd among deffe men. Wherfor hyt semyth not
 wythout cause they euer absteynynd, in such tyme *and*

In such cases
 wise men suffer
 for their pains.

741 place, from medelyng wyth materys of the commyn
 wele; they see exampullys of many *and* dyuerse, wych
 wythout profyt had attemptyd the same, *and* no thyng
 got, but only that some of them therfor were put in
 exyle *and* bannyschyd from theyr cuntrey; some put in

746 pryson *and* myserably handlyd; *and* some to cruel *and*
 shameful deth. Hyt ys therfor no smal dyfference in
 what tyme *and* place a wyse man ys borne, *and* in
 what tyme he attempt to handyl materys of the commyn
 wele. Yf Plato had found in Cycyle a nobul prynce at
 such tyme as he *cam* thyder for the deuysyng of lawys,
 he had then schowyd grettur frutys of hys wysedome.

Plato and Tully,
 and Seneca,
 would have
 succeeded better

753 Yf Tully had not chauncyd in the tyme of the cyuyle
 warre betwyx Cesar *and* Pompey, the cyte of Rome
 schold haue haue seen *and* felt much more profyt of
 that nobul wytt. Yf Seneca had not byn in the tyme of
 Nero, so cruel a tyran, * but in the tyme of Traiane, so
 nobul a prynce, hys vertue schold haue byn otherwyse
 extymyd, *and* brought forth other frute. Thys we se that

[* Page 52.]

if they had
 lived under
 better princes.

760 vertue at al tymys *can* not schow hys lyght, no more
 then the sone at al tymys *can* sprede abrode hys beamys.

A man must
 regard time and
 place if he will
 handle matters
 of state;

Wherfor they wych, wythout regard of tyme or place,
 wyl sett themselfe to handyl materys of the commyn
 wele, may wel be comparyd to them wych in grete tem-
 pest wyl commyt themselfe to the daungerys of the see,

766 or wythout wynd wyl set vp the sayle. Plutarch com-
 paryth them to such as, being them selfe in dry house,
 seing ther felowys delyte in the rayne, *and* wyllyng
 not to run out, but tary therin, are not content, but
 yssue out, no thyng obtaynyng, but only that they may

771 be wet wyth theyr felowys. So they wych, wythout

regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys *and* con- 772
 seyl of pryncys, were they here euery man speke of the
 commyn wele, euery man hath that oft in hys mouth, that,
 vnder the pretense *and* colour therof, they may the bettur
 procure theyr owne, sone be corrupt wyth lyke opynyon,
 sone draw lyke affecte. For as hyt ys *commynly* sayd, 777
 hard hyt ys dayly to be among thefys *and* be not a
 thefe. Euery man for the most parte ys lyke to them
 wyth whome he ys *conuersant*. Wherfor to attempt the
 handelyng of the materys of the commyn wele, wythout
 regard other of tyme or place, no thyng optaynyng, but
 only to be corrupt wyth lyke opynyons as they be 783
 wych meddyl therwyth, me semyth grete madnes *and*
 foly. * *And* so al be hyt therfor, *Master Lypset*,¹ that
 to meddyl wyth materys of the commyn wele, *and*
 profyt your cuntrey, be in dede of al thyng that man 787
 may dow in thys lyfe the best *and* of hiest perfectyon,
 yet now to me hyt apperyth some respecte ys to be had
 both of tyme *and* of place.

and to meddle,
 without this
 regard, is
 madness.

[* Page 53.]

11. *Lypset*.¹—Wel, *Master Pole*, as touchyng the
 respecte both of tyme *and* of place, I thynke hyt ys
 some thyng to be *consydyrd*; *and* no dowte thos men, 793
 wych be of grete wysdome *and* hie pollycy, be also
 fortunate *and* happy, wych chaunce to be borne in
 such tyme when they wych haue in theyr cuntrey hie
 authoryte *and* rule, al *ambycyouse* affectyon set apert,
 only procure the true commyn wele; *and*, as *Plato* 798
 sayth, thos cuntreys be also happy wych haue such
gouernurys as euer loke to the same. How be hyt, I
 thynke agayne also that ther ys nother so much respect
 of tyme nother of place to be had, as many men juge,
 wych thynke the hiest poynt of wysdome to stond 803
 therin; *and* so naroly *and* so curiously they pondur the
 tyme *and* the place, that in al theyr lyfys they nother
 fynd tyme nor place. They loke, I trow, for *Plato's*

L. says there is
 some truth in
 this,

but some men
 consider time
 and place so long,

that they never
 do anything,

¹ MS. le.

- 807 *commyn wele*, in such expectatyon they spend theyr lyfe, as they thynke wyth grete polytyke wysdome, but in dede wyth grete frantyke foly. For of thys I am sure, that suche exacte *consydering* of tyme hathe causyd many *commyn welys* vturly to perysch; hyt hath causyd in many placys much tyranny, wych myght
- and so have allowed their country to perish.
- 813 haue byn amendyd, yf wyse men, in tyme *and* in place, wold haue bent themselfe to that purpos, leuyng such fon respecte of tyme and of place. But, *Master Pole*, what so euer regard be of wyse men * to be had other of tyme or of place, thys to vs ys certayn, that now, in our tyme, when we haue so nobul a prynce, whome we are sure no thyng to haue so pryntyd in hys brest as
- [* Page 54.]
- It is certain that now is our time, while we have so noble a Prince,
- 820 the cure of hys *commyn wele*, both day *and* nyght remembryng the same, we schold haue no such respecte. For thys I dare affyrme, ther was neuer prynce reynyng in thys realme wych had more feruent loue to the
- 824 welth of hys subectys then hath he; ther was neuer kyng in any cuntrey wych bare grettur zele to the admynystratyon of justyce *and* setting forth of equyte *and* ryght then dothe he; aftur he ys therof informyd *and* surely instructe by hys wyse consejlyrs *and*
- 829 polytyke men. Therfor, as I sayd, lyke as ther ys some respecte to be had of tyme for the abstenyng from the intrety of materys of the *commyn wele*, so ther ys much more of takyng the tyme when hyt ys, and takyng occasyon when hyt offryth hyt selfe. Wherfor, *Master*
- and it is our duty to embrace it,
- 834 *Pole*, as you now see, chefely to be regardyd as the end of al mannys studys *and* carys, the welth of the *commynalty*, so now also vse your tyme, vnder so nobul a prynce, to the mayntenance *and* setting forward of the same. Let not occasyon slyppe; suffur not your tyme vaynly to pas, wych, wythout recouery, fleth away; for
- or it may be lost for ever.
- 840 as they say, occasyon *and* tyme wyl neuer be restoryd agayne. Therfor, as I haue sayd to you before, wythout any mo steppys, bend your selfe to that to the wych

you are borne; loke to that wych, aboute al, ys your 843
offyce *and* duty.

12. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you haue bounde me now; P. says he cannot deny this,
I haue no refuge ferther to fle. Wherfor, I promys

you I schal neuer *pretermyt* occasyon nor tyme of
helpyng * my cuntrey, but euer, as they offer them- [* Page 55.]

selfe, I schalbe redy to my powar euer to apply *and* 849

indeuur myselfe to the mayntennance *and* setting forward of the true *commyn* wele. And now, bycause, as you ryght wel *and* truly haue sayd, we haue so nobul a prynce, wych, when he knowyth the best, he stedfastely wyl folow hyt, euer desyrouse of hys *commyn* 854

wele; that I may be in the mater more rype when so euer occasyon schal requyre, I schal now at thys leser, and he will talk over the matter at once.
and here, in thys solytary place, some thyng wyth you, *Master Lvpset*, deuyse, touchyng the ordur of our

cuntrey *and* *commyn* wel, to the wych purpos also, me 859

semyth, the tyme exhortyth vs, seyng that now our most nobul prynce hath assemblyd hys *parlyament and* most wyse conseyll, for the reformatyon of thys hys *commyn* wele.

13. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Syr, thys purpos ys maruelus 864

gud, *and* veray mete *and* conuenient for the tyme; L. is glad of this.
and glad I am that I put you in remembrance herof.

Therfor I pray you now exercyse your selfe therin, that you may be more redy to schow your mynd openly *and* in such place where as I trust hereaftur hyt schal 869

bryng forth some frute.

14. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, yf you lyke hyt wel, P. proposes to discuss, first,
aftur thys maner we schal deuyse, bycause euery man

spekyth so much of the *commyn* wele, *and* many more, I fere me, dow know hyt in dede. *And* for bycause the 874

commyn wele ys the end of al *parlyamentys and* *commyn* conseylls, fyrst therfor, (to kepe a certayn processe *with* ordur) we wyl serche out, as nere as we can, what ys the veray *and* * true *commyn* wele, wherin [* Page 56.]

what is the true
commonwealth :

[hyt] stondyth, *and* when hyt most floryschyth, that
we may, hauyng thys playnly set before our yes, al
881 our *conseyllys* to thys poynt euer resolute *and* referre.

second, to search
out its disorders :

Second, we wyl serch out therby the dekey of our
commyn wele, wyth al the *commyn* fautys *and* mys-
ordurys of the same. Thyrdly, we wyl deuysse of the
cause of thys same dekey, *and* of the remedy *and* mean

third, to consider
the remedies.

886 to restore the *commyn* wele agayne. And thys schalbe
the processe of our *communycatyon*.

L. agrees with
this,

15. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, thys processe lykyth me wel ;
but here of one thyng, I pray you, take hede, that in
thys your deuysse of your *communycatyon* you folow
not the exampul of Plato, whose ordur of *commyn* wele
no pepul apon erth to thys daye coud euer yet attayn.
Wherfor hyt ys reputyd of many men but as a dreame

but bids Pole
to beware of
imitating Plato's
example,
whose common-
wealth no mortal
can follow.

894 *and* vayne imygynatyon, wych neuer can be brought
to effect ; *and* of some other hyt ys comparyd to the
Stoyke phylosophar, who neuer apperyd yet to the
lyght, such *vertue and* wysdome ys attrbytyd to hym,
that in no mortal man hyt can be found. Therfor loke
899 you to the nature of oure cuntrey, to the maner of our
pepul, not wythout respect both of tyme *and* of place,
that your deuysse heraftur, by the helpe of our most
nobul prynce, may the sonar optayne hys frute *and*
effect.

This Pole
promises.

16. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, you admonysch me ryght
wel, *and* accordyng as you say, as nere as I can, so schal
906 I dow ; but now, *Master Lvpset*, bycause hyt ys late
and tyme to suppe, we wyl dyffer the begynnyng of
our *communycatyon* tyl to morow in the mornyng.

17. *Lvpset*.—*Master Sir*, you say veray wel ; for
me semyth thys ys a mater mete for the mornyng,
911 when our wyttys be most redy *and* fresch.

¹ MS. Le.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. * [*Pole.*].—Seying that we be now here mete, [* Page 57.]
Master Lupset, accordyng to our promys, to deuyse of
 a mater, as you know, of grete dyffyculty *and* harduos,
 I requyre you most *tendurly* to be dylygent *and* attent, 4
and frely also to schow your mynd therin, that where as
 my resonys schal appere to you sklender *and* weke, wyth
 your dylygence you may them supply ; *and* cesse not to
 dowte as you haue occasyonys—for dowtyng, you know,
 bryngyth the truth to lyght. And though hyt be so
 that the mater be hard *and* requyryth grete labour to
 the enserchyng of the truthe conteynyd in the same, 11
 yet the grete frute *and* profyte wych may ryse *and*
 yssue of the same may somewhat encorage vs *and* gyue
 vs stomake. For thys I juge to be of sure truth, that yf
 men knew certaynly what ys the true *commyn* wele,
 they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as the[y] dow ; they
 wold not so neclecte hyt *and* despyse hyt as *commynly*
 they dow. For now as euery man spekyth of hyt *and*
 hath hyt oft in hys mouth, so few ther be that extyme 19
 hyt *and* haue hyt fyxyd in theyr hartys ; wych playnly
commyth as (aftur the mynd of the most wyse phy-
 losophar Socrates) al other yl dothe, of vayn, false, *and*
 corrupt opynyon ; for no man wyttyngly *and* wylling
 wyl dow hymselfe hurte. Wherfor yf men knew that, 24
 so lytyl regardyng the *commyn* wele, * they dow them
 selfe therwyth also hurt, surely they wold mor extyme
 hyt then they dow, wych thyng I trust to make
 euydently to be seen heraftur.

P. asks Lupset
 to express his
 doubts on any
 matter,
 for doubting
 brings the truth
 to light.

If men knew
 what is the true
 commonwealth,
 they would not
 so often neglect
 it.

[* Page 58.]

2. *Lupset*.¹—Syr, thys thyng of Socrates semyth
 to me somewhat straunge, to say that al spryngyth
 of ignorance, as of the ground of al vyce. Therfor,

L. doubts
 whether this
 arises from
 ignorance.

¹ MS. Le.

32 befor that we passe any ferther, let vs a lytyl examyn
 thys, for as much as you seme to take hyt as a sure
 ground. *Communely* hyt ys sayd, *and* me semyth
 euery man felyth hyt in hym selfe, that thos wych
 be yl know they dow nought; *and* yet, by plesure
 37 ouercome, the[y] folow the same, contrary to theyr owne
 conseyence *and* knolege. Euery man knowyth, as hyt
 apperyth to me, they schold folow vertue, *and* yet you
 see how they folow the contrary; euery man knowyth,
 as I thynke, they schold aboue al regard the *commyn*
 42 welth, *and* yet euery man sekyth hys owne profyt.
 Wherfor hyt apperyth to me we schold attrIBUTE al
 faultys, al vyce, rather to malyce then to ignorance.
 Besyde thys, how schal we defend the lyberty of our
 wyl, yf we be thys lade[n] wyth ignorance? Frewyl can
 47 not be wythout knolege, both of the gud *and* of the yl.
 Wherfor me semyth the ground of your *communycatyon*
 stondyth in dowte.

Men know they
 should follow
 virtue,
 yet they follow
 vice.

Faults should be
 attributed to
 malice rather
 than to ignorance.

3. *Pole.*—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys thyng wych
 you now bryng in questyon, mouyd of the begynnyng of
 52 our *communycatyons*, semyth to be a *controuersy* not
 only betwix the *commyn* sort *and* lernyd, but also
 betwix *Arystotyl*¹ *and* *Plato*, the chefe phylosopharys.
 How be hyt, betwix them I thynke thys dyscord that
 apperyth ys but in wordys only, *and* no thyng in dede,
 as hyt ys in many thyngys mo, wherin they seme
 58 gretely to dyssent; for the declaratyon wherof, now in
 thys purpos *you schal vnderstond, that aftur the
 sentence of *Arystotyl*, the mynd of man fyrst of hyt
 selfe ys as a clene *and* pure tabul, wherin ys no thyng
 payntyd or carvyd, but of hyt selfe apt *and* indyfferent
 63 to receyue al *maner* of pycтурыs *and* image. So manny
 mynd hath fyrst no knolege of truth, nor fyrst hath no
maner of wyl wherby hyt ys more drawne to gud then
 to yl; but aftur, as opnyon and sure *persuasyon* of gud

This seems to be
 a controversy
 between
 Aristotle and
 Plato,

but it is one of
 words only.

[* Page 59.]

Man's mind at
 first is a clean
 tablet,

¹ MS. arystotytyl

and of yl growyth in by experyence *and* lernyng, so *ueer* the wyl conformyth *and* framyth hymselfe to the knolege before goten, in so much that yf hyt be persuadyd that gud ys yl, *and* yl gud, then *ueer* the wyl chesyth the yl, *and* leuyth the gud, accordyng as sche, by opynyon, ys instructyd. And yf the opynyon be strong, *and* confyrmyd wyth ryght reson, *and* wyth ryght jugement, then sche folowyth *ueer* that wych ys gud ; lyke as, *contrary*, when the opynyon ys waueryng *and* not groundly set, then sche, ouercome *and* blyndyd by plesure, or some other inordynat affecte, folowyth the yl ; so that other out of sure *and* certayn knolege, or lyght *and* waueryng opynyon, al the inclynatyon of wyl takyth hys rote, wych *ueer* ys framyd accordyng to the knolege. Wherfor Socrates *ueer* was wont to say, yf the mynd of man were instructe * wyth sure knolege *and* stabul opynyon, hyt schold neuer erre nor declyne from the streyght lyne of vertuose lyuyng ; but when ther was therin no thyng but waueryng opynyons, wych wyth euery lyght *contrary* persuasyon wold vanysh away, then the mynd schold be lyghtly ouercome *and* schortly blyndyd wyth the vayne colour of truth. Thys waueryng opynyon in mannys mynd, *and* thys blyndenes wyth inordynate affectys, he callyd in dede ignorance, the wych he *ueer* notyd to be the fountayn of al yl *and* vycyouse affect reynyng in mannys mynd. Arystotyl, more conformyng hymselfe to the *commune* jugement of man, sayd that they wych had thys opynyon of gud, be hyt neuer so lyght, waueryng, *and* vnstabul, yet some knolege hyt left in mannys mynd, by the reson wherof, aftur the *commyn* opynyon of euery man, ychone in hym selfe, when he doth nough[t], felyth a gruge in consyence *and* repugnance in mynd. Wherfor he says that they wych be yl haue knolege therof *and* yet folow the same. But Plato callyth that same waueryng knolege, and lyght per-

which receives impressions afterwards.

69

If the opinion be strong, it follows the good :

75

if weak the ill.

80

[* Page 60.] Socrates says virtue depends on instruction.

85

90

Aristotle says they who have this opinion of good feel a "grudge" in conscience when they do wrong.

98

Plato calls wavering knowledge ignorance.

- 103 suasyon, certayn blyndnes *and* playn ignorance, inso-
 much as hyt ys but vayne *and* lyght opynyon, *and* sone
 corrupt wyth the contrary *persuasyon* of yl. So that in
 the thyng ther ys no *controuersy* betwyx them, but
 only in wordys, for bycause that thyng wych one
 108 callyth lyght knolege, *and* but a waueryng opynyon,
 the other callyth ignorance, specyally when hyt ys
 ouercome wyth the contrary *persuasyon*, as hyt ys in al
 them wych know the gud *and* folow the yl. *They
 haue repugnance *and* dyuersyte of opynyons, but the
 [* Page 61.]
 113 one ouercumyth the other, *and* that wych ouercommyth
 euer he folowyth. But yf man had certayn *and* sure
 If man had sure
 knowledge of
 good,
 he would never
 leave it.
 118 one ouercumyth the other, *and* that wych ouercommyth
 euer he folowyth. But yf man had certayn *and* sure
 knowledge of the gud, he wold neuer leue hyt *and* folow
 the yl. For, as Arystotyl sayth, theyr knolege wych be
 incontynent *and* gyuen to vyce ys blyndyd for the
 118 tyme wyth some inordynate affecte, wherwyth they be,
 as hyt were, druzken aftur such sorte that they *con-*
sydur not what ys gud or what ys yl ; but, as hyt were,
 by the vayn schadow therof, they are deceyuyd, and yet,
 thys notwythstondyng, they haue frewyl *and* lyberty
 123 therof ; for as muche as they be not of necessyte by
 thys *persuasyon* compellyd nor drawn to folow the
 same. For albehyt the wyl of man euer *commynly*
 Man can perceive
 the good
 and avoid the ill,
 128 any necessyte, but man, dryuen nother to one nor to
 the other, may, other by *dylygence* resyst that same
 of hymselfe, or by *conseyl* of other ouercomme hyt also ;
and therin restyth the lyberty of mynd. How be
 hyt, thys ys of trothe, yf the reson *and* wyl be *cus-*
tummably blyndyd wyth any *persuasyon*, hard hyt ys
 but it is very
 difficult ;
 134 to resyst therto, *and* wythout grete *dylygence* hyt wyl
 not be ; for the wych cause many men vtterly take away
 the lyberty of wyl, *and* say that euer hyt ys compellyd,
 by strong opynyon, to folow thys or that, accordyng to
 the *persuasyon*. But vndowtydly *dylygent* instructyon

and wyse conseyl may at the lest in long tyme restore the wyl out of such captuyuyte, and * bryng hyt agayne to the old¹ lyberty; ye, and though hyt be so that so long as hyt ys thys drownyd wyth affectys and blyndyd wyth ignorance, hyt euer folowthe the blynd persuasyon, out of the wych, as I sayd, as out of a fountayn, spryngyth al vyce, al myschefe, and yl; yet by dylygence hyt may be restoryd and brought to consydyr hys owne dygnyte. But plesure and profyt so blynd reson, and so reyn ther, that hard hyt ys to pluke out thys pestylent persuasyon, wych ys the cause of al errorys in mannys lyfe. Thys ys the cause of the destructyon of al commyn welys, when euery man, blyndyd other by plesure or profyte, consydyryth not the perfectyon of man nor the excellency of hys owne nature, but wyth ignorance blyndyd and by corrupt judgement, leuyth the best and takyth the worst. Wherfor we may wel say that thys ignorance, as Socrates sayd oft, ys the fountayn of al yl, vyce, and misery, as wel in euery priuate mannys lyfe as in euery commynalty.

but add, that instruction may [* Page 62.] bring it out of captivity, and, however degraded by ignorance, it may be brought to consider its own dignity.

145

149

154

We must conclude that ignorance is the cause of all vice.

4. **Lvpset.**—Why, but, I pray you, here a lytyl take hede; for then yf hyt be thus that ignorance, as you say, ys the cause of al yl, men are not so much to be blamyd as commynly they be; for the[y] dow as they know, and yf they knew the bettur, they wold also gladly folow the same, and then, as hyt apperyth, they be vniustely punnyshyd in al pollyceys.

L. answers, if this is so, men are not so much to be blamed.

165

5. **Pole.**—Nay, Master Lvpset, not so. Such ignorance excusyth not errorys in mannys lyfe, nor makyth hym not to be wythout faut; but, contrary, makyth hym more worthy of punnyshement and blame, accordyng to our commune proverbe, “he that kyllyth a man dronk, sobur schalbe hangyd;” in so much as he hym selfe of thys ignora[n]ce ys the cause, by hys owne necligence.

P. denies this:

170

“He that kills a man drunk, sober shall be hanged:”

¹ MS. wold.

174 For yf he wold other here counseyl of wyse *and* prudent
men, or suffur not by neclygence the sedys of nature
plantyd in hys mynd to be oppressyd wyth vayn opyn-
yon, he schold not be so led by ignorance *and* foly, *and*

178 schold not be so drownyd in affectys *and* mysery.

[* Page 63.]

Ignorance cannot
excuse a man.

Wherfor, seyng that he suffryth *hyt, so hys faut
ys grettur; he ys more to be blamyd, nor in no case,
by thys ignorance, may iustely be excusyd.

182 6. *Lvpsset*.—Wel, then, let vs now, I pray you, re-
torne to our purpos, that we may the bettur (*and* ether¹
also, avoyd thys ignorance,—the fountayn of al yl)

I. asks to return
to their purpose:

what is the true
commonweal.

serch out what ys the true commyn wele. For, in dede,
I thynke thys now to be truth, that yf men knew what
187 hyt were, they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as they
dow, they wold not so hyly extyme theyr owne pryuate
plesure *and* wele.

7. *Pole*.—Thys thyng ys, *and* euer hath byn, ye,
and I dare boldly affyrme euer schalbe, the destructyon
192 of al true commyn welys, *and* so, consequently, the de-
structyon also of them wych so blyndly extyme so much
theyr owne profyte *and* plesure, as we schal see more
playnly heraftur. But now to our purpos. Aftur the

P. says that the
prosperity of the
individual
and of the
commonwealth
rest in the same
thing.

mynd of the antyent *and* most wyse phylosophar Arys-
totyl, in the veray same thyng wherin stondyth the
welthe *and* prosperouse state of euery partycular man
by hym selfe, restyth also euery cyte or cuntrey, the
veray *and* true commyn welth; the wych thyng ys to al

201 men by commyn reson euydent, for as much as the
welth *and* substance euer of the hole rysyth of the welth
of euery partycular parte. Wherfor, yf we can fyrst
fynd out that thyng wych ys the welth of euery par-
tycular man, we schal then consequently fynd out also

What is this
thing?

206 what thyng hyt ys that in any cyty or cuntrey we cal
the veray true commyn wele. *And* thys let vs take as
a ground to the rest of our communycatyon.

¹ MS. other.

8. *Lvpset*.—Mary, Syr, but herin, me semyth, lyth a dowte ; for yf hyt be thus, that the *commyn* wele ryse of the *partycular* wele of euery one, then euery man ought to study to maynteyne* the *partycular* wele, to the setting forward of the *commyn*. And so that thyng wych you notyd before to be the destructyon of euery *commyn* wel, now by thys reson and ground schold maynteyn the same. 215

L. If the common good come from the individual good,

[* Page 64.] every man should strive to advance the individual good.

9. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*, not so ; for thes ij thyngys agre veray wel. Ouermuch regard of pryuat and *partycular* wele euer destroyth the *commyn*, as mean and conuenient regard therof maynteynyth the same. For thys ys troth, as hyt ys *commynly* sayd, yf euery man wold mend one, yf euery man wold cure one, as he schold dow, we schold haue a veray true *commyn* wele. But now, were as many, blyndyd wyth the loue of themselfe, regard theyr *partycular* wele ouermuch, 220

P. says if every man would cure one,

we should haue a true commonwealth.

hyt ys necessary by polytyke personys, hauyng regard of the *commyn* wele, to correct and amend such blyndnes and ouersyght growne in to many mennys myndys by the inordynate loue of themselfe ; lyke as physycyonys now be necessary in cytes and townys, seing that men *commynly* gyue themselfe to such inordynat dyat, wheras, yf men wold gouerne themselfe soburly by *temperat* dyat, then physycyonys were not to be requyryd of necessity in no *commyn* welth nor pollycy. 230

If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed.

And so, I say, yf euery man wold gouerne on wel, nothyng blyndyd with the loue of hymselfe, you schold then see a true *commyn* wele. And thys hyt ys true, that euen lyke as ouermuch regard of *partycular* wele destroyth the *commyn*, so conuenient and mean regard therof maynteynyth and setting forward the same ; and in thys ther ys no *controuersye*. Therfor let vs now, as we began, turne *agayne to seke out thys *partycular* wele of euery priuate man, that we may, as I sayd, therby come to our purpos. And for bycause 240

[* Page 65.]

- 245 many thyngys ther be wych are requyryd to the wele of euery man, wych sondurly to reherse were ouerlong *and* no thyng necessary, therfor iij thyngys general I note now to be spoken of, by the wych hyt schal be esy to vnderstond the rest:—And fyrst of them ys helthe of body, wych I note to be as foundatyon *and* ground of a
- 251 grete parte of the wele of man; for as much as yf hyt were so that man had neuer so grete abundance of al ryches *and* wordly substance; neuer so grete nombur of gud *and* faythful frendys; neuer so grete dygnyte *and* authoryte in hys cuntrey; yet, yf he lake helth, al
- 256 thos thyngys to hym lytyl dow profyt, of them he takyth lytyl plesure, no thyng ertly to hym wythout helth *can* be plesaunt or delectabul. For yf he be trowblyd wyth any greuus sykenes, hys lyfe then to hym ys nother swete nor plesaunt, he rather then wold
- 261 desyre to dye then to lyue; so trowblus he ys bothe to hym selfe *and* to hys frendys. He lyth then vnprofytabel to hys cuntrey, *and can* to no man dow gud, for he ys therby excludyd also from the vse *and* vtward exercyse almost of al vertue, by the wych hyt ys communyd to the profyt of other. And thought hyt be so that man by sykenes *and* bodyly infyrmyte be not vturly excludyd from hys gud purposys *and* vertues intentys, wyche God, that only lokyth in to the hartys of man, no les extymyth then the vtward dedys, yet the vtward dedys *and* exercyse of vertue undowtydly makyth hyt more commendabul, plesaunt, *and* profytabel, both to hymselfe *and* to the world; *and*, at the lest, no les plesaunt to God, whose gudnes man doth folow, when as much [as] he can by vtward dedys he communyth hys vertue to the profyt of other. Wherfor hyt apperyth
- 277 that we may justely affyrme bodyly helth to be the ground *and* foundatyon of the wele of man, to the wych also must be couplyd, of necessaryte, strenght *and* beuty. For yf a man for the tyme haue neuer so gud
- Three things are needful to the individual good.
1. Health of body:
- for if a man be troubled with sickness he would rather die than live.
- He is unprofitable to all men, and excluded from the exercise of all virtue.
- [* Page 66.]
- To health must be added strength and beauty.

- helth, yet yf he haue not strength to maynteyne the same, hyt wyl sone vanysch away, leuyng thys ground weke *and* vnstabul; therfor strength must be joynyd, *and* beuty also. For yf the body haue neuer so gud helth, *and* conuenient powar *and* strength for the mayntenance of the same, yet yf hyt be deformyd, yf the partys be not proporecy[o]nabul, one agreyng to another, accordyng to the ordur of nature, they be not so acceptabul nor plesaunt, nor the body hath not hys *perfayt* state *and* vertue. Also, aftur the sentence of the most wyse poete, yn a gudly body ys more [that ys] *commendabul*, plesant, *and* acceptabul. Wherfor, to the *perfayt* state of the body, *and* veray wele therof, they must run al iij joyntely togydur—both helth, strength, *and* beuty, to the wych al other vertues of the body, as to the pryncypallys *and* chefe, lyghtly ensue. And so in thes bodyly vertues *and* natural powarys, stondyth the fyrst poynt requyryd to the wele of euery partycular man, aftur my mynd, except *you haue any thyng to say contrary to thys.
10. *Lvpset*.—No, *Sir*, I wyl not interrupt your *communycatyon* now in the myddys, but when you haue brought hyt to an end, I wyl then frely *and* playnly schow my mynd.
11. *Pole*.—Wel, then, let vs go forward. The second poynt that mannys wele restyth in, ys ryches *and* conuenient abundaunce of al wordly thyngys, mete to the mayntennance of euery mannys state, accordyng to hys degre. Thys ys to euery man manyfest *and* playn; for in case be that man haue a body neuer so helthy, beutyful, *and* strong, yet yf he lake such thyngys as necessarily be requyryd to the mayntenance of hys state *and* degre, he schal be trowblyd in mynd wyth infynyte carys *and* myserabul thoughtys; bycause he seth wel that, wythout them, thys bodyly wele wyl sone vade
- For if a man haue health but no strength to maintain it, it will soon be lost.
- 285
- 290
- gratior est pulchro, &c.¹
- In these three the perfect state of the body consists.
- 297
- [* Page 67.]
- L. says, I won't interrupt you now.
- 303
- The 2nd point of man's good rests in his riches.
- 308
- If he haue not these he shall suffer many cares.
- 315

¹ In margin of MS.

Children and friends are also necessary.

- 316 and vanysch away. Besyd thys, yf a man haue neuer so grete ryches *and* abundaunce of tresore, yet yf he lake chyldur *and* frendys in whome he may delyte, by comunyng therof, they lytyl avayle, *and* be to hym nother plesant nor swete; wherfor, they be also requyryd to
- 321 thys. And though hyt be so that superfluouse ryches *and* ouergrete abundance of thes wordly goodys be not requyryd necessaryly to the wele of man, but rather be the destructyon therof, yet hyt ys manyfest that the lake of necessarys, for nuryschyng *and* clothyng of the body, ys the sure *and* certayn cause of infynyte myserys *and* manyfold wrechydnes. *Lyke as the conuenyent abundaunce of the same, yf they be wel vsyd, ys the occasyon of puttyng in exercyse many honest *and* vertuse affectys of mannys mynd, wych els schold be coueryd *and* clokyd *and* neuer come to lyght, but stoppyd *and* let by penury *and* pouerty, non other wyse
- 333 then they be by bodyly syknes *and* infyrmyte. Therfor we may now of thys ryght wel perceyue, that thes exteryor *and* wordly thyngys in conuenyent abundaunce are not wythout cause, in the second place, requyryd to the wele of euery partycular man, as such thyngys
- 338 wythout whome no man can haue hys most prosperouse state.

The lack of food and clothing is the cause of much misery and
[* Page 68.] wretchedness; while abundance, rightly used, calls out many virtues.

The third and most important, though least regarded, point is the natural honesty and virtue of the mind.

A man with health and riches is counted happy, though he never dream of virtue.

- (11.) The thryd poynt now remeynyth, wych al be hyt of hyt selfe hyt ys most pryncypal *and* chefe, as to the wych they other are to be referryd, yet, hyt ys lest regardyd *and* lest had in mynd. That ys, the natural honesty *and* vertue of the mynd. For commynly hyt ys seen that yf a man haue helth *and* ryches, [he] ys then of al men jugyd happy *and* fortunate, lykyng no welth, though he neuer dreame of vertue; so lytyl count ys had therof. How be hyt, the troth ys thys, that lyke as the
- 349 soule fer passyth *and* excellyth the body, ye, *and* al other wordly thyngys, so doth they vertues of the mynd, in the same ordur *and* degre, passe *and* excelle al

- vertues *and* powarys of ther body, *and* al other ryches and wordly tresore, as thos thyngys wych be chefely *and* aboue al other to be extymyd *and* regardyd. *And* thought hyt be so that man, by corrupt iugement, contrary extyme them, *and* wythout the other regard them not at al, yet they, of theyr owne nature, are no les to be extymyd, *no les to be regardyd ; wych ys to al them euydent *and* playn wych be not yet blyndyd wyth inordynat affectys, *and* haue not lost the ryght iugement of thyngys, wych ys the cause of al errorys *and* myschefys that commynly happunnyth in mannys lyfe. For what avaylyth to haue helth, beuty, *and* strength of body, to hym wych can not vse them to the end by nature *and* reson appoyntyd ? What avaylyth hyt to haue ryches, tresore, *and* al wordly abundance, to hym wych can not by wysdome vse them to hys owne welth *and* to the profyt of other ? Wythout fayle, no thyng. We see dayly in commyn experyence (we nede not to seke for reson or exampul to proue *and* confyrme hyt) that ryches, authoryte, *and* wordly abundaunce, to them whych can not vse them, be playn destructyon. Wherefore they, of themselfys, be not to be extymyd but in ordur to vertue. Helth ys not to be extymyd to thys intent, that therby wyth more lyberty *and* plesure you may haue the vse of al vayn joys *and* past-tymys wordly ; but to thys end *and* purpos only, that by your helth of body you may more conuenyently vse al honest *and* vertuese exercyse of the mynd, both to the commodityte of yourselfe *and* also of your frendys *and* cuntry. Aftur thys maner helth ys to be extymyd as the ground *and* fundatyon, accordyng, as I sayd befor, of the wele *and* prosperouse state of euery man. Lykewyse, ryches *and* wordly abundance ys not to be regardyd to thys intent, that man therby may haue *the vse of vayn *and* transytory plesures, but only to thys purpos, that by them he may fyrst satisfy hys owne necessaryte, *and*
- But the truth is, the virtues of the mind excel all virtues and powers of the body as much as the soul surpasses the body.
- 357
- [* Page 69.]
- 361
- Of what avail are health, beauty, strength, riches, to a man who cannot use them ?
- 368
- Riches to those who cannot use them are destruction.
- 374
- Health is to be studied for the mind's sake, and for the good of your friends and your country.
- 383
- Riches and abundance are to satisfy bodily wants,
- [* Page 70.]

and to help the
needy and such
as are in misery.

so aftur succur *and* helpe them wych haue nede *and* be
in mysery. Aftur thys maner also they are to be extymyd,
euer referring them to vertue as to theyr end *and* pur-
pos wy they are to be desyryd, *and* as the chefe poynt

392 of the felycyte, wele, *and* prosperouse state of man,
wythout the wych they other no thyng avayle, other be

Virtue alone can
show the right
use of health and
riches.

the destructyon of man. For vertue only hyt ys that
schowyth vs the ryght vse *and* streght, both of helth,
strength, *and* beuty, of ryches, *and* of al other wordly

397 abundaunce ; and transytory vertue hyt ys that techyth
vs al honest behauyour bothe toward God *and* man. As,
by *exampul*, relygyously to honower *and* worschype God,
as Maker, Gouvernor, *and* Rular of thys word, *and* bro-
therly to loue euery man iche other, wyth al ryghtwyse
and just delyngh togyddur.

403 (11.) Wherfor hyt can not be dowtyd, yf we wyl
extyme thyngys in ryght ordur *and* degre, but that
vertue ys the chefe poynt of al thes thre. For yf hyt
were so that a man had most prosperouse state of body,
wyth helth, strength, *and* beuty ; ye, *and* yf he had

Virtue is the
chief point of all,
and nothing can
avail without it.

If a man have
it not he is
without pleasure
and comfort,
and receives only
hurt and
destruction.

also al abundaunce of wordly godys *and* ryches, yet
yf he had not also the streyght *and* ryght vse of the
same, he schal not only take of them no profyt nor
frute, but he schal also haue nother plesure nor comfort
therby ; but rather hurt, dammage, *and* vtur destruc-

413 tyon. *And* thos thyngys wych of themselfe *and* of theyr
owne nature be gud, schalbe to hym, for lake of gud
vse, noyful *and* yl. *And* lykewyse, yf a man had al
the ryches *and* powar of the world, wyth al other pros-
peryte therof, yet, yf hys mynd were not ryghtly set
wyth relygyouse *honour toward God, *and* wyth honest
and just behauyour toward man, al that schold no
thyng avayle, no thyng profyte. So that thys ys now

Riches without
religion and
honour towards
God and man
[* Page 71.]
cannot profit.

421 certayn, that they ij fyrst poyntys, wythout thys thryd
couplyd therto, rather hyndur *and* hurt, then ayd *and*
set forth, the wele *and* prosperouse state of euery priuate

man ; but when they al be joynyd togyddur,—helth, strength, *and* beuty of body ; ryches *and* abundaunce of such wordly godys as be necessary to the mayntenance of the state of man ; vertue of the mynd schowyng the streygh[t] vse of the same ; wyth al honest *and* dew behauyour bothe toward God *and* man,—then surely that man, who so euer he be, hath hye welth *and* most prosperouse state *and* felycyte, conuenient to the nature of man *and* to hys dygnyte. And so thus, *Master Lvpset*, now I thynke you se wherin stondyth the wele of euery partycular man ; out of the wych we must now seke out *and* enserch the veray true commyn wele, seyng that we haue therby thus found the best mean, *and*, as hyt apperyth to me, the ryghtyst way therto.

The man who has health, strength, and beauty of body, riches and abundance, and all due behaviour to God and man, is in a most prosperous state.

433

12. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, you say wel. How be hyt, bycause thys ys the ground, as me semyth, of the rest of our communycatyon, I wyl not let hyt pas vnsure, for as much as hyt apperyth yet to me some thyng strange. For yf hyt be thus as you conclude, that the wele *and* felycyte of euery partycular man restyth in thos iij poyntys, wych you haue declaryd couplyd togyddur, then few ther be that haue wele, few wych be in prosperouse state *and* felycyte ; the most parte of mankynd ys excludyd from hyt. For by thys reson, yf a man be fallen * in to any grete sykenes or febulnes of body, or by any iniury of fortune be cast in to grete pouerty ; or yf hys chyldur or frendys haue any myschaunce, then—

L. says, You say well,

440

but it seems strange. If the weal of every man consists in these three points,

then but few have it.

447

[* Page 72.]

be he neuer so vertuse, honest, *and* gud ; be he as per fayt as euer was Sayn Poule—yet he ys not in wele nor in prosperouse state *and* felycyte ; wych ys contrary to the opynyon of many gret wyse men, wych euer haue gyuen thys powar to vertue, that hyt doth not only kepe man from mysery, but hyt doth also set hym in hye felycyte. In so much that yf man were fallen in to neuer so grete syknes or pouerty, or otherwyse trowblyd by the stormys

452

It is contrary to the opinion of many wise men, who have held that virtue keeps a man from misery and makes him happy ;

¹ MS Le¹

- 459 of fortune in aduersyte, wch by no wysdome he can avoyd ; yet, so long as he patyently suffryth them *and contentyth* hys mynd wyth hys present state, euer comfortyng hymselfe wyth vertuse purposys ; so long, I say,
- 463 hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele *and* felycyte. To thys, me semyth, agreth al the doctryne of our *Master* Chryst, wch callyth them blessyd wch be euer in wordly aduersyte, patyently suffrynge¹ hyt for Hys sake ; *and*, contrary, thos wch be in wordly prosperyte,
- 468 he notyth to be myserabul *and* wrechyd. Of thys al Scrypture ys ful. Hyt nedyth not to bryng in any partycular place for the testymony therof, seyng that al sownyth therto. Al Chrystys discypullys *and* apostylls were sympul *and* pore, hauyng no wordly prosperyte ;
- 473 *and* yet I thynke you wyl not say that they were in *mysery, but, contrary, that they were in hye felycyte. Wherfor hyt apperyth that your iij poyntys couplyd togyddur are not requyryd of necessyte to the wele of euery partycular man ; speyally consyderyng that, by
- 478 that mean, the most parte of mankynd schold be excludyd from theyr wele *and* felycyte, wch can not attayn to wordly ryches *and* hye phylosophy.
13. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master* Lvpset, you euer bryng in some regyd knottys in *communycatyon*. But yet because they be somewhat to our purpos, we schal not let them slype vtterly vnexamynd. And, fyrst, you schal
- 485 vnderstond, for the ground of your dowte, that we may perceyue wherof hyt sprange, that, accordyng to the dyuersyte of opynyons wch men haue had of the nature of man, so varyabul sentence were taken of hys felycyte *and* wele. Some sayd that man was no thyng els but hys resonabul soule, for as much as
- 491 that ys the thyng wherby man ys man, *and* not a brute best ; *and* that the body ys no thyng but as an instrument or vessel of the same. To whome hyt was

and to this agrees the doctrine of Christ.

[* Page 73.]

Wherefore these three points are not required.

P. owns these "knots" are to the purpose, and require examination.

Some have said the soul is man:

¹ MS. *fuffrynge*.

conuenient to say that so long *man* hathe hys hye 494
 felycyte *and* wele as the soule was instructe wyth
 such *vertues* as be accordyng to hyr dygnyte ; notwyth-
 standyng that the body were trowblyd wyth syknes,
 pouerty, *and* al other callyd wordly aduersyty, wych no
 thyng touchyd the nature of the soule ; *and* so by theyr 499
 opynyon vertue had euer couplyd wyth hyr hye *fely-
 cyte. Other ther were, more agreyng to the *commyn*
 reson of *man*, wych sayd that *man* ys not only the soule,
 in so much that he ys made of hyt, but as one chefe
and pryncypal parte, but a certayn nature wych rysyth 504
 of the vnyon *and* coniuicyon of the body *and* soule
 togyddur. Wherfor to them hyt was conuenient to say
 that the wele of *man* restyth, not only in the mynd *and*
 the *vertues* therof, but in the body also, *and* in the pro-
 perouse state of the same ; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys
 veray truth, yf we loke to the most *perfoynt* state that
man may haue. For though hyt be so that vertue euer 511
 defendyth *mannys* mynd from mysery, *and* euer hath
 joynyd therto felycyte, yet, me semyth, hyt ys not in
 the most *perfoynt* state, hyt ys not in the hiest degre,
 except therto be couplyd wordly prosperyte. For thys
 ys certayn, that the mynd of *man* then more floryschyth,
 more reioicyth, *and* hath more wele, when frely, wyth-
 out any impedymment, other of body or iniury of fortune,
 hyt exercysyth *vertues* actys, *and* spredyth hyr beamys
 to the lyght *and* comfort of many other. Wherfor,
 though *vertus* purpos *and* honest intent be sufficyent, 521
 not only to defend a *man* from mysery, but also to con-
 serue *and* kepe hys mynd in felycyte ; yet, aftur myn
 opynyon, for as much as the body ys one parte of *man*,
 *he hath neuer most hie felycyte nor most *perfoynt*
 state in the hiest degre, except the body wyth the mynd
 florysch also wyth hys *vertues* *and* al thyngys neces-
 sary for the mayntenance of the same. *And* thys, I
 thynke to be of truth, that to the most prosperouse 529

[* Page 74.]

others, that soul
and body united
make man ;

and this,
Pole thinks,
is true.

Felicity in the
highest degree
can only spring
from virtue and
worldly
prosperity :

because then man
is without any
impediment
either of body or
mind.

[* Page 75.]

Body and mind
must flourish
together.

- 530 state al thes thyngys joyntly are requyryd ; albehyt hyt
 ys no thyng to be dowtyd but that man, stablyd *and* con-
 fyrmyd wyth *perfayt and* sure hope, may ryght wel
 attayne, in the lyfe to come, to the most hye felycyte,
 thoughe he be here trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte,
 wherof by foly *and* neclygence he hymselfe ys not the
 cause ; but yf he patyently suffur hyt for the loue of
- But it must not
 be denied that
 a man with
 perfect and sure
 hope may attain
 the felicity of the
 life to come
 though troubled
 with aduersity
 here.
- 537 God, hyt ys as a mean to the attaynyng therof. And
 lyke wyse wordly felycyte *and* prosperouse state in thys
 lyfe present, excludyth not man from the most hye fely-
 cyte of the lyfe to come, but rather, yf he vse hyt wel,
- 541 hyt ys also a mean wherby he the bettur may attayne
 to the same. But forbycause wordly prosperyte ys so
 ful of manyfold peryllys *and* daungerys, by the wych a
 neclygent mynd ys sone oppressyd, *and*, as hyt ys com-
 mynly sayd, hard hyt ys to haue heuyn here *and* els-
 were ; therfor few ther be, *and* few euer haue byn found,
 wych wel to that end coude vse thys wordly prosperyte,
 in so much that hyt ys of many wyse men jugyd much
 harder to be wel to vse wordly prosperyte, then pa-
 cyently to suffur *and* bere al wordly aduersyte. For the
 wych cause *I thynke our Mastur Chryst chose, for the
 most parte, hys dyscypullys of that sort wych were
 tossyd in wordly aduersyte, *and* few of them wych in-
 yoyd wordly prosperyte ; schowyng vs how hard hyt
 was to vse that wel, *and* coupul therto hys celestyal
and heuynly doctryne. Therfor he sayth that nother they
 wych haue theyr hartys fxyd in the loue of ryches of
 thys world nother they wych haue theyr myndys
 drownyd in the vayn plesurys of thys lyfe, may attayne
 to the plesure *and* felycyte of the kyngdome of heuyn
and lyfe to come. But yet, as I sayd, he excludyth not
 them wych euer bere theyr myndys vprygit in the
 streyght vse of the same. *And*, forbycause the thyng ys
 of so grete hardnes *and* dyffyculty, few you schal fynd
- It is difficult to
 have heaven here
 and elsewhere.
- Some judge it to
 be harder to use
 prosperity well,
 than it is to bear
 aduersity.
- [* Page 70.]
- 552 in al Holy Scripture, wych wel dyd vse thys wordly
- 565
- Christ said,
 "How hardly
 shall they that
 have riches, &c.,"
- but He does not
 exclude such
 from the life to
 come.

- prosperyte; for the wych purpos, as I thynke, many men 566
of gret wysedome *and* vertue flye from hyt, setting
themselfe in relygyouse housys, ther quyetly to *serue*
God *and* kepe theyr myndys vpryght wyth les jopardy.
Wych thyng surely ys not amys downe of them wych
perceyue theyr owne *imbecyllite and* wekenes, prone
and redy to be oppressyd *and* ouerthrowne, wyth thes 572
comune *and* quyat plesurys of the world, by whome
they see the most *parte* of mankynd drownyd *and* ouer-
comyn. How be hyt, me semyth, they dow lyke to fere-
ful schypmen, wych, for drede of stormys *and* trowblus
sees, kepe themselfe in the hauen, *and* dare not commyt
themselfys to the daungerouse tempestys of the same.
But, lyke as he that, in *gret tempest *and* trowblus tyme,
gouernyth wel hys schype *and* conuehyth hyt at the
last to the hauen *and* place appoyntyd of hys course, 581
ys callyd a gud *and* experte maryner, *and* much more
prayse-worthy, then he wych for fere *and* dred kepyth
hymselfe in the hauen styl; so he wych in daungerouse
prosperyte, so ful of so many occasyonys of errorys *and*
dowyng amys, gouernyth hys mynd wel, *and* kepyth
hyt vpryght, ys justely to be callyd most *perfayt and* 587
wyse man; ye, *and* much more *deseruyth and* of more
praysse ys worthy then he wych, for fere of the same
daungerys, runnyth in to a relygyouse house, ther as in
a hauyn quyetly to rest, wythout so much trowbul *and*
dysquyetnes. Thys I say, bycause you schal not thynke 592
that such as lyue in prosperous state of thys lyfe present
are therby excludyd from the felycyte of the lyfe to
come; but rather when prosperyte ys wel vsyd, hyt ys
a mean to set mannys mynd in that state, wherby he 596
schal attayne hyar felycyte.

(13.) And so now to retorne to your dowte, Though a man
Master Lvpset, thus I say:—That though hyt be so in aduersity may
that man, beyng here in thys lyfe present trowblyd attain heaven,
wyth al wordly aduersyte, may vndowtydly, by patyent 601
yet, as riches do
not exclude him,

Some retire from
the world,

and it is not
amiss of them;

but they are
like sailors,
who, for dread
of storms,
never leave the
hauen.

[* Page 77.]

He who does his
duty in all
perils, is a wise
man,

and better than
he who hides
himself in a
religious house.

- 602 suffrance of the same, in the lyfe hereaftur attayne to the most hye felycyte, yet, seyng that by no wordly prosperyte he ys excludyd from the same, hyt may not [be] dowtyd but that the most *prosperouse state* * of *man* stondyth in the *vertues* of the mynd couplyd wyth wordly prosperyte. And, albehyt that few ther be wych attayne therto, yet bycause hyt ys *conuenient* to the
- [* Page 78.]
the most prosperous state consists in virtue and worldly prosperity.
- 609 dygnyte of *man*, and some ther be wych attayne therto, the thyng ys not vturly to be taken away, nor vturly to be denyd from the nature of *man*. Suffycyent hyt ys that no *man* by nature ys excludyd from felycyte, though al *men* can not attayne to the hiest degre therof. And so, yf we haue regard of the soule only, callyng hyt, aftur the mynd of Plato, the veray *man*, wherof the
- If we regard the soul only,
- 616 body ys but as a pryson; and yf we also haue regard only of the lyfe to come, despysyng, aftur the doctryne of Chryst, the vayne plesurys of thys present lyfe; then hyt ys trothe, as you thought, that *man*, though he be trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte, yet may ryght wel attayne to hye felycyte. But, *contrary*, yf we haue regard not only of the soule, but also of the body,
- and only the life to come,
man may, even in adversity, attain felicity;
but if we regard the body also,
- 623 saying with Arystotyl, that *man* ys the vnyon and coniunctyon togyddur of them both; and yf we haue regard also, not only of the lyfe to come, but also of the lyfe present; then hyt ys true that I say, that felycyte in the hiest degre ys not wythout wordly prosperyte. Thus, *Master Lvpset*, the thyng dyuersly *consyderyd*
- and the present life also, then felicity in the highest degree is not without worldly prosperity.
- 629 makyth betwyx vs to appere *controuersy*, lyke as hyt hath downe euer betwyx the old phylosopharys; among whome the chefe, as Arystotyl and Plato, euer in the truth dow agre, and only the maner of *consyderyng*
- [* Page 79.] *the thyngys wherof they dyspute makyth to appere betwyx them *controuersy*.
- L. thinks this is true.
14. *Master Lvpset*.—Syr, therin I thynke you say truth, for dyuerse *consyderatyon* hathe euer made dy-
- 637 uerse opynyon, and I am glad that both we say truth.

But yet of one thyng I somewhat marvayle, that in the felycyte of man you put dyuerse degres, to some attri- butyng more, *and* to some les. Me semyth felycyte ys the most *perfoy*t state, wych admyttyth no degre; for no thyng can be more *perfoy*t than that wych ys most. Wherfor I can not see how they, wych to *vertue* haue couplyd also wordly *prosperyte*, schold yet haue hyar felycyte then they wych, wythout that, haue only *vertue*, the wych, yf hyt be so, you then agre that *vertue* alone gyuyth man felycyte.

But can there be degrees of felicity?

15. *Pole*.—You schal marvayle no thyng at thys yf you wyl remembyr what we haue sayd before. Yf man be the soule only, then *vertue* only gyuyth to man hye felycyte; but yf he be both togyddur, the soule *and* the body, then you see hyt dothe not so. But many other thyngys are requyryd therto, by the reson wherof felycyte admyttyth degres; *and* some haue more wele, *and* some les; *and* he, as I sayd, hath most *prosperouse* state *and* hyst felycyte, wych hath wyth *vertue* couplyd al wordly *prosperyte*; *and* thys ys, wythout fayle, most *conuenyent to the nature of man. So that now I thynke hyt ys clere wherin stondyth the felycyte *and* wele of euery *partycular* man, by the wych now, as a ground *and* foundatyon leyd, we schal procede to the rest of our *communycatyon*.

P. says if man consists of soul and body, then he who has virtue and worldly prosperity gains a higher felicity than if man were soul only.

648

[* Page 80.]

In this is man's happiness.

16. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, let vs dow so now, I pray you, for therin now I dowte no more.

17. *Pole*.—Fyrst, thys ys certayn, that lyke as in euery man ther ys a body *and* also a soule, in whose floryschyng *and* *prosperouse* state bothe togyddur stondyth the wele *and* felycyte of man; so lyke wyse ther ys [in] euery *commynalty*, cyty, *and* cuntrye, as hyt were, a polytyke body, *and* another thyng also resemblyng the soule of man, in whose floryschyng both togyddur restyth also the true *commyn* wele. Thys body ys no thyng els but the multytude of pepul, the

P. compares the State to a man.

663

The people are the body,

- 674 nombur of cytyzynes, in euery commynalty, cyty, or cuntrey. The thyng wych ys resemblyd to the soule ys cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke law, admynstryd by offycers *and* rularys. For lyke as the body in euery man receyuyth hys lyfe by the vertue of the soule, *and* ys
- and civil order is the soul.
- 679 gouernyd therby, so dothe the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey receyue, as hyt were, cyuyle lyfe by lawys wel admynstryd by gud offycerys *and* wyse rularys, by whome they be gouernyd *and* kept in polytyke ordur. Wherfor the one may, as me semyth, ryght wel *be comparyd to the body, *and* the other to the soule.
- [* Page 81.]
- 686 18. *Lvpset.*—Thys symylytud lykyth me wel.
19. *Pole.*—Then let vs go forth wyth the same, *and* we schal fynd, by *and* by, that lyke as the wele of euery man sounderly by hymselfe rysyth of the iij pryncypal thyngys befor declaryd, so the commyn wele of euery
- 691 cuntrey, cyte, or towne, semblably rysyth of other iij thyngys proporeyonabul *and* lyke to the same, in the wych al other *partycular* thyngys are comprehendyd. And the fyrst of them, schortly to say, stondyth in helth, strength, *and* beuty of thys body polytyke *and* multytude of pepul, wherin restyth the ground, *and*, as hyt were, the fundatyon of the commyn wele. For yf the cuntrey be neuer so ryche, fertyl, *and* plentyful of al thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt to mannys lyfe, yet yf ther be of pepul other to few or to many; or yf they be, as hyt were, etyn away, dayly deuouryd *and* consumyd by commyn syknes *and* dysease; ther can be no
1. From the number of its people.
- No matter how rich and fertile it may be, if the people be too many or too few, or if they be oppressed in any way, there can be no prosperity,
- 703 ymage nor schadow of any commyn wele, to the wych fyrst ys requyryd a conuenyent multytude *and* conuenyently to be nuryschyd ther in the cuntrey. For where as ther be other to many pepul in the cuntrey, in so much that the cuntrey by no dyligence nor labour
- Multitude of pepul.¹
- 708 of man may be suffycyent to nurysch them *and* mynys-

¹ In margin of MS.

tur them fode, ther wythout dowte can be no commyn wele, but euer myserabul* penury and wrechyd pouerty. Lyke as yf ther be of pepul ouerfew, insomuch that the cuntrey may not be wel tylyd and occupyd, nor craftys wel and dylygently exercysyd, ther schal also sprynge therof grete penury and scasenes of al thyngys necessary for mannys lyfe; and so then cyuyle lyfe and true commyn wele can in no case be ther maynteynyd. Wherfor a conuenient multytude mete for the place, in euery cuntre and commynalty, as the mater and ground of the commyn wele, ys fyrst to be requyryd of necessitye.

709

[* Page 82.]
but ever miser-
able penury and
wretched poverty.

714

There must be a
population suited
to the place.

719

(19.) Ferther, also, though the nombur of pepul were neuer so mete to the place, cyty, or towne, yet yf they floryschyd not in bodyly helth, but commynly were vexyd wyth greuus syknes and contagyouse dys-ease, by the reson wherof the pepul schold be consumyd, no man could say ther to be any commyn wele. But lyke as euery partycular man in bodyly sykenes,

Helth of the
pepul.

Further, if the
number are
suitable, but lack
health, and are
consumed by
sickness, there
cannot be
prosperity.

727

and in such speyally wherof he hymselfe ys cause, lakkyth the most prosperouse state, so dothe euery cuntrey, cyty, and towne, lyke wyse affecte and dysposyd, want much of hys perfayt commyn wele. Therfor, to thys multytude of pepul and polytyke body,

732

ys requyryd a certayn helthe, wych also by strength must be *maynteynyd. For lyke as the body, yf hyt be not strong, sone by vtward occasyonys, as by intemperance of ayr, labur, and trauayle, ys oppressyd and ouerthrowne, and so losythe hys helth; so dothe the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne, sone, by warrys and iniury of ennemys, wythout strength, lose hys welth and sone ys oppressyd and brought in to mysery and wrechyd captuyte. Wherfor to thys polytyke body strenght ys also requyryd,

[* Page 83.]
They are like the
body, which, if
it be not healthy
and strong, is soon
oppressed and
overthrown.

740

The body politie
must have
strength as well

¹ In margin of MS.

as health, or it
must of necessity
decay.

Strenght of the
pepul.¹

wythout the wych hys helth long can not be mayn-
teynyd ; but, schortly, of necesstye hyt must deokay.

Thys strenght stondyth in thys poynt chefely—so to
kepe *and* maynteyne euery parte of thys body, that they

748

promptely *and* redyly may dow that thyng wych ys re-
quyryd to the helthe of the hole. Lyke as we say, then

A man's body is
said to be strong,
when every part
can perform its
functions quickly
and well ; as the
heart is strong
when it serves the
members ; and
the members are
said to be strong
when they duly
receive and use
the power sent
from the heart.

euery mannys body to be strong, when euery parte can
execute quykly *and* wel hys offyce determyd by the

ordur of nature ; as the hart then ys strong when he,
as fountayn of al natural powarys, mynystryth them

wyth dew ordur to al other ; and they then be strong
when they be apte to receyue ther powar of they hart,

and can vse hyt accordyng to the ordur of nature ; as
the ye to see, the yere to here, the fote to go, *and* hand

[* Page 84.]

to hold *and* rech ; * and so lyke wyse of the rest. Aftur
such maner the strenght of thys polytyke body stondyth

760

in euery parte beyng abul to dow hys offyce *and* duty ;
for thys body hath hys partys, wych resembly also the

The partys of the
polytyk body.¹

partys of the body of man, of the wych the most
general to our purpos be thes—the hart, hede, handys,

and fete. The hart therof ys the kyng, prynce, *and* rular
of the state, whether so euer hyt be one or many, ac-
cordyng to the gouernance of the commynalty *and* poly-

The heart of a
commonwealth
is the king or
ruler.

767

tyke state ; for some be gouernyd by a prynce alone,
some by a conseyl of certayn wyse men, *and* some by

the hole pepul togyddur, as here aftur, when occasyon
re quyryth, more playnly I wyl schow. But now to our

purpos. He or they wych haue authorityte apou the hole
state rygh[t] wel may be resemblyd to the hart. For lyke

772

as al wyt, reson, *and* sens, felyng, lyfe, *and* al other
natural powar, spryngyth out of the hart, so from the

As all natural
power springs
from the heart, so
from princes and
rulers come all
laws, order, and
policy.

pryncys *and* rularys of the state commyth al lawys, ordur
and pollycy, al justyce, vertue, *and* honesty, to the rest

of thys polytyke body. To the hede, wyth the yes, yerys,
and other sensys therin, resemblyd may be ryght wel the

The head, eyes,
and ears are
the under
officers ;

¹ In margin of MS.

vnder offycerys by pryncys appoyntyd, for as much as they schold euer obserue *and* dylygently wayte for the wele of the rest of thys body. *To the handys are resemblyd bothe craftysmen *and* warryarys wych defend the rest of the body from iniury of ennymys vtward, *and* worke *and* make thyngys necessary to the same. To the fete, the plowmen *and* tyllarys of the ground, bycause they, by theyr labur, susteyne *and* support the rest of the body. Thes are the most general partyys of thys polytyke body, wych may justely be resemblyd aftur the maner declaryd to thos chefe partyys in mannys body. Now, as I sayd, the strength of thes partyys altogyddur ys of necessaryte requyryd, wythout the wych the helth of the hole *can* not long be maynteynyd.

[* Page 85.]

craftsmen and warriors are the hands;

784

ploughmen the feet.

788

(19.) And ferthermore, yet though thys polytyke body be helthy *and* strong, yet yf hyt be not beutyful, but foule deformyd, hyt lakyth a parte of hys wele *and* prosperouse state. Thys beuty also stondyth in the dew proportyon of the same partyys togyddur, so that one parte euer be agreabul to a nother in forme *and* fascyon, quanyte *and* nombur; as craftysmen *and* plowmen in dew nombur *and* proportyon wyth other partyys, accordyng to the place, cyty, or towne. For yf ther be other to many or to few of one or of the other, ther ys in the commynalty a grete deformyte; *and* so lyke wyse of the other partyys. Werfor the dew proportyon of one parte to a nother must be obseruyd, *and* therin stondyth the corporal beuty chefely of thys polytyk body. And so in thes iij thyngys, couplyd togyddur, stondyth, wythout fayle, the wele **and* prosperouse state of the multytude in euery commynalty, wych, as you now se, iustely may be resemblyd to the body of euery partycular man. *And* yet ferther to procede in thys symylytud. Lyke as the wele of the body, wythout ryches *and* conuenyent abundance of thyngys necessary, *can* not con-

793

Beuty of the polytyk body.¹¹ In margin.)

All these must be in due proportion,

798

because if there are too many or too few, there is deformity.

806

[* Page 86.]

811

Vetigalia et
azona.¹

2. There must be
abundance of
necessaries and
friends;

for if a country
be ever so well
replenished with
people,
yet if it lack
necessaries, it
cannot prosper.

Poverty is the
mother of envy
and malice,
dissension and
debate.

If the country
lack the friend-
ship of those
living near,
Amiei socij
recip[roci]?¹
but is surrounded
by foes, it cannot
flourish.

[* Page 87.]

Lawys and poly-
tyk ordur.¹

3. Good order
and good laws
are required,
for without these
all other advan-
tages are useless.

815 tinue nor be maynteynd, so thys multytude wych
we cal the polytyke body, wythout lyke abund-
aunce of al thyngys necessary, can not florysche in
most *perfoy*t state. Wherfor thes exteryor thyngys
—frendys, ryches, *and* abundance of necessaries—are
iustely, in the second place, to be requyryd to the

821 mayntenance of thys true *commyn* wele wych we now
serche. For yf a cuntrey be *neuer* so wel replenyschyd
wyth pepul, helthy, strong, *and* beutyful, yet yf theyr²
be lake of necessaries, hyt can not long prosper; ther
wyl schortly grow in al kynd of mysery, for grete
pouerty in any cuntrey hathe *euer* couplyd gret mysery.
Sche ys the mother of enuy *and* malyce, dysse-
nyon *and* debate, *and* many other myschefys ensuyng
the same. Wherfor, wythout necessaries no cuntrey can

830 florysch; ye, *and* yf ther be no lake of necessaries for
the sustenance of the pepul, but grete abundance of
ryches *and* of al thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt for
mannys lyfe, yet yf the same cuntrey lake the frenschype
of other joynyd therto, *and* be inuyronnyd *and* com-
passyd aboute wyth ennemys *and* fowys, lying *euer* in
wayte to spoyle, robbe, *and* destroy the same, I can not
see how that cuntrey can long *florysch in prosperyte.

Wherfor the frenschype of other cuntreys ys no les re-
quyryd then ryches *and* abundaunce of other thyngys
necessary. *And* so in thes thyngys joynyd togyddur
restyth the second poynt requyryd to the wele of euery
commynalty.

(19.) The thryd—wych ys chefe *and* pryncypal of al
—ys the gud ordur *and* pollycy by gud lawys stablyschyd
and set, *and* by hedys *and* rularys put in effect; by the
wyche the hole body, as by reson, ys gouernyd *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

² The following is written in the margin, but there is no
sign to show where it should be inserted:—as frendys to
may[n]teyne the state, or els by ennymys they schortly may
be oppresyd.

rulyd, to the *intent* that thys multytude of pepul *and* hole *commynalty*, so helthy *and* so welthy, hauyng *conuenient* abundaunce of al thyngys necessary for the mayntenance therof, may wyth dew honowr, reuerence, 850

and loue, relygyously worschype God, as fountayn of al gudnes, Maker *and* Gouvernower of al thys world ; euery one also dowyng hys duty to other wyth brotherly loue, one louyng one a nother as *membrys and partys* of one body. And that thys ys of the other *poyntys* most chefe 855

and pryncypal hyt ys euydent *and* playne ; for what avaylyth hyt in any cuntrey to haue a multytude *neuer* so helthy, beutyful, *and* strong, wych wyl folow no cyuyle nor polytyke ordur, but euery one, lyke wyld bestys drawn by folysch fantasy, ys lade by the same, wythout reson *and* rule ? Or what avaylyth in any cuntrey to haue *neuer* so grete ryches *and* *abundaunce of al thyngys both necessary *and* plesant to mannys lyfe, 863

where as the pepul, rude, wythout polyty, can not vse that same to theyr owne *commodityte* ? Wythout fayle, nothyng. But euen lyke as euery man, hauyng helth, abundaunce of ryches, frendys, dygnyte, *and* authoryte, wych lakyth reson *and* vertue to gouerne the same, euer abusyth them to hys owne destructyon ; so euery cuntrey, cyty, *and* towne, though they be *neuer* so replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al abundaunce of thyngys necessary 871

and plesaunt to the mayntenance of the same, yet yf they lake gud ordur *and* pollytyke rule, they schal abuse al such *commoditytes* to theyr owne destructyon *and* ruyne, *and* *neuer* schal attayne to any *commyn* wele ; wych, wythout cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule, can 876

neuer be brought to purpos nor effecte.

20. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, I pray you here, before you procede any fether in your *communycatyon*,—bycause hyt ys, as me semyth, much to our purpos, *and* much you speke therof,—declare somewhat at large what thyng 881

hyt ys that you so oft name *and* cal now “*pollycy*,”

Every one must exercise brotherly love and do his duty ;

because multitudes of people and abundance of necessities are of no avail if the people will not obey order ;

[* Page 88.]

and these good things will be abused to the destruction of the commonwealth.

L. asks what “policy” and “civil order” mean.

883 now “cyuyle ordur,” *and* now “polytyke rule;” to the intent that I may the bettur vnderstond the rest of your communycatyon.

P. promises to satisfy him on these points at once.

[* Page 89.]

21. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you admonysch me now ryght wel; for bothe here ys place now that thyng *to dow, *and* I promysyd hyt a lytyl befor. Wherfor

There was a tyme when men had no cities, no townes, no religion,

Polytyke lyfe.¹

but lived in forests as beasts do now; till some, considering his dignity, and perceiuing he was born to something higher,

889 I wyl go about in some parte to satysfye your mynd *and* desyre. A tyme ther was, *Master Lvpset*, as we fynd in storys many *and* dyuerse, when man, wythout cyty or towne, law or relygyon, wan[d]eryd abrode in the wyld feldys *and* wodys, non other wyse then you see now brute bestys to dow. At the wych tyme he was lad *and* drawn wythout reson *and* rule by frayle fantasy *and* inordynate² affectys, *and* so long contynuyd, *and* many yerys, tyl at the last certayn men of gret wytt *and* pollycy, wyth *perfayte* eloquence and hye phylo[so]-phy,—*consydering* the excellent nature *and* dygnyte of

900 man, *and* perceuyng ryght wel that he was borne *and* of nature brought forth to hyar *perfectyon* then he ap-plyd hymselfe vnto,—began to *persuade* the rest of the pepul to forsake that rudnes *and* vncomly lyfe, *and* so to folow some ordur *and* cyuylite. *And* fyrst of al to

persuaded him to forsake his rude life and build cities.

905 byld them certayn cytes *and* townys, wherto they myght assembl to theyr *commyn* ayde, *succur*, *and* *commoditye*, *avoydyng* the daunger *and* peryl of the wyld bestys, by whome they were oft before deuouryd *and* destroyed.

Then came ordinances and laws, but

Then, aftur, they deuysyd certayn ordynance *and* lawys, wherby they myght be somewhat inducyd to folow a

911 lyfe conuenient to theyr nature *and* dygnyte. Thes lawys *and* ordynance, at the fy[r]st begynnyng also, were vn*perfayt* *and* *somewhat rude, accordyng to the tyme *and* nature of the pepul; for hyt was not possybul sodeynly, by exacte law *and* pollycy, to bryng such a

[* Page 90.]
rude and imperfect, like the people themselves.

¹ In margin of MS.

² Although this word is not marked out, the word “vn-rulyd” is written above it.

rude multytude to *perfayt cyuylyte*, but euer as the pepul, by processe of tyme, in vertue incresyd, so *partycular lawys* by *polytyke men* were deuysyd. And thus in long tyme, by *perfayt eloquence and hie phylosophy men* were brought, by *lytyl and lytyl*, from the rude lyfe in *feldys and wodys*, to thys *cyuylyte*, wych you now se *stablyschyd and set in al wel rulyd cytes and townys*. 916

These things were a work of time,

but by eloquence and philosophy men were brought by little and little to civility.

Where as you see some *gouernyd and rulyd* by a *kyng or prynce*, some by a *commyn consayl of certayn wyse men*, and some by the hole body and multytude of pepul; and thus hyt was *determyd, jugyd, and appoyntyd* by *wysdome and pollycy*, that euer, accordyng to the nature of the pepul, so, by one of thes *polytyke manerys*, they schold be *gouernyd, ordryd, and rulyd*. For some pepul ther be to whome the rule of a *prynce* more agreth then a *commyn counseyl*, as such as haue byn long vsyd ther-to, and be not gretly desyrouse of hie *authoryte*, but in *pryuate lyfe* are content to lyue *quyetly*. To other, contrary, ys mor *conuenyence* [in] the rule of a *commyn counseyl*, wych can in no case suffur the rule of one, for as much as euery one of them by theyr *custume and nature*, are desyrouse of *frank lyberty and hie authoryte*; and so to them *ys bettur the rule of many. How be hyt, thys euer ys certayn and sure, among al *sortys and nature of pepul*, whether the state of the *commynalty* be *gouernyd* by a *prynce*, by certayn *wyse men*, or by the hole multytude, so long as they wych haue *authoryte and rule of the state* loke not to theyr owne *syngular profyt*, nor to the *pryuate wele* of any one *parte* more then to the other, but refer al theyr *cons[e]yle, actys, and dedys* to the *commyn wele* of the hole;—so long, I say, the *ordur ys gud, and dyrectyd to gud cyuylyte, and thys ys gud pollycy*. But when they wych haue rule, corrupt wyth *ambycyon, enuy, or malyce*, or any other lyke affecte, loke only to theyr owne *syngular wele, plesure, and profyt*, then thys *gud ordur ys turnyd*

There were various kinds of government, some by a king, some by a council, and some by the whole body, but each was suited to a particular people.

929

934

[* Page 91.]

No matter what the form of government may be, so long as the people study to promote the public good, it is good policy.

945

But it becomes tyranny when the good of an individual is sought,

and the rule of civility is broken.

into hye tyrannye; then ys broken the rule of al gud cyuylyte; ther can be no polytyke rule, nor cyuyle ordur; the nature wherof now to perceyue ys, as I thynke, no

955 thyng hard at al. For hyt ys a certayn rule wherby the pepul *and* hole commynalty, whether they be gouernyd by a prynce or commyn counseyle, ys euer dyrectyd in vertue *and* honesty. So that the end of al polytyke rule ys, to enduce the multytud to vertuse lyuyng, accordyng to the dygnyte of the nature of man. And so thus you

Virtue is the end of all politic rule.

961 haue hard what thyng hyt ys that I so oft speke of *and* cal polytyke rule, cyuyle ordur, *and* juste pollycy. *You haue hard also how dyuerse hyt ys, for hyt may be

[* Page 92.]

The kind of government is immaterial,

966 thys rulys ys best, *and* to be preferryd aboue other, me semyth superfluouse, seyng that certayne hyt ys that al be gud *and* to nature agreabul; *and* though the one be more conuenient to the nature of some pepul then the other. Wherfor best hyt ys, leuyng thys questyon, al men to be content wyth theyr state, so long as they be not oppressyd wyth playn tyranny.

though one may be more convenient than another. It is best to be contented, if you are not oppressed.

973 (21.) *And* so now to retorne to our purpos agayne, Master Lupset, thys ys, wythout dowte, certayn *and* sure,—that wythout such cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule, ther can neuer, in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, be seen any schadow of the true commyn wele. For

Without civil order there can be no true commonwealth,

978 yf ther be neuer so many pepul, as I haue oft sayd, *and* neuer so grete ryches in any cuntrey or commynalty, yet yf ther be no polytyke rule nor cyuyle ordur, of al such thyng they schal take no commodyte. Yf al the partys of the cyty wyth loue be not knyht to-

983 gyddur in vnyte as membrys of one body, ther can be no cyuylyte. For lyke as in mannys mynd ther only ys quyetnes *and* hye felycyte, wher as in a gud body al the affectys wyth reson dow agre, so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys perfayt cyuylyte, ther

for as in man there only is felicity where mind and body agree; so in a country or town there

ys the true *commyn wele*, where as al the *partys*, as *membrys* of one body, be knyt togyddur in *perfayt loue* *and vnyte; *euery* one dowyng hys *offyce and duty*, aftur such *maner* that, what so *euer* state, *offyce*, or *degre*, any *man* be of, the *duty* therto *perteynnyng* wyth al *dylygence* he *besyly* *fulfyl*, and wythout *enuy* or *malyce* to other *accomplysch* the same. As, by *exampul*, they *hedys and rularys*, both *spiritual and temporal*, to dow theyr *duty*, *prouydyng* alway that *fyrst*, and *aboue* al, the *pepul* may be *instruct* wyth the *doctryne* of *Chryst*, *fede and nuryschyd* wyth the *spiritual fode* of hys *celestyal word*, *euer dyrectyd* therto by al *gud pollycy*; so that *consequently* they may also *quyetly* *labur*, both wythout vtward *impedyment and hurt* of *ennemys*, and also wythout *inward iniury* among themselfe, one *oppressyng* another wyth *wrongys and iniury*, but *dylygently* to *labur*, *procuryng fode and thyngys necessary* for the hole *polytyke* body. And thys ys the *offyce and duty*, breuely to say, of *hedys and rularys*, aftur thys *maner* *dylygently* to se the *admynystratyon* of *justyce* to the hole *commynalty*. For the *wych* *purpos* they are thys *maynteynyd* in *pompe and plesure*, and in *quyat lyfe*, wythout al *trauayle and bodyly* *labur*, as you see; in al *placys commynly* *euer maynteynyd* by the *labur and trauayle* of the *pore commynalty*, to the *intent*, that they, a the other *syde*, *supportyd* by theyr *prudence and pollycy*, may *dylygently*, wyth *commyn quyetnes*, *apply* themselfys to theyr *laburys and paynys* for the *susteynyng* of the hole body, the *wych* also ys the *chefe poynt* of theyr *offyce and duty*; *gyuyng* also *reuerently* to theyr *pryncys and lordys* al *humbul seruyce and meke obedyence* *requyryd* to theyr *state and *degre*. And so thus, when *euery parte*, aftur thys *maner*, dothe hys *offyce and duty* *requyryd* therto, wyth *perfayt loue and amyte* one to a nother, one *glad* to *succur and ayd* another as *membrys and partys* of one body; to the in-

can only be perfect civility where all the parts agree, [* Page 93.] every one performing his duty whatever his degree.

993

Temporal and spiritual rulers should see the people are instructed and nourished with spiritual food.

999

1004

The duty of rulers is diligently to see that justice is duly administered, for which purpose they are maintained in pomp and pleasure by the labours of others,

1012

1017

[* Page 94.]

And so when every one does his duty in perfect love,

1023

- 1024 tent that, aftur thys wordly *and* cyuyle lyfe here paysy-
bly passyd *and* vertusely spent, they may at the last
al togydur attayne such end *and* felycyte as, by the gud-
nes of God *and* ordynance of nature, ys determyd to the
excellent dygnyte *and* nature of man. Then schal ther be
stablyschyd *and* set in such a multytude of pepul so
gouernyd, so rulyd, wyth such pollycy, that thyng wych
all may attain a
higher felicity
suited to the
dignity of man.
Then shall there
be a true
commonwealth,
- 1031 we so long haue sought,—that ys to say, a veray *and*
true commyn wele, wych ys no thyng els but the pros-
perouse *and* most perfayt state of a multytud assemblyd
togyddur in any cuntrey, cyty, or towne, gouernyd ver-
tusely in cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the nature *and* dyg-
nyte of man. The nature wherof now, I thynke, you
may clerly perceyue, *and* how, semblably, hyt rysyth of
iij thynkys, lyke *and* proportionabul to them, wherin
stondyth the wele of euery partycular man. For lyke as
a man ys then welthy, *and* hath hye felycyte, when he
hathe helth, strength, *and* beuty of body, wyth suffy-
cyency of frendys *and* wordly godys to maynteyne the
same, *and* hathe also therto joynyd honest behauour
both toward God *and* man ; *so a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,
hathe hys commyn wele *and* most perfayt state, when
fyrst the multytude of pepul *and* polytykebody ys helthy,
beutyful, *and* strong, abul to defend themselfys from
vtward iniurys ; *and* then plentuously nuryschyd wyth
abundance of al thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt for the
sustentatyon *and* quyetnes of mannys lyfe,—and so,
thyrdly, lyue togyddur in cyuyle ordur, quyetly, *and*
peasybly passyng theyr lyfe, ych one louyng other as
partys of one body, euery parte dowyng hys duty *and*
offyce requyryd therto. Then, I say, ther ys the veray
and true commyn wele ; ther ys the most prosperouse
and perfayt state, that in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, by
pollycy *and* wysdom, may be stablyschyd *and* set. To
the ayd *and* setting forward wherof, euery man for hys
- A commyn wele.¹
which is the
prosperous and
most perfect
state of a
multitude
assembled
together.
- A commonwealth
is most pros-
perous when it
has (1) a multi-
tude of people,
healthy,
beautiful, and
strong.
- [* Page 95.]
- (2) When they
are nourished
with abundance,
- and (3) live
together in civil
order, quietly
and lovingly.
- There is the true
commonwealth,
the most
prosperous and
perfect state.

¹ In margin of MS.

parte, by the law *and* ordur of nature, ys bounden ; 1059
 wych hath brought forth man, as I sayd at the begyn-
 nyng of our *communycatyon*, for thys purpos *and* for
 thys end,—that aftur such *maner* he myght lyue in
 cyuyle lyfe, euer hauyng befor hys yes thys *commyn*
 wele, wythout regard of hys owne vayne plesurys, frayle 1064
fantasys, *and* syngular *profyte*. Euery thyng that he
 doth in thys lyfe referring to thys end, wych ys the
 only poynt *and* marke, of al consejllys assemblyd in any
commynalty, to be lokyd vnto ; non other wyse then to
 gud physicyonys the helth of theyr patyentys, or to gud 1069
marynerys the hauen *and* porte to the wych *they sayle
and dresse theyr course. And euen lyke as a schype
 then ys wel *gouernyd* when both the *mastur and* rular
 of the sterne ys wyse *and* *experte*, *and* euer hath before
 hys yes, as a *marke* to loke vnto, the hauen or place of
 hys arryue, *and* euery man also in the schype doth hys
offyce and duty appoyntyd to hym ; by the reson wher-
 of, consequently, the schype arryuyth at the hauen pur-
 posyd *and* *intendyd* ; so a *cuntrey*, *cyty*, or *towne*, then
 ys wel *gouernyd*, *ordryd*, *and* *rulyd*, when the hedys or
 rularys therof be vertuse *and* wyse, euer hauyng before
 theyr yes, as a *marke* to schote at, the welthe of theyr 1081
sub[i]jectys, euery one of them also dowyng theyr offyce
and duty to them appoyntyd *and* *determyd*. *And* so
 consequently the hole polytyke body attaynyth the veray
and true *commyn* wele, wych now I thynke, *Master*
Lupset, somewhat you see, bothe what hyt ys *and* 1086
 wherin hyt stondyth.

(21.) For lyke as the helth of mannys body stond-
 yth not in the helth of one *partycular parte* ther-
 of, but in the gud *and* natural affecte *and* *dysposytyon*
 of euery *parte* couplyd to other ; so thys true *commyn*
 wele in thys polytyke body stondyth not in the wele *and*
 prosperouse state of any *partycular parte* seperat from
 other, but in euery *parte* couplyd togyddur, vnyte *and*

And for this
 every man is
 bound to live,
 referring all he
 does to this end.

[* Page 96.]

A well-governed
 commonwealth
 may be compared
 to a shipp,
 where the
 master and
 steersman ever
 look to the place
 of their arrival,
 and a country
 is well governed
 when its rulers
 always have the
 good of the
 subject before
 them.

As the health
 of a man's body
 stands not in the
 health of one
 particular
 member,
 but in all the
 members to-
 gether,
 so the true
 commonwealth
 does not stand
 in the prosperity

of any particular part, but in the prosperity of the whole.

[* Page 97.]

- knyte as *membrys* of one body by loue, as by the *commyn bande* of al polytyke ordur *and* gud cyuylyte. And lyke as the helth of the body *determyth* no *partycular* *complexyon, but in euery one of the *iiij* by *physcyonys* *determyd*, as in sanguyn, melancolyk, phlegmatyk,¹
- 1100 *and* coleryke, may be found *perfayt*; so thys *commyn* wele *determyth* to hyt no *partycular* state, wych by polytyke men haue byn deuysyd *and* reducyd to *iiij*; nother the rule of a *prynce*, nother of a *certayn* nombur of wyse men, nother yet of the hole multytude *and* body
- 1105 of the pepul, but in euery one of thes hyt may be found *perfayt and* stabul. How be hyt, as of *physcyonys* the sanguyn *complexyon* ys gugyd of other chefe *and* best for the mayntenance of helthe of the body, so the state of a *prynce*, where as he ys chosen by fre electyon most worthy to rule, ys, among the other, chefe *and* *pryncypal* jugyd of wyse men for the mayntenance *and* long *contynuan*ce of thys *commyn* wele *and* polytyke rule in any
- 1113 *commynalty*. Wherfor hyt *determyth* no *certayn* state, so that hyt can be in *non* other; but in euery one hyt may be founde *and* surely groundyd, so long as euery *parte* ys kept in hys ordur wyth *prosperyte*. And as to
- 1117 see *and* playnly to iuge when thys *commyn* wele most floryschyth, hyt ys no thyng hard, but esy to *perceyue*. For when al thes *partys*, thys couplyd togyddur, exercyse wyth *dylygence* theyr offyce *and* duty, as the plowmen *and* laburarys of the ground *dylygently* tyl the same, for the gettingy of fode *and* necessary sustenance to the rest of the *body; *and* craftysmen worke al thyngys mete
- 1124 for mayntenance of the same; ye, and they hedys *and* rularys by just pollycy maynteyne the state stablyschyd in the cuntrey, euer loking to the profyte of they hole body; then that *commyn* wele must nedys florysch, then that cuntrey must nedys be in the most prosperouse state. For ther you schal see ryches *and* *conuenyent*

Where a prince is chosen by free election, that is deemed by some the best form of government.

When all the members of a body politic work together for the public good,

[* Page 98.]

that commonwealth must needs flourish.

¹ MS. *phlegmatyk*.

abundaunce of al thyngys necessary ; ther you schal see cytes *and* townys so garnyschyd wyth pepul, that hyt schalbe necessary in placys deserte, to byld mo cytes, castellys, *and* townys for the mynyschyng of such a multytude, wych ys a sure argumente *and* certayn token of the floryschyng of thys polytyke body. So that of thys you may be sure : where so euer you se any cuntry wel garnyschyd *and* set wyth cytes *and* townys, wel replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt to man, lyuyng togyddur in cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of the nature of man ; euery parte of thys body agreyng to other, dowyng hys offyce *and* duty appoyntyd therto ; ther, I say, you may be sure ys set a veray *and* true commyn wele, ther hyt floryschyth as much as the nature of man wyl suffur. *And* thus now, *Master Lvpset*, schortly to conclude, aftur my mynd you haue hard rudely describyd, what ys the thyng that I cal the commyn wele *and* iust pollycy, wherin hyt stondyth, *and* when hyt most *floryschyth.

22. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, though you haue therin satysfyd my mynd ryght wel, *and* clerly the mater openyd, yet you haue made me therwyth somewhat sory, ye, *and* to lament wyth myselfe. For I haue euer thought hytherto that the state of Chrystundome hath had in hyt a veray true commyn weele *and* just pollycy, *and* that hyt hath byn [the] most perfayt *and* floryschyng that myght be conuenient to the nature of man, seyng that hyt was set *and* stablyschyd by such an author as you know hyt was. But now, me semyth, of your communycatyon, hyt wantyth many thyngys requyryd to the most perfayt state aftur your descriptyon ; *and* most specyally of thos wych we cal exteryor thyngys, wherin we put wordly prosperyte ; of the wych ther ys grettur want in the state of Chrystys church then hath byn befor hyt in other kynd of pollycy, ye, *and* ys now in other statys of poly-

Increase of population is an evidence of prosperity;

1133

and wherever these signs of prosperity are seen,

1139

we may rest assured that there is a true commonwealth.

1146

[* Page 99.]

L. expresses himself as satisfied with Pole's explanation, but regrets it because there is no commonwealth so perfect as that described.

1157

1162

- 1166 tyke pepul. Wherfor, by thys mean hyt apperyth many-
 He thinks much festely that the commyn wele *and* the floryschyng of
 hangs upon fortune. the same hangyth much of fortune, as touchyng the
 wordly prosperyte, wherof sche hath grete domynyon,
and hath byn euer notyd to be as lady *and* mastres.
- 1171 23. *Pole.*—Wel, Master Lvpset, as to thys, I schal
 P. says though shortly schow you my *sentence and* mynd. Fyrst, thys
 the state of ys certayn, though the state of Chrystundome be not
 [* Page 100.] [the] most *perfayt *and* most floryschyng that myght be
 Christendom is (for as much as hyt lakkyth, as you say truly, much
 not flourishing wordly prosperyte) yet hyt ys of al other that euer hath
 and is yet byn yet stablyschyd among men, or euer, I thynk,
 imperfect ; schalbe, most *perfayt and* sure, *and* most conuenyent to
 it is the best therof tendyth to euerlastyng lyfe *and* felycyte, *and*
 which has ever forbycause the plesurys of thys lyfe *and* wordly *pros-*
 been established, peryte so blyndyd man before Chryst *commynly*, that
 and tends towards he nothyng regardyd the lyfe to come. Therfor, to
 the attainment of everlasting pluke thys blyndnes out of mannys mynd, the Author
 life. *and* Stablyschar of our Chrystyn pollycy, tought vs,
 by *contempt* of thys vayn prosperyte, to take the
 streyght way to euerlastyng felycyte. For, seyng hyt
 1182 was so, that man coud not as a passenger only vse to
 the ryght purpos thys prosperyte, but drownyd ther-
 wyth lokyd no fertlier then thys pollycy, necessary
 1187 hyt was to bryng man to the *contempt* of the same.
 To thys the Heuently Wysdome, *and* no wordly pol-
 lycy, hathe brought the state of Chrystundome ; the
 wych passyth al other *non* other wyse then doth that
 man wych, garnyschyd wyth al vertue, in pouerty *and*
 1196 syknes *and* al wordly aduersyte, fer passyth hym
 that, by helth, honowur, *and* ryches, ys drownyd in
 wordly prosperyte. And yet I wyl not say hyt ys [the]
 most *perfayt* state that may be. For euen lyke as the
 welth of euery *partycular* man, sonderly by hymselfe,
 yf he lake helth or necessarys, though he be most *ver-*

It was necessary
 to bring man to
 despise
 prosperity ;
 and heavenly
 wisdom,
 not worldly
 prosperity,
 has done this.

Wealth and
 virtue without
 health are not the
 most perfect
 state,

- tuse, ys not most *perfoynt*, as you haue hard before ; *so the state of any cuntry, cyty, or towne, ys not [the] most *perfoynt* that may be, yf ther be lake of wordly prosperyte ; wych, as we haue at large before declaryd, yf hyt be wel vsyd, excludyth no cuntry from most *perfoynt* pollycy, ordur, *and* rule, but rather much settyth forward the same. And as touchyng that you sayd, that the commyn wele schold by thys mean hang much of fortune, thys, I thynke, be truth, spekyng of the most *perfoynt* state wych may be, to the wych of necessity ys requyryd thys wordly prosperyte. To thys agre bothe Arystotyl *and* Theophraste, they grete *and* auncyent phylosopharys, wych, though the[y] were of the Stoyke secte, therefore reprouyd. Yet, me semyth, theyr opynyon, yf hyt be wel ponderyd, agreth wel to nature *and* to mannys reson. For truly thys ys sure, that fortune, or els what other name soeuer you wyl gyue to the blynd *and* vncertayne causys wych be not in mannys powar ; that same, I say, hath grete domynyon *and* rule in al vtward thyngs *and* wordly, both in the pryuate *and* publyke state of euery man. For who ys he that doth not dayly in experyence se how ryches *and* helth, authoryte *and* dygnyte, ye, *and* al other callyd wordly prosperyte, by fortune *and* chaunce, be now mynyschyd, now incesyd, now set aloft, now troden vnder fote, now floryschyng, now in dekey ; non other wyse then the trowblus *and* tempestuus see, wych by euery wynd ys tossyd *and* tumblyd from hys stabyl quyetnes *and* tranquyllyte. * *And* yet I wyl not say that the commyn wele of any cuntry, cyty, or towne, or felycyte of any partycular man, so hangyth apon fortune, that, wythout hyr ayd *and* succur, they can not stond ; for that were to vertue grete iniury, wych to euery man gyuyth felycyte, *and* to euery cuntry hys true commyn wele *and* just pollycy. How be hyt, except to thys vertue be also couplyd wordly prosperyte, wherby hyt may be put in vse to the profyte
- [* Page 101.]
and a country
is not perfect
which lacks
worldly
prosperity.
- 1206
- He owns that he
thinks much
depends on
fortune,
- 1211
- 1216
- which has great
power in all
outward and
worldly things.
- 1222
- Some by her
are exalted ;
others are
brought low and
trodden under
fool.
- [* Page 102.]
Yet he will not
own that the
happiness of any
country so
depends upon
fortune,
that it cannot
stand without
her aid.
- 1235

of other, me semyth (as I oft haue sayd before), hyt lettyth not *man* in hys most *perfoy* state that he may be in; nor leuyth not in the *cuntrey*, *cyty*, or *towne*,

1241 the *hyest* wele that may come therto, *and* be stablyschyd therin, by prudent pollycy. For [who] dowtyth of thys, but that such a *man* hath more *perfoyte* state wych to vertue hath joynyd al wordly *prosperyte*, then he wych hath equal vertue, but, oppressyd wyth al wordly *aduersyte*, by the reson wherof he can not put in effect

That is the most perfect state where virtue is joined to worldly prosperity :

1247 hys *vertuse* purpos *and* honest intent? And so, lykewyse, to no *man* hyt ys dowte, but that *cuntrey*, *cyty*, or *towne*, wych ys replenyschyd wyth pepul, helthy *and* strong, hauyng habundaunce of ryches *and* al thyngys necessary, wel gouernyd *and* rulyd wyth polytyke ordur, ys in hyar *and* mor *perfoy* state, then that *cuntrey* where ys grete *pouerty* *and* lake of al thyngys necessary,

and no man doubts that a country with plenty of healthy people,

well governed, is nearer perfection than the country which lacks necessities.

1254 though ther be besyde neuer so gud ordur *and* *perfoy* cyuylte. For thys ys truth, *Master Lvpset*, as me *semyth, that I haue oft sayd, thys wordly *prosperyte*, yf hyt be wel vsyd, some thyng incresyth mannys felycyte; nor no thyng hyt ys to be maruelyd that *perfoy* felycyte *and* *hyest commyn* wele hang some thyng

[* Page 103.]
Worldly prosperity, well used, increases man's happiness.

1260 of fortune *and* chaunce; for as much as they haue domynyon *and* rule in certayn thyngys, wych of necesyte are requyryd to them in the *perfyttyst* degre; for euery thyng as hyt ys more *perfoy* in hys nature, so hyt requyryth euer mo thyngys to hys *perfectyon*.

1265 Thys ys so euydent *and* playn, bothe in al thyngys brought forth of nature *and* by craft made, that hyt nedyth no profe,—hyt nedyth no long declaratyon. For as much as God hymselfe, bycause he ys of al thyng most *perfoy*, therfor he requyryth to hym al *perfectyon*. Wherfor, nother to mannys felycyte in the most *perfoy* degre, nor to the *commyn* wele of any *cuntrey* in the most *perfoy* state *and* pollycy, hyt ys no *imperfectyon* to hange of many vtward *and* ex-

It is no imperfection to man, or to a commonwealth, that it should depend on fortune and chance.

teryor thyngys, wych oft be alteryd by fortune *and* 1274
 chaunce. *And* thus, *Master Lvpset*, aftur my mynd,
 hyt ys no *inconuenyens* that mannys felycyte by the
 fauour of fortune schold be set forward vnto the hyst
 degre. 1278

24. *Master Lvpset*.—*Sir*, hyt may be wel true, as
 you dow now say, *and* by gud reson conclude ; but yet,
 me semyth, hyt sounyth veray yl, hyt jarryth in myn
 yerys, to gyue such powar to blynd fortune in *mannys
 felycyte. L. does not like
 to see so much
 power given to
 fortune.
 [* Page 104.]

25. *Pole*.—*Nay*, *Master Lvpset*,¹ you may not take
 hyt thys, that fortune hath powar to cast man out of hys
 felycyte, no more then they cloudys haue powar of the
 sone, wych though oft tymys they let hys radyant
 beamys yet they cast hym not out of hys perfectyon ;
 but euer, lyke as the cloudys let the schynyng *and* 1289
 spredyng of the sone beamys downe to the erth, to the
 comfort of al lyuely creaturys, so dothe fortune oft tymys
 let vertue, *and* trowbul mannys felycyte, stoppyng hyt
 from exercyse *and* vse, to the commyn profyt of other
and commodyte. But so long as hyt happunnyth not 1294
 by mannys necligence, but by ytward occasyon, ther ys
 in hym no faut nor blame. Wherfor, though man be
 here oppressyd wyth iniurys of fortune *and* al wordly
 aduersyte, yet, yf hys mynd be stablyd *and* set wyth
 vertuse purpos *and* honest intent, God (wych lokyth
 only *and* knowyth the hart) schal therfor heraftur in a
 nother lyfe gyue hym euerlastyng felycyte *and* joy ; by
 the hope wherof he ys also, in thys lyfe present, so com-
 fortyd *and* fede, that he can by no maner fal into wrech- 1303
 ednes *and* mysery. How be hyt, the most hye felycyte,
 after myn opynyon, he hath not, except therto be
 joynyd wordly prosperyte.

26. *Lvpset*.—*Syr*, yet thys, me semyth, ys some-
 what straunge, consyderyng your symylytude *and* al that
 L. says this
 seems strange
 to him.

you spake of befor; for yf they iniurys of fortune to
 [* Page 105.] vertue *and*¹ *felycyte be but as cloudys to the sone, how
 How can fortune keep man from felicity? schold they let man from hys hiest perfectyon? Me
 seemyth no more then the cloudys let the sone from hys

1313 perfectyon, wych I thynke no man wyl say. Troth hyt
 ys, that they, *perauentur*, somtyme let the perfectyon
 of thyngys beneth, but of the sone no thyng at al.

27. **Pole.**—*Master Lupset*, I schal tel you, yf the
 1317 perfectyon of the sone *and* exercyse therof were let by
 cloudys, as vertue ys, *and* the operatyon therof, by iniurys
 of fortune, I wold then agre to you in thys mater.

P. answers, the sun communicates his perfection at all times, but virtue cannot.

But in that thyng they be not al lyke; for the sone
communyth hys perfectyon at al tymys to thes inferyor
 thyngys accordyng to theyr nature *and* capacity, as wel
 in cloudys as in serenyte. But vertue, vndowtydly, let
 by fortune *and* wordly aduersyte, can not commune hyr

1325 actys *and* dedys to the profyt of other. Wherfor in
 thys mater ther ys no more to be dowtyd; but sure hyt
 ys, that fortunys fauur somewhat aydyth *and* settyth
 forward the hiest poynt of felycyte; *and* so, in lyke wyse,
 the *commyn* wele of euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wych,

1330 wythout ryches *and* other wordly prosperyte, can neuer
 florysch in the hiest degre.

L. is comforted with the confession that all may get to heaven.

28. **Lvpset.**—Wel, *Master Pole*, thys yet comfortyth
 me meruelouse much, that you say *and* playnly confesse,
 that both euery man *partycular and* also the hole *commynalty*,
 though hyt be here oppressyd wyth al wordly
 1336 aduersyte, yet they may attayn to the hy[e]st felycyte
 in the lyfe *to come.

[* Page 106.]

Of which Pole says there is no doubt, perhaps because it is so hard and dangerous to use this worldly prosperity; in which he differs from common men.

29. **Pole.**—Of that ther ys no dowte, *and*, *perauenture*,
 the rather bycause hyt ys so hard *and* so ful of peryl
and daunger to vse thys wordly prosperyte; for in thys I
 haue contrary opynyon to the *commyn* sorte of men, wych
 juge hyt more hard vpryghtly to bere aduersyte then wel
 to vse prosperyte. But I thynke they

¹ MS. *and and*

consydur not they manyfold occasyonys of ruyne, *and* 1344
 fallyng from the trade of vertue, wych they haue dayly
and hourly before theyr yes, wych be inhaunsyd in
 wordly prosperyte; they loke only to the payn *and* trow-
 bul, wherwyth they be oppressyd wythal, wych be in 1348
 aduersyte; *and* such thyngys, bycause they are but few
 in nombur, may other, as they juge, much more esely
 be borne, or more sone avoydyd. But how so euer hyt
 be, we wyl not now dyspute, but turne to our purpos,
 takyng thys as sure, bycause we seke the most per fayt 1353
 state in any cuntrey *and* true commyn wele. We may
 not only haue regard of the lyfe to come, but also of
 thys here present, procuryng euermore such thyngys
 as perteyne to the mayntenance therof, *with* al gud
 cyuylyte, to the intent that we here, wel vsyng thys
 wordly prosperyte, may, at the last, attayne to suche
 end *and* perfectyon as, by the prouydence of God, ys
 ordeynyd to the excellent nature *and* dygnyte of man.
 And so now, to make schort, *Master Lvpset*, you haue 1362
 hard what ys the veray *and* true commyn wele in any
 cuntrey, cyty, or towne, *and* what ys the most per-
 fayt state therof; the wych, as I sayd at *the begyn-
 nyng, yf al men knew *and* ponderyd ryght wel, they
 wold not so much regard the[r] pryuat wele as the[y] 1367
 dow; they wold not so study theyr owne destructy-
 on. For thys ys sure (as now you playnly see *and* clerly
 perceyue) that ouermuch regard of pryuate wele,
 plesure *and* profyt, ys the manyfest destructy-
 on of al gud, publyke, *and* iuste commyn pollycy. For euen
 lyke as maryners, when they be intent *and* gyuen to
 theyr vayn pastyme *and* syngular plesure, hauyng no
 regard to the course of theyr schype, oft-tymys be,
 other by soddayn tempest ouerwhelmyd *and* drownyd 1376
 in the see, or by neclygence run upon some roke, to
 the hole destructy-
 on bothe of themselfe *and* of al other
 caryd in theyr schyp; so in a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,

We must regard
 not only the
 future life,
 but the present
 as well,

using our
 prosperity ac-
 cording to the
 excellent dignity
 of man.

[* Page 107.]

Over-much
 regard for
 private pleasure
 and private good
 is the destruction
 of the public
 good, and
 destroys the
 whole state.

- 1380 when euery man regardyth only hys owne profyte, welth, *and* plesure, wythout respecte of the profyt of the hole, they schortly fal in dekey, ruyn, *and* destructyon ; *and* so at the last, *perceuyng* theyr owne foly, then, when
- 1384 hyt ys to late, they begyn to lament. Wherfor, vndowt-
ydly, thys ys a *certain* *and* sure truthe, that men *commynly* are so blyndyd wyth syngular profyt and vayn plesure, that they neuer *consydu*r thys *commyn* wele ; thoughe they speke of hyt neuer so much, they neuer *conceyue* how theyr owne destructyon ys secretly couplyd to theyr owne actys *and* dedys ; for yf they dyd, surely they *wold not suffur themselfe so to erre, *and* so to run [to] theyr owne ruyn. For thys ys a sure ground, that no man wyttyng *and* wylling wyl hurt hymselfe, nor desyre hys owne destructyon. But euer, by the colowr of gud *and* schadow of truth, man ys blyndyd, dysceyuyd, *and* into ignoraunce lad, *and* so by corrupt iugement, extymyth yl to be gud *and* gud to be yl ; wych ys, as you haue hard before at large, the fountayn *and* spryng of al errour *and* vyce, *and* of al mysordur
- 1400 in mannys lyfe, bothe pryuat *and* publyke ; the wyche thyng, when hyt ouerrunnyth hole natyonys *and* pepul, vtterly destroyth al cyuyle lyfe *and* polytyke rule. For ther can rayne no gud pollycy wher the iugement of the pepul ys corrupt by false opynyon ; wherby they iuge that euery man doth wel when he only regardyth hys owne plesure *and* profyt, wythout any respecte had of any other. But (as I haue sayd, *and* oft dow reherse) yf men knew that when they loke to the *commyn* profyt, that they therwyth also regard theyr owne syngular *and* pryuate, surely they wold not so nedlygently loke
- 1406 thervnto, as hyt ys *commynly* seen they now dow. But euen as the *commyn* wele ys in euery mannys mouth, so also hyt schold be fyxyd in theyr hartys ; hyt schold be the end *of al theyr cogytatyonys, conseyls, *and* carys. For euen as gud marynerys, when they, by theyr
- 1411

Men commonly are so blinded by their own pleasures and profits, that they never consider the public good. They never remember that their own de-

[* Page 108.] struction must follow their own deeds.

No man willingly hurts himself.

Man is blind and esteems ill to be good, and good ill,

which is the foundation of all error and vice.

There can be no good where the people are corrupted by false opinion.

The public good should be not only in every man's mouth,

[* Page 109.] but also in every man's heart ; it should be the

craft *and* dylygence, bryng theyr schype saue out of tempestys into the sure port *and* hauen, dow not only saue other beyng in theyr schype but themselfe also, so cytyzynes¹ in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, when they, by prudent pollycy, maynteyn cyuyle ordur *and* gud rule, euer setting forward the veray *and* true commyn wele, dow not only saue other wych be vnder the same gouernance *and* state, but also themselfe. For, as you see *and* haue hard by many exampullys, in dyuerse cuntreys, cytes, *and* townys, when, by sedycyon *and* neclygence of rularys, the cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule of the hole body ys onys broken *and* turnyd vp so downe therwyth by *and* by, peryschyth the pryuate wele of euery man; no one *can* long enjoy plesure or quyetnes, where the hole ys dysturbyd *and* put out of ordur. Therfor thys ys as euydent as the schynyng of the sone, that in the regard euer of the true *and* commyn wele ys conteynyd also the regard of the pryuate. Wherfor now, *Master Lvpset*, seyng that we haue somewhat *declaryd what ys the veray true commyn wele, wherin hyt stonduyth, *and* when hyt most floryschyth, let vs go forth to the rest of our communcatyon, purposyd at the begynnyng, as you thynke best.

30. *Lvpset*.—Yes, *Sir*, I thynke hyt now veray gud; for you haue in the fyrst satysfyd me ryght wel. And I dowte no thyng but yf men wold wel, al that you haue sayd, consydur *and* pondur, ther wold be more regard of the commyn wele here in our cuntrey then ther ys in dede. For me semyth playnly wyth vs euery man, vnder the *pretens*[e and] colour of the commyn wele, regardyth the syngular, by the reson wherof our cuntrey lyth rude, no thyng brough[t] to such cyuylyte as hyt myght be by gud pollycy. Wherfor I fere me sore, lest hyt be almost impossybul to stabul *and* set such a commyn wele among vs here in Englond as you

end of all their thoughts and all their cares. As a mariner who brings his ship safe into port, preserves his own life and the lives of others: so in the State, if a man saves others he saves himself likewise.

1425

1430

Pole has thus declared what is [* Page 110.] the true commonwealth, in what it consists, and wherein it flourishes.

1438

L. is quite satisfied, and thinks if men would consider what has been said, there would be more regard for the commonwealth than there is.

He wishes our country were brought to as great civility as it might be by good policy.

1450

¹ Not crossed out; but the word "rularys" written above.

1451 haue before describyd ; al thyngys be here so fer out of
ordur, so fer out of forme.

P. cannot see
why there should
be so much
amiss,

31. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*,¹ by lykelyhode
you se much amys that you be in so grete desperatyon
before we begyn. How be hyt, I se no cause wy you

1456 schold so be ; for nother the place here of our cuntrey
nor pepul themselfe be so rude of nature but they may
be brough[t] *wel to al gud cyuylyte. Troth hyt ys
that you say, as yet they are fer from that ordur *and*
such state as we haue describyd ; for many *and* grete
fautys ther be reynyng among vs here in our cuntrey

[* Page 111.]

1462 *and* commynalty, wych now remayne in the second
place to be sought *and* tryed out. Wherin now, also,
Master Lvpset, you must put to your dylygence, that
we may togyddur bettur spye out the commyn fautys
and mysordurys therin ; that so at the last we may,
perauenture, fynd some mean to restore our cuntrey to
hyr commyn wele agayne, *and*, as nere as may be,
reformyng hyt to the examplul that we haue *prescrybyd*
before, wych schalbe to vs euer as a rule to examyn the
rest of our communycatyon by.

and proposes now
to "spy out" the
common faults,
that some means
may be found to
restore the
country, and
reform it accord-
ing to examples
named before.

32. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, to thys gud purpos that you now
haue conceyuyd, I schal helpe *and* set forward the best
that I can. But, I pray you now, bycause hyt ys late,
and thys mater ys large, let vs dyffer hyt tyl to-morow,
and the mean tyme we may deuyse wyth ourselfys
some thyng therof.

In this Lvpset
will help all he
can.

They adjourn
till to-morrow.

33. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you say ryght wel, *and*
1479 so let hyt be.

¹ MS. !e.

[CHAPTER III.]

1. [*Pole.*] Now, aftur that we haue somewhat declaryd what ys a veray commyn wele in euery cuntrey conuenient to the nature of man, luyng in cyuyle lyfe and polytyke ordur, hyt schalbe expedyent for vs (lokyng therto euer as to our marke to schote at, and to the end of al conseyllys and parlyamentys in any commynalty assemblyd togyddur here in * thys our owne cuntrey) to seke out wyth dylygence, and by reson to try, such fautys and mysordurys as appere to let the setting forthe of thys commyn wele, and be occasyonys that hyt can not prosper and florysch, but rather fal into ruyne and dekey. For lyke as to physycyonys lytyl hyt awaylyth to know the body, complexyon therof, and most perfayt state, except they also can dyscerne and juge al kynd of syknes and dysseassys wych commynly destroy the same; so to vs now thys vnyuersal and scolastycal¹ consyderatyon of a veray and true commyn wele lytyl schal profyte and lytyl schal awayle, except we also truly serch out al commyn fautys and general mysordurys, wych, as sykenes and dyseassys, be manyfest impedyments, and vttruly repugne to the mayntenance of the same. Let vs therfor now, *Master Lvpset*, to thys purpos now, in the second place, wyth al dylygence ernystely apply our myndys.

2. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, you say wel, for dylygence in al thyng doth much gud. How be hyt, in thys mater me semyth hyt ys not so gretely to be requyryd; for, as hyt ys commynly sayd, much easyar hyt ys to spy ij fautys then amend one. Specyally to them wych haue hard the descryptyon of a commyn wele, aftur the

P. says after defining a commonwealth suitable to the nature of man in a civil state, it is expedient to seek out and reason upon the faults which hinder such a commonwealth, and bring it in the end to ruin and decay.

10

It avails physicians little to know the perfect state of the body if they cannot judge of the sicknesses and diseases of it; and our consideration will avail little except we diligently search out the faults of the commonwealth.

21

25

L. thinks there is little diligence required, as it is "easier to spy two faults than amend one;" especially after such a description of the commonwealth as we have had.

¹ "philosophical" is written over this word.

- 32 maner before schowyd, hyt ys not hard to see the mysordurys here in our cuntrey, nor to spye the grete dekey of such a commyn wele wych you hauc so manyfestely describyd ;—hyt ys so open to euery mannys ye. For who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys, *and* mysordurys, he[re] of our commyn *wele ; other when he lokyth apou our cytes, castellys, *and* townys, of late days ruynate *and* fallen downe, wyth such pore inhabytans dwellyng therin ; or when he lokyth apou the ground, so rude *and* so wast, wych, by dyligence of pepul, hath byn before tyme occupyd *and* tylyd, *and*¹ myght be yet agayn brought to some bettur profyt *and* vse ; or yet, aboue al, when he lokyth vnto the manerys of our pepul *and* ordur of lyuyng, wych ys as ferre dystant from gud *and* perfayt cyuylyte, as gud from yl, *and* vyce from vertue *and* al honesty ? Thys ys as clere as the lyght of the day ; *and*, as me semyth, nedyth, therfor, of no long processe for the declaryng therof, nor yet much dyligence to the in-serchyng of the same.
- 51

The decay of the country is evident [* Page 113.] to all :

ruined towns, and poor inhabitants ; fields lying waste and untilld, which have been fruitful, and might be made so again ;

the ill manners of the people and their living, as far from civility as vice is from virtue ; all are as clear as day.

P. doesn't think it quite so clear, and cannot agree that it requires so little diligence.

Without it we might call that a fault which is not one.

He urges caution lest we be deceived.

3. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys mater ys not al on't so clere as you make hyt, nor requyryth not so lytyl dyligence as you seme to make hyt. For we may, *perauentur*, other a the one syde, to stretly juge or naroly examyn the hole mater, laying ther faut wher as *non* ys ; callyng that mysordur *and* yl gouernance, wych ys indede gud *and* perfayt pollycy ; or els, of the other syde (blyndyd wyth affectyon, as *commynly* men be, with the manerys of theyr cuntrey) *contrary*, cal that playn gud *and* gentyl cyuylyte wych in dede ys rudenes *and* rustycyte. Wherfor, of thys we must chefely beware, *and* dyligently take hede, lest therby
- 59
- 64 we dysceyue not² our selfe.³

¹ This word has been crossed out in the MS.

² This word is not marked through in MS.

³ This sentence stood originally as follows :—"of thys we must beware, and dysceyue not our selfe."

4. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, as for thys mater, I trust we schal 65
 ryght wel avoyd ; for I promys you that, for my parte, I
 wyl be loth, in our *communycatyon*, to be so iniust to
 our * owne cuntry, to admyt any such thyngys for
 fautys *and* mysordurys wych in dede be non at al. For
 the escheuyng of thys I wylbe dylygent, *and* suffur
 few thyngys to passe vnexamynyd wherever schal
 appere any dowte vnto me.

L. promises not
to be unjust,

[* Page 114.]

and will give all,
a fair examina-
tion.

72

5. *Pole.*—I pray you so to dow, *and* to put me also
 in remembrance of such fautys as you haue notyd your
 selfe, *and* by long tyme obseruyd here in our cuntry,
 wych you schal perauenture see me ouerrun *and*, by
 neclygence, let pas.

P. desires Lupset
to note such
faults as may
have struck him,

6. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, in thys behalfe, I assure you, I 78
 wylbe as dylygent as y can.

7. *Pole.*—Wel, then, let vs now go forward in the
 mater ; wherin, fyrst, you schal vnderstond that I wyl
 not speke of euery partycular faute *and* mysordur in
 euery mannys lyfe here in our cuntry,—for that were
 a mater infynyte, *and* nothyng mete for our purpos

and then goes on
to say he will not
speak of particu-
lar faults,
because that
would be endless ;

84

intendyd ; but I wyl speke only of the general fautys
and mysordurys *and* vnyuersal dekeys of thys commyn
 wele, wych by commyn counseyle *and* gud pollycy
 may be redressyd, reformyd, *and* brought to gud
 cyuylte. And, fyrst (this processe vsyng) I wyl
 speke of such as I schal fynd in the polytyke body of
 thys our commynalty *and* reame ; second, I wyl seke
 out *and* inserch such as schal appere to me in thyngys
 necessary *and* commodiouse for the mayntenance of the

he will only
speak of general
faults, and (1) of
such as he finds
in the body
politic ; (2) of
such as are
in things
necessary for the
maintenance of
the same body ;
(3) of such as he
shall find in the
“politic order.”

93

same body ; thyrddy, I schal touch such fautys *and*
 mysordurys as I schal fynd * in the polytyke ordur,
 rule, *and* gouernance of thys body, growen in by abuse
and lake of gud pollycy. Thys schalbe the ordur *and*
 processe of our *communycatyon* thys day to be had.

[* Page 115.]

methodus futu-
rorum.¹

8. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, thys lykyth me wel ; *and* aftur 99

¹ In margin of MS.

100 thys maner now prescrybyd, I pray you go forward.

P. notes a weakness in the body politic, arising from a lack of people.

tabes in corpore.¹
ὀλιγαριθρωπία.¹
Just as a man's body does not thrive when it is feeble, but falls away;

so every country, city, and town, does not prosper when, for lack of men, it falls: as we have had much experience in late days.

9. **Pole.**—I am wel content, and, fyrst, thys ys certayn; that, in thys polytyke body, ther ys a certayn sklendurnes, debylyte, *and* wekenes therof, wherby hyt ys let to prosper *and* florysch in hys most *perfat* state; the wych I cal *and* note to be groundyd in the lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. For lyke as mannys body then doth not florysch, then doth not increse, when hyt ys sklendur, febul, *and* weke, but by lake of flesch fallyth in to sykenes *and* debylyte; so euery cuntrey, cyte, or towne, then doth not florysch, then doth not prosper, when ther ys lake of pepul *and* skasenes of men; by the reson wherof hyt fallyth in to ruyn *and* dekey, slyppng from al gud cyuylyte;

114 the experyence wherof we see in late days now in our cuntrey, the wych chefely I attrIBUTE to the lake of inhabytans. *And* to thys, as me semyth, by many argumentys we may be inducyd; as, fyrst, yf you loke to the cytes *and* townys throughout thys reame, you schal fynd that in tyme past they haue byn much bettur inhabytyd, *and* much more replenyschyd wyth

Cities and towns in times past were much better inhabited than they now are.

121 pepul then they be now; for many housys ther you schal se playn ruynat *and* dekeyd, *and* many yet stondng wythout any tenantys *and* inhabytantys of the same. Wherby playnly ys perceuyd, after myn opynyon,

125 the grete lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. *And*, ferther, *yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nombur vturly dekeyd; *and* ther, wher as befor tyme hath byn nuryschyd much gud *and* Chrystyan pepul, now you schal fynd no thyng maynteynd but wyld *and* brute bestys; *and* ther, wher hath byn many housys *and* churchys, to the honowre of God, now you schal fynd no thyng but schypcotys *and* stabullys, to the ruyne of man; *and* thys ys not in one place or ij, but generally throughout thys reame. Wherfor hyt ys

[* Page 116.]
Many villages now are utterly decayed, and where Christians were some time ago nourished, are now only wild beasts.

Where churches were standing to the honour of God, you will only find sheepcots and stables.

It cannot be doubted that

¹ In margin of MS.

not to be dowtyd, but that thys dekey, both of cytes *and* townys, *and* also of vyllagys, in the hole cuntrey, declaryth playnly a lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. Besyd this, the dekey of craftys in cytes *and* townys (wych we se manyfestely in euery place) schowyth also, as me semyth, a plain lake of pepul. Moreouer, the ground wych lyth in thys reame vntyllyd *and* brought to no profyt nor vse of man, but lyth as barren, or to the-nuryschyng of wyld bestys, me thynkyth coud not ly long aftur such maner yf ther were not lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. For yf hyt were so replenyschyd wyth pepul as other cuntreys be, the wast groundys (as hethys, forestys, parkys *and* oldys¹) schold not ly so rude *and* vntyllyd as they be; but schold be brought to some profyt *and* vse, accordyng to the nature of the ground, *wych, wythout fayle, by dyligence *and* labur of man, myght wel be brought to tyllage *and* vse. For the ground ys not of hyt selfe, as many men thynke, by nature so barren, but that, yf hyt were dyligently laburyd, hyt wold bryng forth frute for the nuryschyng of man; wych ys by experyence in many placys prouyd, here of late days, where as ground jugyd to be barren *and* rude, ys by dyligent men brought to tyllage *and* frute. Therfor that we haue so much wast ground here in our cuntrey, hyt ys not to be attrIBUTE to the nature of the erthe, aftur my mynd, but only to the lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men, wych, as wel by the ruynes of cytes *and* townys, as by dekey of facultes, lernyng, *and* craftys, may playnly be perceuyd. Wherfor I thynke we may surely affyrme thys faute *and* sykenes playnly to rayne in our polytyke body.

10. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, as touchyng thys matter, I pray you suffur me to say my mynd therin; for your argumentys dow not suffycyently persuade me.

11. *Pole.*—Mary, that was agreed at the begynnyng 171

¹ This word has "playnys" written over it.

such decay arises from lack of people.

Crafts also have decayed in cities and in townes.

141

The waste lands show a scarceness of people;

for if it were full of people, forests, parks, and wolds would not remain untilled.

150

[* Page 117.]

The land is not barren by nature, as some men think;

156

it only requires men to till it, and then it would bring forth abundantly, as experience proves.

164

The body politic is sick.

L. doubts this,

172 for the bettur examynatyon of euery thyng; therfor say on.

and thinks all this ruin and decay prove idleness only.

[* Page 118.]

No matter how populous a country is, if the people are idle, it must decay.

He thinks we have too many people rather than too few; there are more people than there is food to sustain them.

He cannot see any fault arising from a lack of people.

P. asks him to compare the country now with what it had been in times past,

[* Page 119.]

12. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, me semyth thys ruyn of cytes and townys, thys dekey of craftys in euery place, thys rudenes and barrennes of the ground, arguth no *thyng the skarsenes of pepul, but rather the neclygent idulnes of the same. For yf a cuntrey were neuer so populos and replenyschyd wyth pepul, yet yf they were euer neclygent and idul in the same, neuer intendyng to profytabul exercyse, ther schold be no les dekey of artys and craftys, wyth no les ruyn of cytes and townys, then ther ys now here wyth vs, as you say. Wherfor hyt apperyth playnly to me, that thys ys no sure profe nor argument to your purpos; specyally seyng that, contrary, me semyth, we haue here in our cuntrey rather to many pepul then to few; in so much that vytel and nuryschment suffycyent for them can skant here be found, but for lake therof many perysch and dye, or at the lest lyue veray wrechydly. Wherfor, lyke as we say commynly, a pastur ys ouerlayd wyth catel, when therin be mo then may be conuenyently nuryschyd and fed; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys of pepul to grete multytude, when ther ys of vytayl ouerlytyl for the necessary sustenans and maynteynyng of the same. And so I can not se wy we schold lay any grete faute in the lake of pepul here in our cuntrey; but rather, such fautys as you fynd, attrybute to the neclygence of the same.

13. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, you say wel. I perceyue by you that you wyl not let the materys pas vturly vnexamynynd. How be hyt, yf you compare our cuntrey now, other wyth hyt selfe, in such state as hyt hath byn in tyme past, other els wyth other cuntreys, wych be by nature no more plentyful then thys, and yet nurysch much more pepul then doth ourys, I can not se but you must *nedys confesse a lake of pepul

here in our cuntrey. For thys ys no dowte, in tyme past 208
 many mo haue byn nuryschyd therin, *and* the cuntrey
 hath byn more populos, then hyt ys now. *And* thys ys
 les dowte, that other cuntreys in lyke space or les, dothe
 susteyn much more pepul then dothe thys [of] ourys ;
 wych ys esy to be perceyuyd by the multytude of cytes,
 castellys, *and* townys, wych be wel inhabytyd *and* re-
 plenyschyd wyth pepul in fer gretur nombur then our
 cuntrey ys ; as you may see both in France, Flaundes,
 Almayn, *and* Italy. Therfor hyt can not be denyd but 217
 here ys much lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. *And*
 yet troth thys ys also that you say, that yf we had neuer
 so many pepul here in our cuntrey, yf they same lyuyd
 oueridul *and* neclygent, we schold haue no les dekey
 of cytes *and* townys then we haue now. But, *Master* 222
Lvpset, thoughe hyt be so that we haue her in our cun-
 trey much idul pepul, *and*, as I thynke, in no cuntrey
 of the world such a multytude, yet they be not so idul
 that we must of necessity attribute both the ruyn of
 cytes *and* townys, *and* al the dekey of artys *and* craftys,
 only to the idulnes *and* neclygence of pepul. Trothe 228
 hyt ys, that yf our pepul were al dyligent *and* wel oc-
 cupyd wyth honest exerceyse, our cuntrey schold, wythout
 fayle, stond in bettur case then hyt doth, as we schal at
 large heraftur in hys place open *and* declare. *And* yet
 thys ys troth also, that nother of idul nor yet of wel 233
 occupyd, we haue such a nombur as ys conuenient to
 the nature of the place. Thys ys certayn *and* sure, that
 yf our cuntrey were *wel occupyd *and* tylyd, hyt wold
 nurysch suffycyently many mo pepul then hyt doth
 now. *And* as touchyng the skarsenes of vytayl wych
 you allegyd, that no thyng prouyth ouergrete nombur
 of pepul, but rather the gret neclygens of thes wych we
 haue ; as I schal playnly schow you heraftur, when we
 schal serch out the cause *and* ground of al such penury
and skarsenes of vytayl *and* sustenans for the pepul here 243

or with other countries, which in less space support more people than ours, as may easily be seen by their cities, castles, and towns.

There are many idle people in the country—more than in any other in the world,—but all the ruin cannot be attributed to them.

If they were well occupied, the country would, no doubt, stand better than it now does.

If the land were tilled it would [* Page 120.] sustain more people, and scarceness of food only shows the negligence of the people, not their great numbers.

244 in our cuntrey lately growen in. Let vs therfor take
 Pole insists upon this lack of people, which he compares to a consumption of man's body,

when it is brought to slenderness and there is a lack of power. When a country or city lacks people, it wants power to maintain a flourishing state, and wears away.

Examples of which in other times may be seen in Egypt, Asia, and Greece.

249 durnes of manns body. For lyke as in a *consumptyon*,
 when the body ys brought to a gret sklendurnes, ther ys lake of powar *and* strenght to maynteyne the helth of the same ; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wher ther ys lake of pepul, ther wantyth powar to maynteyne the floryschyng state of the polytyke body, *and* so hyt fallyth into manyfest dekey, *and* by lytyl *and* lytyl wornyth away ; as we may se in al cuntreys wych haue byn replenyschyd wyth pepul *and* wel inhabytyd in old tyme ; as Egypt, Asia, *and* Grece, wych, destroyd by

259 warrys, now, for lake of pepul, be desolate *and* deserte, fallen into ruyn *and* commyn dekey. So that thys lake of pepul, not wythout cause, may wel be callyd *the fyrst frute *and* ground of the ruyne of al commyn welys ; *and*, as I haue sayd, can not be denyd here from ourys, yf we loke to the nature of the place, *and* to the auncyent

[* Page 121.]

265 state here of the same.

L. cannot deny but that this country has been more populous than it is now.

P. says there is another disease in this body politic, besides lack of people—that is, the number of idle and ill-occupied people.

14. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, indede, as you say, when I loke to the cytes *and* townys *and* vyllagys in the cuntrey, I can not deny but ther hath byn more pepul here in our cuntrey then ther ys now. Wherfor, wythout ferther cauyllyatyon, agreyng apon thys, let vs go forward.

15. **Pole.**—Wel, then, let vs *consydur and* behold how that, besyde thys lake of pepul, ther ys, also, in thys polytyke body, a nother dysease *and* syknes more greuus then thys, *and* that ys thys (schortly to say) :—A grete parte of thes pepul wych we haue here in our cuntrey, ys other ydul or yl occupyd, *and* a smal nombur of them

277 exercysyth themselfe in dowyng theyr offyce *and* duty perteynyng to the mayntenance of the commyn wele ; by the reson wherof thys body ys replenyschyd *and* ouer-

- fulfyllyd wyth many yl humorys, wych I cal idul *and* *πλεθωρία.*¹
 vnprofytabul personys, of whome you schal fynd a grete 281
 nombur, yf you wyl a lytyl consydur al statys, ordurys,
and degres, here in our cuntrey. Fyrst, loke what an
 idul route our nobul men kepe *and* nurysch in theyr
 housys, wych do no thyng els but cary dyschys to the
 tabul *and* ete them when they haue downe; and aftur,
 gyuyng themselfe to huntyng, haukyng, dysyng, card-
 yng, *and* al other idul pastymys *and* vayne, as though
 they were borne to no thyng els at al. Loke to our
 byschoppys *and* prelatys of the reame, whether they
 folow not the same trade in nuryschyng* such an idul
 sort, spendyng theyr possessyonys *and* godys, wych
 were to them gyuen to be dystrybut among them wych
 were oppressyd wyth pouerty *and* necessitye. Loke, ferther-
 more, to prestys, monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys, wyth al 288
 theyr adherentys *and* idul trayn, *and* you schal fynd
 also among them no smal nombur idul *and* vnprofytabul,
 wych be nothyng but burdenys to the erthe. In so much
 that yf you, aftur thys maner, examyn the multytude
 in euery ordur *and* degre, you schal fynd, as I thynke, 295
 the thryd parte of our pepul lyuyng in idulnes, as per-
 sonys to the commyn wele vturly vnprofytabul; *and* to
 al gud cyuylyte, much lyke vnto the drowne bees in
 a hyue, wych dow no thyng els but consume *and* de-
 ououre al such thyng as the besy *and* gud be, wyth dyly- 300
 gence *and* labor, gedduryth togeddur.
 16. *Lvpset.*—*Master Pole*, me semyth you examyn
 thys mater somewhat to schortely, as though you wold
 haue al men to labor, to go to the plowgh, *and* exercyse
 some craft, wych ys not necessary. For our mother the
 ground ys so plentuous *and* bountyful by the gudnes of
 God *and* of nature gyuen to hyr, that wyth lytyl labor
and tyllage sche wyl suffycyently nurysch mankynd, 313
 non otherwyse then sche doth al bestys, fyschys, *and*

Look at the idle
 rout kept by the
 nobles, only to
 carry dishes to
 the table and eat
 them afterwards;
 spending the rest
 of their time in
 games.

The bishops,
 canons, priests,
 monks, and
 friars are as bad,
 [* Page 122.]
 spending all
 their possessions,
 instead of dis-
 tributing them
 among the poor.

A third part of
 the people live in
 idleness, like
 drone bees.

L. does not think
 it necessary that
 all men should
 labour, because
 the earth is so
 bounteous; she
 supports beasts,
 fishes, and fowls,
 without labour.

¹ In margin of MS.

315 foullys, wych are brede *and* brought vp upon hyr; to whome we *se sche mynstryth fode wyth lytyl labour or non, but of hyr owne frendly benygnyte. Wherfor yf a few of our pepul besy themselfe, *and* labour therin, hyt ys suffycyent; the rest may lyue in tryumphe, at lyberty, *and* ease, fre from al bodyly labour

[* Page 123.]

If a few men work the rest may live in idleness.

321 *and* payn.

To this P. answers that man was not born to live in idleness and pleasure, but to labour;

17. **Pole.**—Thys ys spoken, *Master Lupset*, euen as though you jugyd man to be borne for to lyue in idulnes *and* plesure, al thyng referring *and* applying therto. But, *Sir*, hyt ys no thyng so; but, contrary, he ys borne to labour *and* trauayle, aftur the opynyon of the wyse

327 ¹*and* aunicyent antyquyte,¹ non other wyse then a byrd to fle; *and* not to lyue (as *Homer* sayth some dow) as an vnprofytabel weyght *and* burden of the erth. For man ys borne to be as a gouernour, rular, *and* dyligent tyllar *and* inhabytant of thys erthe; as some, by labour of body, to procure thyngys necessary for the mayntenance of mannys lyfe; some, by wysdome *and* pollycy, to kepe the rest of the multytude in gud ordur *and* cyuylte. So that non be borne to thys idulnes *and* vanyte, to the wych the most parte of our pepul ys much gyuen *and* bent; but al to exercyse themselfe in some fasyon of lyue conuenyent to the dygnyte *and* nature of man. Wherfor, though hyt be so, that hyt ys no thyng necessary al to be labourarys *and* tyllarys of the ground, but some to be prestys *and* mynysturys of *Goddys Word*, some to be gentylmen to the gouernance of the rest, *and* some seruantyts to the *same; yet thys ys certayn, that ouergrete nombur of them, wythout dew

to be a governor, ruler, and tiller of the earth; some by labour of body to procure food; some by wisdom and policy to keep the rest in order; none are born to idleness and vanity, but to exercise themselves in some manner suitable to the dignity of man.

It is not necessary that all should be tillers of the ground; there must be priests, governors; and servants, but all

[* Page 124.]

in due proportion.

345 proportyon to the other partys of the body, ys superfluous in any commynalty. Hyt ys not to be dowtyd but that here in our cuntrey of thos sortys be ouer-many, *and* specyally of them wych we cal seruyng men, wych lyue in seruyce to gentylmen, lordys, *and* other of

There are too many serving-men, more than in any other country.

¹—¹ “philosopharys,” was originally written here.

the nobylte. Yf you loke throughout the world, as I 350
 thynke, you schal not fynd in any one cuntrey, *propor-*
tyonabul to ours, lyke nombur of that sorte.

18. *Lvpset*.—Mary, *Sir*, that ys troth, wherin, me
 semyth, you prayse our cuntrey veray much; for in
 them stondyth the royalty of the reame. Yf the yeo-
 manry of Englund were not, in tyme of warre we schold
 be in schrode case; for in them stondyth the chefe
 defence of Englund.

L. looks upon
 this as matter
 of praise.

We should be in
 a "shrewd case"
 were it not for
 the yeomanry.

358

19. *Pole*.—O, *Master Lvpset*, you take the mater
 amys. In them stondyth the beggary of Englund; by
 them ys nuryschyd the *commyn* theft therin, as here
 aftur at large I schal declare. How be hyt, yf they were
 exercysyd in featys of armys, to the defence of the reame
 in tyme of warr, they myght yet be much bettur suffryd.
 But you se how lytyl they be exercysyd therin, in so
 much that, in tyme of warr, hyt ys necessary for our plow-
 men and laburarys of the cuntrey to take wepun in
 hand, or els we were not lyke long to inoy Englund;
 so lytyl trust ys to be put in theyr *featys and dedys.

P. says he takes
 the matter amiss:

if the yeomanry
 were well exer-
 cised in the art
 of war they
 might be suffered;
 but they are not,
 and in time of
 war plowmen and
 labourers are
 needed to fight,
 or we should
 soon lose
 England.

[* Page 125.]

Wherfor dowte you no more but of them (lyke as of
 other that I haue spoke of before,—as of *prestys*, *frerys*, 371
munkys, and other callyd relygyouse) we haue ouer-
 many, wych altogyddur make our polytyke body vnweldy
 and heuy, and, as hyt were, to be greuyd wyth grosse
 humorys; in so much that thys dysease therin may wel 375

be comparyd to a dropecy in manny's body. For lyke as
 in a dropecy the body ys vnweldy, vnlusty, and slo, no
 thyng quyke to moue, nother apte nor mete to any
 maner of exercyse, but, solne wyth yl humorys, lyth
 idul and vnprofytabel to al vtward labour; so ys a *com-*
mynalty, replenyschyd wyth neclygent and idul pepul,
 vnlusty and vnweldy, nothyng quyke in the exercyse
 of artys and craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayn-
 tenyng and supportyd; but, solne wyth such yl humorys,

dropecy.¹
 He compares the
 idle people to a
 dropsy in the
 body, which
 makes it un-
 wieldy and full
 of ill humours;
 and so is a coun-
 try full of idle
 and negligent
 people.
 It is not quick
 in arts and crafts,
 by which her
 wealth is main-
 tained, but it

¹ In margin of MS.

overruns with vice.

This is the mother of many diseases.

L. says it can't be denied; but go on.

P. explains what he means by the "ill-occupied;"

[* Page 126.]

they are such as occupy themselves with the newest fashions; in procuring ornaments of dress;

tremor partium.³

in providing new and diverse kinds of meats and drinks;

or in making and singing new songs, which tend only to vanity. Merchants who carry out necessaries and bring in trifles are ill-occupied, as are many others.

boyllyth out wyth al vyce, myschefe, *and* mysery, the wych out of idulnes, as out of a fountayn, yssuth *and* spryngyth. Thys ys the mother of many other sykenes *and* greuus dyseasys in our polytyke body, *and* the 389 gretyst destructyon of the commyn wele therin that may be deuysyd.

20. **Lvpset.**—Wel, Syr, thys ys so manyfest that hyt may not be denyd. Wherfor let vs procede wythout delay to the sekyng of other, aftur your deuysse. [How be hyt, thys dysease semyth to repugne to the¹ other, 395 for one schowyth to few, *and* the other to many.²]

21. **Pole.**—[Nay, not but schortly, on schoweth to few of well occupyd, *and* the other to many idul.²] Ther ys a nother dysease, *Master Lupset*, also, wych ys not much les greuus then thys, wych restyth in them whom *I callyd yl occupyd. I mean not thos wych be occupyd in vyce, for of that sorte chefely be they wych I notyd to be idul before. But al such I cal yl occupyd wych besy themselfe in makyng *and* procuryng thyngys for the vayne pastyme *and* plesure of other, as al such dow wych occupye themselfe in the new deuysys of gardyng *and* jaggyng of mennys apparayle, wyth al thyng perteynyng therto; *and* al such wych 407 make *and* procure manyfold *and* dyuerse new kyndys of metys *and* drynkys, *and* euer be occupyd in curyouse deuysse of new fangulyd thyngys concernyng the vayn plesure only of the body. Wyth al such as be callyd syngyng men, curyouse descanterys *and* deuysarys of new songys, wych tend only to vanyte; *and* al such marchantys wych cary out thyngys necessary to the vse of our pepul, *and* bryng in agayn vayn tryfullys *and* conceytys, only for the folysch pastyme *and* plesure of man.

¹ MS. to the to other.

²⁻² The words enclosed in brackets are written at the foot of the page; but without any reference as to where they should go in the text.

³ In margin of MS.

Al such, I say, *and* of thys sort many other, I note as 417
 personys yl occupyd, *and* to the commyn wele vnpro-
 fytabul.

22. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, in thys mater also, me semyth,
 you are a juge of to much seuerite; for you wold haue
 no thyng suffryd in a commynalty but that only wych
 ys necessary; *and* so by thys mean take al plesure from
 man, *and* al ornamentys from euery commyn wele *and*
 cyte. For such men as you now cal yl-occupyd per-
 sonys, as me semyth, are occupyd in the procuryng ther-
 of; that ys to say, of such thyngys as *pertheynyth* to the
 ornamentys of the commyn wele in euery cuntrey.

L. thinks Pole
 too severe;

he objects to all
 pleasures and all
 ornaments being
 taken away from
 man.

Such men as are
 said to be ill-
 occupied are
 engaged in pro-
 viding these
 things.

23. *Pole*.—Master *Lvpset*, you take me amys; for
 I wold not bryng man to lyue wyth such thyng only
 wych ys necessary, *taking away al plesure *and* veray
 ornamentys from the commyn wele admyttyd by gud 432

P. does not want
 to confine man to
 bare necessities,

[* Page 127.]

pollycy, but in bannyschyng such yl-occupyd personys
 as I spake of befor. I wold bannysch also, *and* vturly
 cast out, al vayn plesure *and* vayn ornamentys by cor-
 rupt iugement commynly approuyd, bryngyng in theyr
 place veray true plesure of man *and* they true orna-
 mentys of the veray commyn wele, wherof we spake
 before; wych stondyth nother in the gay apparele of
 the cytyzys, nother yet in delycate metys *and* drynkys
 nuryschyng the same, nor in non other thyng: in 441

but he wold
 banish all the
 ill-occupied
 persons of whom
 he has spoken,
 and cast out all
 vain pleasures
 and ornaments,
 and bring in true
 ones, such as rest
 in the health of
 the body and the
 virtues of the
 mind.

one word to say, *pertheynyng* to the vayn plesure of
 the body. But veray *and* true plesure restyth only in
 the helth of the body *and* vertues of the mynd; *and*
 they true ornamentys of the commyn wele are foundyd
 in the same, as hereaftur more playnly hyt schal appere.
 Wherfor, I thynke justely I may cal al such yl-occupyd
 personys as be procurarys only of the vayn plesure of
 man, wych no thyng *pertheynyth* to the dygnyte of hys
 nature; of the wych sorte, surely, many we haue here in
 our cuntrey, by whome we may se thys polytyke body

True ornamentys
 of a cuntrey be as
 in euery particu-
 lar man.¹

Those are justly
 called ill-occupied
 who provide only
 for the vain
 pleasures of man,
 and do nothing
 for that which
 pertains to the
 dignity of his
 nature.

¹ In margin of MS.

452 ys also greuously dyseasyd, *and* much lyke to mannys body trowblyd as hyt were wyth a palsy. For lyke as in a palsy, some *partys* be euer mouyng *and* schakyng, *and* lyke as they were besy *and* occupyd therwyth, but to no profyt nor plesure of *the body; so in our commynalty, certayn *partys* ther be wych euer be mouyng *and* sterryng, *and* alway occupyd, but euer about such purpos *and* mater as bryngyth nother profyt nor true
 460 plesure to the polytyke body. Wherfor, me semyth, *Master Lupset*, hyt can not be denyd but that thys ys a nother greuous dysease.

They are like a man in a palsy, ever moving and ever seeming to be doing, but always about
 [* Page 128.]
 such matters as are unprofitable.
 Palsy.¹

It is true, says L.; go on.

24. *Lvpset*.—Troth hyt ys, wythout fayle, for many such ther be here in our cuntrey. Let vs, therfor, aftur the course begonne, go forward to other.

P. Another disease

25. *Pole*.—Syr, yet ther ys a nother dysease remenyng behynd, wych gretely trowblyth the state of the
 468 hole body, the wych—though I somewhat stond in dowte whether I may wel cal hyt a dysease of the body or no—yet by cause (as physycyonys say) the body *and* mynd are so knyht togyddur by nature that al sykenes *and* dysease be commyn to them both, I wyl not now
 473 stond to reson much herin, but boldly cal hyt a bodyly dysease; *and*, breuely to say, thys hyt ys:—they *partys* of thys body agre not togyddur; the hed agreth not to the fete, nor fete to the handys; no one *parte* agreth to other; the *temporalty* grugyth agayn the *spiritualty*, the *commyns* agayne the nobullys, *and* subyectys agayn they rularys; one hath enuy at a nother, one beryth malyce agayn another, one *complaynyth* of a
 481 nother. They *partys* of thys body be not knyht togyddur, as hyt were wyth sp[i]ryt *and* lyfe, in concord *and* vnyte, but dysseueryd asoundur, as they were in no case *partys* of one body. Thys ys so manifest hyt nedyth no profe, for sure argumentys therof are dayly amonge vs,
 486 both seen *and* hard in euery place. Wherfor of thys

is want of agreement.

The temporality grudges against the spirituality; commons against nobles; subjects against rulers;

there is no unity.

¹ In margin of MS.

disease we nede not ferther to dowte, wych ys open to 487
euery mannys ye.

26. **Lvpset.**—Thys cannot be denyd; but what dys- L. says it can't
ease wyl you lykkun thys vnto reynnyng in mannys be denied; but
body, gud *Master Pole*? what disease is
it like?

27. **Pole.**—*Sir*, me semyth hyt may wel be lykkyn- Pestylens.¹
nyd to a pestylence; for lyke as a pestylens, where so A pestilence,
euer hyt reynnyth, lyghtly, *and* for the most parte, de- answers Pole,
stroyth a *grete nombur of the pepul wythout regard which regards
of any person had, or degre, so doth thys dyscord *and* 496 no man.
debate in a commynalty, where so euer hyt reynnyth, [* Page 129.]
schortly destroyth al gud ordur *and* cyuylyte, *and* vt-
turly takyth away al helth from thys polytyke body
and tranquyllyte. 500

28. **Lvpset.**—Truly you say wel; for euen so hyt L. owns this has
hath byn from the begynnyng, I trow, of the world been so from the
vnto thys day. Thys hathe euer byn a grete destructy- beginning of the
on to euery commyn wele; thys hath destroyd more then world.
any pestylens, as Lyuius wrytyth. 505

29. **Pole.**—Wel, thes, *Master Lvpset*, wych I haue P. says he will
now notyd are the most commyn dyseasys, touchyng, as now speak of the
hyt were, the helth of thys polytyke body, wherof to diseases which
speke we fyrst purposyd. Other ther be yet concernyng concern the
the beuty *and* strength of the same, to the wych now beauty and
we wyl dyrect our communycatyon. Ther ys a grete strength of the
mysordur as touchyng the beuty of thys same body, body politic.
wych fyrst you schal see. The partys of thys body be not There is a want
of proportion;

513
proporecyonabul one to a nother: one parte ys to grete, priests are too
a nother to lytyl; one parte hath in hyt ouermany many, and good
pepul, another ouerfew. As, prestys are to many, *and* clerks too few;
yet gud clerkys to few; monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys deformyte in the
are to many; *and* yet gud relygyouse men to few. body.¹
Prokturys and brokarys of both lawys, wych rather proctors and
trowbul mennys causys then fynysch them justely, lawyers are too
are to many; *and* yet gud mynystrys of justyce are to many, and good
judges too few;

¹ In margin of MS.

522 few. *Merchantys*, caryng out thyngys necessary for our
 owne pepul, are ouermany ; * *and* yet they wych schold
 bryng necessarys are to few. *Seruantys* in mennys
 housys are to many, craftys *men and* makers of tryfullys
 are to many ; *and* yet gud artyfycerys be to few ; and oc-
 cupyarys *and* tyllarys of the ground are to few. Aftur
 thys maner the partys in proপরtyon not agreyng, but
 hauyng of some to many, *and* of some to few, lene much
 530 enormyte, *and* make in thys polytyke body grete *and*
 monstrose deformyte.

30. *Lvpset*.—Thys ys more euydent then may be
 denyd. Wherfor, procede, I pray you, in your com-

534 munny[catyon].

31. *Pole*.—Ther ys also in the strenght of thys
 body *perceyuyd* no smal faute. Hyt ys weke *and* febul,
 no thyng so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme past. We
 are now at thys tyme nother so abul to defend our
 539 selfe from iniuryys of ennemys, nother of other by featys
 of armys to recouer our ryght agayn, as we haue byn
 here before tyme ; wych thyng schold be manyfestely
 knowne by sure experyence, yf occasyon of warre schold
 hyt requyre ; for thys ys certayn *and* playn. Ther was
 neuer so few gud captaynys here in our cuntrey as ther
 be now, nor, as I thynke, neuer so smal nombur of them

546 wych be exercysyd in dedys *and* featys of armys, in
 whome chefely stondyth the strength of euery cuntrey.
 Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl *consydur* wyth them-
 selfe indyfferently the state of our reame as hyt ys now,
and confer *hyt wythe the old state before, when we
 were dred *and* fearyd of our ennemys *and* cuntreys al
 about. Wherfor we nede not to dowte but that our
 553 cuntrey ys now weke, *and* no thyng so strong as hyt
 hath byn in old tyme.

32. *Lvpset*.²—*Sir*, as touchyng thys, when I re-
 membyr the nobul actys of our aunceturys, by whose

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. Le.

[* Page 130.]
 servants and
 makers of trifles
 are too many,
 and craftsmen
 and tillers too
 few.
 These things
 produce a great
 deformity.

The body is
 weaker than in
 times past, and
 less able to defend
 itself against
 enemies.

There never were
 so few good
 captains as now,

as anybody may
 see who will
 compare the
 state of the realm
 [* Page 131.]
 now with what
 it was.

Debylyte.¹
 L. says this is
 quite evident.

powar hath byn subduyd both Skotland *and* Fraunce, I 567
can not but thynke hyt true that you say, *and* that our
 polytyke body ys not so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme
 past, nor as hyt schold be now of necessitye. Wherfor
 I wyl not be obstynate, but playnly confesse our weke-
 nes *and* debylyte. 562

33. **Pole.**—Thes are, *Master Lupset*, the most general
 fautys commyn to the hole body wych now came to my
 mynd as necessary to be spoken of for our purpos here
 at thys tyme. Wherfor now a lytyl we wyl examyn

P. says he will
 now speak of
 particular faults.

the fautys wych we schal fynde sundry in the *partys*,
 as hyt were, *separat* from the hole; as in the hede,
 handys, *and* fete, wych I before notyd here to resembly 569

Fautys in the
 partys sundry.¹

thes *partys* in mannys body. As, to the hede (yf you
 remembyr) I resemblyd the offycerys *and* rularys in
 euery commynalty, in whose faute to se here in our cun-
 trey hyt ys no thyng hard; for thys ys general almost

All princes, lords,
 and bishops
 seek their own
 profit *and*
 pleasure.

to them al—both *pryncys*, lordys, *byschoppys and* pre-
 latys—that euery one of them lokyth chiefely to theyr
 owne profyte, plesure, *and* commodyte, *and* few ther be
 wych regard the welth of the commynalty; but, vnder 577

[* Page 132.]

the pretense *and* colure therof, euery *one of them
 procuryth the pryuate *and* the syngular wele. *Pryncys*
and lordys syldon loke to the gud ordur *and* welth of
 theyr subiectys; only they loke to the receyuyng of

Princes and lords
 seek only their
 rents;

theyr rentys *and* reuenuys of theyr landys, wyth grete 582
 study of enhaunsyng therof, to the ferther maynteynyng
 of theyr pompos state; so that yf theyr subiectys dow
 theyr duty therin, justely paying theyr rentys at tyme

if these are paid,
 the subjects may
 "sink or swim."

appoyntyd, for the rest they care not (as hyt ys com-
 mynly sayd) "whether they synke or swyme." *By-*
schoppys also, *and* prelatys of the church, you se how
 lytyl regard they haue of theyr floke. So that they
 may haue the woll, they lytyl care for the sympul

Prelates care only
 for the wool of
 the flock.

schype, but let them wandur in wyld forestys, in daunger 591

¹ In margin of MS.

Judges seek
bribes.

of wolfys dayly to be deuouryd. Jugys *and* mynystrys of the law, you see how lytyl regard, also, they haue
594 of gud *and* true admynstratyon of justyce. Lucur *and* affectyon rulyth al therin ; for (as hyt ys commynly *and* truly also sayd) “materys be endyd as they be frendyd.” Yf they juge be hys frend whose cause ys intretyd, the mater lyghtly can not go amys, but euer hyt schalbe fynyschyd accordyng to hys desyre. Thys fautys you may see in offycerys *and* rularys both spirit-uall *and* temporal ; wherby you may most playnly perceyue how lytyl they regard theyr *offyce *and* duty, by
603 the reson wherof in the hede of thys commynalty ther ys reynnyng a grete dysease, the wych, as me semyth, may wel be comparyd to a frenchy. For lyke as in a frenchy man consydeyryth not hymselfe, nor can not tel what ys gud, nother for hymselfe, nor yet for other,
608 but euery thyng doth that cumyth to hys fancy, wythout any ordur or rule of ryght reson, so dow our offycerys *and* rularys of our cuntrey (wythout regard other of theyr owne true profyt or of the commyn,—forgettyng al thyng wych perteynyth to theyr offyce *and* duty)
613 apply them selfe to the fulfylling of theyr vayn plesurys *and* folysch fantasye ; wherfor they be taken, as hyt were, wyth a commyn frenesy.

“Matters be
ended as they
be friended;”
not by justice.

Thus it may be
seen that in the
head is great
disease,

[* Page 133.]

Frenchy.¹

and the state is
as a man in a
frenzy.

34. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys ys wythout fayle true, nor can not be denyd.

35. **Pole.**—Ther ys also, lykewyse, in the fete *and* in the handys, wych susteyn the body *and* procure by
620 labur thyngys necessary for the same, as hyt were, a commyn dysease. For bothe the fete *and* they handys, (to whome I resemblyd plowmen *and* labourarys of the ground, wyth craftys men *and* artyfycerys, in procuryng of thyngys necessary) are neclygent *and* slo to the exercyse therof wych perteynyth to theyr offyce *and* duty.

It is the same
in the feet and
hands :

Plowmen and
craftsmen are
negligent,

626 Plowmen dow not dylygently labur *and* tyl they ground

¹ In margin of MS.

for the bryngyng forth of frutys *necessary for the fode and sustenance of man; craftys men also, and al artyfycerys, schow no les necligence in the vse of theyr craftys: by the reson wherof here ys in our cuntrey much darth therof and penury.

[* Page 134.]

628

hence there is dearth and penury.

36. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, thys you dow, as me semyth, but only say. You nother proue hyt by argumente nor reson.

L. requires proof of this.

37. **Pole.**—Me semyth hyt nede no more to dow so, then to schow the lyght of the sone by a candyl, thys mater ys so open to euery mannys ye. For thes many and grete waste groundys here in our cuntrey, the grete lake of vytayle and the skarsenes therof, and darth of al thyng workyd by mannys hande, dow not only schow the grete necligence of the rest of our pepul, but in the plowmen also and artyfycerys dothe arge and declare manyfest lake of dylygence. For thys ys sure—yf our plowmen here were as dylygent as they be in other partys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not haue so much wast ground, voyd and vntyllyd, as ther ys now; and yf our artyfycerys applyd themselfe to labour as dylygently as they dow in other cuntreys, we schold not haue thyngys made by mannys hande so skase and so dere as they be now here commynly. For thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englund ys more gyuen to idul glotony then any pepul of the world; wych ys, to al them that haue experyence of the manerys of other, manyfest and playn. Wherfor *we may boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

P. says it is clear;

636

look at the waste grounds, and the lack of food.

the grete necligence of the rest of our pepul, but in the plowmen also and artyfycerys dothe arge and declare manyfest lake of dylygence. For thys ys sure—yf our plowmen here were as dylygent as they be in other partys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not haue so much wast ground, voyd and vntyllyd, as ther ys now; and yf our artyfycerys applyd themselfe to labour as dylygently as they dow in other cuntreys, we schold not haue thyngys made by mannys hande so skase and so dere as they be now here commynly. For thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englund ys more gyuen to idul glotony then any pepul of the world; wych ys, to al them that haue experyence of the manerys of other, manyfest and playn. Wherfor *we may boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

641

If plowmen and artificers were as diligent as they are in other parts, there would be less waste land, and less scarcity of manufactures.

boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

650

Our people are given to idle gluttony.

boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

[* Page 135.]

boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

655

Goute.¹

This idleness of the hands and feet is like the gout,

boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys and fete of thys polytyke body, and justely, as me semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute the handys and fete ly vnprofytabel to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

Chiragra podagra.¹¹ In margin of MS.

- 662 lygence of the plowmen *and* artyfycerys, thys polytyke
body lyth as dede, wythout lyfe *and* quyknes, lakkyng
al thyng necessary for the fode *and* natural sustenance
of the same. Wherfor we may wel, for thys cause,
compare thys dysease reynng in thes partys vnto the
goute in mannys body, wych so occupyth the handys
and the fete that they be not abul to dow theyr offyce
669 *and* natural exercyse.

which renders
hands and feet
useless.

- (37.) And thus now, *Master Lvpset*, you haue hard
the most general dyseasys in thys polytyke body, *and*
in the partys of the same, to the wych al other party-
cular run vnto, non other wyse then smal brokys to
674 grete ryuerys. Wherfor, now folowyng our processe,
we wyl go seke out the fautys *and* lake of thyngys
necessary, *and* commodyouse also, for the maynteynyng
of the welth of thys body ; wych thyng to fynd ys no
thyng *hard. For I thynke ther ys no man so wythout
yes but he seeth playnly the grete pouerty of thys reame,
and the grete lake of thyngys necessary *and* commody-
681 ouse to the maynteynyng of a true commyn wele.

*Penuria rerum
communium* (?) 1

[* Page 136.]
Every man with
eyes can see the
poverty of the
realm.

L. marvels how
he can say so,
considering the
wealth of the
country.

38. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, in thys behalfe I can not agre
wyth you,² but rather I maruayle that you can say so ;
for thys reame hath byn callyd euer rych, *and* of al
Chrystundome one of the most welthys. For, as touchyng
686 wole *and* lede, tyn, yron, syluur *and* gold, ye, *and* al
thyngys necessary for the lyfe of man, in the habundance
wherof stondyth veray true ryches, I thynke our cuntrey
may be comparyd wyth any other. Wherfor, me semyth,
you schold not complayne much of the pouerty of our
691 reame.

P. replies that
Lvpset speaks
like a man of the
old world, and
compares the
past with the
present.

39. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, you speke lyke a man of
the old world *and* not of thys tyme. For thys ys vn-
dowtyd *and* certaynly true, that our yle hathe byn the
most welthy *and* rych ile of Chrystundome, *and* not
696 many yerys of goo ; but yf you consydur hyt wel, *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. you in.

examyn the state therof as hyt ys now, *comparyng* hyt 697
 wyth the same in auneyent tyme, I suppose you schal
 fynd grete alteratyon therin. You schal fynd, for grete
 ryches *and* lyberalyte in tyme past, now grete wrechyd-
 nes *and* pouerty; *and* for grete abundance of thyngys
 necessary, grete skarsenes *and* penury. Wych thyng 702
 you schal not dowte of at al, yf you wyl fyrst loke to
 the grete multytude of beggarys here in our cuntrey in
 thys lake *and* skarsenes *of pepul. For thys ys sure, Look at the
 that in no cuntrey of Chrystundome, for the nombur of beggars.
 pepul, you schal fynd so many beggarys as be here in [* Page 137.] 707
 Englund, *and* mo now then haue byn before tyme; wych
 arguth playn grete pouerty. Then, ferther, yf you
 herken to the complaynt of al statys *and* degres, you
 schal dowte of thys mater no thyng at al. The plow- All ranks, from
 man, the artyfyceer, the marchant, the gentylman,—ye, the plowman to
 lordys *and* pryncys, byschoppys *and* prelatys,—al wyth the prelate, com-
 one voyce cry they lake money, *and* that they be no plain of the lack
 thyng so welthy *and* rych as they haue byn in tyme of money. 714
 past. Thys ys the consent of al statys, non except, al
 in thys agre; *and* hyt ys no thyng lyke that al schold
 complayn without a cause. Wherfor, me semyth, hyt
 cannot be dowtyd but that ther ys here among vs grete 719
 pouerty. *And* as for the lake of thyngys necessary, who
 can deny, when he lokyth to the grete darth of corne,
 catayle, vytayle, *and* of al other thyngys necessary, a Look also at the
 commyn darth arguth grete lake? Yf ther were abund- dearth of corn
 ance *and* plenty, hyt coude not be long so dere; for and cattle and
 abundaunce euer makyth euery thyng gud chepe. necessities. 724
 Wherfor, now, in thys darth of al thyngys, we must
 nedys confesse grete lake, penury, *and* skarsnes *of
 thyngys necessary to *the* mayntenance of our commyn
 wele. [* Page 138.]

40. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, [as]¹ me semyth, thys ys not wel
 prouyd: for, fyrst, as touchyng [the]¹ multytude of beg-

L. says beggary
 argues not
 poverty, but
 idleness;

¹ MS. torn off.

- 732 garys, hyt arguth no pouerty, but rather mu[*ch*] idulnes
and yl pollycy ; for hyt ys theyr owne cause *and* neclý-
 gence that they so begge ;—ther ys suffycyent enough
 here in our cuntrey of al thyngys to maynteyne them
 wythout beggyng. And where as you bryng the com-
 playnt of al statys for an argument of pouerty, me
 semyth that prouyth hyt but sklendurly ; for thys ys
 sure—*men* so extyme ryches *and* money, that yf they
 had therof neuer so grete abundaunce *and* plenty, yet
 741 they wold complayne ; ye, *and* many of them fayn
 pouerty. You schal fynd few that wyl confesse them-
 selfe ryche, few that wyl say they haue enough. How
 be hyt, yf we wyl justely examyn the mater, *and* com-
 pare our pepul of Englonde wyth the pepul of other
 cuntreys, I thynke we schal fynd them most ryche *and*
 747 welthy of any commyns aboute vs ; for in Fraunce, Italy,
and Spayn, the commyns wythout fayle are more
 myserabul *and* pore then they be here wyth vs. And
 as touchyng the dardh *and* lake of thyngys necessary,
 hyt ys wyth vs as hyt ys in al other placys. When the
 prouyson of God sendyth vs sesonabul weddur for the
 753 frutys of the ground, then we haue abundaunce ; *and*
 when hyt plesyth hym other wyse to punysch vs, then
 we must lake, *and* lay no *faute in our pollycy. Wher-
 for, me semyth, you nede not to lay to vs here in our
 cuntrey thys grete pouerty, nor yet thys gret lake of
 758 thyngys necessary ; except hyt be such as commyth by
 the prouydence of God, wych by no wyt nor pollycy of
 man may be amendyd.
41. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, I haue spyd by you that
 you are loth to graunt your cuntrey to be pore, specyally
 when you compare hyt wyth other where you see grettur
 764 pouerty then wyth vs. But, *Master Lvpset*, when we
 speke of the pouerty of our cuntrey, we may not then
 compare hyt wyth them wych be more pore then hyt ;
 for thys ys no dowte, but that ther ys grettur pouerty

and as to the
 complaint of all
 ranks, why, men
 will complain
 however rich
 they may be.

Compare our
 people with
 Italy, &c.

As for the lack
 of food, that is
 the fault of the
 weather,

[* Page 139.]

so don't lay all
 this blame on us.

P. owns that the
 poverty of other
 countries is
 greater than our
 own,

among the commyn pepul in other partys then wyth vs 768
 in Englonde. But therein I wyl wyth you agre, *Master*
Lvpset, bycause we haue before our yes a true commyn
 wele, as we haue descrybyd before, wch we wold set
and stabul here in our cuntrey. We must therfor euer
 loke to that, schowyng al the fautys, mysordurys, *and* 773
 lakkys here among vs, wch may be any *impedymentys*
 therto. *And* so, although *peraventure* our cuntrey be
 not so pore as many other be, yet thys ys sure,—hyt ys
 more pore then hyt hath byn in tyme past, *and* such
 pouerty reynyth now that in no case may stonde wyth a
 veray true *and* floryschyng commyn wele; for thys ys 779
 sure,—that thys multytude of beggarys here in our
 cuntrey schowyth much pouerty, ye, *and*, as you say, also
 much *idulnes *and* yl pollycy. Hyt ys no dowte but
 hyt arguth suffycyently both, *and* thys complaynt
 cumyth not, as I sayd, also of nought; for though hyt
 be so that men may dyssembyl *and* fayne grete pouerty,
 where as non ys, yet I thynke, in dede, hyt ys not so 786
 alway. Al men wold not so agre in dyssymlyng, some
 state schold be content, *and* no thyng complayn. But,
Master Lvpset,¹ thys ys certayn *and* sure,—the corne of
 thys reame ys in few yerys maruelusly spent, wch you
 may know surely by the abundance therof in other 791
 partys, where as you schal fynd as grete plenty therof
 as in the myddys of Englonde. Wherfor, no dowte, ther
 ys gretyr pouerty then hath byn in tyme past, *and*
 grettur then may (as I sayd) wyth the commyn wele
and prosperouse state of our cuntrey wel agre *and* stonde. 796
And so ther ys, lyke wyse, such lake of thyngys neces-
 sary, wch cumyth not only by the commyn ordynance
and prouysyon of God, but for lake of gud ordur *and*
 polytyke rule (as heraftur, when we schal seke out the
 ground *and* cause of the same, hyt schalbe more euydent
and playn); such lake, I say, ther ys therof here among.

but it is poorer
 than it was; and
 with so much
 poverty it cannot
 flourish.

[* Page 140.]

These complaints
 do not arise from
 nothing.

The lack of corn
 and things
 necessary does
 not arise from the
 ordinance of God.

¹ MS. le.

- 803 vs that may not be suffryd wyth the true *commyn* wele. Wherfor, notwythstondyng that we haue not most extreme pouerty, yet such hyt ys as hath not byn before many yerys here in our cuntrey, *and* such as must be reformyd, yf we wyl restore the *commyn* wele aftur such
- This pouerty must be reformed.
- [* Page 141.] *forme *and* fascyon as we haue describyd before, wyth
- 809 a juste pollycy.
- L. owns the poverty is greater than need be.
42. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, therin I agre to you wel. How be hyt, surely our cuntrey ys not so pore as many other be ; nor yet so pore as me thought, by your resonyng,
- 813 you wold haue had me to *confesse*. But surely ther ys grettur pouerty then nede to be, yf ther were among vs. gud pollycy ; for thys euery man may see,—that some haue to much, some to lytyl, *and* some neuer a wyt. Wherfor, wythout fayle, a mysordur ther ys wherby
- 818 rysyth thys pouerty.
43. *Pole*.—Hyt ys enough that you wyl now at the last graunt me that. But now let vs loke ferther yet to the vtward thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of our *commyn* wele in thys polytyke body. Dow you not see a grete faute in our cytes, castellys, *and* townys, concerning the byldyng *and* clene keepyng of the same ?
- 825 Ther ys no cure nor regard of them, but euery man for hys tyme only lyuyth *and* lokyth to hys plesure, wythout regard of the posteryte.
- L. quite agrees, and speaks of what he saw in Flanders and France.
44. *Lvpset*.—Surely that ys veray truth ; as touchyng the gudly byldyng of cytes *and* townys, I trow in the world ther ys not les regard then here in Englonde, wych
- 831 ys to al them manyfest wych haue byn laburyd *and* trauaylyd in other partys. Me thought, when I cam fyrst into Flaunders *and* Fraunce, that I was translatyd,
- [* Page 142.] *as hyt had byn, into a nother world, the cytes *and* townys apperyd so gudly, so wel byldyd, *and* so clene kept ; of the wych ther ys in euery place so grete cure
- 837 *and* regard, that euery towne semyd to me to stryue.

¹ In margin of MS.

wyth other, as hyt had byn for a vycetory, wych schold 838
 be more beutyful *and* strong, bettur byld *and* clenur
 kept ; such dylygens they put al to that purpos. *And*,
contrary, here wyth vs they pepul seme to study to fynd
 meanys how they may quyklyst let fal into ruyn *and*
 dekey al theyr cytes, castelys, *and* townys. Euery
 gentyلمان flyth into the cuntrey. Few that inhabyt
 cytes or townys ; few that haue any regard of them ; by
 the reson wherof in them you schal fynd no pollycy, no 846
 cyuyle ordur almost, nor rule.

45. *Pole.*—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys veray wel sayd P. thinks this
 of you. Befor I had much to dow to make you to con- very well said,
 fesse such fautys as we spake of ; but now me thynke
 you wyl begyn to confyrme them, *and* to fulfyl your
 promys also, made at the begynnyng of our communy- and asks him to
 catyon : that was, to put me in remembraunce of such go on.
 mysordurys as you also yourselfe, by long experyence, 852
 had notyd ; and I pray you, *Master Lvpset*, so to dow.

46. *Lvpset.*—Wel, *sir*, seyng that you wyl haue me
 to take that *parte* apon me now, certayn thyngys wych 857
 I haue notyd as grete detrymentys *and* hurtyes to our
 commyn * wele, and, namely, concernyng the vtward [* Page 143.]
 thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of thys polytyke
 body that you speke so much of, I wyl schow you.
And fyrst, as touchyng the bryngyng in *and* caryyng out
 of thyngys necessary for vs, I haue obseruyd, as me
 semyth, a grete faute here in our cuntrey ; for ther ys
 conuehauns of many thyngys necessary to the vse of our
 pepul, more then may be wel sufferyd, both of catayl,
and corne, wol, tyn, *and* led, *and* other metallys, wher-
 of we haue no such abundaunce, that our cuntrey wyth
 commodityte may lake so much. And for thes thyngys,
 wych ys worst of al, ther ys brought in such thyngys
 almost only as we may not only lake ryght wel, but such
 as be the destructyon of our pepul, *and* of al dylygent 872

ἰσαγωγὴ καὶ
 ἐξαγωγὴ.¹
 He complains
 that the country
 exports cattle,
 corn, wool, tin,
 lead : for which
 we receive wines,
 fine cloths, silks,
 beads, knives,
 and such trifles :

¹ In margin of MS. Read *ἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἐξαγωγὴ*.

all of which we should either be better without, or could make ourselves.

exercyse of artys *and* craftys here in our cuntrey; as, many sortys of delycate wynys, fyne clothys, says *and* sylkys, bedys, *combys*, gyrdyllys *and* knyfys, *and* a thousand such tryfelyng thyngys, wych other we myght wel lake, or els, at the lest, our owne pepul myght be

878 occupyd wyth the working therof, wych now, by the reson therof, are much corrupt wyth idulnes and slothe.

Hurt of clothyng.¹

And in thys behalfe, me semyth, hyt ys a grete hurte to the clothyarys of Englonde, thys bryngyng in of French clothe, the cause why I nede not to open, wych to euery mannys ye ys manyfest. *And* thys bryngyng in of such abundaunce of wyne ys a grete impoueryschyng to *many gentylnen, wych nowadays can kepe no house wythout theyr sellarys ful of dyuerse kyndys of wyne. Before

The wines also impoverish the [* Page 144.] nobles

Bryngyng in of wyne.¹

887 tyme, I am sure, hyt was nothyng so, when thys land was more floryschyng then hyt ys now. Hyt causyth,

as well as the poor.

also, much drunkennes *and* idulnes among our commyn pepul *and* craftys men in cytes *and* townys, wych, drawen by the plesure of thes delycate wynys, spend

892 theyr thryft *and* consume the tyme in commyn tauernys, to the grete destructyon *and* ruyne of the pepul.

P. says this is truth; but the fault is with the people.

47. *Pole*.—Thys ys troth that you now say, but we must take hede to lay the faute when as hyt ys; for that ys the faute of the pepul, *Master Lvpset*, *and* not

897 of the abundaunce of wyne.

48. *Lvpset*.—That ys troth, *and* yet, for al that, bycause men are so prone of theyr corrupt nature *and* redy to plesure, me semyth hyt were nothyng amys yf the occasyon were taken from them, wych ys surely much

902 increasyd by thys grete abundaunce of wyne. I wold not yet nother but that some schold be brought in for the plesure of nobul men; but herein mesure were gud.

L. would have some wine,

Bryngyng in of sylkys.¹ and says, and silks for the nobility;

And so, lykewyse, of sylkys *and* says, conuenient hyt ys that some we haue for the apparayle of the noblyte; but yet therin I note a nother grete mysordur, in the

¹ In margin of MS.

apparayle, I say, of our pepul. For now you se ther ys almost no man content to were cloth here made at home in our owne cuntrey, nother lynyn nor wolen, but euery man wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as chaulet, says, fustyanys, and sylkys; by the reson wherof dyuers *craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuerys, worstyd-makys, tukkarys, and fullarys, wyth dyuerse other of the same sort. Thys thyngys folow, and be annexyd as commyn effectys to the bryngyng in of such thyngys as we myght bettur lake, then haue in such abundaunce as we haue now commynly.

49. **Pole.**—Thys wych you say I trow euery man seth. No man can deny them, who delytyth not in obstynacy.

50. **Lvpset.**—Ther ys a nother thyng as playn as thys, the wych, though hyt be in dede no les faute then the other, yet hyt ys taken for non at al, but rather for grete honowre and prayse, and that ys, the excesse in dyat, and the mysordur therin, wych al men of judgement playnly dow see; for ther was neuer so grete festyng and bankettyng, wyth so many and dyuerse kyndys of metys, as ther ys now in our days commynly vsyd, and specyally in mean mennys housys. Now euery mean gentylman for the most parte wyl fare as wel as before tyme were wont pryncys and lordys; and thys they take for theyr grete honowre, wych, in dede, ys a grete dyshonowre and manyfest destructyon and detrymente to the commyn wele sundry ways; as wel by nuryschyng many idul glottonys, wherof spryngyth much syknes, as by the bryngyng in also of grete skarsenes of catayl, corne, and al other vytayl; for thys may be a commyn prouerbe, “many idul glotonys make vytayle dere.”

51. **Pole.**—Thys mysordur ys also manyfest. Hyt may not be wyth reson denyd.

but all will have says, fustians and silks from over the sea;

Holand & Normandy.¹ and this ruins home crafts. [* Page 145.]

915

P. says none can deny it.

921

L. Another fault is excess of diet.

Excesse in dyat.¹

927

Now “a mean gentleman will fare as well as princes used to fare;”

and this they take as an honour.

935

“Many idle gluttons make victuals dear.”

942

¹ In margin of MS.

Excesse in
byldyng.¹
Though men
build ill, yet
[* Page 146.]
they build above
their degree.

52. **Lvpset.**—And what thynke you in byldyng? Though you found a faute before in the yl byldyng of our cytes *and* townys, yet, *me semyth, *gentylnen and* the nobylite are in that behalfe ouer sumptuose. They byld *commynly* aboute theyr degree. A mean man wyl
948 haue a house mete for a prynce, wych, me semyth, ys no thyng conuenient to hys state *and* condycyon.

P. says this is all
very well, if they
build of timber
and stone got at
home.

53. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, as touchyng that, so long as they byld but of tymbur *and* stone here get at home in our owne cuntrey, wythout gyltyng *and* daubyng the postys wyth gold, me semyth hyt may be sufferyd ryght wel; for hyt ys a grete ornament to the cuntrey, *and* many men are wel set a-worke therby. How be hyt, as you say, when men wyl passe theyr state *and* degree, that myght be sparyd ryght wel.

54. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Syr, that ys the thyng that I chefely note; for now you schal see many men byld more then they themselfe, or theyr heyrys *and* successorys, be conueniently abyly to maynteyn *and* repayre. *And* so such housys as by some are byldyd to theyr grete
954 costys *and* charge, by other are let downe, *and* sufferyd to fal into ruyne *and* dekey, bycause they were byldyd aboute theyr state, condycyon, *and* degree.

L. The result of
this over-building
is decay from
want of means
to keep it in
repair

55. **Pole.**—Of that sort, *Master Lvpset*, you schal not fynd veray many. But the gretyst faute in our byldyng ys, the consumyng of gold apon postys *and* wallys; for then hyt neuer *commyth* aftur to other vse
970 or profyt,—only a lytyl for the tyme hyt plesyth the ye. Hyt ys a vayn pompe, **and* of a late days brought in to our cuntrey.

P. The greatest
fault lies in
gilding the posts
and walls.

Lake of tyllage.¹

L. complains of
the enclosing of
arable lands.

56. **Lvpset.**—They are no smal fautys bothe togyddur, nor *can* not be excusyd by any gud reson. And ferther, also, me semyth ther ys a grete faute in tyllage of the ground. Ther ys no man but he seth the grete enclosing in euery parte of herabul land; *and* where as

¹ In margin of MS.

was corne *and* fruteful tyllage, now no thyng ys but 978
 pasturys *and* playnys, by the reson wherof many vyl-
 lagys *and* townys are in few days ruynate *and* dekeyd.

57. **Pole.**—Thys hath byn thought a faute many a 984
 day; but yf the mater be wel examynyd, *perauenture*
 hyt ys not so grete as hyt apperyth, *and* so ys jugyd of
 the *commyn* sorte. For seyng hyt ys so that our fode

and nuryschyng stondyth not only in corne *and* frutys
 of the grounde, but also in bestys *and* catayl, no les
 necessary then the other, ther must be prouysyon for
 the bredyng of them as wel as for the tylling of the
 erthe, wych can not be wythout pasturys *and* enclosure
 of ground. For thys ys certayn, wythout pasturys such

multytude of catayl wyl not be maynteynyd as ys re- 991
 quyryd to vs here in our cuntrey, where as lakkyth the
 manyfold *and* dyuerse frutys wych ys had in other cun-
 treys for the sustenance of man. Wherfor, I thynke

hyt veray necessary to haue thys inclosyng of pasturys
 for our catayl *and* bestys, *and* specyally for schepe, by 996
 whose profyte the welth **and* plesure here of thys reame

ys much maynteynyd. For yf your plenty *and* abund-
 ance of wolle were not here maynteynyd, you schold
 haue lytyl brought in by marchaundys from other partys,
and so we schold lyue wythout any plesure or com-
 modyte.

58. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, as touchyng that, I remembyr what
 you sayd before:—yf we had fewar thyngys brough[t]
 in from other partys, *and* les caryd out, we schold haue
 more commodyte *and* veray true plesure, much more

then we haue now: thys ys certayn *and* sure. But 1007
 now to our purpos. Thys ys wythout fayle, that,
 seyng nature hath denyd vs many kyndys of frutys
 wych grow in other partys to the nuryschyng of the
 pepul, hyt ys necessary that we schold haue more increse

of bestys *and* catayl then ther ys ther; but yet you
 know wel ther ys in al thyngys a mesure *and* mean.

P. approves of
 this enclosing :

we must have
 cattle for food,
 and sheep for
 wool, and without
 pastures we can
 have neither.

[* Page 143.]

L. says if we had
 fewer imports and
 exports we should
 have greater
 abundance than
 now.

There is
 moderation in
 all things.

- 1014 We haue to much regard *and* study of the nuryschyng of schype *and* wyld bestys here in our cuntrey. Hyt can not be denyd. *And* therfor me semyth we also are ofte-tymys justely punnyschyd therefore ; for *commynly* they dye of skabe *and* rottys in grete nombur, wych cumyth chefely, aftur myn opynyon, bycause they are nuryschyd in so fat pasture. For a schype by hys nature, *and* also a dere, louyth a lene, barren, *and* drye ground. Wherfor, when they are cloyd in ranke pasturys *and* butful ground, they are sone touchyd wyth the skabe *and* the rotte ; *and* so, though we nurysch ouer many by inclosure, yet ouer few of them (as experyence schowyth) come to the *profyte *and* vse of man. *And* as touchyng other catayl *and* bestys of al sortys, I thynke wyth vs ther ys *commynly* ouer lytyl regard of the bredyng of them. Few men study the increse of that sort ; but as sone as they be brought forth, *commynly* they be other kyld where they are brede, or sold to them wych purpos not to bryng them vp to the *commyn* profyt. *And* so thys, notwythstondyng that we haue ouer much pasture, yet we haue of such bestys ouer few wych are brought to the profyte of man, *and* be necessary to the mayntenance of the vtward wele of a *commynalty* ; of the wych thyng, *perauenture*, rysyth a parte of thys grete darthe both of vytayl *and* corne, as I thynke here aftur, in hys place, you wyl more largely schow *and* declare. Now here hyt ys suffyeyent for me
- 1041 to note thys as a *commyn* faute, *and* that hyt ys no thyng necessary for the nuryschyng of our bestys to haue so grete inclosurys of pasturys, wych ys a grete dekey of the tyllage of thys reame ; *and* specyally when the fermys of al such pasturys nowadays, for the most parte, are brought to the handys of a few *and* rychar men, wych wyl gyue other gretyst rent or fyne for the vse therof ; wych thyng I note as a nother grete faute

To much cure of schype, *and* lytyl of other bestys, horses, oxen.¹ The sheep die of scab and rot, in consequence of the fat pasture.

[* Page 149.]

There is little attention paid to the breeding of cattle,

and though we have much pasture we have few cattle.

The pasture-farms get into the hands of a few rich men, and the poor are excluded. Ingrossyng of fermys.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

concernyng our purpos now intendyd. For by thys 1049
 bothe they pore men are excludyd from theyr lyuyng,
and, besyde that, the ground also wors tylyd *and* Inhaunsyng of
 occupyd, remeynyng in the handys of them who therof reutys.¹
 take lytyl regard. Thes few thyngys now are come to
 my mynd, wych I haue notyd, concernyng the *dekey [* Page 150.]
 of ryches *and* other vtward thyngys necessary to the 1055
 welthy mayntenance of our polytyke body. How be
 hyt, to say the truthe, thes same al folow *and* be an-
 nexyd *and* couplyd to such fautys as you yourselfe
 notyd before.

59. *Pole*.—I can not tel you that, but yf hyt were 1060
 so in dede, yet hyt ys not much amys to haue them more
 partycularly exercysyd, wych you in few wordys haue
 suffyciently downe. Wherfor now, Mastur Lvpset, aftur P. says it remains
 that we haue notyd the most general fautys *and* mys- now to touch of
 ordurys that we can fynd now at thys tyme, bothe in the “misorders”
 the polytyke body *and* also in the vtwarde thyngys of in the govern-
 necessity requyryd to the welthy state *and* veray com- ment of the
 myn wele here of our cuntrey, thys remeynyth (accord- state.
 yng to the proces of our communycatyon at the begyn- 1067
 nyng appoyntyd) to note also, *and*, aftur the maner
 begun, schortly to touch the mysordurys *and* yl govern-
 ance wych we schal fynd in [the] ordur *and* rule of the 1072
 state of our cuntrey; the wych ordur *and* rule we before
 haue declaryd to resembyl the soule in mannys body.
 For euen lyke as the soule gyuyth lyfe, gouernyth, *and*
 rulyth the body of man, so doth cyuyle ordur *and* poly-
 tyke rule (as we sayd before) gouerne *and* stabyl the 1077
 polytyk body in euery cuntrey, cyte, *and* towne. And
 here, *Master Lvpset*, aboue al, we must be dylygent, for
 as much as hyt ys more hard *to spy the fautys therin, Fautys in the
 then such as we haue notyd before. For lyke as hyt ys pollycy.¹
 much easyar also to spy the sykenes in mannys body It is more
 then the syknes of mynd wych many men perceyue no- out these faults
 [* Page 151.]
 with those
 already noted;

¹ In margin of MS.

- 1084 thyng at al, wych then be indede most greuously dys-
easyd when the[y] lest perceyue hyt ; so I feare me that
we haue many dyseasys or mysordurys (cal them as you
wyl) here in the ordur *and* gouernance of our cuntrey,
wych no thyng at al are perceyuyd nor felt ; for they
are¹, by long custume *and* law in processe of tyme, so
growne among vs, so *confermyd* in our hartys, that we
hardly can conceyue any faute to remayn therin. But
I trust I schal not haue you so styffe, *Master Lvpset*,
nor so fer from true iugement, but that you wyl gyue
place euer to reson manyfest *and* playn.
- 1095 60. *Lvpset*.—That I wyl surely, yf I may perceyue
hyt, for I neuer louyd blynd obstynacy ; but, contrary,
I schal beware, as nere as I can, that you schal not make
me to graunt such thyngys to be mysordurys *and* fautys
wych in dede are non at al.
- 1099 61. *Pole*.—Thys I remembyr we agred apou before ;
but yet, bycause hyt ys a gud poynt, I am wel content
that we agre apou thys bargyn onys agayne. *And* thus
1103 now let vs begyn.

and we have
many disorders
which are unfelt.

L. will be careful
to avoid granting
too much.

[CHAPTER IV.]

P. says England
has been for
many years
governed by
princes, whose
will was law.
Pryncely powar. 2

[* Page 152.]

1. [*Pole*].—Hyt ys not vnknown to you, *Master Lvpset*, that our cuntrey hathe byn gouernyd *and* rulyd thes many yerys vnder the state of pryncys, wych by theyr regal powar *and* pryncely authoryte, haue jugyd *al thyngys perteynyng to the state of our reame to
6 hange only apou theyr wyl *and* fantasye ; insomuch that, what so euer they euer haue conceyuyd or purposyd in theyr myndys, they thought, by *and* by, to haue hyt put in effecte, wythout resystens to be made by any priuate

¹ MS. are so.

² In margin of MS.

man *and* subyecte ; or els, by *and* by, they haue sayd that 10
 men schold mynysch theyr pryncely authoryte. For
 what ys a prynce (as hyt ys *commynly* sayd) but he may
 dow what he wyl? Hyt ys thought that al holly hang-
 yth apon hys only arbytryment. Thys hath byn
 thought, ye, *and* thys yet ys thought, to *pertheyne* to the 15
 maiesty of a prynce—to moderate *and* rule al thyng
 accordyng to hys wyl *and* plesure ; wych ys, wythout
 dowte, *and* euer hath byn, the gretyst destructyon to
 thys reame, ye, *and* to al other, that euer hathe come
 therto. Thys I coude declare to you, yf hyt were nede,
 by long *and* many storys ; but I thynke ther ys no man 21
 that equally wyl consydur the state of our reame, but he
 seth thys ryght wel. For, *Master Lvpset*, thys ys sure
and a gospel word, that cuntrey can not be long wel
 gouernyd nor maynteynyd wyth gud pollycy where al
 ys rulyd by the wyl of one, not chosen by electyon, but
commyth to hyt by natural successyon ; for *syldon
 seen hyt ys that they wych by successyon *comme* to
 kyngdomys *and* reamys are worthy of such hie au-
 thoryte.

This has been a
 great destruction
 to this realm.

No country can
 prosper under a
 king not chosen
 by election.

[* Page 153.]
 Kings by succes-
 sion are seldom
 worthy.

2. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, take you hede here what you say ;
 for thys poynt that you now touch wyl seme, *perauenture*
 to many, to sowne to some treson. For what ! Wyl you
 make a kyng to haue no more powar then one of hys
 lordys ? Hyt ys *commynly* sayd (and, I thynke, truly) a 35
 kyng ys aboue hys lawys ; no law byndyth hym ; but
 that he, beynge a prynce, may dow what he wyl, bothe
 lose *and* bynde. Thys, I am sure, ys *commynly*
 thought among the nobullys here of our reame, ye, *and*
 al the hole *commynalty*.

L. implores Pole
 to beware of
 treason.

He thinks a king
 is above all laws.

3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys one of the thyngys
 that I spake of at the begynnyng, wherby we are
 dyseasyd *and* perceyue hyt not, by the reson wherof we
 are bothe in more grefe *and* daunger also ; but yf we
 wyl examyn thys mater wel, we schal sone fynd such 45

P. says this is
 one of our
 diseases, and the
 root of many
 more.

- 46 faute therin that we may wel cal hyt the rote of many other. For thys ys sure—lyke as hyt ys most *perfoynt* and excellent state of pollycy and rule to be gouernyd by a prynce, and al thyng to be subiecte to hys wyl (so that he be suche a one that in wysdome and vertue he
- It is all very well if the prince is worthy, but very pestilent if he is unworthy:
- 51 so fer excellyth al other as doth the maiesty of a prynce the priuate state *of the sympul commynalty) so hyt ys of al the most pestylent and *pernycyouse* state, most ful of peryl, and to the commyn welth most daungerouse, to be rulyd by one, when he ys not of suche hie vertue
- [* Page 154.]
- 56 and *perfoynte* wysdome that, for the same only, he ys to be preferryd aboue al other, and most worthy therfor to be rular and prynce. Wherfor, sythen hyt ys so, that our pryncys are not chosen of the most worthys by electyon, but by the ordur of our reame, how so euer hyt chaunce, come by successyon, I thynke hyt no thyng
- as, for one worthy there are many unworthy.
- 62 expedyent to *commyt* to them any such authoryte and princely powar, wych ys to syngular vertue and most *perfoynt* wysdome only due and conuenient. For though hyt be so that some one may chaunce by successyon to be borne worthy of such authoryte, yet thys ys
- 67 sure,—bycause syldom that happenyth, and many for one be no thyng worthy the same,—that bettur hyt ys to the state of the commyn wele, to restreyne from the prynce such hie authoryte, *commyttyng* that only to the commyn counseyl of the reame and *parlyamente* assemblyd here in our cuntrey. For such prerogatyfe in powar grauntyd to pryncys ys the destructyon of al
- It is better to rule by a parliament.
- Prerogatyfe.¹
- 74 lawys and pollycy. Thys you may almost in experyence dayly see; for ther be few lawys *and statutys, in *parlyamentys* ordeynyd, but, by placardys and lycence opteynyd of the prynce, they are broken and abrogate, and so to the commyn wele dow lytyl profyt; euen lyke as dyspensatyonys haue dow in the Popys law, wych
- 80 hathe byn the destructyon of the law of the churche.

¹ In margin of MS.

Wherfor tyl thys be redressyd, lytyl schal hyt avayle to 81

deuyse neuer so gud statutys, ordynancys, *and* lawys, wych now be but as snarys set for a tyme, aftur, at the lyberty of the prynce, to be losyd agayne. Thys ys the rote *and* mother of many mysordurys here in our cuntrey. 85

Nor you schal not thynke that a prynce were then in wors case then any of hys lordys, wych hath lyberty to dow what he wyl ; but, contrary, forasmuch as to folow reson ys veray true lyberty, the prynce ys no thyng in boundage therby, but rather reducyd to true lyberty. 90

And whereas you say the kyng ys aboue hys lawys, that ys partely true *and* necessary, *and* partely both false *and* pernycyouse. *And* schortly to say, so long as the kyng ys lyuely reson, wych ys the only hede *and* rular of reamys by the ordur of nature, so long, I say, 95

he ys aboue hys lawys, wych be but, as you wyl say, rayson dome, hauyng no powar to consydur the cyrcumstancys of thyngys ; but when the prynce ys lyuely, or, rather, dedely affectyon, then, I say, he ys subiecte to 99

hys lawys, *and* bounden to be obedyente to the *same, wych obedyence ys, in dede, true lyberty. For, be you assuryd, thys ys a grete faute in euery reame,—any one man to haue such authoryte to dyspense wyth the comyn lawys *and* wyth the transgressorys *and* brekarys of the same ; to dystrybute al grete promocyons *and* offyce ; to make *and* breke legys *and* peace wyth other natyons *and* pryneys about ;—to leue, I say, al such

thyngys to the fre wyl *and* lyberty of one, ys the open gate to al tyranny. Thys ys the grounde of the destructyon of al cyuylyte, thys enteryth *and* turnyth vp so downe al polytyke ordur *and* rule. For thys ys sure—

the wyt of one commynly can not compas so much as the wyt of many in materys of pollycy ; for hyt ys commynly sayd “many yes see bettur then one.” Wherfor, to be schort, *and* so to conclude, to attrybut so much to the wyl *and* plesure of one, can not be without

A prince would not then be in worse case than his lords.

[* Page 156.]

It is a great fault for one man to be able to dispense with the laws, and it is the gate to all tyranny.

One can't compass as much as many ;

“many eyes see better than one.”

To give so much power to one is

the ruin of the
commonwealth.

L. is surprised
at this, and
thinks a prince,
without the
authority of a
prince, would
give much
trouble to the
commons.

[* Page 157.]

P. says if they
were chosen for
their virtues,

they might have
authority,

but usurped
authority, or
authority by
prerogative,
is pernicious;
and though we
have a wise
prince now,
still it is a fault,

[* Page 158.]

the grete ruyne *and* destructyon of the commyn wele,
and of al gud *and* iust pollycy.

4. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, I maruayle much at your *communi-*
cation ; for me semyth you allow the state of a *prynce*,
and wold not but that we schold be *gouernyd* therby,
and yet you wyl not gyue hym the authoryte of a *prynce*,
wych stondyth in thys, that by hys regal powar gyuen

124 to hym by the consent of the hole *commynys*, he may
moderat al thyng accordyng to hys plesure *and* wyl ; or
els hyt schold be necessary to cal veray oft the *commyn*
conseyl of *parlyament*, and so oft as any grete causys
incydent requyryd the same, wych *pertheyne* to the hole
body of the *reame ; wych were no smal trowbul to the
131 *commyns* of thys reame. Therfor I can not see but yf
you wyl haue a kyng, you must also gyue hym the
powar *pertheynyng* to the maiesty of the same.

5. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, yf kyngys *and* *pryncys* in
reamys were by electyon chosen, such as, of al other,
for theyr *pryncely vertues*, were most worthy to rule,
hyt were then veray *conuenient* they schold haue al
such authoryte as ys *annexyd* to the same ; but sythen
138 they be not so, but come by *successyon*, you see they be
syldom of that sorte, as I sayd before, but, rulyd by
affectyon, draw al thyng to theyr *syngular lust*, vayn
plesure, *and inordynat* wyl. Hyt can not be denyd but
to the *commyn wele* such authoryte, other vsurpyd or
by *prerogatyue* gyuen therto, ys *pernyouse and hurt-*
ful to the *commyn wele* ; *and* here in our *cuntrey* (*frely*
to speke betwyx you *and* me) a grete destructyon to our
cuntrey, wych hath byn *perceuyd* by our *for-fatherys*
days, at *dyuerse and manytymys, and* schold be also now,
148 yf we had not a nobul *and wyse prynce*, wych ys euer
content to submyt hymselfe to the ordur of hys *conseyl*,
no thyng *abusyng* hys authoryte. But *al be hyt
that he of hys gudnes *abusyth* hyt not at al, yet, to vs
152 wych now study to fynd al *fautys* in the *pollycy and*

rule here of our cuntrey, hyt may wel appere to be 153
 notyd as a grete faute, for as much as he may abuse hyt
 yf he wyl, *and* no restreynt ys had therof by the ordur
 of our law ; but rather, by law such prerogatyue ys
 gyuen to hym, in so much that, as you sayd ryght wel
 before, hyt ys almost treson to speke any thyng agayne 158
 the same. Therfor we may not dowte but hyt ys a
 faute, *and* much more the greuus bycause we are bend
 to the defence of the same, *and* skant perceyue thys
 grefe in our pollycy.

as he may abuse
 his authority if
 he will.

6. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, thys I *can* not deny, but that a
 faut ther ys, as me semyth, therin ; but how hyt schold
 be redressyd *and* reformyd agayne, I *can* not yet se, but
 by much more inconuenyence insuyng the same. 166

L. asks how the
 fault can be
 redressed ?

7. *Pole.*—Wel, as for that, we schal see when tyme
and place hyt schal requyre. Now let vs bo[l]dly
 affyrme thys to be a grete mysordur in the polytyke rule
 here of our cuntrey, seyng the kyngys here are taken by
 successyon of blode, *and* not by fre electyon, wych ys
 in our pollycy a nother grete faute *and* mysordur also,
and of vs now specyally to be notyd, seyng that we haue 173

P. replies,
 We'll see about
 that another
 time.

successyon of
 blode.¹

in such state whereas pryncys are euer had by successyon
 of blode ; *specyally yf we wyl gyue vnto hym suche
 regal *and* pryncely powar as we dow in our cuntrey ; for
 though some tyme hyt may fortune such a prynce to be
 borne wych wyl not abuse such powar, yet, for the 180

Kings by suc-
 cession are a
 [* Page 159.]
 great fault, as
 they generally
 abuse their power.

most parte, the contrary wyl haue place. Wherfor we
 now, wych seke the best ordur, must nedys confesse thys
 thyng to be a faute in pollycy ; for in al lawys *and* po-
 lytyke ordur, thys ys a rule—such thyng to determe as,
 for the most parte, ys best, though some tyme the con- 185
 trary may happun *and* fal. How say you, ys hyt not
 so, *Master Lvpset* ?

¹ In margin of MS.

L. hardly knows what to say; while Pole's reasons seem probable, experience seems to be against them.

Nothing more hurtful than civil war, and

[* Page 160.]

if we chose our king by election, civil war would surely arise.

P. says though Lupset's reasons seem to be good, they are easily answered.

8. **Lvpset.**—Syr, in thys mater I can skant tell you what I schal say; for a the one parte, when I here your resonys, me seme they are probabyl *and* lyke the truth, but a the other syde, when I loke to the experyence, and *consy*dur the manerys, custome, *and* nature here of our cuntrey,¹ me semyth the contrary, *and* that hyt schold be veray expedyent to haue our prynce by successyon of blode, *and* not by electyon; in so much as the ende of al lawys *and* polytyke rule ys to kepe the cytyzyns in vnyte *and* peace and *per*fayte concorde among themselfe. For in no cuntrey may be any grettur pestylens, or more *per*nycyouse, then cyuyle warre, sedycyon, *and* dyscordys among the partyts of the polytyke body. Thys ys the thyng that hathe *destroyd al *commyn* wellys, as to you hyt ys bettur knowen then to me. Wherfor we must beware of al occasyon of such myscheffe, to the wych, aftur myn opynyon, your sentence makyth a way. For what thyng may be deuysyd occasyon of more stryffe among vs, then to chese our kyng by electyon of lordys *and* perys of the reame? For then euery man wold be kyng, euery man wold juge hymselfe as mete as a nother; *and* so, ther schold be facyon *and* partyts, wyth grete ambycyon *and* enuy; *and* so, also, at the end, euer sedycyon *and* cyuyle warre.
- 212 For our pepul be of that nature that, yf they had such lyberty, surely they wold abuse hyt to their owne destructyon. Therfor, me semyth, for as much as we be vsyd to take our prynce by successyon of blode, thys
- 216 fre electyon that you so prayse may not be admyttyd.

9. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, nothwystondyng that by gud reson you seme to defend thys custome long vsyd in our reame *and* natyon, yet, yf we remembyr our purpos wel *and* ordur of resonnyng, hyt schal be no thying hard to take away your reson at al. Thys you
- 222 know ys our purpos,—to fynd out the best ordur that,

¹ "pepul" written above.

by prudent pollycy, may be stablyschyd in our *reame and cuntrey, and to fynd al fautys wych repugne to the same, of the wych thys I notyd to be one pryncypal and chefe. For what ys more repugnant to nature, then a hole natyon to be gouernyd by the wyl of a prynce, wych euer folowyth hys frayle fantasy and vn-rulyd affectys? What ys more contrary to reson then the hole pepul to be rulyd by hym wych commynly lakkyth al reson. Loke to the Romayns, whose com-myn wele may be exampul to al other, wych, lyke as theyr consullys, so lykewyse theyr kyngys, chose euer of the best and most excellent in vertue. Loke, also, vnto Lacedemonia, and in al other nobul cuntreys of Grece, where the pepul were rulyd by a prynce, and you schal fynd that he was euer chosen by fre electyon. Thys successyon of pryncys by inherytaunce and blode was brought in by tyrannys and barbarus pryncys, wych, as I sayd, ys contrary to nature and al ryght reson; wych you may se, also, more euydently, by successyon in priuate famylys, wherin you see that yf the sone be prodygal and gyuen to al vyce and foly, the father ys not bounde to make hym hys heyre; where as ys gud pollycy, but hath lyberty to chose hym anoother where as he thynkyth conuenyent and best. Much more hyt ys to be admyttyd in a reame, that yf the prynce be not mete to succede hys father, that then a nother ys to be *chosen by the fre electyon of the cytyzys in the cuntre. Wherfor we may thys surely conclude, that best hyt ys for the conseruatyon of polytyke ordur and iust pollycy, a prynce to be chosen by fre electyon at lyberty. And yet, *Master Lvpset*, I wyl not say nor affyrme, but as the state of our reame ys, and here in our natyon, hyt ys bettur to take hym by successyon of blode, for the avoydyng of al such dyscorde, debate, and confusyon as you before sayd; but, *Master Lvpset*, that ys not best of hys nature, wych,

[* Page 161.]

225

229

234

The Romans and Greeks always elected their prince.
Succession by inheritance was brought in by tyrants.

244

[* Page 162.]

251

Still he thinks it best in our country to take our prince by succession.

258

- 259 ij thyngys wych both be yl, ys only the bettur. Troth
 As our people and
 country now are,
 succession is bad,
 and free election
 worse.
 hyt ys, as our pepul be now affectyd, *and* as the state
 of our reame ys, yl hyt ys to take our prynce by succes-
 syon, *and* much wors by fre electyon; and yet yf we
 wyl stablysch a true commyn wele wythout al tyranny,
- 264 *and* wythout al wrechydnes of the pepul *and* mysery,
 we must nedys graunte thys best to be, *and* most con-
 uenyent to nature, to take a prynce electyd *and* chosen
 of al other for hys wysdome *and* vertue most worthy
 to reyne. We may not consydur what ys best *and* most
 269 conuenient to our pepul now as they be, but what
 schold be most conuenient to them gouernyd *and* rulyd
 by cyuyle ordur *and* resonabul lyfe, accordyng to the
 excellent dygnyte of the nature of man. *And* thys ther
 ys no repugnance betwyx your opynyon *and* myne in
 thys grete mater, for both be true, yf we ponder them
 He maintains
 that both their
 opinions are
 true.
 [* Page 168.]
 aftur such maner as I haue *before sayd *and* openyd at
 large. Therfor, yf you thynke best, let vs procede
 ferther in our communcatyon; for thys ys sure—both
 to gyue to our prynce such regal powar *and* hie pre-
 rogatyfe, *and* also to haue hym by successyon of blode,
 280 ys a grete faute in our pollycy *and* much dystant from
 al cyuyle ordur.
10. *Lepset.*¹—*Sir*, you haue now satysfyd me ryght
 wel; for now I see that, notwythstondyng that hyt ys
 bettur, as our pepul are affecte, to haue our prynce by
 successyon of blode, yet, yf they wold lyue in true
 lyberty *and* obserue the cyuyle lyfe conuenient to the
 nature of man, best hyt were to haue hym chosen by fre
 electyon. Therfor, I pray you, go forward, *and* let vs
 examyn some other mysordurys in our pollytyke rule
and ordur of lyfe.
11. *Pole.*—A lyke faute vnto thys, but not so grete,
 ys in the successyon of priuate men. You know by
 the ordur of our law, the eldys[t] brother succedyth, ex-
 288

L. can see it is
 better as we are,
 to have our king
 by succession,

but if we would
 live in true
 liberty, we should
 elect him.

P. A like fault is
 the law of
 primogeniture.

In priuat
 successyon.²

¹ MS. Le.

² In margin of MS.

cludyng al the other from any parte of inherytaunce. 294

Thys ys a thyng, as me semyth, fer out of ordur, vtturly to exclude the yongur bretherne out of al partys of the herytage, as though they were not the chyldur of that father nor bretherne to the heyre. Reson *and* nature vtturly requyryth that they chyldur, wych be as partys of the father *and* mother, schold also be admyttyd to partys of the patrymony, that, euen lyke as *they haue brought them forth in to the lyght, so theyr godys myght maynteyn *and* succur them aftur in theyr lyfe.

Reason and nature require that children of the same parents should sharè the patrimony.
[* Page 164.]

302

Wherfor, vtturly to exclude them from al, as though they had commyt some grete offence *and* cryme agayn theyr parentys, ys playn agayn reson, *and* semyth to mynysch the natural loue betwyx the father *and* the chyld, *and* also increse enuy *and* hates betwyx them wych nature hath so bounden togyddur. For betwyx bretherne¹ vndowtydly thys thyng squeakyth much of the broderly loue wych nature hath plantyd *and* rotyd. *And* so thys may not be denyd to be a nother mysordur in our polytyke rule *and* gouernance.

None should be excluded asthough they were guilty of crime.

309

313

12. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng thys, I maruayle much also what you mean. Me semyth you are aboute to take vtturly away our pollycy *and* hole ordur of thys our reame. You note such thyngys to be fautys wherin restyth al the honowre of our cuntrey, *and* wych ys the ground of al gud ordur *and* cyuylyte. I trow here aftur you wyl geddur *and* note many grete fautys *and* mysordurys in many other thyngys, that thys begyn of such thyng wych I *and* many mo take for gud law *and* pollycy.

L. marvels much at Pole, who esteems as faults what others honour.

318

323

13. **Pole.**—Wel, as for that, *Master Lvpset*, you know wel that we purpos not to touch al fautys in our maner of lyuyng; for that, as I sayd at begynnyng, wer infynyte *and* grete foly, but only to note such thyngys as in general repugne to the commyn wele

P. says to try to treat of all faults were folly.

328

¹ "brother *and* brother," written aboue.

- 329 before descrybyd, *and* such as, for the most parte, are taken for no fautys at al; *of the nombur of whome ys thys wych we speke of now, *and* other perauenture we schal, as tyme requyryth, open *and* touch. But, *Master Lvpset*, to retorne to the purpos, let me here a lytyl your mynd in thys mater some what more at large.
- [* Page 165.]
- P. asks what L. thinks about the laws of inheritance.
- 335 14. *Lvpset*.—Syr, wyth a gud wyl. Fyrst, me thynkyth that thys may be a sure *and* certayne ground for the rest of our *communycatyon*—that lawys are made for the pepul, *and* for the ordur of them, *and* not the pepul for the lawys; the wych, therfor, must be applyd some what to the nature of them. Wherefore, al such lawys, 341 ordynyancys, *and* statutys, wych conteyne the pepul in gud ordur *and* rule, are to be alowyd *and* iustely to be receyuyd. Thys, I thynke, was wel consydyryd of them wych fyrst instytute thys law of inherytaunce. They wel consydyryd the nature of our pepul, wych by nature be somewhat rude *and* sturdy of mynd, in so much that yf they had not in euery place some hedys *and* gouernarys to tempur theyr affectys rude *and* vnruely, theyr wold among them be no ordur at al; *and* ther- 350 for hyt was not wythout cause, as hyt apperyth, ordeynynd *and* stablyschyd, that in euery grete famyly the eldyst schold succede, to maynteyne a hede, wych, by authoryte, dygnyte, *and* powar, schold bettur conteyne 354 the rudenes of the pepul. For thys ys both certayn *and* sure—that yf the landys in euery grete famyly were dystrybutyd equally betwyx the bretherne, in a smal processe of yerys they hede famyls wold dekey, *and* by lytyl *and* lytyl vtturly vanysch away; *and* so they pepul schold be wythout rularys *and* hedys, the 360 wych then, by theyr rudenes *and* foly, wold schortly dysturbe thys quyat lyfe *and* gud pollycy, wych by many agys they haue lade here in our cuntre: such schold be the dyssensyon *and* dyscorde one wyth another. *And* so, me semyth, the mayntenance of thes hedys *ys
- L. says laws were made for the people, not the people for the laws:
- Englishmen are rude, and must have heads or governors; and these heads are preserved by this law of inheritance.
- If lands of great families were divided between brothers, the families would decay.
- [* Page 166.]

the mayntenaunce of al cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule 365
 here *in* our natyon. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, yf you take
 thys away, hyt apperyth playnly you schal take away
 the foundatyon *and* ground of al our cyuylte; *and*,
 besyd thys, you schal therwyth bryng in the ruyne of
 al nobylyte *and* auncyent stokkys. For yf you from no- 370
 bullys onys take theyr grete possessyonys, or mynystur
 any occasyon to the same, you schal, in processe of
 yerys, confounde the nobyllys *and* the commynys to-
 geddur, aftur such maner that ther schalbe no dyfferens
 betwyx the one *and* the other. Thys apperyth to me, 375
 except, *Master Pole*, you can answeere to thes resonys,
 wych seme playnly to concludre contrary to your sen-
 tence. For as touchyng that you say thys maner of in-
 herytance to be contrary to the law of nature, that I can
 not graunt, for as much as the dyspo[*sy*]tyon of thes
 worldly godys lyth not ener in the fre wyl of man, to
 dyspose at hys lyberty; but, by ordur of law cyuyle,
 may be dysposyd, orduryd, *and* bounden to the mayn-
 tenance of gud pollycy, the wych repugnyth, aftur my
 jugement, no thyng at al to the law of nature *and* 385
 honesty.

Take away this
 law, and you ruin
 our nobility,
 and level them to
 the commons.

He cannot grant
 that it is contrary
 to the law of
 nature.

15. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, notwithstandyng
 your resonys seme to be strong *and* of grete weyght, yet
 yf we can put before our yes the commyn wele before
 declaryd, hyt schal not be hard to make to them answer. 390
 How be hyt, they *haue also somewhat of the truth
 mynglyd *with* al; for surely aftur, as you say, the
 rudenes of our pepul requyryth hedys *and* gouernourys
 to conteyne them in ordur *and* quietnes, *and* though
 hyt be not necessary at al, yet in grete famyls thys
 maner of successyon may be sufferyd ryght wel. How 396
 be hyt, some prouysyon for the second bretherne, by the
 ordur of law, also wold be had, *and* not to leue them
 bare to the only curtesy of theyr eldyst brother, whose
 loue oft-tymys ys so cold *and* weke, that he may wel 400

[* Page 167.]
 P. grants that
 the people need
 "heads," but
 surely the
 younger sons
 might have some-
 thing.

- 401 suffyr hys brethern to lyue in grettur pouerty then ys
 conuenient to theyr nobylyte. But yf you wold suffyr
 thys addycyon *and* moderatyon to be yoynyd therto,
 your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys
 (as pryncys, dukys, erlys, *and* baronnys) such maner of
 successyon to be alowyd as conuenient. But now, a
 the other parte, to admytt the same *commynly* among
 al gentylnen of mean sorte, what so euer they be, thys
 ys not tollerabyl; thys ys almost, as you sayd, agayn
- In great houses
 primogeniture
 may be borne,
 but not among
 "gentlemen of
 mean sort."
- 410 nature *and* al gud cyuylte; for thys bryngyth in
 among the multytude ouer grete inequalyte, wych ys the
 occasyon of dyssensyon *and* debate. You may take of
 thys exampl of the auneynt Romaynys, whose lawys,
 me semyth, be drawn out of nature; wyth whome al
- Of this we may
 take example
 from the Romans,
- 415 herytagys be equally dyuydyd by ordur of law, *and* not
 left to the affectyon of the father, wych *commynly* ys
 more bent to one chyld then to a nother; but euen as
 they be of nature wythout dyfferens brought forth, so
 wythout dyfferens they equally succede in theyr inheryt-
 ance left to theyr famyly. And thys, *Master Lvpset*,
- whose children
 equally divided
 the inheritance.
 [* Page 168.]
- *you may see how that both your resonys *and* myn also
 may haue place, yf they be wel applyd *and* indyfferently
 weyd; for euen lyke as hyt ys among the nobylls con-
 uenient to succede aftur such maner, for the mayntenance
- 425 of the hedys *and* of nobylyte, so hyt ys agayn reson *and*
 al cyuyle ordur to admyt the same among al the pepul
commynly. But, *Master Lvpset*, thys faute sprange of
 a certayne arrogancy, wherby, wyth the intaylyng of
 landys, euery Jake wold be a gentylman, *and* euery
- This fault came
 of entailing lands,
 whereby every
 Jack would be a
 gentleman.
- 430 gentylman a knyght or a lord, as we schal schow here
 aftur in hys place. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, now yf
 you thynke thys to be a faute, aftur such maner as hyt
 ys now declaryd, let vs procede, *and* seke out for other
- 434 of the same sorte.
- L. says this is a
 fault,
16. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say wel; for surely you haue
 so in few wordys declaryd your mynd in thys behalfe,

that I can not deny but that herin lyth a mysordur ; but 437
 at the begynnyng hyt apperyd a veray strange thyng
 vturly to take away our maner of successyon, wych so
 many yerys hath byn alowyd, *and*, as me thought, not
 wythout grete reson. I thynke also, veryly, that at the
 fyrst ordynance of our lawys, euen as you say, that thys 442
 maner of successyon was only in grete famylys, *and* yet
 not wythout some prouysyon for the other bretherne, as
 they haue yet in Fraunce, Flaundes, *and* in Italy ;
 [where] the second brother hath euer some castel or towne
 appoyntyd to hym * by the ordur of theyr law *and* cus-
 tume in euery grete famyly. But truly I can not but
 confesse thys maner, to be receuyd among al men of 449
 mean state *and* degre, to be vturly agayne al gud cyuy-
 lyte, *and* wythout fayle rysyth of the ground that you
 wel haue notyd. I haue euer thought thys maner of
 intaylyng of landys *commynly* not to be alowyd by juste
 pollycy. Wherfor, me thynke, thys ys a faute worthy
 now to be spoken of also ; for thys intaylyng, specyally
 aftur such maner only to the eldyst sone in euery base 456
 famyly, makyth many rechles heyrys, causyth them
 lytyl to regard nother lernyng nor vertue, in as much
 as they are sure to be inherytarys to a grete porcyon of
 intaylyd land ; and so, by thys assurans, they gyue
 themselfe to al vanyte *and* plesure, wythout respecte. 461
 The wych, I thynke, they wold not dow yf they were
 in dowte of such possessyonys, and the hole inherytaunce
 to hang apon theyr behauour *and* beryng.

and instances
 France and Italy,
 where the other
 sons are provided
 for.

[* Page 163.]

He speaks of the
 fault of entailing
 lands, especially
 in base families.
 Intaylyng of
 landys.¹

17. **Pole.**—As for that, *Master Lvpset*, the law doth
 command no such intaylyng, but *permyttyth* hyt only. 466

18. **Lvpset.**—Mary, that ys the thyng also that
 I reprove ; for though in grete housys such intaylyng
 may be suffryd for the mayntenance of the famyly, yet
 in the basse famylys, *commynly* thys to be admyttyd,
 *surely hyt ys no thyng *conuenient*, for as much as hyt

It might be
 suffered in noble
 families.

[* Page 170.]

¹ In margin of MS.

472 bryngyth in grete inequalitye, *and* so much hate *and* malyce among the commynalty. Wherfor thys ys no smal erre in the ordur of our law, *and* may wel be couplyd wyth the other.

P. goes on to speak of the ills which arise from holding lands by knight's service,

Abuse in wardys.¹

when the heir, being left under age, is subject to those who are not related to him.

They may marry him to whom they will.

L. thinks this custom just and reasonable,

19. *Pole*.—Let vs admyt hyt then to be so, *and* go forward. Ther ys a nother maner and custume touching thes heyrys in our cuntrey, no lesse, aftur my mynd, to be reprouyd, then the other before notyd; *and* that ys thys :—you know wel wyth vs, yf a man dye wych holdyth hys landys by knyghtys *seruyce* of any superyor, 482 leuyng hys heyre wythin age, hys landys fal in to the handys of the sayd superyor *and* lord; he duryng hys nonage to be in the ward, tultyon, *and* gouernaunce of the same. Thys apperyth to me fer agayn reson. Fyrst, hyt ys nothyng conuenyent the heyre to be in gouernaunce *and* rule of hym wych ys to hym nother kyn nor 488 alye, by the reson wherof he hath lytyl regard of hys bryngyng vp in lernyng *and* vertue; *and*, ferther, hys landys to be in the handys of hys superyor, wythout any counte therof to be had, ys yet les conuenyent **and* 492 more agayne reson, specyally seyng they haue also such powar upon they heyre, that they may, afturward, mary hym at theyr lyberty wyth whome they thynke best *and* most for theyr profyt. Thys, me semyth, ys a playne *seruytute and* iniury, *and* no guard, to be admytyd in gud pollycy. How say you to thys, *Master Lvpset*, thynke you not so?

20. *Lvpset*.—Syr, ther be many thyngys here in our cuntrey wych, yf a man *consydu*r lyghtly *and* iuge them euenly, may appere much *contrary* to reson *and* gud 502 pollycy; but they same, a lytyl bettur *consydu*ryd, *and* depelyar weyd, schal seme not only to be tollerabyl enough, but also iust *and* resonabul, of the wych nombur I thynke thys to be one wherof we now speke. For yf 506 you *consydu*r the ground *and* the ordynance of the law

¹ In margin of MS.

at the fyrst begynnyng, I suppose you wyl not so much 507
reproue the mater as you dow. For thys we fynd in

storys *and* in the fyrst instytutyon of our comyn law, and refers to the
origin of the
custom.

that at such tyme as Wyllyam the Conquerour subduyd
our cuntrey *and* stablyschyd our lawys, certayn landys
were gyuen out of grete famylys to inferyor personys 512

for theyr *seruyce* downe to them before, vnder such *condycyon*
that when so euer they decessyd, leuyng theyr
heyrys wythin age, that then thes landys duryng the
nonage schold retorne to the superior agayne, by whose
bunfyte hyt cam to the famyly *and* stoke, *and* the same 517

man also to haue such powar to mary hym as he thought
best *and* most conuenyent; how be hyt, no thyng *comp-*
pellyng hym therin at al, but only by *gentyll and* gud
exhortatyon mouyng hym therto, for hys profyt *and*

synguler comfort: the wych, me semyth, much resonabul, 522
consydneyng *they bunfytyes come al from hym by the

[* Page 172.]

wych the hole famyly schold be maynteynyd. *And* as
'or count duryng the *nonage*, why schold he make any,
seyng for that tyme hyt ys as hys owne? For the landys
were gyuen at the fyrst begynnyng vnder such *condycyon*,
as I sayd before. Wherfor hyt ys not so vnresonabyl 528

for hym to haue both ward *and* maryage, *and* of the
landys no thyng to be *contabul*.

21. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lypset*, set what face you
wyl apon thys mater, you can not *persuade* me thys ordur
to be gud, specyally when I loke to the *perfoynt commyn*
wele wych I wold myght be stablyschyd here in our 534
cuntrey.

P. cannot be
persuaded that
the custom is
good.

Let hyt be so that at the tyme of the fyrst
entre of the Conquerour, or tyranne (cal hym as you
wyl) thys maner myght be for the tyme conuenyent;
but now, yf we wyl restore our cuntrey to a *perfoynt* state,
wyth a true *commyn* wele, we must schake of al such 539
tyrannycal *custumys and* vnresonabyl bandys, instytute

by that tyranne when he subduyd our cuntrey *and*
natyon. I can not deny but, as you say, they wych

but owns that
they who gave

the land had power to make conditions;

¹ MS. so such.

[* Page 173.]

gawe theyr landys to theyr *seruantys* myght put such¹ condycyon both of ward *and* maryage; *and* so hyt may appere somewhat resonabul al theyr successorys to be bounde, aftur that maner, to them wych consydur the tyme of the tyranne. But we must loke a lytyl *hyar, 548 *and* consydur the tyme of nature to the wych we wold forme our commyn wele; *and* then we schal fynd thys bondage to be vnresonabul among cyuyle pepul purposyng to lyue in a just pollycy. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, let vs no more dowte of thys mater. 552

and L., acknowledging that it "smells of tyranny," gives it up.

22. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you euer stoppe my mouth wyth thys consyderatyon of the *perfoynt* state; to the wych, wythout fayle, thys maner dothe somewhat repugne; for surely hyt smellyth a lytyl of tyranny. Wherfor, 557 bycause I wyl not wyth no sophystycal reson repugne to the manyfest truthe *and* equitye, therfor I wyl confesse thys to be a grete erre in our commyn wele *and* pollycy, *without* ferther lettynge you to procede in the rest of your communycatyon.

P. thinks he does well, as it will save time.

23. *Pole*.—Master Lvpset, therin you dow wel; for yf you schold tary our communycatyon wyth sophystycal argumentys, we schold not thys day note halfe the erorys 565 wych I purpos to talke wyth you of. For ther ys nothyng so true *and* manyfest, but the suttlyty of manns reson may deuyse somethyng to say contrary, *and* to impugne the same, as in thys wych now I wyl speke of, wych, me semyth, ys so manyfest an erre in our law, 570 that no man may hyt deny; *and* yet I can not thynke but you wyl fynd somewhat to lay agayne hyt.

L. will never object for the sake of victory.

[* Page 174.]

24. *Lvpset*.—Hyt may wylbe; but I promys you, as I haue sayd befor, I wyl not repugne for no study nor desyre of victory, but only for the inuentyon of the truth *and* equitye; for you know *wel that dowtyng *and* laying somewhat agayne the truth makyth hyt oftymys to appere more manyfest *and* playn. Therfor let vs see what thyng hyt ys that you thynke so many- 579 fest a faute.

25. **Pole.**—Syr, hyt ys touchyng appellatyonys in causys *and* remouyng by wrytt. You know ryght wel hyt ys wyth vs *commynly* vsyd, that yf any man haue any *controuersy* in the schyre where he dwellyth, yf he be purposyd to vex hys aduersary, he wyl by wryte remoue hys cause to the court at Westmynstur; by the wych mean oft-tymys the vniust cause *preuaylyth*, in so much as the one party ys not *perauentur* so abul as the other to wage hys law, *and* so justyce ys oppressyd, truth ouerthrowne, *and* wrong takyth place. Thys, me thynk, ys playn, except you haue any thyng to lay agayne hyt.

Abuse by removing by wrytte.¹
P. goes on to complain of the removal of causes by writ.

585

590

26. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng thys mater, me thynke you dow amys; for you lay the faute, wych ys in the party, to the ordynance of the law, for the parte ys to blame wych thys wyl vex hys aduersary for hys plesure or profyt; but the ordynance of the law ys gretely to be alowyd, wych, for bycause oft-tymys in the schyre by party, made by affectyon *and* powar, materys are so borne *and* bolsteryd that justyce can not haue place wyth indyfferency, hath ordeynyd that by wryte *the cause myght be remouyd to London to indyfferent judgement, where as the party be nother of both knowen nor by affectyon fauoryd. Therefore in the law, touchyng thys behalfe, I thynke ther ys no faute at al.

L. says the blame rests with the party who removes the case, not with the law.

597

602

[* Page 175.]

27. **Pole.**—Then, Master Lvpset, me thynke you pondur not al wel *and* depely. For thought hyt be trothe, as you say, a faute ther ys in the one party, wych so malycyously vexythe hys aduersary, yet the law thereby ys not excusyd, wych so *seruyth* to the malyce of man, so lyghtly admyttyng the remouyng of the cause before sentence be gyuen, *and* before hyt be knowen *perfyttely* whether the mater schold be borne by any powar or party in the schyre or not; for in such case, as you say ryght wel, appellatyon ys necessary *and* re-

P.'s answer is that the law should only allow removal after just cause ascertained.

610

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¹ In margin of MS.

615 mouyng of the cause to indyfferent judgement. But as
 Causes ought not to be removed out of the shire, or to a higher court,

620 the ordur ys, I thynke you see ther ys faute, bothe in the party *and* in the maner of the law, *and* that not only in remouyng by wryte materys out of the schyre, but lyke wyse from the jugys of the commyn law to the chauncery *and* to the hyar counsel by iniunctyon; the wych thyng, as hyt apperyth, lettyth much justyce *and* trowblyth the hole ordur *and* processe of the law. How say you, *Master Lvpset*, thynke not you thys to be truth?

and to this L. agrees.

28. *Lvpset*.—Syr, wythout fayle, I can not deny but other the law other the mynysterys therof, are

626 somewhat to esy in grauntyng *and* admytting such appellatyon *and* iniunctyon before the materys examynyd *and* tryed, other in the cuntrey *or before the jugys in the commyn law; for thys were resonabul, that at the lest they schold tary tyl the party found hymselfe greuyd wyth the sentence wych he jugyd to be wronge-

[* Page 176.]

632 fully gyuen. Thys ys vndowtydly a grete faute in the ordur of our law, *and* causyth many pore men to be wrongefully oppressyd. Therfor, agreyng apon thys, let vs go forward.

Faute in long sutys.¹
 P. has another complaint: suits take sometimes four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

29. *Pole*.—Ther ys also a grete faute wych apperyth concernyng the processe in sutys of causys. I see many mennys materys heng in sute ii, iij, or iiij yere *and* more, *and* can not be fynyschyd; the wych causys of themselfe be not so obscure but the[y] myght be defynyd in fewar days then they heng yerys, the wych, me thynke, can not be wythout some faute in the ordur

643 of the law. For though hyt be so that thes hungry aduocatus *and* cormorantys of the court study much to delay causys for theyr lucre *and* profyt, yet I thynke hyt can not be denyd but ther ys some faut also in the ordur of the law *and* in pollycy. For thys ys sure—yf hyt were wel ordryd, justyce schold not be so defettyd, nor the
 649 processe therof so be stoppyd, by euery lyght *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

couetouse *sergeant*, *proktor*, or *attornay*. Wherfor me 650
 thynke we may justely nombur thys among the other
 before notyd. How thynke you, *Master Lvpset*, ys
 hyt not so?

30. *Lvpset*.—Syr, schortly to say, thys I dow L. says it is
 thynke, that yf they *mynystres* were gud, I suppose ther wonderful to see
 *wold be no grete faute found in the processe of the things which
 law nor ordur of the same; for the couetouse *and* gredy were instituted
 myndys of them destroyth al law *and* gud pollycy, [* Page 177.]
 wych ys a maruelouse thynge, to see them wych were for good, made
 fyrst instytute for the mayntenance *and* setting forward ill. 659
 of true justyce *and* equitye, now to be the destructyoun
 of the same wyth al iniury.

31. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys ys no dowte, 664
 the *mynysters* be the gretyst cause of al such *mysor-*
durys; but yet thys may not be denyd, as me thynke,
 but that ther ys a lake also in the ordur of the law at
 the lest; for as much as hyt suffryth such delays by false
mynystres, *and* makyth no prouysyon therefore, hyt can
 not be excusyd. 669
 P. thinks minis-
 ters are the
 greatest cause of
 "misorders."

32. *Lvpset*.—Syr, as touchyng that, I aggre to you
 also, that ther ys a certayn lake also in the ordur of the
 law.

33. *Pole*.—That ys enough now to vs, whose purpos 673
 ys to serch out the *commyn errorys*, *fautys*, *and* *defectys*
 in our polytyke rule. Therfor let vs procede aftur the
 maner begun. Me thynke, to descende to thys parte,
 the ordur of our law also in the punnyschment of theft
 ys ouer-strayte, *and* faylyth much from gud cyuylyte. Punnyschment of
 theft.^t
 For wyth vs, for euery lytyl theft, a man ys by *and* by
 hengyd wythout mercy or pyte; wych, me semyth, ys
 agayne nature *and* humanyte, specyally when they steyle
 for necessaryte, wyt[h]out murdur or manslaughter com-
 myttyd therin. 682
 P. says for every
 little theft men
 are hanged with-
 out mercy.

34. *Lvpset*.—Syr, I can not tel why you schold cal L. says the
 punishment can-

¹ In margin of MS.

not be too severe:
it does not deter
[* Page 178.]
men from steal-
ing.

thys ordur ouer-strayte, wych ys not yet, by al hys
straytenes, suffycyent to make *felonys to be ware one
by another. I thynke yf we coud deuysse a punnysch-
ment more strayttur then deth, hyt were necessary to be
ordenyd *and* receuyd among vs; for you know the
690 gretenes of the offence ys such agayne the *commyn* wel,
wych dysturbyth al quyete lyfe *and* peacybul, that no
payne ys [equal] to the punnyschment therof.

P. m: intains his
point.

35. **Pole.**—Syr, yet, me thynke, a iuste moderatyon
were to be had therin; for though hyt be so that the
695 offens be grete agayne the *commyn* wele, yet when hyt
ys downe apon grete necessyte, *and* wythout murdur,
and at the fyrst tyme specyally, bettur hyt were to fynd
some way how the man myght be brought to bettur
ordur *and* frame; for by *and* by to heng hym vp, ys,
wythout fayle, ouer-strayte *and* to much seuerite. When
701 hyt ys downe wythout respect, specyally *consydering*
that hyt awaylyth not also to the repressyng of the
faute, as, by long tyme *and* many yerys, we haue had
proue suffycyent.

To hang him is
ouer severe.

Can you devise
any other plan?

36. **Lvpset.**—Syr, yf ther myght be a way deuysyd
by gud pollycy wherby they myght be brough[t] to some
707 bettur ordur, hyt were not to be refusyd, but necessary
to our purpos.

We shall see.

37. **Pole.**—That we schal se here aftur in hys
place; now hyt ys enough yf you wyl *confesse* hyt to
be ouer-strayte.

712
[* Page 179.]

38. **Lvpset.**—Yes, that ys no dowte, yf we coude
fynd a *way to *tempur* *and* *refrayne* thayr malyce by
other meane then by deth, as I thynke hereaftur you
wyl schow.

Punnyschment of
treson.¹
P. says the
punishment for
treason is too
severe.

39. **Pole.**—Sir, in hys place thys thyng I wyl not
omyt. But now to our purpos. A lyke seuerite I
fynd in the punnyschment of treson, wherby, you know,
not only the heyre *and* al the stoke losyth hys landys,

¹ In margin of MS.

but also the credytorys holly are defaytyd of theyr dette, 720
 what so euer hyt be, wythout respecte ; wych thyng ap-
 peryth ouerstrayte also.

40. **Lvpset.**—Syr, me thynke you pondur not wel L. thinks he does
not ponder the
greatness of the
crime.
 the gretnesse of thys faute, wych of al other ys the
 most haynouse. Wherfor the traytour ys not only to
 be punnyschyd in hys body *and* godys, but also in 726
 hys chyldur *and* frendys ; that, by hys exampul, other
 may beware of so grete a cryme.

41. **Pole.**—Syr, al thys were resonabul, ye, *and* ouer-
 lytyl, yf they were of counseyl wyth the traytour.

42. **Lvpset.**—That, by the law ys presupposyd *and* The prince may
pardon.
 vtturnly presummyd to be truth ; *and* in case be that they
 be not gylty at al, the prynce, yf he wyl, may pardon 733
 such punnyschment.

43. **Pole.**—That ys trothe ; but thys hangyth only A weak thread
that,
 apou the wyl of the prynce—a veray weke thred in such
 a case. Wherfor, as I sayd, an excepcyon were to be
 requyryd by the ordur of the law, wych apperyth ouer- 738
 strayte in that punnyschment, lyke as in the other be-
 fore reheryd.

44. **Lvpset.**—Syr, al be hyt here may *be much [* Page 180.]
and this L.
grants.
 spoken in thys mater agayne your sentence, yet by cause
 hyt leynyth to equyte *and* consyence, aftur my mynd
 also, I wyl not be obstynat, but graunt thys to you, lest 744
 I schold let you otherwyse then ys conuenyent now to
 our purpos.

45. **Pole.**—Ferther, also, in the accusyng of treson, Accusyng of
treson.¹
 ther ys, me semyth, ouer-grete lyberty ; for wyth vs, yf
 a man accuse a nother of treson, though he proue hyt
 not, yet he ys not punnyschyd, but frely pardonyd by
 the custume here vsyd, wych ys playn agayn al gud 751
 reson.

46. **Lvpset.**—Syr, in that I can not wel agre wyth In this L. cannot
agree.
 you ; for in so much as they cryme ys so grete, only

¹ In margin of MS.

755 suspycyon ys to be accusyd, wythout any dede, to the
 wych, yf ther were punnyschment greuus by the law
 appoyntyd, ther wold neuer be accusatyon tyl the dede
 were downe; *and* so the state of the commyn wele
 schold neuer be stabyl nor quyat. Wherfor, not wyth-
 760 out cause, apon suspycyon only, euery man may frely
 accuse other of treson.

Light causes of
 suspicion not to
 be admitted.

47. *Pole.*—*Master Lvpset*, you say in that ryght
 wel, that, bycause the cryme ys so grete, suspycyon only
 ys to be accusyd, so that hyt be probabyly conceyuyd ;
 765 for euery lyght suspycyon in such grete causys ys not
 to be admyttyd, as hyt ys wyth vs in custume *and* vse ;
and that ys the faute only that I fynd here in our
 cuntre.

[* Page 181.]
 He who accuses
 lightly should
 be punished.

48. * *Lvpset.*—Syr, he that apon lyght suspycyon
 accusyth any man of so grete cryme, surely were worthy
 to be punnyschyd. Thys I *can* not deny ; *and* so in
 772 admytting such lyght suspycyon to be accusyd, our law
 ys some what ouer-lyght agayn the accusarys.

P. now proposes
 to enter upon
 spiritual faults.

49. *Pole.*—Thes, *Master Lvpset*, are the most gen-
 eral thyngys touchyng the ordur of our commyn law,
 wych, among infynyte other, I haue pykyd out *and*
 777 thought to be notyd now at thys tyme, for the restoryng
 of a iust pollycy. Wherfor, except you remembyr any
 other, we may procede to the fautys in the sprytual
parte callyd ; for of thys body ther be also no smal
 mysordurys, *and*, *perauenture* grettur, then in thys.

Before this L.
 would mention
 another matter :

50. *Lvpset.*¹—Syr, you schal dow well, for me
 semyth you haue sayd metely in thys behalfe. How be
 hyt, I maruayle that one thyng you haue so let pas con-
 785 cernyng the commyn law, wych, though hyt be no faute
 in the ordur therof, yet me thynke hyt stondyth not
 wel. The thyng ys thys, that our commyn law ys
 wryten in the French tonge, *and* therin dysputyd *and*
 tought, wych, besyde that hyt ys agayne the commyn

Commyn law in
 French.²
 The common law
 is written in
 French,

¹ MS. Le.

² In margin of MS.

wele, ys also ignomynouse *and* dyshonowre to our natyon ; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subiection to the Normannys. Thys thyng apperyth to me not wel ; for *commyn* law wold euer be wryten in the *commyn* tong, that euery man that wold myght vnderstond the bettur such *statutys *and* ordynancys as he ys bounden to obserue. 790

and testifies to our subjection by the Normans.

[* Page 182.]

51. *Pole*.—Master *Lvpset*, thys ys wel notyd of you ; for surely thys ys a thyng that no man by reson may wel defend. *And* the same also ys in the law of the Church, wych apperyth to me no lesse necessary to be put in our mother tong then the other. 797

To which P. adds church-law in Latin.

52. *Lvpset*.—Syr, as touchyng that, here aftur in hys place we may examyn *and* try out the truth herin ; for, *peraventure*, the reson ys not al one. For by the reson therof we are in our cuntrey constreynynd to lerne the Latyn tong, wych ys necessary to them wych wyl lyue togyddur in gud cyuylte, bycause al the lyberal artys are conteynyd therin. 802

L. thinks Latin necessary.

53. *Pole*.—Wel, Master *Lvpset*, let vs not entur in to thys dysputatyon now, but euen, as you say, dyffer hyt to hys place, *and* now procede to the sprytualty, wherin the fautys are open to the world. *And* fyrst, *and* aboue al other, concernyng the authoryte gyuen to the hede, or els by many yerys vsurpyd apon vs tyrannycally—I mean the authoryte of the Pope. You know he takyth apon hym the dyspensatyon of al lawys stablyschyd by God *and* man, the wych by money hys offycerys dow sel ; as hyt wer proclaymyng aftur thys maner,² “ who so euer wyl breke such lawys *and* such, let hym bryng thys some of money, *and* I schal dyspense * wyth hym.” Thys ys a intollerabul vsage *and* custume. How thynke you, Master *Lvpset*,³ ys hyt not thys ? 809

P. notes the Pope's power and his dispensations,

Authoryte of the Pope.¹

[* Page 183.] which are intolerable.

54. *Lvpset*.⁴—Yes, truly abuse ther ys therin ; but 823

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. mater.

³ MS. le.

⁴ MS. Le.

824 yet in the law I can not tel; for necessary hyt ys to
 haue one hede to moderate *and tempur* the straytenes
 of the law, or els we schold haue veray oft general
 counsellys; *and*, besyde that, such authoryte commyth
 to hym *from* our Mastur Chryst, wych in the Gospel
 829 gaue that to Sayn Petur *and* to al hys successorys also.
 Wherfor that authoryte may not be taken away, except
 you wyl take away the ground of our relygyon wythal.

L. says the Pope's
 power is derived
 from Christ.

55. **Pole.**—Nay, *Master Lvpset*,¹ not so. I wyl not
 name any poynt of the Gospel at al. How be hyt, her-
 834 in ys grete *controuersy* nowadays, the wych I wyl not
 here examyn; but breuely I wyl schow you myn
 opynyon therin: take hyt yf you lyst. I thynke the
 authoryte gyuen to Sayn Petur was no thyng of that
 sort wych nowadays the Popys vsurpe, but hyt was only
 to declayre penytent heartys *contryte* for ther syn to be
 840 absoluyd *from* the faute therof, *and* that hyt schold be

P. says Peter's
 authority was
 not like that
 which popes
 usurp.

The power to
 dispense with
 laws was given
 to the pope and
 cardinals by man.

no more *imputyd* to them. *And* as for the *dyspensa-
 tyon* of lawys, wych aftur were ordeynyd by *man*, was
 also by *man* gyuen to the See of Rome. I mean not to
 the *person* of the Pope, but to hym *and* to his College
 of *Cardynallys also, wych, at the fyrst, were chosen
 by theyr vertue *and* lernyng, *men* of aunceyent wysdome
 847 *and* sage. They were *not* made by money, as they are
 now, *and* of al age, wythout respecte. Wherfor, thys
 ys my sentence:—the Pope hathe no such authoryte
 to *dyspense* wyth general lawys made by the Church,
 nother by the powar gyuen to hym by God, nor by *man*.
 For hys powar gyuen to hym by God extendyth only to
 the *absolutyon* of syn; and that wych by *man* was
 gyuen, was not gyuen only to hym, but to the hole
cumpany of the See of Rome: *and* so he, in abusyng thys
 powar, destroyth the hole ordur of the Church. Thys
 857 ys clere, as I coud by many storys *confyrme*, yf I
 thought ther were any dowte therin. But now, as I sayd,

[* Page 184.]

The power given
 by God extends to
 absolution of sin
 only.

¹ MS. le.

therfor I thynke I may affyrme grete mysordur to be in 859
the vsurpyng of thys authoryte.

56. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng the dyspensatyon, In this L. agrees.
wythout dowte grete faute ther ys ; *and* surely that he
hath no authoryte therto, but only by the consent of man,
me thynke schold be veray truth. Wherfor in the 864
abuse therof ys no les detryment to the law of the
Church, then ys to the commyn law here of our cuntre, [Page 185.]
by the prerogatyue of the prynce. Let vs therfor agre
apon thys.

57. **Pole.**—Of thys same ground spryngyth also Appelyng to
another grete mysordur, in appellatyon of such as be Rome.¹
callyd spiritual causys. In a grete cause nowadays, Appeal to Rome
sentence can not be sure nor fyrme ; for the one party is another
wyl by *and* by appele to Rome, as who say that wythin “misorder.”
our reame ther were nother wysdome nor justyce to ex- 873
amyn such materys. Thys ys not only grete hurte to
the commyn wele, but also grete schame *and* dyshonowre
to our cuntrey.

58. **Lvpset.**—Why, but then, me semyth, you wold L. pleads for the
no appellatyon, be the sentence neuer so iniuste, wych power of appeal.
ys agayne the ordur of any commyn wele. Whereas 880
appellatyon ys euer admyttyd to the hede *and* to hyar
authoryte. Wherfor, seyng you graunte the Pope wyth
hys College of Cardynallys to be hede, made and admyt-
tyd by the consent of man, you must nede admyt also
appellatyon therto. 885

59. **Pole.**—Syr, as touchyng thys, you say wel ; for In which P.
appellatyon I dow not vturly take away ; but I wold agrees.
haue hyt moderate, aftur gud reson, that euery tryfylyng
cause schold not be *referryd to Rome, as hyt hath byn
long in vse. [* Page 186.]

60. **Lvpset.**—As for that, I wyl graunte you to be a
grete faute, lyke as hyt ys in the commyn law by re-
mouyng of causys to London by wryte. 893

¹ In margin of MS.

P. What think
you of first fruits
to Rome?
Law of *Ænnatys*.¹

61. **Pole.**—Then let vs go forward. What thynke you by the law of *Ænnatys*? Ys hyt not vnresonabyl the fyrst frutys to run to Rome, to maynteyne the pompe
897 *and* pryde of the Pope, ye, *and* warre also, *and* dyscord among Chrystun pryncys, as we haue seen by long experyence?

L. thinks the
practice is
abused.

62. **Lvpset.**—Wel, *Sir*, that ys no more but to schow the abuse of the thyng; for the wych you may not vturly take away the ordynance of the law, wych
903 was euer for a gud purpos, as in thys. Thes fyrst frutys were appoyntyd, as I conyecture, to maynteyn the maiesty of our hede, *and* magnyfycence of the See, *and* also to defend our Church from the subiectyon of the ennemys of Chrystys fayth. Wherfor, bettur hyt were to prouyde
908 a gud vse of thes thyngys, then vturly to take them away.

[* Page 187.]

P. says the
Emperor should
defend the
Church.

63. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, to make you a breue answer, I thynke thes causys that you lay now haue no place. For, fyrst, as for the magnyfycence *and* maiesty of the Church stondyth *not in such possessyonys *and* pompe, but in stabylnes *and* puryte of Chrystyun lyfe: thys ys a thyng clere *and* manyfest. *And* as for the defence of the Church, [hyt] perteynyth not to the Pope *and* hys See, but rather to the Emperour *and*
918 other Chrystun pryncys: wherfor to pyl theyr cuntreys for thys purpos, ys not just nor resonabul; *and* thys schortly I thynke remaynyth no just cause wy thes annatys schold be payd to Rome.

L. says you harp
upon one string.

64. **Lvpset.**—Syr, I parceyue wel al thes thyngys henge apon one threde. You harpe apon one stryng contynually, wych in hys place I thynke you wyl tem-
925 pur. Therfor now, bycause I wyl not be obstynate *and* offend agayn my gost, denying the playn *and* manyfest truth, I wyl no more repugne in thes causys.

65. **Pole.**—The same mysordur that ys in appella-

¹ In margin of MS.

tyonys *and* annatys, also, to the See of Rome, ys also in appelyng to the Court of the Byschope of Canterbury, callyd the Arches, whether as causys are remouyd wythout examynatyon or sentence before gyuen in the dyosys.

Appelyng to the Arches.¹
Appeal to the Court of Arches a fault.

66. **Lvpset.**—Ther ys no dowte but ther ys also grete abuse therin. 934

67. **Pole.**—*And* what say [you] by the prerogatyfe gyuen to the same Byschope of Cantorbury, wherby he hath the probatyon of testamente *and* the admynstratyon of intestate godys, by the reson wherof they *be sequestryd from the profyt of al the frendys of hym wych so dyed intestate, *and* be spoylyd of the rauynys *and* pollyng offycerys? 941

Prerogatyf of Cantorbury.¹
Probate in the Archbishop's court an evil.
[* Page 188.]

68. **Lvpset.**—Syr, in thys ys also grete faute I can not deny.

69. **Pole.**—*And* what thynke you by the law *and* commyn ordynance wych permyttyth prestys, in such nombur as they are now, to be made at xxv yere of age —an offyce of so grete dygnyte to be gyuen to youth so ful of fraylty? Thys apperyth to me no thyng conuenient, *and* contrary to the ordynance of the Church at the fyrst instytutyon. 948

Yong prestys.¹
Young priests are another evil.

70. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, that ys truth, *and* that ys the cause that at that tyme prestys were of *perfayt vertue*, as now, contrary, they be ful of vanyte. 953

71. **Pole.**—*And* how thynke you by the law wych admyttyth to relygyon of al sortys, youth of al age almost; insomuch that you schal see some frerys whome you wold juge to be borne in the habyte, they are so lytyl *and* yong admyttyd therto? 959

Yong frerys.¹
Youths are admitted to religion.

72. **Lvpset.**—Surely of thys, aftur my mynd, spryngyth the destructyon of al gud *and* *perfayt* relygyon. For what thyng may be more contrary to reson then to see hym professe relygyon wych no thyng knowyth 963

They are its destruction.

¹ In margin of MS.

964 what relygyon menyth? Thys ys vndowtydly a grete erreure in al ordur of relygyon.

Celibacy should be abolished. Prestys maryage.¹

73. *Pole.*—*And* what thynke you by the law wych byndyth prestys to chastyte? Ys not thys, of al other, most vnresonabul, speccyally in such a multytude as ther ys now?

970 74. *Lvpset.*—Syr, in thys many thyngys may be sayd; but bycause I wyl not repugne agayne my conscyence, I wyl say as Pope Pius dyd, that grete reson in the begynnynge of the Church brought that law into the ordur of the Church; but now grettur reson schold

The law was introduced with good reason.

975 take the same away agayn, *and* so I wyl confesse that²²

[* Page 189.]

75. **Pole.*—*Master Lvpset*, you are veray esy in the admyssyon of thes fautys in the spirituality. I thynke you spye many thyngys amys in that ordur *and* 980 degre. Wherfor cesse not, I pray you, such to open as now come to your memory.

L. is afraid to tell all he knows on this subject.

76. *Lupset.*—Syr, as touchyng thys poynt, yf I schold recyte al that I know, I schold be tedyouse to you playnly herin. Wherfor I wyl not entur to that 985 campe, forbycause that you haue notyd such as be most capytal, wych, yf they were stoppyd, schold schortly remedy the rest, wherof I wold speke.

Having noted errors of law,

77. *Pole.*—Wel, then, *Master Lvpset*, seyng that we haue now examynyng the most general *and* commyn errorys wych we haue obseruyd to be in our law, both 991 sprytual *and* temporal, as they haue come to our remembrance now, let vs now here aftur, by lyke maner, examyn the custumys most commynly vsyd wych seme to repugne to gud cyuylyte.

errors of custom come next.

78. *Lvpset.*—Mary, Syr, thys ordur ys gud; for then we schal note *and* touch much wych ys now to our 997 purpos.

¹ In margin of MS.

² The remainder of this sentence is cut off in the binding.

79. **Pole.**—Fyrst *and* most pryncypal of al yl custumys vsyd in our cuntre commynly, aftur my jugement, ys that wych touchyth the educatyon of the noblyte, whome we see custummabyly brought vp in huntyng *and* haukyng, dysyng *and* cardyng, etyng *and* drynk-
yng, *and*, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, *and* vanyte. *And* that only ys thought to pertereyne to a gentyman, euen as hys propur fayte, offyce, *and* duty, as though they were borne therto, *and* to no thyng els in thys world of nature brought forth.

The evil educa-
tion of the
nobility.

Educatyon of
noblyte.¹

1002

1007

80. **Lvpset.**—Wy, Sir, I pray, what wold you haue them to dow? Go to plow *and* to carte, or to serue some other craft to get theyr lyuyng by, as a thyng requyryd of necessaryte?

L. asks what
Pole would haue.

81. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, what I wold haue them to dow now, the place ys not here to schow *and* declare, wych hereaftur I wyl not omyt; but that thys they dow hyt ys certayn, *and* to al men by experyence knowen; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys no smal destructyon of our commyn wele *that we now seke *and* desyre to see stab-
lyschyd here in our cuntre; for of thys poynt hangyth a grete parte of the veray welth of the hole commynalty.

P. will tell him
soon.

1014

[* Page 190.]

1019

82. **Lvpset.**—Surely thys thyng ys amys. Wherfor procede you ferther. I wyl not repugne agayn so manyfest a truthe.

83. **Pole.**—A nother yl custume among the nobyllys ther ys, that euery one of them wyl kepe a court lyke a prynce; euery one wyl haue a grete idul route to wayte apou hym, to kepe hym company *and* pastyme, as he that hath in hymselfe no comferte at al, nor wythin hys mynde, hart, *and* brest, no cause of inward re-
yoycyng, but hangyth only of vtward vanyte.

P. gives another
bad custom:
every noble keeps
a prince-like
court,

Keptyng of ouer-
grete housys.¹

1027

84. **Lvpset.**—Syr, me semyth you take thys mater much amys; for now-a-days in thys, as hyt ys commynly jugyd, stondyth the honowre of Englund.

1032

¹ In margin of MS.

and adds, in this stands, not the honour, but the beggary of England,

85. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lupset*, truly to say, in thys stondyth the beggary of Englonde, as we sayd before; speycially yf you consydyr what custume ther ys among them wyth al, both in theyr dyat and theyr appayrayl. For yf the nobylls, ye, *and* many of theyr *seruantys*, be not appayraylyd in sylkys *and* veluettys, they thynke they lake much of theyr honowre; *and* yf they haue not at dyner *and* souper xx dyschys of dyuerse metys, they lake they chefe poynt that *perteynyth* to theyr honowre, as they thynke, wych ys ryse *and* spronge of a long custume, noyful, wythout fayle, to the *commyn* wele many ways. For thys excesse in dyat bryngyth in manyfold sykenes *and* much mysery, lyke as thys *pompos* apparayle doth induce much pouerty. Thes are thyngys as clere to al men as the lyght *of the day.

*Pompos fare and apparayle.*¹

[* Page 191.]

1048 How thynke you, *Master Lvpset*, ys hyt not thys?

which L. can't deny.

86. *Lvpset*.—Truly thes thyngys I can not deny, *and* speycially thys custume of nuryschyng such an idul trayne dysplesyth me. Hyt ys a thyng vsyd in no cuntrey of the world I trow. A knyght or a mean gentylman schal haue as many idul men here wyth vs in Englonde as schal in France, Spayn, or in Italy, a grete lord, senyor of many townys *and* castellys.

87. *Pole*.—Why, but then, some man *perauenture*, wold say *and* ax, what dow they then wyth theyr possessyonys *and* ryches? Dow they hepe hyt togydur in coffurys *and* cornarys, wythout applying hyt to any profyt or vse?

They use their riches better in France.

88. *Lvpset*.—Nay, not so, *Sir*, but they mary theyr chyldur *and* frendys therwyth, *and* so kepe vp the honowre of theyr famyly therby. You schal neuer see non of any gud famyly, as they dow wyth vs, go a beggyng, or lyue in any grete mysery. They wyl suffur no such dyshonowre *and* schame; but wyth vs hyt ys contrary. I haue knowne yongur bretherne go a beg-

¹ In margin of MS.

gyng, where as the eldur hath tryumphyd *and* lyuyd in 1068
plesure, lyke a grete prynce of a cuntrey.

89. **Pole.**—Truly thys haue I knowne also. Wher- P. passes ou to
for I *can* not but laude that custume of straungerys, *and* evil customs in
dysprayse ourys also, wych ys so ferre frome al gud the Church.

gentylnes *and* humanyte, of the wych sort many other 1073
also be, but thes now touchyd as most general in the
temporalty. Let vs, *Master Lupset*, *now lykewyse loke [* Page 192.]

to the custumys of the sprytualty. How thynke you by
the maner vsyd wyth our byschoppys, abbotys, *and*
pryorys, towchyng the nuryschyng also of a grete sorte Nuryschyng of
of idul abbey-lubbarys, wych are apte to no thyng but, The idle lubbers¹
as the byschoppys *and* abbotys be, only to ete *and* kept by prelates.

drynke? Thynke you thys a laudabul custume, *and* to 1081
be admyttyd in any gud pollycy?

90. **Lvpset.**—Nay, surely thys I *can* not alow, hyt L. can't allow
ys so euydent a faute to euery mannys ye; for by thys this.
mean al the possessyonys of the Church are spent as yl
as they possessyonys of *temporal* men, contrary to the 1086

institutyon of the law *and* al gud cyuylyte.

91. **Pole.**—*And* what thynke [you] by the maner of Electyon of
electyonys, both of byschoppys, abbotys, *and* priorys.¹
wych are made other by the prynce or some other grete P. touches on
mannys authoryte? May thys be alowyd as a gud cus- the election of
tume in our cuntre? prelates,

92. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, yf the ordur of the law were ob- 1091
seruyd therin, hyt were no faute, *perauenture* at al, but
were ryght wele to be approuyd.

93. **Pole.**—But now, you must remembyr, we speke 1096
not of the maner of the law, but of vnresonabul custumys
wych haue more powar then any law, aftur they be by
long tyme *confermyd and* receyuyd *commynly*.

94. **Lvpset.**—Thys custume vndowtydly ys vnreson- which is
abyl, *and* grete destructyon of the gud ordur in the unreasonable;

¹ In margin of MS.

and the education
of the priests,
[* Page 193.]

Educatyon of the
clergy; they may
be brought vp in
monasterys tyl
they be of *perfayt*
vertue, and then
made prestys.¹

who are very
ignorant.

If priests were
only ignorant,
they might be
borne with,

but they are
vicious as well,

which even chil-
dren perceiue.
[* Page 194.]

95. **Pole.**—Ther ys a nother grete faute wych ys the ground of al other almost, *and* that *ys concernyng the educatyon of them wych appoynt themselfe to be men of the Church. They are not brought vp in *vertue and* lernyng, as they schold be, nor wel approuyd therin before they be admyttyd to such hye dygnyte. Hyt ys not conuenyent men wythout lernyng to occupy the place of them wych schold prech the word of God, *and* tech the pepul the lawys of relygyon, of the wych *com- mynly* they are most ignorant themselfe; for *commynly* you schal fynd that they *can* no thyng dow but pattur vp theyr matyns *and* mas, mumblyng vp a certayn 1109 *nombur* of wordys no thyng vnderstonde.

96. **Lvpset.**²—Sir, you say in thys playn truth; I *can* not nor wyl not thys deny.

97. **Pole.**—Ye, *and* yet a nother thyng. Let hyt be that they prestys were vnlernyd, yet yf they were of *perfayt* lyfe *and* studyouse of *vertue*, that by theyr *ex- ampul* they myght tech other, thys ignorance yet myght be the bettur suffuryd; but now to that ignorance ys joynyd al kynd of vyce, al myschefe *and* vanyte, in so 1124 much that they are *exampul* of al vycyouse lyfe to the lay pepul. How say [you], *Master Lvpset*, ys not thys also a playn truthe *and* manyfest?

98. **Lvpset.**²—Yes, truly, in so much that almost they infantys now borne into the lyght *perceyue* hyt playnly. Ther ys no man that lokyth *into our *maner* of lyuyng that may dowte of thys.

- 1131 99. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you are in thys materys veray esy to *persuade*. You make no obiectyonys, aftur your *maner* in other thyngys; wherfor I somewhat feare that we admyt ouer- quykly thes fautys in the Church, for some *priuat* hate that we bere agayne the 1136 prestys *and* prelatys therin.

100. **Lvpset.**—Syr, feare you no thyng [in] that

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. Le.

mater; for I promys you I wyl *and* dow pondur our 1138
manerys wythout affectyon or hate, but, as nere as I can,
wyth indyfferent judgement loke vnto them.

101. [Pole.]—*And* as for thys ignorance *and* vycy- P. says the people
ouse lyfe of the clergy, no man can hyt deny but he live much after
that, *peruerting* the ordur of al thyngys, wyl take the same
vyce for *vertue*, *and* *vertue* for vyce. *And* thought manner.
hyt be so that the *temporalty* lyfe much aftur the 1145
same trade, yet, me semyth, they are not so much to
be blamyd as they wych, for the puryte of lyfe, are
callyd *spiritual*; for as much as they schold be the
lyght, as hyt ys sayd in the Gospel, vnto the other, *and*
not only by word, but much more by *exampul* of lyfe, 1150
wherby chefely they schold induce the rude pepul to the
trayn of *vertue*. Wherfor surely thys ys no smal faute
in our custume of lyfe. To the wych we may joyne
also a nother yl custume, that prestys be not resydent
apon theyr *bunfyces*, but other be in the Court or in
gret mennys housys, ther takyng theyr plesure; by the
reson wherof they pepul lake theyr pastorys, wych
geddur the wol dylygently, wythout regard of the profyt
of theyr schype. 1159

He adds that
priests are non-
Resydence apou
bunfyces.¹
resident, and
live at court, or
in great men's
houses.

102. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys as clere as the lyght of
the sone. Wherfor I wyl not repugne therin; but I
wold wysch that you myght as esely hereaftur see the
way to amend such faute as we may se hyt.

103. *Pole*.—As touchyng that we schal se, *Master* 1164
Lupset, hereaftur. How be hyt, as you sayd before,
*hyt ys wythout fayle more esy to spye x fautys then
to amend one, and yet ij thyngys hyt ys to correk
[and] amend errorys in dede, *and* to schow the maner
and mean how they schold be reformyd *and* amendyd.
For as the one ys ful of hardnes *and* dyffyculty, *and* by
the prouydence of God, put only in the powar of pryncys 1171
of the world, so the other ys facyle *and* esy, and open

It is easy to see
faults;
[* Page 195.]
and then speaks
of the difficulty
of amending
them.

¹ In margin of MS.

- 1173 to euery prudent man *and* polytyke ; lyke as to schow the passage *and* way through rough *and* asper montaynys ys not hard nor ful of dyffyculty, but to passe the same ys no smal labur, trauayle, *and* payne. But now, thys set aparte, *Master Lupset*, let vs go forth *and* serch out other yl custumys, yf we remembyr any, here in our cuntre. *And* herin me thynkyth hyt ys an yl¹, custume in our Church vsyd, that as dyuyne *seruyce* ys sayd *and* song aftur such maner as hyt ys commynly ; as, fyrst, that hyt ys openly rehersyd in a straunge tonge,
- 1183 no thyng of the pepul vnderstond ; by the reson wherof the pepul takyth not that truth that they myght *and* ought to receyue, yf hyt were rehersyd in our vulgare tong. Second, touchyng the syngyng therof, they vse a fascyon more conuenient to mynstrellys then to deuoute mynystyrys of the dyuyne *seruyce* ; for playnly, as hyt ys vsyd, thys ys truthe, specyally consyderyng
- 1190 the wordys be so straunge *and* so dyuersely descantyde, hyt ys more to the vtward plesure of the yere *and* vayn recreatyon, then to the inward comfort of the hart *and* mynd *with* gud deuotyon. How say you, *Master Lvpset*, ys hyt not thys as I dow say ?
- 1194
104. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, in thys mater somewhat I maruayle what *you mean ; for you seme to allow, by your *communycatyon*, the Lutherany maner, whome I vnderstond³ to haue chaungyd thys fascyon long vsyd in the Church. They haue theyr *seruyce*, such as hyt ys, al in
- 1200 theyr vulgare tong openly rehersyd. I wold not that we schold folow theyr steppys. They are yl masturyrs to be folowyd in gud pollycy. But me thynk, by thys maner, you wold also haue the Gospel *and* al the sprytual law put into our tong ; *and* so by that mean you
- 1205 schold see as many errorys among vs here in Englund,

He goes on to notice the evil of having divine service in Latin.

Saying of *seruyce* in straung tong.²

Church music too elaborate, and better suited to recreation than devotion.

L. marvels that Pole should [* Page 196.] approve the Lutheran fashion

in the service ;

¹ MS. a nyl.

² In margin of MS.

³ "I vnderstond" marked through and "we haue" written over in MS.

as be now in Almayn among the Lutherans, in schort 1206
 space. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, I thynke hyt ys bettur but he would
 to kepe our old fascyon both in our dyuyne *seruyce* *and* rather things re-
 in kepyng the law in a straunge tonge, then by such main as they are.

105. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, I se wel in thys you 1211
 wyl not be so sone *persuadyd*, as in other thyngys be-
 fore you were. You are, me semyth, aferd lest we P. taxes him with
 schold folow the steppys of thes Lutherans, wych are being afraid.

Master Lvpset, fyrst you schal be sure of thys. I wyl 1216
 not folow the steppys of Luther, whose jugement I
 estyme veray lytyl; *and* yet he *and* hys dyscypullys be
 not so wykkyd *and* folysch that in al thyngys they
 erre. Heretykys be not in al thyngys heretykys. Wher- 1222

for I wyl not so abhorre theyr heresy that for the hate
 therof I wyl fly from the *truth. I alow thys maner [* Page 197.]
 of saying of *seruyce*, not bycause they say *and* affyrme
 hyt to be gud *and* laudabul, but bycause the truth ys
 so, as hyt apperyth to me, *and* the frute therof so many- 1227

fest; wych you schal also *confesse*, I thynk, yf you wyl
 consydur indyfferently the mater a lytyl wyth me.
 And fyrst, thys ys certayn *and* sure—that the dyuyne
seruyce was ordeynyd to be sayd in the Church for the
 edyfying of the pepul, that they, heryng the wordys of
 the Gospel *and* the exampullys of holy sayntys, pro-
 fessorys of Chrystys name *and* doctryne, myght therby
 be sterryd *and* mouyd to folow theyr steppys, *and* be 1235

put in remembrance therby of the lyuyng *and* doctryne
 of our *Master Chryst*, Hys apostyllys *and* dyscypullys,
 as the chefe thyng of al other to be pryntyd *and* grauyd
 in al gud *and* Chrystyan hartys. Wherfor, yf thys be
 true, as I thynke you can not deny, thys folowyth of 1240

¹ In margin of MS.

and must be said
in their own
tongue, or else
we must teach
them Latin.

- necessyte—that we must other haue the dyuyne seruyse to be sayd in our owne tong *commynly*, or els to pro-uyd some mean that al the pepul may vnderstond the Latyn *conuenyently*; wych I thynke surely was the
- 1245 purpos of the Romaynys, when they fyrst instytute al dyuyne *seruyse* to be rehersyd in that tong, euen lyke as hyt was of the Normannys at such tyme when they ordeynyd al our *commyn* lawys in the French tong to [be] taught *and* dysputyd. But now, *Master Lupset*, seeyng
- 1250 that thys ys not *conuenyent and* skant possybul as the state stondyth, I thynke hyt ys bothe necessary *and* expedyent to haue rehersyd thys dyuyne *seruyce* in our owne *vulgare* *tong; yee, *and* also touchyng the Gospel, to haue hyt holly in our tong to be *conuertyd*, I thynk of al most expedyent *and* necessary. For what reson ys hyt, men to be bounden to a law, *and* to loke therof not only the frute that ys of other *commyn* lawys, as cyuyle *concord* here in thys lyfe *and* polytyke justyce
- 1259 *and* vnyte, but also for euerlastyng lyfe *and* perpetual joy heraftur to be had by the obseruatyon therof; *and* by the brekyng *and* transgressyon of the same, perpetual *damnatyon*: *and* yet to haue hyt closyd in a straunge tong, as they pepul were no thyng bounden therto nor
- 1264 to them wryten? I trow thys be no reson, but playn madnes *and* foly. Hyt ys necessary, as I sayd before of the *commyn* law, to haue hyt *conuertyd* into our tong; but of the Gospel, surely hyt ys much more necessary *and* much more expedyent, so that hyt were wel *translatyd and* by wyse counseyl examynyd, that theyr be no errorys therin. For as touchyng the errorys that men run in now-a-days, vndowtydly hyt ys not by the reson of the Gospel put into the *vulgare* tong, but rather for lake of gud techarys *and* instructarys therin. Wherfor, that thyng wych *commyth* partely by the malyce of man, *and* partely for lake of gud pollycy,* ys in no case to be attrbytyd to the Gospel iustely; except we wyl at-

[* Page 198.]
The Gospel
ought to be
translated into
the vulgar
tongue, that it
may be read by
the people.

Errors do not
arise from the
Bible being
translated,

but from lack
of good teachers.
Evils which arise
from malice
ought not to be
attributed to the
[* Page 199.]
Gospel.

- trybut the cause of warr to wepun, *and* the cause of al 1277
 dyseasys to mete *and* drynke, *and* so vturly, therfor,
 cast away both wepun *and* mete *and* drynke. Hyt ys
 a commyn faute in resonyng, to lay a faute ther as non
 ys, *and* to note many thyngys as causys wych indede
 are not at al; as, aftur my mynd, in thys our purpos 1282
 you dow, *Master Lupset*. For surely thys dyuersyte of
 opynyon now-a-days reynyng, ys no thyng to be attri-
 bute to the commynyng of the Gospel in the vulgare
 tong. Of thys dowte you no more. Wherfor let vs
 wythout feare confesse thys to be a grete faute, *and* an
 yl custume vsyd in our Church,—that we haue not the
 Gospellys in our mother tong, *and* that we haue our
 seruyce sayd in a straunge tong, of the pepul not vnder-
 stond; *and* much more the maner of syngyng, wych al
 holly doctorys reprouyd in theyr tyme, when hyt was
 not so curyouse as hyt ys now. Dow no more but
 thynke, yf Saynt Augustyn, Jerome, or *Ambrose* herd 1294
 our curyouse dyscantlyng *and* canteryng in churchys,
 what they wold say. Surely they wold cry out apon
 them, *and* dryue them out of churchys to tauernys,
 comedys, *and* commyn plays, *and* say they were no thyng
 mete to kendyl *and* styr Chrystyan hertys to deuotyon¹ 1299
 **and* loue of celestyal thyngys, but rather to ster wanton
 myndys to vayn plesure *and* wordly pastyme wyth
 vanyte. Of thys, *Master Lvpset*,² aftur my mynd, ther
 ys no more dowte; how thynke you now?
106. *Lvpset*.—Sir, your communyng hathe 1304
 brough[t] me to a depe consyderatyon, wherby, truly, I
 perceyue wel, that many thyngys here in manyns lyfe,
 aftur they be vsyd, *and* by commyn opynyon many
 yerys admyttyd, though they be neuer so repugnant to
 reson *and* gud humanyte, yet to pluk them out of 1309

Do not lay faults
 where there are
 none.

It is a great fault
 that we haue
 not the Gospels
 in our mother
 tongue,

and that our
 singing is so
 "curious,"

[* Page 200.]
 that it is more
 fitted to please
 than to profit.

L. speaks of the
 difficulty

¹ At the bottom of this page of the MS. the following words are written:—Prouysyon to stoppe folysch wrytarys *and* lyght bokys of the gospel.

² MS. le.

and danger of
changes.

mennys hertys *and* myndys, hyt ys hard *and* ful of gret dyffyculty ; in so much that, al reson to the contrary, a grete wyle schal appere no reson at al, as in thys ex-
1313 ampul we may take manyfest experyence. For, vndowtydly, reson concludyth bothe necessary *and* expedyent to be, to haue al lawys in the vulgare tong, as hyt hathe byn always to thys day vsyd in al other cuntreys *and* wel instytute commyn welys ; as in Rome, Athenys, *and* Lacedemonia. *And* yet our pepul, beyng long custumyd to the contrary, wyl not only thynke hyt straunge *and* erronyouse, but also, at the fyrst begynnyng, schal juge al relygyon to be turnyd therby vp-so-downe, ye,

The people
having been long
used to the old
custom, will
think the new
onc erroneus.

and vturly destroyd ; such ys theyr blyndnes *and* foly only by long tyme rotyd in hart. Notwythstondyng, Master Pole, I thynke now, to vs wych seke the mean most conuenyent to restore the perfayt state before of you descrybyd, hyt must nedys appere necessary to haue al lawys, both of relygyon, *and* cyuyle *and* polytyke, in
1322 our mother tong conuertyd, *and* al dyuyne seruyce both to be sayd *and* song in the same in euery church commynly.

But he agrees
with Pole that
the service should
be in English.

[* Page 201.]

And *so, consequently, I am agreed wyth you to take thys as an yl¹ custume, repugnyng to our purpos, to haue al cloyd in thys straunge tong of the old Romanys, or
1333 rather of other barbarus pepul wych succedyd them.

The privileges
of the clergy
ought not to be
allowed.

Exempton of
prestys *and*
relygyouse.²

107. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, you say wel. But how say [you] by the pryuylegys wych, partely by lawys *and* partely by long prescryptyon of tyme *and* custume, are gyuen to the Church *and* ecclesyastycal personys ? Thynke you that thys ys conuenyent, that prestys schold neuer for no offence be callyd before a secular juge *and* punnyschyd temporally, yf they³ offend in
1341 such fautys as requyre temporal punnyschment ; as robbery, murdur, *and* theft, *and* such other lyke casys ?

L. would yield
something to
their dignity.

108. **Lvpset.**—Sir, I wold some thyng schold be gyuen to the dygnyte of presthode, *and* that they

¹ MS. a nyl.

² In margin of MS.

³ MS. he.

schold not be punnyschyd wyth so grete seuerite as 1345
other be.

109. **Pole.**—I wot not what you mean by your
gyuyng somewhat to the dygnyte of presthode. Wold
you that therby they schold escape punnyschement
rather then other? Me semyth, contrary, yf they dow
amys, they schold be more punnyschyd, *and* rather then
other; forasmuch as the faute in them ys more greuus
then hyt ys in other. *And* so, by that mean, they schold

P. thinks if they
do amiss they
should be more
severely punished
than others.

1353

be compellyd,* at the lest by feare of punnyschment,
wheras by loue they can not be inducyd, to dow that
thyng wherin stondyth the veray dygnyte of presthode,
and so be worthy to be honowryd indede. For thys ys
sure—that only for theyr vertue they schold be hon-
owryd, *and* therby from the commyn pepul, as hyt
were, exemptyd, wych yf they folow, the pepul schal
gyue them gladly al worthy honowrys, *and* nurysch

[* Page 202.]

Priests should
be honoured for
their virtues.

1361

them wyth theyr laburys *and* tranayle, in grete quyetnes
and tranquyllite; *and* thys exemptyon indede ys to be
gyuen to the dygnyte of presthod, *and* not that they
may haue lyberty, wythout punnyschement, to offend al
lawys frely. For by thys mean, as me semyth, al the
dygnyte of presthode ys vturly dekeyd; for-as-much

They must not
be allowed to
transgress all
laws.

1367

as by the reson of such priuylege grauntyd of pryncys
to the dygnyte of them, euery lude felow, now-a-days,
and idul lubbur, that can other rede or syng, makyth
hymselfe prest, not for any loue of relygyon, but for by-
cause, vnder the pretense therof, they may abase them
selfe in al vayn lustys *and* vanyte, wythout punnysche-
ment or reprove of any degre: such ys theyr priuylege
and exemptyon. How say [you], *Master Lvpset*, ys
hyt not thys?

The evil con-
sequences of their
privileges.

1372

110. **Lvpset.**—Sir, I can not wel tel what I schal say,
your resonys are so probabyl; specyally consydering
that, among themselfys *and* in theyr spiritual courtys,
they haue no *punnyschement determyd by law con-

L. confesses that
the spiritual
courts have
failed

[* Page 203.]

in not punishing
crimes.

uenyent to such fautys *and* crymys of them commyttyd,
wych yf they had, yet me thynke hyt schold be more
conuenyent that they causys schold be intretyd before
they owne jugys. But now, seyng they are ouer-fauer-
abyl therin, I can not but confesse thys priuylege to
1386 be *pernycyouse*, specyally in such a multytud of ryb-
baudys as be now-a-days in the ordur of presthode.
Such pryuylege, at the fyrst begynnyng of the Church,
when prestys were *per fayt and* pure of lyfe, were veray
expedyent, *and*, breuely to say, no les then they be now
1391 dysconuenyent.

What about
exemption of
abbeyes, &c.,
from bishops?
Exemptyon from
byschoppys.²

111. [**Pole.**]*—And* what thynk¹ you by exemptyon
of relygyouse housys *and* collegys from theyr byschoppys
to the See of Rome. Ys thys resonabyl?

1396 112. **Lvpset.***—Syr*, yf they byschoppys dyd no
offyce therin accordyng to the ordur of the law, as they
dow not, wherin lyth a grete faute also, as hyt ys open
to euery mannys yes, that thyng were vndowtydly to be
reprouyd; but as the world ys, I can not myslyke that
at al: for though they be not wel, yet they be in bettur
case then they other.

I. does not
"mislike" this.

1402 113. **Pole.***—Thys ys enough that you grant both to
be nought.*

114. **Lvpset.**³*—That can not be denyd.*

The privilege of
sanctuary seems
a mischief to
Pole, as it may
encourage man
to crime.

1409 115. **Pole.***—And* what thynke you by priuylegys
grantyd to churchys *and* al say[n]tuarys? Can you juge
them to be conuenyent? Thynke you that hyt ys wel,
a man when he hath commyttyd wylful murdur, or out-
ragyouse robbery, or of purpos deceyuyd hys credytorys,
to run to they sayntuary wyth al hys godys, *and* ther
to lyue quyetly, inyoing al quyetnes *and* plesure? Thys
thyng, me semyth, ys a playn occasyon of al myschefe
and mysery, *and* causyth much murdur in our cuntrey

1414 *and* natyon. For who wyl be aferd to kyl hys ennemy,

[* Page 204.]

* yf he may be sauyd by the pryuylege of sayntuary?

¹ MS. thyng.

² In margin of MS.

³ MS. Le.

116. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, to defend thys me thynke ther ys no reson. How be hyt, for the saueguard of mannys lyfe, I thynke hyt gud that such holly placys schold haue priuylege, at the lest that hys ennemy may not pluke hym out at hys lyberty, nor yet in such place to venge hys iniury. 1418

L. thinks it need not be defended.

117. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, as touchyng that, we schal see in hys place. Hyt ys enough now that you se grete mysordur therin. 1423

118. *Lvpset*.—Yes, surely, that ys no dowte.

119. *Pole*.—Thys, *Master Lvpset*, you haue now hard such mysordurys as come to my remembraunce now at thys tyme, bothe concernyng our *commyn* lawys and custumys of our cuntrey ; by the reson w[h]erof our *commyn* wel stondyth not in the *perfayt* state, wych we haue before descrybyd. Wherfor, bycause hyt ys late we wyl now dyffer the rest of our *communycatyon* tyl to-morow, except you remembyr any other wych we haue not spoken of yet. 1428

P. proposes to adjourn.

1434

120. *Lvpset*.—Syr, I thynke you haue notyd the most general *fautys concernyng both lawys and custume also. How be hyt, bycause we speke of custume, ther cummyth to my remembrance a nother yl custume, concernyng the thyng wych, by hys *propur* name, we cal custume, and, I trow, rysyth nother of law nor yet of resonabyl custume. The thyng ys thys, the grete custume payd by marchauntys for bryngyng in of *commoditytes* to our reame. They pay ouer-much, by the reson wherof, they haue les wyl to trauayle for the *commodityte* of the rest of the *commynys*. Wherfor we lake many thyngys that we myght haue, or at the lest much bettur chepe then we haue *commynly*. 1443

[* Page 205.]

L. has one more ill custom :

Custume.²

it is the excessive dues on imports.

121. *Pole*.—Syr, thys ys truthe that you say ; but I trow thys was notyd at the lest in general, when we spaके of the lake of thyngys to be brought in by our 1450

P. says it was noted before.

¹ MS. Le.

² In margin of MS.

1451 *merchantys*. Notwythstondyng hyt was wel remem-
bryd. Wherfor, yf you haue any other of the same
sorte, *present* them to remembrance.

122. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, I remembyr non other now at
thys tyme, *and* yf case be that any come to my memory,
1456 hyt schalbe no thyng amys to put them forth in our
[* Page 206.] *communycatyon*, that we schal haue² *to-morow,³ when
we schal speke of the restoryng of thes fautys rehersyd
before.

They adjourn.

123. *Pole*.—Nay, Mastur *Lvpset*,¹ bycause thys
mater ys grete, let vs dyffer hyt ij or iij days,³ that
we come somewhat the bettur instructe to such a grete
cause.

1464 124. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, you say wel, *and* so let hyt be.

¹ MS. Le.

² The following words are written at the bottom of this
page of the MS. :—Abuse in *prynting* of al bokys wyth
priuylege.

³ Compare “yesturday’s *communycatyon*” in line 17 on
next page.

[END OF PART I.]

[P A R T II.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1. [Pole.]—**Master Lvpset*,¹ to schow you in the begynnyng the dyfficulty of thys day's *communycatyon*, I am sure hyt nedyth nothyng at al, wych oft-tymys haue before had in your mouth thys saying (wych to-day we schal *perceyue* truth)—that much esyar hyt ys to spye a hundred *fautys* in a *commyn* wele, then to amende one; euen lyke as hyt ys in *mannys* body of corporal *dyseasys*, they wych of euery *man* may wel be *perceyuyd*, but of euery *man* they *can* not be curyd. 9

Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, yf we haue put any *dylygence* before in serchyng out the nature of a true *commyn* wele, *and* they *lakkys* *and* *fautys* therof in ourys, we must now thys day put much more, for as much as the processe of our *communycatyon* hytherto ys but of lytyl or no value, except we fynd out *conuenyent* remedies prudently to be applyd to such *sorys* *and* *dyseasys* in our *polytyke* body before notyd in yesturday's *communycatyon*. Therefore, *Master Lvpset*, me thynke we schal dow wel yf, in our fyrst begynnyng, we cal to Hym who, by Hys *incomparabul* *gudnes* *and* *incomprehensybyl* *wisdom*e, made, *gouernyth*, *and* *rulyth* al thyngys, *that hyt may plese Hym so, by Hys Holy *Spryte*, from whom to *mankynd* *commyth* al *gudnes*, *vertue*, *and* *grace*, to² *yllumynate* *and* *lyght* our *hartys* *and* *myndys* (wych wythout hym *can* no *truthe* *perceyue*) 25

[* Page 1.]
P. says their
undertaking is
difficult,

and will be useless
if no remedy is
proposed for the
diseases of the
country,

and he appeals to
God to illuminate
their hearts and
minds.

[* Page 2.]

¹ MS. Lep.

² MS. so to.

26 that we may see the conuenyent mean of restoryng to
our polytyke body hys *perfayt* state *and* *commyn* welth,
of vs before describyd ; wych, yf we desyre wyth pure
affecte *and* ardent mynd, I dowte no thyng but we schal
hyt optayne.

In which L.
heartily joins,

2. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say ryght wel ; for yf the old
wrytarys *and* poetys, in describyng of storys *and*

33 other theyr fansys, callyng to the musys *and* to theyr
goddys, thought therby to optayne some spryte, succur,
and ayde, to the furderyng of theyr purpos, how much
more ought we of the Chrystyan floke in such a grete
cause, wych to our hole natyon may be so profytabul,

remembering the
promise of God.

38 surely to trust of succur *and* ayd ; specially *consydering*
the promes of God made to vs hys faythful *and* approuyd
pepul, wych in hys Gospel hath promysyd to vs, surely
to optayne what so euer we ax of hys Father in hys
name, that ys to say, what so euer vndowtydly schal
redounde to hys *veray glory *and* true honowre.

[* Page 3.]

44 3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, that ys wel admonyschyd
of you. Wherfor, *Master Lupset*, let vs now take thys
occasyon wych now ys present. Here in thys chapel
by *and* by schal be a mas sayd in the honowre of the
Holy Goste, the wych we may fyrst here, *and* wyth pure
49 hart *and* affecte cal for that lyght of the Holy Spryte,
wythout the wych mannys hart ys blynd *and* ignorant
of al vertue *and* truthe.

They hear a
Mass in honour
of the Holy
Ghost.

4. *Lvpset*.—*Master Pole*, so let hyt be ; *and* then,
aftur masse, we may retorne to thys place agayne, as I
54 trust, lyghtyd wyth some celestyal lyght to furnysch
our profytabul *communycatyon* thys day instytute.

Having heard
Mass,

5. *Pole*.—Now, *Master Lvpset*, syn we haue hard
mas, *and* aftur that, as I trust, we haue *conceyuyd* some
sparkyl of the celestyal lyght, let vs fyrst breuely de-
clare the ordur *and* processe of that wych we wyl talke
60 of thys day, that our *communycatyon* may not vt-

turly be spent in wanderyng wordys *and* waueryng 61
sentence.

6. *Lvpset*.—Syr, that ys wel sayd; for, aftur myn
opynyon, al obscuryte *and* darkenes, both in wrytyng
and in al communycatyon, spryngyth therof.

7. *Pole*.—Syr, in thys processe we wyl take nature
for our exampul, *and*, as nere as we can, folow hyr
steppys, wych, in the generatyon of the nature of man,
*fyrst formyth hys body, wyth al conuenient instru-
mentys to the setting forth of the natural bewty conue-
nyent to the same, *and* aftur puttyth in the prec[y]ouse
and dyuyne nature of the soule—a sparkyl of the godly 72
and eternal reson. So, fyrst, we wyl—receyuyng of

P. proceeds to
describe the
course to be
taken, and sug-
gests that

[* Page 4.]

nature the mater therof—forme *and* adorne thys po-
lytyke body wyth al thyngys conuenient *and* expedyent
to the same; *and* then, secondaryly, intrete *and* touch
al such thyngys as perteynyth to the polytyke gourn- 77
ance of the same body;—thys general rule of exper-
tphysycyonys, in curyng of bodyly dyseasys, as much as
we can, euer obseruyng,—that ys to say, fyrst to inserch
out the cause of the dyseasys, wythout the wych the
applying of remedys lytyl avaylyth. 82

the order of
nature should be
followed,

8. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ordur lykyth me wel, wych
agreth much wyth our processe before taken; for euen
lyke as we haue, obseruyng thys ordur, found out the
mysordurys in our commynalty, so hyt ys veray con-
uenient by the same ordur to reson of the remedys 87
expedyent for the same.

which suits L.
well.

9. *Pole*.—Wel, Master *Lvpset*, then, let vs procede.
Fyrst, yf you remembyr, aftur that we had declaryd
what hyt ys that we cal the true commyn wele, *and*
aftur began to serch out such commyn fautys *and* lakkys
as we coud fynd in our cuntrey concernyng the same, 93
we agreed that we haue, consyderyng the place *and* fer-
tylyte therof, grete lake of pepul, the multytude wher-

P. recapitulates
a part of what
has been said,

Consumptyon.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

- 96 of ys, as hyt were, the ground *and* fundatyon of thys
 [* Page 5.] our *commyn* *wele ; the wych lake we callyd, as hyt
 were, a *consumptyon* of the polytyke body, of the wych
 now, fyrst, ys requyryd to enserch out the cause : the
 wych, *Master Lvpset*, schal not be hard for to dow. For
 thys ys a necessary truth :—in as much as man growyth
 not out of rokkys nor of tres, as fabullys dow fayne, but
 spryngyth by natural generatyon, thys lake must nedys
 come as of a pryncypal cause, that man doth not apply
 theyr study to natural procreatyon. For though hyt be
 so that many other exteryor causys may be therof, as
 107 batyl *and* pestylens, hungur *and* dARTH, wych haue in to
 many cuntreys brought penury of pepul, as we may by
 experyence see in many cuntres desolate therby ; yet
 now, to our purpos, the pryncypal cause of our lake of
 pepul can not be attribute therto. *And* yet yf percase
 112 hyt were so in dede, the way *and* mean to suffice, mul-
 typly, *and* encrease them agayn to a conuenyent nombur,
 ys only natural generatyon. Thys may not be in any
 case denyd. How say you, *Master Lvpset*, ys hyt
 not so ?
10. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, thys ys no dowte ; thys ys the
 only way to increse, not only man by the course of na-
 ture, but al other lyuyng creaturys here apou erth wych
 are not gendryd by putrefactyon.
11. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, then we must now
 deuys the mean for the remouyng of such impedymenty
and lettys as be to thys cause, *and* so to allure man to thys
 124 natural procreatyon, aftur a cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke
 fascyon. For though nature hath gyuen to man, as to al
 other bestys, natural inclynatyon to hys increse ; yet, by-
 cause man ys only borne to cyuylte *and* polytyke rule,
 therfore he may not, wythout ordur or respecte, study to
 the satysfactyon of thys natural affecte. *And* for thys
 cause hyt hath byn ordeynyd, I trow, from the fyrst gener-
 atyon of man, that he schold coupul hymselfe in laful
- and then de-
 scribes the lack
 of people, and
 the remedy :—
- natural genera-
 tion,
- which L. says is
 the only way to
 increase man and
 all creatures.
- How man is to
 be allured to
 this natural
 procreation,
- and how he is to
 be enticed to
 matrimony.

matrymony, *and* so therby multiply *and* increse. So that 132
 thys remenyth, *Master Lvpset*, in thys mater, now specy-
 ally to vs, hauyng the lyght of Chrystys Gospel, to de-
 uyse *some waye to intyse man to thys laful maryage [* Page 6.]
and couplyng togydur. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*,¹ thys
 you schal vnderstand *and* take as a ground for the rest
 of al our *communycatyon* of thys day folowyng:—that 138
 yf man wold folow euer ryght reson *and* the iugement
 therof, remembryng alway the excellence *and* dygnyte
 of hys nature, hyt schold be no thyng hard to bryng
 man, wythout many lawys, to true cyuylyte; hyt schold
 be nothyng hard to remedy al such fautys as we haue
 befor found in our *commynalty*. But, *Master Lvpset*, 144
 thys hathe byn tryde by processe of thousandys of yerys,
 thys hath byn *concludyd* by the most wyse *and* polytyke
 men:—that man, by instructyon *and* gentyl exhortacyon,
 can not be brought to hys *perfectyon*. Wherfor hyt
 was necessary to descend to the *constytutyon and* or-
 dynance of lawys cyuyl *and* polytyke, that where as 150
 man, blyndyd by affectys *and* vanytes therof, wold not
 folow the trade of ryght reson, he schold, at the lest by
 feare of punnyschment, be *constraynyd* to occupy hym-
 selfe *and* apply hys mynd to such thyngys as were con-
 uenyent to hys excellent nature *and* dygnyte; *and* so
 at the last, by long custume, be inducyd to folow *and* 156
 dow that thyng for the loue of vertue wych befor he
 dyd only for fere of the punnyschment *prescrybyd* by
 the law. Thys ys the end *and* vertue of al law, thys
 ys the faute that *commyth* therof, that man, custumyd
 other for feare of payne or desyre of reward, myght 161
 folow the *prescryptyon and* ordynance therof; *and* so,
 fynally, only for loue folow vertue *and* fly from vyce,
 as that thyng wych, yf ther were no payne *prescrybyd*
 by law, yet he wold abhorre as a thyng contrary to the
 nature of man *and* to hys dygnyte. Thys thyng, 166

If man would but follow reason, faults could be remedied;

Plato igitur in su 'Republica' nullas telit leges.²

but he cannot be brought to perfection by instruction;

only the fear of punishment can compel him to do right,

which is the end of all law.

¹ MS. le.

² In margin of MS.

- 167 *Master Lvpset*, wych breuely I haue touchyd, yf al men coud' perceyue, as I sayd before, hyt schold be lytyl nede of many lawys ; but for bycause the multytude of men be so corrupt, frayle, *and* blyndyd wyth pestylent affectys, we must *consydr* the imbecyllyte of them *and* wekenes of mynd, *and* apply our remedye accordyng therto, *folowyng the exampul of *experte* physycyonys, wych
- In this communication we must consider man's weakness of mind,
[* Page 7.]
- 174 are *constraynyd* to worke in theyr scyence accordyng to the nature of theyr patyentys. Thys we must now dow, *and* here aftur also, in the rest of our *communitatyon* ; euer studyng some meane to allure the grosse *and* rude pepul to the folowyng of that wych we schal
- and try to discover some means to allure him to do as he ought ;
- 179 juge necessary to be downe for the *conseruatyon* of gud cyuyllyte. As now, to retorne to our purpos agayne, seyng that matrymony ys the only or chefe mean polytyke to increse thys multytude to a just nombur agayne, we must both by *priuylege and* payne induce men therto, *and* study to take away al obstaculys *and* lettys wych
- that is, to marry.
- 185 we fynd therto ; in the wych thyng, *Master Lvpset*, let me here some what of your mynd.
12. *Lvpset*.—Syr, bycause you wyl so, thys I schal say, as touchyng the obstaculys *and* lettys wherof you speke. You put me in remembrance of a thyng wych
- 190 to you I dare speke ; for I wot not whether I may speke thys a-brode, but in that I submytt myselfe to your judgement. The thyng ys thys :—I haue thought long *and* many a day a grete let to the increse of *Chrystun* pepul, the law of chastyte ordeynyd by the Church, whych byndyth so gret a multytude of men to lyue ther-
- L. refers to the law of chastity in the Church as a chief hindrance to the increase of population,
- 196 aftur ; as al secular prestys, monkys, frerys, channonyes, *and* nunnys, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal nombur, by the reson wherof the generatyon of man ys maruelously let *and* mynyschyd. Wherfor, except the ordynance of the Church were (to the wych I wold
- 201 neuer gladly rebel) I wold playnly juge that hyt schold

be veray conuenient somethyng to relese the band of
 thys law ; specyally consydyeryng the dyffyculty of that
 grete vertue, in a maner aboue nature, for the wych, as
 I thynke, our mastur Chryst dyd not bynd vs therto by
 hys precept *and* commandement, but left hyt to our ar-
 bytryment whether we wold study to stryue agayne
 nature, whose instyncte only by specyall grace we may
 ouercome. Wherfore hyt apperythe to me, to releyse
 thys law veray necessary. 202

and would have it
 repealed.

13. *Pole.*—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys wych you say
 ys not al wythout reson. Wherfor notwythstandyng
 ther be grete argumentys of the contrary parte, yet by-
 cause we wyl not as many physycyonys dow, wych,
 wyle they dyspute of the dysease, let theyr patyentys
 dye ; *so now in thys place, when we seke remedy,
 consume the tyme in argumentatyon, but breuely
 therin schow you myn opynyon, wych much agreth
 vnto you. For thys I thynke, *Master Lvpset*, to be a
 playn truth :—that euen lyke as thys ordur of chastyte,
 at the begynnyng of the Church *and* setting forth of
 Chrystys relygyon, was for that tyme veray expedyent
and necessary, so, for thys tyme, al cyrcumstance con-
 syderyd, hyt ys no lesse conuenient the rygoure of the
 same somewhat to relese ; for thys ys the nature of al
 mannys ordynance *and* cyuyle law, that, accordyng to
 the tyme, person, *and* place, they be varyabul, *and* euer
 requyre prudente correctyon *and* due reformatyon. 215

P. thinks this
 law was expedient
 in the beginning,
 but that it is
 not now,

[* Page 8.]

Wherfor in thys mater I thynke hyt were necessary to
 tempor thys law, *and*, at the lest, to gyue *and* admyt al
 secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberty, consydyryng
 now the grete multytude *and* nowmbur of them. But
 as touchyng monkys, chanonnys, frerys, *and* nunnys, I
 hold for a thyng veray conuenient *and* mete, in al wel-
 ordeynynd commyn welys, to haue certayn monasterys
and abbeys ; to the wych al such as, aftur laful proue
 221

and, as laws may
 be changed,

he would allow
 secular priests to
 marry.

He would have
 abbeys

for such as are inclined to chastity.

of chastyte before had, may retyre, *and* from the besynes *and* vanyte of the world may wythdraw¹ themselfe, holly gyuyng theyr myndys to prayar, study, *and* hie contemplayon. Thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from Chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete

242 comfort to many febul *and* wery soulys, wych haue byn oppressyd wyth wordly vanyte. But as touchyng the secular prestys, I vtturly agre wyth you, *and* so that obstacul to take away, wych lettyth by many ways the increse of our pepul, as many other thyngys dow more

Serving-men do not marry.

247 also ; among the wych a nother chefe, aftur my mynd, ys thys :—the grete multytude of *seruyng* men, wych in *seruyce* spend theyr lyfe, neuer fyndyng mean to marry conuenyently, but lyue alway as *commyn* corruptarys of chastyte. Wherfor ther wold be, as I thynke, an ordynance that no *gentylmen*, nor other of the nobylte, take to hys *seruyce* grettur nombur of men then he ys abul to promote *and* set forward to some honest fascyon of lyuyng *and* lawful matrymony ; *and* so by thys mean the multytude of them *schold be

The remedy :—do not allow the nobility to keep more than they can set forward in matrimony.

[* Page 9.]

257 mynyschyd gretely. And for bycause that many ther be now wych can not fynd gud occasyon of maryage, bycause of pouerty *and* lake of arte *and* craft to lyue, I wold thynke conuenyent, for as much as we haue many wyld[ys] *and* wastys in our cuntrey, that the prynce *and* other nobul men schold byld them housys in placys

Give those who marry, a house and a portion of the waste lands,

263 conuenyent ; appoyntyng therto certayn portyon of theyr wast groundys, forestys, *and* parkys, wherof they take lytyl or no profyt at al, *and* gyue such tenementys to theyr *seruantys*, theyr heyrys, *and* assygnys, paying yerly a lytyl portyon as a chefe rent *and* recognysance of theyr lord. By the wych mean, as I thynke, they grete nombur of them wold be glad to set themselfe to matrymony ; *and* so we schold not only haue the pepul

demanding only a nominal rent.

271 incresyd in nombur, but also the waste groundys wel

¹ MS. wythdray.

occupyd *and* tylyd, wych ys in our cuntrey, as we haue 272
sayd before, a grete rudenesse *and* faute. Thys thyng
schold much intyse men to maryage, specyally yf we
gawe vnto them also certayn pryuylegys *and* prerogatyf, Privileges to
aftur the maner of the old *and* wyse Romanys ; as to al those who have
such as by matrymony incresyd the pepul wyth v. chyl- five children.
dur, that they schold pay nother taske nor talage, 278
cept he were worth a hundred markys in guddys ; nor
he schold not be *constraynyd* to go forth to warre, ex- Don't compel
cept he wold of hys owne voluntary wyl, wyth such them to go to
other lyke immunytes *and* pryuylegys, as may easely be the wars.
founde. *And* not only aftur thys maner allure them 283
to the procreatyon of chyldur, but also certayn paynys
prescrybyng to them wych from matrymony for theyr
plesur wold abstayne. As, fyrste, they schold euer lake
al such honowre *and* exy[s]tymatyon as ys gyuen to
maryed men, *and* neuer to bere offyce in theyr cyte or 288
towne where they abyde ; and, besyde thys, me semyth
hyt were a conuenyent payne, that euery bachelor, ac- Bachelors to be
cordyng to the portyon of godys *and* landys, schold taxed one
yerely pay a certayn summe, as hyt were of euery shilling in the
pound,
pownde *xij d.*, wych yerely cumyth in, other by fe,
wagys, or land ; *and* euery man that ys worth in 294
mouabul godys aboue *iiiiij li.*, of euery pound, *ij d.* ; the
wych some schold euer be reseruyd in a commyn place
to be dystributyd *partely* to them wych haue more
chyldur then *they be wel abul to nurysch, *and* *partely*
to the dote of pore damosellys *and* vyrgynys. *And*
yf case be that they wych thys abstayne vturly from
maryage dye in that maner, they schold be *constraynyd*,
by ordur of law, to leue the one halfe of al theyr gudys
to be dystributyd aftur the maner before prescrybyd ;
and prestys the hole : euer *prouysyon* made that no-
thyng schold be alenat to the fraud of the law. *And*
so, aftur thys mean, I thynke in few yerys the pepul
schold increse to a notabul noumbur. Thys I juge 307 .

Privileges to
those who have
five children.

Don't compel
them to go to
the wars.

Bachelors to be
taxed one
shilling in the
pound,

and the money
to be given to
[* Page 10.]
those who have
many children,
and to virgins.

When they die,
distribute half
their goods, and
the whole of a
priest's.

308 among other to be a syngular remedy for the sklendurnes of our polytyke body. How say you, *Master Lupset*, ys hyt not so ?

14. *Lvpset*.—Yes, truly ; I thynke hyt were alone suffycient.

313 15. *Pole*.—Then, *Master Lupset*, now, consequently, we must seke remedy to the second dysease that we spake of before, wych we resemblyd to a dropecy ; for though thys body be weke, sklendur, and lakkyth natural strength, yet hyt ys bollen and swollen out

Idleness is the second disease.

318 wyth yl humorys, the wych we callyd before, by a symylytude, al idul personys. Thys dysease, yf we wyl cure, we must, as you know, remoue the cause, or els hyt wyl euer multiply and increse agayn. And, schortly to say, the cause pryncypal therof, aftur my mynd, ys the yl and idul bryngyng vp of youth here in our cuntrey, wych are mouyd therto wyth the hope

Its cause must be removed.

Bad training of the young.

325 of plesant lyuyng in seruyce wyth the nobylite, spiritual and temporal ; for man naturally euer desyryth plesure and quyetnes. Wherfor an ordynance wold be made, that euery man, vnder a certayn payn, aftur he hathe brought hys chyldur to vij yere of age, schold set them forth other to letturys or to a craft, accordyng as theyr nature requyryth, aftur the jugement and powar of theyr frendys ; of the wych mater also the curate of euery parysch schold chefely haue cure, as to one of the

Children to be put to letters or a craft.

Duties of the curate.

334 pryncypal thyngys perteynyng vnto hys offyce and duty. And, as I sayd before, also thys hope in lyuyng in seruyce wyth the nobylite must be cut away by the law befor rehersyd, that no man schold nurysch gretter nombur then he ys abul to nurysch wel, and fynd to

Dropecy.¹

339 them some honest lyuyngys. That law schal helpe much to thys our purpos now, and be the occasyon of mayntenyng of artys and craftys : wherin, also, I wold thynke hyt expedyent,² that who so euer were in

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. expedyent, also.

any science or craft, nobul *and* excellent, he schold by the lyberalyte of the prynce be rewardeyd therfor, accordyng to the excellency *and* dygnyte of hys craft; the wych *thyng vndowtydly wold incorage basse stomakys to endeuer themselfys dilygently to attayne in al artys *and* crafte gret syngularyte. And thys were also veray conuenient, that yf any man had no craft at al, but delytyng in idulnes, as a drowne be doth in a hyue, suckyth vp the hunny, that he schold be bannyschyd *and* dryuen out of the cyte, as a person vnprofytabul to al gud cyuilyte. Thys dyd the Athenyens, wych wold suffur no man to abyde in theyr cyte except he professyd some honest craft, or coud make a lawful rekenyng how he lyuyd in theyr comynalty, *and* of thys thyng also the offycerys in euery cyte chofely schold take regard; *and* in the cuntrey the curate of the towne, wythe the gentylman chefe lord of the same, wych in hys courtys schold examyne thys mater wyth grete dilygence *and* care, as a thyng wych ys the ground of al the hole commyn wele. For lytyl avaylyth hyt to increse the nombur of pepul, except prouysyon be made to take away thys idulnes *and* grete dropey. How say you, *Master Lvpset*, thynke you not thys?

Premium to craftsmen according to the excellency of their crafts.

[* Page 11.]

Idle persons to be banished, as was the custom in Athens.

It is useless to increase numbers if idleness is allowed.

16. *Lupset*.—Herin, Syr, you say ryght wel. How be hyt, thys ys a veray schort remedy; you must schow somewhat more at large how the youth schold be brought vp in artys *and* craftys more partycularly.

L. asks how are the youth to be brought up?

17. *Pole*.—Nay, Sir; not so. That ys not my purpos here now to dow; for hyt were nede then of euery cure almost for to wryte a hole boke. I wyl only touch, as I sayd before, the most general poyntys, *and* the rest leue to the cure of them wych in euery cause haue ordur *and* rule; whose prudence *and* pollycy schal euer see, accordyng to the tyme *and* place of euery thyng perteynyng to theyr offyce, the partycular

P. says that is not his purpose here.

- 379 remedye. But of thys we may be assuryd, that yf thes
 general thyngys before spoken were put in vse *and*
 effecte, they schold much remedy thys foule yl *and*
 grete dropcy. Let vs, therfor, procede to the other
 next in ordur to thys ensuyng, wych, I trow, we callyd
 a palsy; for as much as many ther be wych occupy
 themselfe besyly, but to no profyt of the *commynalty*;
 of the wych a grete *nombur we rekenyd then, as al
 387 such wych occupyd themselfys about vayn plesurys *and*
 nothyng necessary, as marchauntys therof *and* craftys
 men, syngarys *and* playarys apon instrumentys, lyuyng
 therby; ye, *and* also a grete nombur of thes wych we
 cal relygyouse men, *and* be not indede. The remedy
 392 wherof in general hangyth much of the remedy of the
 dysease before last rehersyd, for as much as the cause of
 the yl occupying of al such before notyd ys to satysfye
 the appetyte of the idul route. Wherfore yf they were
 wel brought vp wythout idulnes, the rote of thys
 dysease schold be cut away wythal. So they hange
 398 togydur. For who doth not see thys, that al thes
 merchantys *and* artyfycerys of vanyte schold vturly
 perysch wyth theyr craftys, yf they were not mayn-
 teynyd by thys idul sorte, wych be they hauntarys of
 thes vayn plesurys *and* tryfelyng thyngys? Wherfor
 403 yf men were so brought vp in youthe, so instructyd
and formyd in tendur age, that they schold not delyte
 but in honest plesurys necessary *and* natural, thys
 mater wold sone be remedyd. Therfor, as I sayd before,
 the hedys, offycerys, *and* rularys, euer to thys must
 haue theyr yes, to thys they must study; for thys gud
 educatyon of youth in *vertuse* exercyse ys the gronde
 of the remedyng al other dyseasys in thys our polytyke
 body, euen lyke as in the cure of the bodyly dyseasys,
 412 the correctyon of corrupt *and* indygest humorys ys the
 chefe poynt in the cure of them al, as the thyng wyth-

He speaks now
of such as are
busy

Palsy.¹

[* Page 12.]

in providing
amusements.

To remedy this,
children must
be brought up
without idleness.

A good training
of youth is the
only cure.

¹ In margin of MS.

- out the wych al other medycyns lytyl schal avayle. 414
- Wherfor thys ys, as hyt were, the chefe key wherby the rest of our song must be gouernyd *and* rulyd, *and* so in thys al dylygence ys requyryd. How be hyt, forbycause that man ys so frayle *and* gyuen to plesure, besyde thys educatyon, hyt schalbe necessary to haue 419
- some other lawys for the correctyon of thys faute then be yet stablyschyd. As, for exampul, thys, I thynk, schold be no thyng amys, fyrst, a ordynance to be had, that merchantys *out of straunge cuntreys be cummandyd vnder a certayn payn, not to bryng in any such thyng as schal allure our pepul to vayn plesure *and* pastyme ; among the wych thys grete abundance of wyne brough[t] in ys no smal occasyon of much hurte, by many ways, as hyt ys more eydyent then nedyth to be schowyd. Wherfor among the marchauntys an ordynance schold be had to bryng in only a certayn [quantytye] for the plesure of nobul men *and* them wych be of powar ; *and* so in thys poynt, schortly to say, thys schold also be comprehendyd, that marchauntys schold cary out only such thyngs as we haue grete abundance of, *and* bryng in agayne thyngys necessary only, or, at the lest, such thyngys as schalbe for the mayntenance of honest plesure, *and* suche as can not be made by the arte, labur, *and* dylygence of our owne pepul. Thys schold mynystur a grete occasyon to occupy bettur our idul route that we spake of before. And fertler, for the takyng away of thes yl-occupyd personys in vayn craftys, the same offycerys in euery towne wych schal see [th]at ther be no idul personys wythout crafte or mean to get theyr lyuyng, schal also take hede that they occupye no vayn *and* vnprofytabul craft to the commyn wele. Thes offycerys schalbe as the Censorys were in the old tyme at Rome, wyche schal see to thes materys, as wel as to the nombur *and* to the substance of pepul. To them hyt schal perteyne also, 444
- New laws are required to regulate the importing of such things as wine, [* Page 13.]
- and exporting such things as we have in abundance.
- Officers to be appointed to see how people are employed.
- Duties of these officers.

450 to ouerse the educatyon of vthe. To theyr cure schal
 be *commyttyd* the redresse of many grete dyseasys in
 thys polytyke body. But of thys heraftur in hys place,
 when we come to speke of the polytyke ordur. And
 by thys mean I thynke we schold helpe much to the
 455 gud occupying of our pepul in honest *and* profytabul
 craftys to the *commyn* wele.

I. agrees, but
 says religious
 persons are
 untouched.

18. *Lvpset.*—Syr, of thys ther ys no dowte but that
 thes ordynance schold be veray profytabul. But yet you
 haue left the one halfe of the yl-occupyd *personys*, *and*
 460 nothyng touchyd them at al. That ys to say, thes
 relygyouse *personys* in monasterys *and* abbeys.

P. owns there
 are plenty of
 [* Page 14.]
 these men;
 he does not wish
 the abbeys to be
 destroyed,
 but he would
 reform them.

19. *Pole.*—Surely you say troth. Of them ther ys
 a grete *nombur and vnprofytabul*; but, **Mastur Lvp-*
set, as touchyng them, as I sayd before, I wold not that
 thes relygyouse men wyth theyr monasterys schold vt-
 turly be take away, but only some gud reformatyon to
 be had of them. *And*, schortly to say, I wold thynke

468 in that behalfe chefely, thys to be a gud remedy, that
 youth schold haue no place therin at al, but only such
 men as, by feruent loue of relygyon mouyd therto, fly-
 ing the daungerys *and* snarys of the world, schold ther
 haue place. *And* yf that gape were onys stoppyd, I dare

Who should be
 admitted to them.

473 wel say theyr *nombur* wold not be ouer-grete: we schold
 haue fewar in *nombur* relygyouse men, but bettur in
 lyfe. But here ys not the place of them, nor to schow
 theyr reformatyon, the wych schalbe hereaftur when we
 schal speke of the reformyng of the fautys of the spiryt-

478 ualty. I can not tel how you brought them in *and*
nombryd them among idul *and* yl-occupyd *personys*.
 How be hyt, to say the truthe, they are nother ydul, as
 they say, nother yet wel occupyd; but, how so euer
 hyt be, theyr *propur* place ys not here in thys purpos;
and therfor we wyl dyffer thys mater, *and* so go forth
 to the next dysease *and* cure therof ensuyng to thys

He defers this
 matter for the
 present,

485 now spoken of last: *and* that was, as I remembyr,

wych we then callyd a pestylens reynnyng in thys poly-
 tyke body, by the reson wherof they *partys* were not
 wel knyt togydur, but dysseueryd asunder, no *parte*
 dowyng hys *propur* offyce *and* duty. Thys ys, *and* euer
 hath byn, the gretyst destructyon that euer cam to any
commyn wele. Thys ys the ground of al ruyne of
 pollycy, wherof the cuntre of Ytaly ys in our days most
 manyfest exampul, where as by dyscord *and* diuysyon
 among themselfe ys brought in much mysery *and* con-
 fusyon. Wherfor of thys thyng aboue al other most
 cure must be had ; but, *Master Lvpset*, here you must
 vnderstond, that euen as in the body of man many dys-
 easys, as physycyonys dow say, spryng of the mynd, *and*
 of the affectys therof, so, in thys polytyke body, a grete
parte of the mysordurys therin rysyth of that thyng
 wych we resemyld to the mynd in man,—that ys, po-
 lytyke rule *and* cyuyle ordur ; among the mysordurys
 wherof thys pestylens ys one of the chefe. Wherfor
 thys ys certayn, here ys not the place of hys *perfoynt*
 cure ; but rather, to say the troth, the cure therof ys
 sparkyld in the cure of al other. How be hyt, some
 peulyar* thyngys *pertheyne* therto, as we schal *partely*
 schow now *and* *partely* hereaftur.

(19.) And, fyrst, for thys place, seyng the cause of
 thys dysease rysyth chefely for lake of *commyn* justyce
and equitye,—that one *parte* hathe to much *and* another
 to lytyl of al such thyng as equally schold be dystry-
 butyd accordyng to the dygnyte of al the cytyzyny,—
 therfor, aboue al thyng, regard must be had of the *prynce*
and of them wych be in offyce *and* authoryte, chefely
 to see that al such thyng may be dystrybute *with* a cer-
 tain *equalyte* ; but how thys schalbe downe hereaftur
 we schal *perauenture* somewhat schow. But now, to
 kepe thys body knyte togydur in vnyte, prouysyon wold
 be made by *commyn* law *and* authoryte, that euery *parte*

Pestylens.¹

489

and goes on to another disease of the body politic.

495

500

That which was called a pestilence.

506

[* Page 15.]

512

It arises from a lack of justice and equity.

517

To remedy this, every man is to mind his own

¹ In margin of MS.

craft, and not
intermeddle with
another's.

- may exercyse hys offyce *and* duty,—that ys to say,
euery man in hys craft *and* faculty to meddyl wyth such
thyng as *perteynyth* therto, *and* intermeddyl not wyth
524 other ; for thys causyth much malyce, enuy, *and* debate,
both in cyte *and* towne, that one man meddyllyth in the
craft *and* mystere of other. One ys not content wyth
hys owne professyon, craft, *and* maner of lyuyng, but
euer, when he seyth another more rych then he, *and*
529 lyue at more plesure, then he despysyth hys owne
faculty, *and* so applyth hymselfe vnto the other. Wher-
for, a certayn payne must be ordryd *and* appoyntyd apon
euery man that contentyth not hymselfe wyth hys owne
mystere, craft, *and* faculty ; wherby much schold be re-
534 streynyd thys curyosyte, a gret ruyne and destructyon
to al gud *and* iust pollycy. Moreouer, to al sedycyouse
personys that openly despyse thys ordur, vnyte, *and*
concord, wherby the partys of thys body are, as hyt
were, wyth senewys *and* neruys knyt togyddur, per-
539 petual bannyschment, or rather deth, must be by law
prescrybyd, as to a corrupt membyr of the body, *and* so
to be cut of, for feare lest hyt schold infecte the rest,
corruptyng the hole. *And* so thys compellyng of euery
man to dow hys offyce *and* duty, wyth dystrybutyng to
544 euery man, accordyng to hys vertue *and* dygnyte, such
thyngys as be to be dyuydyd among the cytyzyns wyth
equyte, schal conserue much thys body in vnyte *and*
concord ; *and*, I thynke, by processe of tyme, vturly take
away thys pestylent dysease *and* dyuysyon. How be
hyt, as I sayd before, the *perfayt* cure therof rysyth *and*
spryngyth of the cure of al other partycular misordurys
in pollycy, for as *much as thys ys, as hyt were, a ge-
neral ruyne of al cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule. Ther-
for, *Muster* Lvpset, let vs go forward aftur thys maner,
breuely to touche the cure of other, by the reson wher-
555 of we more *perfaytly* schal also cure thys same pestylens

Offenders to be
punished with
banishment or
death.

The perfect cure
depends on the
cure of other
disorders,
[* Page 16.]

to which P. will
go forward.

so corruptyng *the* body. Consequently to thys, yf you 556
 remembyr, Mastur *Lupset*, we found in thys body a grete
 deformyte, the wych, as we notyd, rysyth of the yl pro- Deformyte.¹
 portyon of the *partys*, some bying to grete *and* some to
 lytyl. As, by *exampul*, the thyng to declare, ther be The scarcyty of
 among vs to few plowmen *and* tyllarys of the ground, husbandmen
and to many courtiarys *and* idul *seruantys*; to few arts and the plenty of
 tisansys of gud occupatyon *and* to many prestys *and* servants;
 relygyouse, ful of vayn superstycyon; *and* thys of many few artisans,
 other ordurys we myght say. But the cause of thys, to but many priests.
 touch now to the purpos, aftur my mynd, ys thys, that The cause of this
 euery man naturally ys gyuen to folow plesure, quiet- deformity.
 nes, *and* ease, by the reson wherof the most parte fly 567
 to the most esy craft, *and* to such wherof ys most hope
 specyally of gayne, by the wych they may euer theyr ple-
 sure sustayn. Wherfor, to correcte thys faute, breuely to Its cure can only
 say, thys must be, as hyt apperyth to me, a chefe meane be effected by
 in euery craft, arte, *and* scyence, some to appoynt, ex- choosing fit men
 pert in the same, to admyt youth to the exercyse therof; for certain
 not suffryng euery man wythout respecte to apply them- offices,
 selfe to euery craft *and* faculty. Thys remedy ys in 575
 few wordys spoken; but, truly, yf hyt were put in vse,
 hyt schold not only bryng in the beuty of thys polytyke
 body, but also almost *perfayt* felycyte. Thes offycerys
 wych schold be appoyntyd to thys (of whome I wyl 580
 speke more heraftur) schold admyt non, als nere as they
 can, to any faculty but such wyttys as be apte therto;
 as, by *exampul*, to be prestys, clerkys, *and* lernyd in
 the law, such only schold be admyttyd as haue electe
 wyttys, *and* be of nature mete thervnto. *And* so lyke 585
 of other. *And* then you schold see how by dylygent
 ouersyght, also, that euery man schold apply hym selfe
 to hys mystere *and* craft, or els by the offycerys to be
 excludyd *and* appoyntyd to other; and so shortly
 then every man
 would apply
 himself to his
 own business.

¹ In margin of MS.

590 schold grow a maruelouse beuty in thys polytyk body,
and thys deformyte *and* yl proportyon of partys schold
 be by thys maner wel taken away.

L. thinks this
 would be very
 profitable,

as the right man
 would always be
 in the right
 place.

[* Page 17.]

20. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys were a profytabul ordynance,
 as hyt semyth to me ; for by thys mean, also, we schold
 haue in euery arte, scyence, *and* craft, more excellent
men then we haue now, when no man schold apply
 themselfe to the same, but such only as be jugyd by na-
 ture apte thervnto : for in that thyng *only *men* profyt
commynly, wherto of nature they be inclynyd frely.

600 Thys thyng, I trow, yet was neuer put in executyon in
 no *commyn* wele vnyuersally ; but, truly, me thynke
 hyt schold be cause of manyfold profyte, more then I
 can now expresse.

P. goes on to
 discuss the
 Wekenes,¹
 weakness of the
 body,

21. **Pole.**—Wel, Mastur Lvpset, let the effecte proue
 605 as hyt schal plese Hym who gouernyth al ; *and* let vs
 procede ferther in our processe. We notyd also a grete
 weknes in thys body, in so much that we though[t]
 hyt was not wel abul to defend hytselfe from vtward
 ennymys ; the cause wherof, of the wych we must begyn,
 chefely ys thys, as hyt semyth to me :—that the noblyte,
 611 wyth theyr *seruantys and adherentys*, are not exercysyd
 in feat of armys *and chyualry*, but gyue themselfys to
 idul gamys, as dysyng *and* cardyng, wyth such other
 vanyte ; to the wych ensuth, by necessitye, thys gret
 wekenes of the chefe parte of the body. Wherfor ther

which is caused
 by the idleness
 of the nobility.

616 must be a *prohybytyon* set out by *commyn* authoritye,
 fyrst, from al such vnprofytabul gamys *and* idul exer-
 cyse to be occupyd *commynly*, *and* the noblyte must
 be *constraynyd*, by lawful punnyschement, to exercyse
 themselfys in al such thyngys *and* featys of armys as
 schal be for the defence of our reame necessary ; the
 622 wych they schold dow wyth the same dylygence that
 the plowmen labur *and* tyl the ground for the *commyn*
 fode. And in thys mater hyt were veray necessary also,

To cure this,
 they must exer-
 cise themselves in
 feats of arms,

¹ In margin of MS.

in euery cyte *and* gud towne, to haue a *commyn* place 625
 appoyntyd to the exercyse of vthe, wherin they myght
 at voyd tymys exercyse themselfys; the wych among
 the Romanys was a *commyn* thyng, *and* yet ys obseruyd as the Romans
 did,
 and the Swiss
 now do.
 among the Swycys; wych, I thynke, hathe byn the
 gretyst cause of theyr grete fame in dedys of armys. Ye
and moreouer, in the vyllagys of the cuntrey, when the 631
 pepul are assemblyd togyddur, such exercyse also wold
 not be forgot; but how, in what mean, *and* in what
 exercyse, men schold thys occupye themselfys, that we
 schal leue to be prescrybyd of them wych be experte in
 featys of armys, *and* haue byn in vthe exercysyd therin. 636
 To vs hyt ys sufficyent in general somewhat to open *and*
 schow the way; for of thys thyng many yerys ther hath
 byn no regard at al here in our cuntre. Wherfor our pe-
 pul be not now valyant in featys of armys as they haue
 byn in tyme past, but, gyuen *to plesure, lettyth the
 world passe in idulnes *and* vanyte. But thys ys sure
and certayn, ther ys no lesse cure to be had of thys 643
 mater then of cyuyle law *and* ordur in tyme of peace,
 for as much as wythout warre we neuer contynue many
 yerys, *and* so schalbe in daunger of losyng of our cun-
 trey wythout thys prouysyon. Therfor, aboue al, we
 must study to restore thys polytyke body to hys old
 powar *and* strength, *and* by such exercyse remoue thys
 imbecyllyte *and* wekenes from the same; the wych yf we
 dow, we schal haue our body of our pepul helthy *and* 651
 strong, abul to defend hytselfe from al vtward iniury.

(21.) *And* so now you haue hard, Master Lupset, If these remedies
 certayn remedys for the most *commyn* dyseasys in thys be well applied,
 polytyke body before notyd, wych, yf they be wel ap- the parts will
 plyd, schal meruelously dyspose the partys also 656 soon be cured.

receyue cure *and* remedy of the partycular dyseasys
 reynyng therin, wych euer spryng out of the general,
 as you schal perceyue in our communycatyon hereaftur,
 when ouer-more the ground of the cure schalbe drawen 660

661 out of thes, of the wych now we haue spoken. For
euen lyke as the sykenes of the partys for the most
spryngyth¹ of some mysordur in the hole body, so they
cure of the same must be taken out of the cure of the
hole.

L. thinks these
matters have
been treated too
briefly,

22. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys I see ryght wel, that, euen
as you say, thes general thyngys wel remedyd schold
schortly bryng in gud ordur in the partys. Wherefore
669 me thynke you passe them ouer-schortly. I wold that
you schold haue schowyd somewhat more at large *and*
partycularly the mean *and* fascyon of theyr cure *and*
remedy.

but P. says he
only intended to
touch certain
general things,
and leave the
rest to others.

23. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, as touchyng that thyng,
you must euer remembyr my purpos here intendyd,
wych ys, as I schowyd before, only to touch certayn
general thyngys, as by a commentary to *conserue and*
677 kepe in memory; *and* the rest to leue to the prudence
of them wych haue authoryte *and* rule to put such
thyngys in executyon as, by thes general thyngys of me
notyd, they may be put in remembraunce of only. For
yf I schold partycularly prosecute euery thyng at large
682 *perteynyng* to thes materys, we schold not fynysch our
communycatyon thys xv. days *and* more; for euery
mater requyryth almost a hole boke *and* volume.

True, says L.;
let us go on.

[* Page 19.]

24. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, you say therin truthe, wythout
fayle. I perceyue hyt ys suffycyent for your purpos now
to geddur certayn *thyngys, wherby pryneys may be ad-
monyschyd to put such other in executyon wych of thes
689 may be schortly gedduryd. *And* therfor let vs go on
aftur the maner befor vsyd.

P. goes on to
speak of that
"frenzy in the
head," on which
all other diseases
hang.

25. *Pole*.—We notyd, yf you cal to remembrance,
in the chefe parte of the body, that ys, the hede, an
appropriat dysease, wych we callyd then a frencey, the
wych dysease yf we coude fynd the mean to cure, al
695 the mysorduryes in the rest of the party schold easely

¹ MS. sprynkyth.

be helyd ; for al hange apon thys. Therfor the wyse 696
 phylosophar Plato in al hys *commyn* welth chefely
 laburyd to see gud offycerys, hedys, *and* rularys, the
 wych schold be, as hyt were, lyuely lawys ; for the wych
 cause also, aftur myn opynyon, he thought no thyng
 necessary to wryte any lawys to hys *commynalty* ; for
 yf the hedys in a *commyn* wele were both just, gud, 702
and wyse, ther schold nede non other lawys to the
 pepul. But how myght thys be brought to passe,
 Master Lvpset, in our *commyn* wele *and* cuntre ?
 Thynke you hyt were possybul ?

Good rulers are
 very necessary.

But how to get
 them ?

26. Lvpset.—I thynke by no mannys wyt. *And* L. thinks by no
 therfor Plato imagynyd only *and* dremyd apon such a
commyn wele as neuer yet was found, nor neuer, I
 thynke, schalbe, except God wold send downe hys 710
 angellys, *and* of them make a cyte ; for man by nature
 ys so frayle *and* corrupt, that so many wyse men in a
commynalty to fynd, I thynke hyt playn impossybul.

L. thinks by no
 man's wit, and
 that Plato only
 dreamed.

27. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, here you must P. does not look
 vnderstond that we loke not for such hedys as Plato
 descrybyth in hys pollycy, for that ys out of hope wyth 716
 vs to be found ; nor yet for such wyse men as the
 Stoykys descrybe, *and* auneyent phylosoph[arys.] But
 aftur a more cyuyle *and* *commyn* sort, we wyl mesure
 they wysdome of them whome we wold to rule, that
 ys to say, such as wyl not in al thyngys nother folow 721
 theyr owne affectyonys, nother yet in whome al affectys
 are drownyd *and* taken quyte away ; but, obseruyng a
 certayn reasonabul mean, euer haue theyr yes fyxyd to
 the *commyn* wele, *and* that aboue al thyng euer to pre-
 ferre, to that euer redresse al theyr actys, thoughtys, 726
and dedys. Such men, I say, yf we myght set in our
 * *commyn* wel *and* pollycy, schold be suffycient for vs.

but such as prefer
 the common
 good to all other
 things ;

[* Page 20.]

28. Lvpset.—Sir, I thynke we were happy yf we
 myght such fynd.

29. Pole.—Wel, let vs consydur then, *and* procede. 731

732 Fyrst, thys ys certayn in our commyn wel, as hyt ys instytute: a grete parte of thys mater hangyth upon one pine; for thys ys sure, our cuntrey ys not so and such might be found. barrayn of honest men, but such myght be found, specyally yf the vth were a lytyl brought vp aftur such

737 maner as we schal touch hereaftur. The pine that I We must have a good prince to rule; this is the foundation of all good. spake of ys thys—to haue a gud prynce to gouerne and rule. Thys ys the ground of al felycyte in the cyuyle lyfe. Thys ys [the] fundatyon of al gud pollycy in such a kynd of state as ys in our cuntrey. The prynce

742 instytutyth and makyth almost al vnder offycerys. He Could we find one, he would be a remedy for all disorders. hathe authoryte and rule of al. Therfor, yf we coud fynd a mean to haue a gud prynce commynly, thys schold be a commyn remedy, almost, as I sayd, for al the rest of the mysordury in the pollycy.

L. This rests with God alone. 30. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Sir, that ys trothe; but thys lyth in God only, and not in mannys powar.

P. True; but God requires diligence, by which we may obtain all things necessary. 31. **Pole.**—Master Lupset, though thys be trothe, that al gudnesse commyth of God, as out of the fountayn, yet God requyryth the dylygence of man in al such thyng as perteynyth to hys felycyte. The

753 prouydence of God hath thys ordeynyd, that man schal not haue any thyng perfayte, nor attayne to hys perfectyon, wythout cure and trauayle, labur and dylygence; by the wych, as by money, we may by al thyng of God, who ys the only marchant of al thyng that ys 758 gud.

I. asks what Pole means? 32. **Lvpset.**—What mean you by this? Wold you that man schold prouyde hym a prynce, and forme hym aftur hys owne fascyon, as hyt were in mannys powar that to dow, and by dylygence to gyue hym wysdome 763 and gudnes?

33. **Pole.**—Nay, Master Lupset,¹ I mene nothyng so; for hyt ys God that makyth man, and of hym only commyth al wysdome and gudnesse, as I sayd euen now.

¹ MS. le.

But, *Master Lvpset*, to see what I mean somewhat more 767

clere, let vs consydur thys mater a lytyl hyar. The gudnes of God, out of the wych spryngyth al thyng that ys gud, hathe made man, of al creaturys in erth, most *perfayt*, gyuyng vnto hym a sparkyl of his owne dyuynyte,—that ys to say, ryght reson,—wherby he schold gouerne hymselfe in cyuyle lyfe *and* gud pollycy, accordyng to hys excellent *nature *and* dygnyte. But

P. answers:
God made man,
and gave him
reason to govern
himself;

wyth thys same sparkyl of reson, thys to man gyuen, are joynyd by nature so many affectys *and* vycyouse desyrys, by the reson of thys erthly body, that (except man wyth cure, dyligence, *and* labur, resy[s]te to the same) they ouer-run reson, thys lytyl sparkyl, *and* so bryng man, consequently, from hys natural felycyte, *and*

773

[* Page 21.]

but with reason
He joined affec-
tions and vicious
desires, which,
without care,
overrun reason
and make man
a brute.

from that lyfe wych ys conuenient to hys nature *and* dygnyte; in so much that he ys then as a brute best, folowyng not the ordynance of God, wych gaue hym reson to subdue hys affectys as much as the nature of the body wold suffur. For yf he had gyuen hym so much reson *and* wysedom that he schold neuer haue byn ouercome wyth affectys *and* vayn desyrys, he schold haue made man aboue man, *and* made hym as

780

If He had given
him more reason,
he would have
been as an angel,

an angel; *and* so ther schold haue lakkyd here in thys world the nature of man. But the gudnes of God (wych only therby mouyd made thys sensybul world) wold suffur no thyng to lake to the perfectyon therof, who dyd communycat Hys owne gudnes *and* perfectyon

788

and so lacked the
nature of man.
But God would
not suffer this.

to euery thyng accordyng to the capacitye of hys grosse nature. *And* thys man coude not be made, being by nature in such imperfectyon of hys erthely body, to any more perfectyon; hys body wold suffur no more of that celestyal lyght. Notwythstandyng, thys ys true, that

793

to some man thys lyght ys more communyd, to some man lesse, accordyng to the nature of hys body, *and* accordyng to hys educatyon *and* gud instructyon in the commyn welth, where he ys brought forth of nature.

798

Some have more
light than others,
according to their
education;

and it is the same
with nations.

And thys ys the cause, as hyt apperyth to me, that one
man ys more wyse then another ; ye, *and* one natyon

805 more prudent *and* polytyke then another. Howbehyt,

I thynke non ther ys so rude *and* bestely, but, wyth
cure and dylygence, by that same sparkyl of reson
gyuen of God, they may subdue theyr affectyonys, *and*
folow the lyfe to the wych they be instytute *and*
ordeynyd of God ; the wych ordur when man wyth

All may subdue
the affections by
reason ; when
men do so, they
are governed by
God's providence ;

811 reson folowyth, he ys then gouernyd by the prouydence
of God. Lyke as, contrary, when he, by neclygence,
suffryth thys reson to be ouercome wyth vycyouse
affectys, then he, so blynded, lyuyth contrary to the
ordynance *of God, *and* fallyth vturly out of Hys pro-

[* Page 22.]

816 uydence, *and* ys lad by hys owne ignorance. He ys
then subiecte to thys world *and* to the kyngdome of the
deuyll ; he then hath [for] hys rular, folysch fancy *and*
vayne opynyon, wych euer lede hym to hys confusyon.

when they do not,
they are under
the devil.

He could confirm
all this, but will
not.

Al thys that I haue sayd, I coude confyrme, both by the
sentence of old phylosophy *and* holy Scripture ; but,
bycause I see here ys not the place now to dyspute,
823 but to take *and* admytt the truthe tryd by ancyeat
wyttys *and* celestyal wysedome *and* doctryne, I wyl
thys pretermytt *and* set apart.

Living in civil
order, nations
are governed by
God's providence ;

(33.) And now to our purpos. Euen as euery par-
tycular man, when he folowyth reson, ys gouernyd by
God, *and*, contrary, blyndyd wyth ignorance by hys
owne vayn opynyon ; so hole natyonys, when they

830 lyue togyddur in cyuyle ordur, instytute *and* gouernyd
by resonabul pollycy, are then gouernyd by the pro-
uydence of God, *and* be vnder Hys tuytyon. As, con-

but without good
order, by tyrants.

835 contrary, when they [are] wythout gud ordur *and* polytyke
rule, they are rulyd by the violence of tyranny ; they
are not gouernyd by Hys prouydence nor celestyal
ordynance, but, as a man gouernyd by affectys, so they
be tormentyd infynyte ways, by the reson of such
tyrannycal powar ; so that of thys you may se that hyt

ys not God that prouedyth tyrannys to rule in cytes *and* townes, no more then hyt ys He that ordeynyth yl affectys to ouer-run ryght reson. But now to the purpos, *Master Lvpset*. Hyt ys not man that can make a wyse prynce of hym that lakkyth wyt by nature, nor make hym just that ys a tyranne for plesure. But thys ys in mannys powar, to electe *and* chose hym that ys both wyse *and* iust, *and* make hym a prynce, *and* hym that ys a tyranne so to depose. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, thys I may truly say, to the wych al thys reson- yng now tendyth,—that yf we wyl correcte thys frenecy in our commyn wele, we may not at a venture take hym to our prynce, what so euer he be, that ys borne of hys blode *and* cumyth by successyon, the wych, *and* you remembyr, we notyd befor also to be one of the gretyst fautys, as hyt ys in dede, in our pollycy; the wych faute, onys correcte, schal *also take away thys frenecy. Yf we can fynd a way to amend thys, we schal not gretely labur to cure the rest; for as to say, as many men dow, that the prouydence of God ordeynyth tyrannys for the punyschment of the pepul, thys agreth no thyng wyth phylosophy nor reson; no, nor yet to the doctryne of Chryst *and* gud relygyon. For by the same mean, as I sayd a lytyl before, you myght say, that hyt ys the prouydence [of] God that euery particular man folowyth hys affectys, blyndyd wyth ignorance *and* foly; *and* so hyt schold folow, the foly *and* vyce commyth of the prouydence of God, wych ys no waye to be admyttyd, but only as thys, that the prouydence of God hath ordeynyd of Hys gudnes such a creature to be, wych may, by hys owne foly, folow hys owne affectys. But when he doth so, thys ys sure—he folowyth not the ordynance of God, but, ouercome by plesure *and* blyndyd wyth ignorance, flythe from hyt *and* slyppyth from hys owne dygnyte. Therfor

God does not provide tyrants.

841

Man cannot make a wise prince,

but he can elect a wise one, and can depose a tyrant.

847

852

Frenecy.¹
[* Page 23.]

God does not ordain tyrants for the punishment of the people,

861

any more than He makes a man follow his evil inclinations.

868

873

¹ In margin of MS.

Tyranny is the greatest of all ills, and cannot come from God;

neuer attribute tyranny (of al yl the gretyst) to the prouydence of God, except you wyl, consequently, attribut al yl to the Fontayn of gudnes; wych ys no

877 thyng conuenient, but playn wykydnes *and* impyety.

but it is to be attributed to the malice of man and the negligence of the people.

But, aftur my mynd *and* opynyon, you schal attribut thys tyranny partely to the malyce of man (who by nature ys ambycouse *and* of al plesure most desyrouse) *and* partely to neclygence of the pepul, wych suffur themselfys to be oppressyd therwyth. Wherfor, *Master Lupset*, yf we wyl cure thys *pernycyouse* frenece, we must begyn to take away thys *pestylent* tyranny, the wych to dow ys no thyng hard for to deuyse.

To cure this frenzy, the tyranny must be taken away.

886 (33.) But here you must remembyr, *Master Lupset*

(as we sayd in our fyrst day's *communcatyon*) that al be hyt we haue now in our days, by the prouydence of God, such a prynce, *and* of such wysedome, that he may ryght wel *and* justly be subyecte to no law,—whose prudence *and* wysedome ys lyuely law *and* true pollycy,—yet we

No need for this during the present reign;

892 now (wych al such thyngys as sylldome happun haue

not in *consyderatyon*, but such thyngys only loke vnto wych, for the most parte, happun *and* be lykly, *and* such as be mete to a iust *and* *commyn* pollycy) may not deny but that in our ordur here ys a *certayn* faute,

897 *and* to the same now deuyse of some remedy. Wherin

the fyrst *and* best mean ys thys, aftur my mynd *and* opynyon, here in our cuntrey to be taken; aftur the decesse of the prynce, by electyon of the *commyn* voyce of the *parlyament* assemblyd to chose one, most apte to that hye offyce *and* dygnyte, wych schold not rule *and* gouerne al at hys owne plesure *and* lyberty, but euer be subyecte to the ordur of hys lawys. But

but when the king dies, parliament must choose the most apt to that high office,

and he to be ever subject to the laws.

here to schow how he schold be electe, *and* aftur what *maner* *and* *fascyon*, that we schal leue to *partycular* *consyderatyon*, and *take thys for a sure ground *and* *foundatyon* to delyuer vs from al confusyon; for truly

[* Page 24.]

909 thys ys the fyrst way wych wel *and* justly may delyuer

vs out of al tyranny. Thys hath byn euer vsyd among 910
 them wych haue euer lyuyd vnder a prynce wyth
 lyberty, wherby they haue byn gouernyd by lyuely
 reson, *and* not subiecte to dedely affectyon. The
 seconde mean, as me semyth, may wel be thys, yf we
 wyl *that* they heyrys of the prynce schal euer succeede,
 what so euer he be, then to hym must be joynyd a
 counsele by *commyn* authorityte; not such as he wyl,
 but such as by the most parte of the *parlyament* 918
 schal be jugyd to be wyse *and* mete thervnto.

If we will let
 the heir succeed,
 a council must
 be joined with
 him.

34. *Lvpset*.—Why, but then, by thys mean, our
parlyament schold haue much to dow, yf, when so euer
 lakkyd any conseylar, hyt schold be callyd to subrogate
 other, *and* set in theyr place. 923

L. objects on
 account of the
 work;

35. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*, I wold not so; but
 for that a prouysyon must be had: *and* that myght be
 thys. For as much as they grete *parlyament* schold
 neuer be callyd but only at the electyon of our prynce,
 or els for some other grete vrgent cause *concernyng* 928
 the *comynyn* state *and* pollycy, I wold thynke hyt wel
 yf that at London schold euer be remeynyng (bycause
 hyt ys the chefe cyty of our reame) the authorityte of the
parlyament, wych euer ther schold be redy to remedy
 al such causys, *and* represe sedycyonys, *and* defende 933
 the lyberty of the hole body of the pepul, at al such
 tyme as they kyng or hys conseyl tendyd to any thyng
 hurtful *and* prejudycyal to the same. Thys conseyl *and*

but P. would
 only have the
 Great Parliament
 called at the
 election of a
 Prince.

authorityte of *parliament* schold rest in thes personys:—
 fyrst, in iiij of the gretyst *and* ancyent lordys of the *tem-*
poralty; ij byschoppys, as of London *and* Cantorbury; *ij*
 of the chefe jugys; *and* iiij of the most wyse cytyzyns
 of London. Thes men, joyntly togyddur, schold haue
 authorityte of the hole *parlyament* in such tyme as the
parlyament were dyssol[u]yd. Thys authorityte schold
 be chefely instytutyd to thys end *and* purpos,—to see
 that the kyng *and* hys propur counsele schold do no- 945

A Council to
 consist of
 4 Temporal Peers,
 2 Bishops,
 4 Judges,
 4 Citizens of
 London.

It is to have the
 authority of the
 Parliament,

and watch over the laws, and to call the Great Parliament when necessary.

thyng agayne the ordynance of hys lawys *and* gud pollycy; *and* they schold haue also powar to cal the grete *parlyament* when so euer to them hyt schold seme necessary for the reformatyon of the hole state of the *commyn-*

950 alty. By thys *conseyl*, also, schold passe al actys of leegys, *confederatyon*, peace, *and* warre. Al the rest schold be mynstryd by the kyng *and* hys *conseyl*. But

The king to do nothing without the authority of his proper
[* Page 25.]
Council, which shall consist of 2 bishops, 4 lords, and 4 learned men.

thyng, aboue al, as a ground, schold be layd,—that the kyng schold dow no thyng *perteynyng* to the state of hys *reame wythout the authoryte of hys *propur* *counseyl* appoyntyd to hym by thys authoryte. Thys *counseyl* schold be of ij *byschoppys*, iiij *lordys*, *and* iiij of the best lernyd *and* *polytyke men*, expert in the lawys, both

959 *spiritual and* *temporal*. *And* so thys *conseyl*, though we toke our *prynce* by *successyon*, for the avoydyng of *sedycyon*, schold delyuer vs from al *tyranny*, setting vs in true *lyberty*. *And* so we schold haue, *consequently*,

By their advice all patronage to be bestowed, and all faults corrected,

the ground of thys *frency* taken away; for, by the *counseyl* of thos appoyntyd to the kyng, al *byschoprykys and* grete *offycys* schold be *dystrybutyd and* *gyuen*; *and* al grete *fautys and* *encremytes* openly *commyttyd* schold

967 be, by theyr *prudence*, justely *punnyschyd*. Al other *inferyor lordys*, *knyghtys*, *and* *gentylnen*, wych dyd not theyr *offyce and* *duty* in *admynystratyon* of *justyce* wyth *equyte* toward theyr *subiectys* in such thyngys as they had *jurysdycyon* of, schold be callyd to count, *and*

972 before them *gyue rekenyng* of al thyngys downe of them, wherof by any *man* they were *accusyd*.

(35.) Thys bande of *rekenyng* before the *conseyl* of

even down to the feet of the body politic.

hyar authoryte schold make the vnder *offycerys* to be ware *and* *dylygent* to dow theyr *duty*; wych yf they dyd,

977 by *and* by schold folow the *correctyon* of the other *partycular* *fautys* wych we notyd to be in the *partys* to the *fetys and* *handys* of the *commyn* wele *resemblyd*; the wych *fautys* were no thyng els but other *necligence* of

Goute.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

the pepul, or els, at the lest, spryngyng¹ out of the same. 981

For, as touchyng thys, that the ground lyth so vntyllyd, *and* craftys be so yl occupyd, here in our natyon, hyt ys of no thyng chefely but of neclygence of the pepul or vayn occupatyon. Wherfor, yf such neclygence, per-

The ground lies untilled through negligence of the people.

ceyuyd *and* prouyd at courtys openly in euery vyllage *and* towne, bothe of plowmen *and* artysanys, were by the offycerys punnyschyd by certayn payn fortytyd, prescrybyng the same, you schold haue bothe craftys

If this were punished, people would be better occupied, and ground better tilled;

bettur occupyd, *and* also the ground more dylygently tyllyd; specyally yf the statute of inclosure were put in executyon, *and* al such pasture put to the vse of the plowgh as before tyme hath byn so vsyd; for in many placys herin ys euydently perceyuyd much neclygence *and* grete lake in the applying of the ground to the plowgh. Thys must be amendyd, *and* then you schal *se both al thyngys in more abundance *and* the polytyke body more lyuely *and* quyke.

989

especially if the statute of enclosure were put in force.

(35.) Thys goute, bothe in the fete *and* handys, schold be much therby easyd, specyally yf to thys also were joynyd a nother ordynance, of no les profyt, as I thynke, then thys; wych ys,—that al craftys men in cytys *and* townys wych are drunkerys, gyuen to the bely *and* plesure therof, cardarys *and* dysarys, *and* al other gyuen to ydul gamys, schold be by the same offycerys obseruyd *and* punnyschyd. Of the wych thyngys the offycerys schold haue as much regard as of robbery *and* adultery, the wych spryng vndowtydly out of thes fountaynys as out of the chefe *and* pryncypal causys therof. Wherfor we must study to cut away the causys, yf we wyl remedy, *and* not only punnysch, the effecte, as we dow commynly. I thynke surely that yf the vnder offycerys *and* rularys appoyntyd therto wold study as wel to punnysch them wych lay the ground of such misery *and* myschefe, as they dow the dowarys therof,

996

[* Page 26.]

1001

P. would also have all drunkards and gamblers punished.

1009

1014

Such offences to be carefully observed by the officers appointed.

MS. sprynkyng.

- 1016 ther wold not be so much mysordur among the *commyn* pepul as now ther ys. The law can go no ferther but to the dede ; but the offycerys may take away, by gud prudence *and* pollycy, the *partycular* cause of the dede *commynly*. The glotony of Englonde *and* they idul gamys be no smal occasyon of al adultery, robbery, *and* other myschefe. Therfor, yf the offycerys
- Gluttony and idle games are the cause of adultery and robbery.
- 1023 in courtys, *and* curatys also, lokyd *and* studyd to the remouyng of thos causys dylygently, thys goute that we spake of schold be vturly taken away surely ; and then schold folow, by *and* by, also the cure of the other grete faute wych we found in exteryor thyngys, wych we notyd, *consequently*, aftur the other. For euen lyke as
- Take away the causes, and the cure will follow.
- 1029 one dysease *commyth* of a nother in thys polytyke body, so the cure of one also folowyth a nother. For wherof *cumyth* the penury of al exteryor thyngys necessary to thys body, but of the necligence of the pepul ? Vndowtdly thys ys the chefe cause therof *commynly*. Wherfor, fyndyng mean that they pepul may be *compellyd* to dylygent *exercyse of theyr offyce *and* duty, therto
- Penury.¹
Poverty the result of negligence.
- [* Page 27.]
- 1036 folowyth forth wythal abundaunce of thyngys necessary ; specyally yf to that were joynyd a nother ordynance² (wych, *peraventure*, schal seme to you but a smal thyng, but in dede hyt ys of gret weyght) wych ys, concernyng the frate of marchandyse ; by whome the abundaunce
- 1041 of al exteryor thyngys may be much forderyd, yf hyt be orderyd to the *commyn* wele, wythout regard of pryuate gayne *and* profyt apon any parte, wythout equitye. And, concernyng thys mater, thys ys the chefe poynte : that the marchauntys cary out only such thyngys as may be wel lakkyd wythin our owne cuntre, wythout *commyn* detryment to our natyon ; *and* bryng in such thyngys agayn as we haue nede of here at home, *and* as, by the dylygence of our owne men, can not be made.
- He again urges the necessity of restricting exports to such things as the country can well spare, and the imports to such as we cannot produce.

¹ In margin of MS.² MS. *nordynance*.

Thys thyng, put in vse *and* in executyon, schold be a grete ground of al abundance *and* plenty. 1050

(35.) For, fyrst, to begyn wyth thys :—the caryage out of wolle to the stapul ys a grete hurte to the pepul of Englund ; though hyt be profytabul both to the prynce *and* to the marchant also. For by thys mean the clothyng of Englund ys in vttur dekey—the gretyst destructyon that euer cam to our reame, *and* the gretyst ruyn of many craftys wych long to the same. Wherfor, yf thys stapul were broken or otherwyse redressyd, *and* clothyng set vp in Englund agayne, thys ys sure :—the com- 1055

Wool not to be exported;

modityte of our wolle *and* cloth schold bryng in al other thyngys that we haue nede of out of al other straunge partys beyond the see. Ye, *and* though our cloth, at the fyrst begynnyng, wold not be so gud *perauenture*, as hyt ys made in other partys, yet, in processe of tyme, I can not see wy but that our men, by dylygence, myght attayne therto ryght wel ; specyally yf the prynce wold study therto, in whose powar hyt lyth chefely such thyngys to helpe. Ther be marchant men that, by the helpe of the *prynce, wyl vndertake in few yerys to bryng clothyng to as grete perfectyon as hyt ys in other partys, wych, yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the gretyst bunfyte to increse the ryches of Englund that myght be deuysyd. They wych now fach our wol schold be glad to fach our cloth made in our reame ; wherby schold be occupyd infynyte pepul, wych now lyue in idulnes, wrechyd *and* pore. And the same thyng ys to be sayd both of lede *and* tyn. Our marchantys cary them out at plesure, *and* then bryng the same in workyd agayn, *and* made vessel therof. *And* so of infynyte other thyngys we myght say, the wych the gudnes of nature hath to our yle gyuen, they wych now ys not nede to reherse but thys generally. They 1061

cloths, too, made at home
Clothyng.¹

would not at first be so good,

but in a few years would be as well made as the foreign cloths. 1066

but in a few years would be as well made as the foreign cloths.

1074

Marchantys.¹
Lead and tin are now carried out and brought back manufactured.

1082

¹ In margin of MS.

- 1084 marchaunt must be prohybytyd to bryng in any such thyngys wych may be made by the dylygence of our owne men. Wyne, ueluetys, *and* sylkys, they may bryng in, but not in such abundance as they *commynly* dow, wych causyth much yl, as we sayd before. Wherfor the statute of apparayle must be put in executyon, *and* such *commyn* tauernys of wynys wold be forbyden. They cause much yl *and* mysery. But what thyngys they schal cary out, *and* what thyngys bryng in, the
- 1093 offycerys appoyntyd to the ouersyght therof must euer prescrybe ; for thys cannot be determyd but accordyng to the abundance *and* penury of thyngys prudently *consyderyd*. Hyt ys to be reseruyd. But thes offycerys must be appoyntyd wyse *and* expert men in euery grete
- 1098 cyte, hauen, *and* port.
- (35.) And here a nother poynt for to ayd the abundance cumyth to my remembrance—I thynke [it] gud *and* profytabul—wych ys thys: that the vnresonabul custume *commynly* appoyntyd must [be] abatyd ; and specyally to them wych bryng in thyngys necessary,
- 1104 wherby they may be prouokyd more gladly to bryng in. For as the ordur ys now, the prynce hath more [than] halfe of theyr gayne, wych thyng gyuyth them lytyl courage to travayle *and* to take payn. Hyt schold be also no smal furtherance many ways, as I thynke, yf hyt were ordeynyd that our owne marchauntys schold cary out *and* bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, *and* not vse the
- 1111 straungerys schyppys as they now dow ; by the reson wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. *A nother grete thyng thcr ys, as I thynke, wych schold much helpe to make abundance of al thyng necessary for the lyfe—to constrayn the plowmen *and* fermerys to be more dylygent in reryng of al maner of bestys *and* catayl ; for by theyr neclygence vndowtydly rysyth a
- 1118 grete parte of the darth of al such thyngys as for fode

Wines, velvets, and silks, may be brought in.

Common taverns to be forbidden. They cause much misery.

Customs' dues to be abated. Custume.¹

English vessels should be employed.

Farmers to be constrained to rear more cattle.

[* Page 29.]

¹ In margin of MS.

- ys necessary : for the lake of such thyngys, causyd by 1119
 such necligence, ys one chefe cause¹ of the derth therof.
 And a nother ther ys wych few men obserue ; wych ys
 the inhansyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we Rents are raised ;
 sayd before ; for yf they fermerys pay much rent, and this is another
 more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of neces- evil.
 syte : for he that byth dere may sel dere also iustely. 1125
 Wherfor thys ordynance wold be profytabul—that al
 such rentys as be inhaunsyd by memory of man schold
 be rebatyd, and set to the old stynt of that tyme when
 the pepul of Englund floryschyd ; for now they are England is
 brough[t] almost to the mysery of Fraunce, by the yl brought almost
 gouernance of late days, and auaryce of the hedys and to the misery of
 rularys of them. Thys ground must be take away, 1132 France.
 yf we intend euer to remedy thys grete darth, wych ys
 now of al thyngys among vs reynyng. Wherof the
 ground surely ys thys, for thys makyth, wythout fayle,
 al kynd of vytayl more dere then hyt was wont to be, All kinds of
 wych commyth al out of the cuntrey. And, consequently, victuals are
 when vytayl ys dere, then they craftysman must nede dearer than they
 sel hys ware aftur the same rate ; for hyt costyth hym were.
 more in nuryschyng hys famyly and artyfycerys therof 1139
 then before hyt was wont to dow. And so, consequently,
 of thys rote spryngyth al darth of al thyngys wych we
 schold haue by the dylygence and labour of the pepul.
- (35.) Wherfor we may surely conclude, that yf thys
 thyngys were remedyd aftur thys maner, both concern- If these ills were
 yng marchauntys, laburarys of the ground, and fermerys remedied, there
 therof, we schold in few yerys haue abundance of al 1147 would be plenty
 thyng aftur the old maner ; we schold haue thys myser- instead of dearth ;
 abul pouerty taken away. For, as for beggarys lusty and
 strong, ye, and thefys also, schold be but few or non at thieves would
 al of that sorte as they be now. For yf thys multytude be but few,
 of seruyng men were *plukkyd away aftur the maner as [* Page 30.]
 I schowyd you before, the rote of al that sorte schold 1153

¹ MS. chause.

- 1154 vturly perysch. *And* as for thos the wych nature hath
 and impotent
 people easily
 nourished,
 brough[t] forth impotent, or by syknes are fallen therto,
 they schold be but few, *and* easely schold be nuryschyd,
 aftur a maner lately deuysyd by the wysedome of the
 as they are in
 now in Flanders.
 cytyzys of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundes, the wych I
 wold wysch to be put in vse wyth vs, or els some other
 1160 of the same sort. How be hyt, to haue some such as
 by nature are *impotent and* pore, I thynke hyt ys the
 ordynance of God to a gud purpos; for such pouerty
 exercysyth wel the pytuose myndys of them wych haue
 enough, *and* puttyth them in remembrance of the im-
 1165 becyllyte of mannys nature. Wherfor hyt may be wel
 suffryd to haue some to go aboute to prouoke men to
 Some sick persons
 going about will
 prouoke men to
 pity.
mercy and pyte, *and* to proue *and* tempt theyr louyng
 charyte. But to retorne. Thys grete nombur of sturdy
 beggarys therby schold vturly be taken away, *and* also
 1170 the grete pouerty of the laburarys of the grounde. *And*
 thys, *Master Lvpset*, abundance of al thyngys we schold
 haue in our cuntre.

36. *Lupset*.—But, Syr, hyt ys not enowh, as we
 sayd before, to haue thyngys necessary in abundance,
 but we must haue al *commyn* ornamentys of our *commyn*
 I. asks about the
 ornaments of the
 commonwealth.
 welth also, yf we wyl make the *perfayt* state before
 1177 describyd.

37. *Pole*.—Thes ornamentys, *Master Lupset*, of *com-*
myn welys, as gudly cytes, castellys, *and* townys, wyl some
 Bewty.¹
 P. says they will
 soon follow
 abundance.
 folow ryches *and* abundance as thyngys annexyd therto,
 yf ther were a lytyl regard therof *and* a lytyl more care
 put therunto; for wher as ys ryches *and* abundance,
 1183 ther wyth a lytyl dylygence wyl some be brought in al
commyn ornamentys; as gudly cytes *and* townys, wyth
 magnyfycal *and* gudly housys, fayr tempullys *and*
 churchys, wyth other *commyn* places; concernyng the
 wych I wold haue men to conferre euery yere a certayn
 summe, accordyng to theyr abylyte, to the byldyng *and*

Every man
 should put by a
 certain sum for
 building public
 edifices.

¹ In margin of MS.

- reforming of al such *commyn* placys in euery grete cyte 1189
and towne. *And* conuenient hyt were offycerys to be
 appoyntyd to haue regard of the b[e]wty of the towne
and cuntrey, *and* of the clennes of the same, wych
 schold cause grete helth also, *and* (as I thynke) be a
 grete occasyon that the pestylens schold not reyne so
 much as hyt doth wyth vs in our cuntre. But yf we wyl
 restore our cytes to such bewty as we see in other cun-
 treys, we must *begyn of thys ground. Our gentylnen
 must be causyd to retyre to cytes *and* townys, *and* to
 byld them housys in the same, *and* ther to see the
 gouernance of them, helpyng euer to set al such thyng
 forward as *perteynyth* to the ornamentys of the cyte. 1201
 They may not *contynually* dwel in the cuntrey as they
 dow. Thys ys a gret rudenes *and* a barbarouse custume
 vsyd wyth vs in our cuntrey. They dwel wyth vs
 sparkylyd in the feldys *and* woodys, as they dyd before
 ther was any cyuyle lyfe knowen, or stablyschyd
 among vs: the wych surely ys a grete ground of the 1207
 lake of al cyuyle ordur *and* humanyte. Wherfor thys
 must be amendyd, yf we wyl euer replenysch our cun-
 trey wyth gud cytes *and* townys, of the dekey wherof
 I thynke thys ys one grete cause *and* manyfest occasyon.
 Wherfor thys must be remedyd aftur thys maner now 1212
 touchyd—to compel them at the lest to byld ther
 their housys, *and* sometymys ther to be resydent. The
 gret lordys *and* gentylnen wych for their plesure folow
 the court, wythout offyce or dygnyte, must be causyd 1216
 to retorne *and* inhabyte the cytes of theyr cuntreys; by
 the wych mean schortly the cytes schold be made
 beutyful *and* fayre, *and* formyd wyth much cyuylte.
And so thys our cuntrey schold not only be replenyschyd
 wyth pepul wel occupyd, euery man in hys offyce *and*
 degre, but also we schold haue grete abundance of al
 thyngys, as wel of such thyng as our cuntrey, by the
 dyligence of man, wold bere *and* bryng forth, as of 1224

Cities and towns
to be kept clean
for the sake of
the public health.

[* Page 31.]
Gentlemen should
build houses in
cities and towns,
and live in them.

It is rude and
barbarous always
to live in the
country.

This custom must
be amended,

and gentlemen
compelled to
live in cities.

If these things
were done, our
cities would be
beautified,
our country
replenished,

and the people
have abundance,

- 1225 such thyng as by marchauntys schold be brought in out of other *partys*. *And* yet, moreouer, you schold playnly see, that we schold haue wythal, consequently, al ornamentys conuenyent to the nature of our cuntrey, wych wyl not suffur to be so ornat *and* so beutyful, in euery degre, as other cuntreys be, as Italy, Fraunce,
- as well as all ornaments suitable to our country.
- 1231 *and* Germany. The defecte of nature ys *with* vs such, by the reson wherof we haue not such thyngys as schold *ornate our cuntrey aftur such maner, notwythstondyng we haue *and* may haue by dylygence al such thyng as schalbe requyryd to thys *commyn* wel, the
- [* Page 32.]
- 1236 wych we haue before describyd. Wherfor, *Master Lupset*, we may now, consequently, procede to correcte the fautys wych be in the pollycy *and* in the maner of admynystratyon of our *commyn* wele; the wych ys, as hyt were, the soule to the body; for hyther
- We may now correct the faults in the policy, and administration of the commonwealth.
- 1241 to we haue schowyd *and* touchyd the maner of the correctyng only such mysordurys as be in the body *and* in the *partys* of the same. Wherfor, now, *Mastur Lvpset*, yf you thynke hyt tyme, *and* except you remembyr any thyng not spoken of wych ys nede apon
- 1246 thys parte, let vs go forward therto.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. *Lvpset*.—Syr, for as much as I remembyr the knot betwyx the body *and* the soule, *and* the *commynyon* betwyx them also to be of that sorte that they
- L. thinks Pole might go on
- 4 dyseasys of the one redunde to the other, therfor I thynke such dyseasys of the body (yf ther be any yet left behynd) schalbe curyd by the correctyon *and* cure of such as *perteyne* to the lyfe *and* soule of the same. Wherfor I thynke you may procede, yf you wold a lytyl
- to show how this schow more at large how thys body schold be kept *and*

conseruyd continually in helth, *and* in thys prosperouse state wych you haue describyd. body may be kept in health.

2. *Pole.*—Why, *Master Lvpset*, dow you not perceyue how that schal folow of necessity to the cure of the mysordurys wych remayn in the lyfe, *and*, as hyt were, the soule of thys polytyke body, euen lyke as hyt P. answers, health must of necessity follow cure.

ys in mannys body, to the wych I oft resembyl the same, wherin you see the *conseruatyon* therof? *In* helth *and* prosperouse state mucche hangyth upon the temperance *and* soburnes of the mynd, in so much that you 15
In health, much depends on temperance.

schal see veray few of sobur *and* temperat dyat, but they haue helthy *and* welthy bodys, except the[y] hurt themselfys by some exteryor cause manyfest *and* Sober men are healthy and wealthy.

playn; as ouer much or lytyl exercyse, or abydyng in some pestylent *and* corrupt ayre, *and* *such other lyke. Euen so hyt ys in this polytyke body, be you 22
[* Page 33.]

assuryd, yf we may fynd the mean now, in thys our *communycatyon* folowyng, to correcte the fautys in our And so it is in the body politic,

pollycy, thys prosperouse state schal surely long continue, *and* thys polytyke body helthy and welthy long schal indure. A certayn argument therof we haue of the most nobul cyte of Venyce, wych, by the reson of 28

the gud ordur *and* pollycy that therin ys vsyd, hath contynuyd aboute a thousand yerys in one ordur *and* of which Venice is an evidence,

state. Where as the pepul also, by the reson of theyr sobur *and* temperat dyat, be as helthy *and* welthy as any pepul now, I thynke, lyuyng upon the erth. Therfor, *Master Lupset*, by statute made *and* commynly 34

receyuyd concernyng our dyat, we must be compellyd at the fyrst to folow thes men in soburnes *and* temperance; *and* then you schold neuer haue any occasyon to dowte therof nor feare the stabylyte of our prosperouse state *and* gud pollycy. Specyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur *and* rule, that they schal rest no faute theryn; for that ys the sure ground of the *conseruatyon* of the commyn wele in the polytyke and we by statute made, must follow her example. We must be compelled to practise soberness and temperance.

of the *conseruatyon* of the commyn wele in the polytyke 41

state *and* gud pollycy. Specyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur *and* rule, that they schal rest no faute theryn; for that ys the sure ground of the *conseruatyon* of the commyn wele in the polytyke 45

Causes of ruin of countries.

body. For, as you see manifestly dayly, the ruine of cuntreys, cytes, *and* townys, rysyth euer of thys ground *commynly*, that ys to say, other of some tyranny, or
49 sedycyon made by the reson of some mysordur in the polytyke gouernance *and* rule.

1. None can deny it: go on.

3. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys troth, no man may hyt deny. And, therfor (wythout other delay) procede aftur your maner *proposyd*.

P. Tyranny is the root of every ill, and must have no place in our common-wealth.

4. *Pole*.—For by cause, *Master Lvpset*, tyranny in al *commynaltys* ys the ground of al yl, the wel of al myschefe and mysordur, the rote of al sedycyon, *and* ruine of al cyuylyte, therfor we must aboue al pro-
58 uyde that to hyt in our cuntrey be no place at al. For

Man is miserable when his reason is overcome by unruly affections.

as man ys then myserabul—though he haue neuer so gud helth of body *and* *prosperus* state other ways—when reson ys ouer-run *and* vnruelyd affectys gouerne *and* reyne in hys ordur of lyfe; ye, *and* the bettur helth of body *and* more abundance *of ryches that he

[* Page 34.]

64 hath *and* of wordly prosperyte, the more myserabul he ys, *and* ful of wrechydnes; so ys a cuntrey, cyte, or towne, when hyt ys oppressyd wyth tyranny—though hyt be neuer so wel replenyschyd wyth pepul helthly *and* welthy, *and* ornate wyth the most gudly cytes of
69 the world, yet most myserabul *and* wrechyd *and* ful of al aduersyte, as we haue before more at large declaryd. Therfor, *Master Lvpset*, aboue al, as I sayd, of thys we must haue regard, *and* stoppe al occasyon therof as much as we may. And for as much as no prynce ys

As no perfect prince can be found,

found of such sorte as ys requyryd to a veray true *and* pryncely state,—that ys to say, that passyth al other in wysedome *and* vertue, w[h]ose stomake schold be a

Tyranny.]

77 lyfely image of justyce *and* pollycy, *and* whose lyfe schold be law to al other *and* exampul of al huma[n]yty;—therfor we must, to avoyd al tyranny, wych in al realmys runnyth in at thys hole (that ys to say, by

we must, to avoid tyranny, take care that he

¹ In margin of MS.

gyuyng authoryte to one wych ys not worthy of thys name of a prynce, the ful powar therof)—we must prouyd, I say, that by no prerogatyfe he vsurpe apon the pepul any such authorysyd tyranny, wyche the actys of *parlyamentys* in tyme past, vnder the *pretense* of princely maiesty, hath grauntyd therto here in our cuntrey. Seing, therfor, that a pryncely state, as we haue prouyd before, ys most *conuenient* for our cuntrey *and* to the nature therof most agreabul; *and* seyng, also, that pryncys *commynly* are rulyd by affectys, rather then by reson *and* ordur of iustyce; the lawys, wyche be syncere *and* pure reson, wythout any spot or blot of affectyon, must haue chefe authoryte; they must rule *and* gouerne the state, *and* not the prynce aftur hys owne liberty *and* wyl. For thys cause the most wyse men, *consyderyng* the nature of pryncys, ye, *and* the nature of man as hyt ys indede, affyrme a myxte state to be of al other the best *and* most *conuenient* to *conserue* the hole out of tyranny. For when any one *parte* hath ful authoryte, yf that *parte* chaunce to be corrupt wyth affectys, as oft we se in euery other state hyt dothe, the rest schal suffur the tyranny therof, *and* be put in grete mysery. For the *avoydyng* wherof here in our cuntrey, the authoryte of the prynce must be *temperyd* *and* brought to ordur, wych, many yerys, by prerogatyfys grauntyd therto, ys growne to a manyfest iniury; the wych thyngys the actys of our pryncys in tyme so openly haue declaryd, that hyt nedyth, I trow, no proffe at al. I thynke ther ys no man that so lakkyth yes wych thys doth not see.

(4.) But now by what mean thys may be downe *partely* I haue schowyd in the cure of the hede *and* of the frenecy therof; *and* the rest now we schal joyne in hys place. Our old aunceturys, the instytutarys of our lawys *and* ordur of our reame, *consyderyng* wel thys same tyranny, *and* for the *avoydyng* of the same,

do not usurp an authority which certain statutes allow, under the pretence of majesty.

85

90

95

The wisest men think a mixed government best of all.

100

[* Page 35.]

The authority of the prince must be moderated.

107

112

Our ancestors appointed a Constable of England

as a counterpoise
to the prince;

ordeynyd a Connestabul of Englonde, to conturpayse the
authoryte of the prynce *and tempur* the same; gyuyng
hym authoryte to cal a parlyament in such case as the
prynce wold run into any tyranny of hys owne heddy
jugement. But forbycause thys offyce semyd to the

122 prynce ouer-hye, to haue any one man wyth such
authoryte, *and* so often tyme was cause of sedycyon
and debate, in so much that the pryncys of our tyme
haue thys offyce vturly suppressyd; therfor, for the
avoydyng of al such occasyon of any dangerouse sedy-

but now the
office is sup-
pressed,

127 cyon betwyx the pryncys of our reame *and* hys
nobylyte, me semyth much more conuenyent, as I haue
schowyd before, to gyue thys authoryte vnto dyuerse,
and not to one; euen lyke as the authoryte of the
prynce may not rest in hym alone, but in hym, as the
hede, joynyd to hys counsel, as to the body. Aftur the

it would be better
to give the
authority to
several than to
one,

allowing the
Constable to be
the chief.

same forme, the Connestabul schold be hede of thys
other conseyll, wych schold represent the hole body of
the pepul without parlyament *and* commyn counseyll
geddryd of the reame. *Concernyng thys one . ynt

[* Page 36.¹]

137 chefely :—that ys to say, to see vnto the lyberty oi the
hole body of the reame, *and* to resyst al tyranny wych
by any maner may grow upon the hole commynalty,
and so to cal parlyament of the hole when so euer they
see any peryl of the losse of the lyberty. Thys counseyll

Their duties to
preserve the
liberties of all.

142 I wold haue, as I touchyd befor, of the Constabul as
hede, of the Lord Marschal, Stuard, *and* Chamburleyn
of Englonde, wyth iiij of the chefe jugys, iiij cytyzys
of London, *and* ij byschoppys, London *and* Cantor-
bury. Thys conseyll schold euer be occasyon to redresse

147 the affectys of the prynce to the ordur of the law,
justyce, *and* equitye, in case be that he by any mean
schold corrupt hys counseyll appoyntyd to hym by the
same authoryte. For thys may in no case be com-

¹ About half way down the margin of this page, the author
has written the words, "the thryd poynt of," but they seem to
have no meaning.

myttyd to the arbytryment of the prynce to chose hys owne conseyl; for that were al one *and* to commytte al to hys affectys, lyberty, *and* rule. Thys therfor schold be the second thyng *perteynyng* to thys conseyl *and* as a lytyl *parlyament*:—to electe *and* chose euer such men as they schold juge mete to be about a prynce, *and* to be veray conseylarys of the commyn welthe, *and* not to be corrupte by feare or affectyon. Thys conseyl I wold haue to be of x personys: ij doctorys lernyd in dyuynyte, *and* ij in the law cyuyle, *and* ij of the commyn law—of the wych, ij I wold schold be appoyntyd to receyue complayntys made to the kyng *and* to refere that same to the hole conseyl, *and* one of them to be of the cyuyle *and* another of the commyn law—and iij of the nobylite, expert *and* wyse men in materys of pollycy. *And* by thys counseyl al thyngys *perteynyng* to the pryncely state schold be gouernyd *and* rulyd; of the wych the kyng schold be hede *and* presydent euer when he myght or wold be among them. By them al byschoprykys *and* al hye offyce of dygnyte schold be dystrybut. The rest the kyng schold dyspose, of hys owne *propur* lyberty, wher hyt schold plese hym. *And* so by thys counseyl the chefe mater *and* cause of al sedycyon schold be take *away out of our cuntrey; that ys to say, the *inequalyte* of dystrybutyon of the commyn offyceys of authoryte *and* dygnyte. For thys ys euydent *and* playn, that the chefe cause of sedycyon rysyth therof. For wher vertue ys not rewardyd worthyly, then hyt rebellyth sturdyly; then rysyth dysdayne *and* hate; then spryngyth enuy *and* malyce. Wherfor, when men be regardyd accordyng to theyr dygnyte, the occasyon most chefe of al sedycyon schalbe take away vndowtydly. Thys conseyl, therfor, schold be a grete *and* a wondurful stay of the pryncely state *and* stablyschyng of the true commyn

The king not to choose his own council :

153

it should consist of ten persons,

160

165

with the king as President when among them.

171

Thus all sedition would be done [* Page 36*.] away.

176

Where virtue is not rewarded, it rebels.

181

This council would be a stay of the princely state.

¹ Two pages bear this number.

- 186 wele that we so much haue spoken of before. Wherfor, not wythout a cause I wold thys to be chosen by the hole *parlyament*, and afturward euer supplyd by the electyon of thys counseyl, wych I sayd schold represent the hole state *commynly*. And thys schold be
- 191 the second poynt of theyr authoryte. The thryd schold be thys:—that the *materys* of peace and warre, debatyd by the other *conseyl* and propur of the *prynce*, schold euer be *confyrmyd* by them and *authorysyd* by theyr *consent*. Al other thyngys *perteynyng* to the
- 196 kyng and *pryncely* powar, as I sayd befor, to heng only apou the authoryte of hym and hys *conseyl* joinyd to hym. By thys mean, *Master Lvpset*, we schold avoyd easely al daunger of *tyranny*; by thys mean we schold avoyd the *sedycyon* that ys to be fearyd of the electyon of the *prynce* yf he were not *admyttyd* by *successyion* of blode. Or els, bycause that *maner* hath byn vsyd many yerys, and *takyth* away much *occasyon* of *sedycyon*, as you *thynke*, I wyl not *stykke* wyth you in that, so that you wyl *graunte* me agayn hys powar, aftur the *maner* before *rehersyd*, somewhat to be *tempryd* and brought in *ordur*.
- 202
- 207

Matters of peace and war debated in the king's council must be confirmed by this council of the parliament.

Thus we should avoid tyranny and sedition.

[* Page 37.]
I. would have the prince chosen by the old families.

P. says there is no great ambition in Venice, nor would there be with us if our king's power were restrained.

5. *Lvpset*.—Yes, *Sir*, that I must nede graunt, except I wold *admyt* *playn* *tyranny*, wych wyl not agre wyth our *communycatyon* before had. *But, on the other *parte*, I wold not yet haue hym chose by *electyon*, but let that powar rest in the *auncyent* *famylys*, or els *hyt* can not be chose but that we schold haue oft

214 *cyuyle* warre and *sedycyon*. For euery man wold study to *attayne* therto, and so al schold fal into a *confusyón*.

6. *Pole*.—Nay, *Mastur Lvpset*, I can not tel you that; yf *hyt* were *restraynyd*, as I haue sayd befor, ther wold not be so grete *ambycyon* therof as ther ys now. For as in *Venyce* ys no grete *ambycouse* *desyre* to be ther *Duke*, because he ys *restreynyd* to *gud* *ordur* and

polytyke, so wyth vs, also, schold be of our kyng, yf 222
 hys powar were *temperyd* aftur the maner before de-
 serybyd. Wheras now euery man desyryth hyt by-
 cause he may make hymselfe *and* al hys frendys for
 euer ryche; he may subdue hys enemys at hys plesure;
 al ys at hys *commandement and* wyl. *And* thys hathe
 mouyd cyuyle war in tyme past, notwythstondyng thys 228
 ordynance of successyon. But we wyl not entur no
 farther in dysputacyon now, for as much as I remembyr
 we haue resonnyd apou thys *mater* before, *and* playnly
 concludyd the best way, yf men wold lyfe in cyuyle
 lyfe togyddur, to haue a prynce by fre electyon *and*
 chosyng hym among other of the best. But for by-
 cause we are barbarouse *and* rulyd by affectys, for the
 avoydyng of gretur yl wych wold come among barbar- 236
 ouse myndys, therfor, in the second place, *and* not as
 the best, we thought hyt *conuenient*, as you say, now to
 take hym by successyon, but *temperyng* hys powar, as
 hyt ys before sayd.

Now every man
desires the office
for selfish ends.

A prince elected
by the people,
the best form of
government.

7. *Lvpset*.—Thys ys vndowtydly troth. The powar
 of the prynce wold, aftur such fascyon, be restreynyd
and brought to ordur; *and*, aftur my mynd, hyt ys the
 chefe grounde *and* pryncypal of al thys true *commyn*
 wele, wherof we now speke, *consyderyng* the nature of
 man as hyt ys, wych ys more *commynly* rulyd by
 affectys then by reson. Wherfor, yf thys ground were
 stablyschyd, *and* surely set, the cure of al other mys- 248
 ordurys wych we notyd before wold by *and* by folow
and easely insue.

In all this L.
conkurs, and
says if this re-
straint were
established, all
disorders would
be cured.

Quod vt pluri-
mum accidit,
considerant
oi νομοθεται.¹

8. *Pole*.—That ys troth, Master *Lvpset*, wythout
 fayle, as we schal see in our processe more playn. For
 as physycyonys say, when they haue remouyd the chefe
 cause of the malady *and* dysease in the body, by lytyl
and by lytyl then *Nature hyrselfe curyth the patyent;
 euen so now in our purpos, thys faute that we haue be-

P. says, True;
physicians say,
when they have
removed the
cause of the
malady,

[* Page 38.]
Nature cures the
patient.

¹ In margin of MS.

- 257 fore spoken of, wych was *and* ys the cause of many other, onys *per*factly curyd, schal mynystur vnto vs the most conuenient mean for to procede to the cure of the rest. Among the wych, as I remembyr, was ther notyd the faute of bryngyng vp of the noblyte, wych, for the most parte, are nuryschyd wyt[h]out cure, bothe of theyr parentys being alyfe, *and* much wers of them in
- 264 whose ward *commynly* they dow fal aftur theyr deth ; the wych care for nothyng but only to spoyle theyr pupyllys *and* wardys, or els to mary them aftur theyr plesure, wherby the true loue of matrymony was *and* ys vturly take away *and* destroyd ; to the wych, as euery
- 269 man knowyth, succede infynyte myserys *and* mysordury of lyfe. Wherfore thys thyng must be remedyd, yf we wyl procede to our end *and* purpos. *And*, fyrst, as concerning the wardys ; of thys we must begyn al our old barbarouse custumys vtterly to abrogate, wythout respecte of the begynnyng in therof, though they appere neuer so gud. And euer they wych haue the noblyte in ward must be bounden to make a rekenyng *and* count before a juge appoyntyd therto, not only of al hys intrate, *rentys*, *and* reuenewys, but much more of the orderyng *and* instytutyon of hys ward both in *vertue and* lernyng. But here ys, Mastur Lvpset, not only in our cuntrey, but also in al other wych euer yet I knew, a gret lake *and* neclygence of them wych rule in *commyn pollycy* ; *and* that ys thys :—that in no cuntre
- 284 ther ys any regard of the bryngyng vp of vthe in *commyn dysceplyne and* publyke excercyse. But *euery* man pryuatly in hys owne house hathe hys mastur to instructe hys chyldur in letturys, wythout any respecte of other excercyse in other featys *per*teynyng to noblyte no les then lernyng *and* letturys, as in al featys of chyualry. Therfor ther wold be some ordynance deuysyd for the joynyng of thes bothe *togyddur, wych mygh[t] be

Another fault is in the bringing up of the nobility.

Wardys,¹
Our customs relating to wards must be abrogated,
and those who have care of wards must be made to render accounts,

Educatyon.¹

and to bring up their wards not only exercised in letters, but in feats of arms.

[* Page 39.]

¹ In margin of MS.

downe aftur thys maner, lykewyse as we haue in our 292
 Vnyuersytes, collegys, and commyn placys to nurysch
 the chyldur of pore men in letturys; wherby, as you
 see, commyth no smal profyt to the commyn wele.

(8.) So much more we schold haue, as hyt were, 301
 certayn placys appoyntyd for the bryngyng vp togyddur
 of the nobylite, to the wych I wold the nobullys schold
 be compellyd to set forward theyr chyldur and heyrys,
 that in a nombur togyddur they myght the bettur pro-
 fyt. And to thys cumpany I wold haue appoyntyd
 rularys certayn of the most vertuse and wyse men of the
 reame, the wych schold instruct thys vthe to whomeschold
 come the gouernance aftur of thys our commyn wele.¹

Public schools
 should be
 established,
 and the nobles
 compelled to
 send their chil-
 dren to them,

Here they schold be instructe, not only in vertue and lern-
 yng, but also in al featys of warre perteynyng to such
 as schold be hereaftur in tyme of warr captaynys and
 gouernourys of the commyn sorte. Thys schold be the 308

to be instructed
 in learning and
 feats of war.

most nobul instytutyon that euer was yet deuysyd in
 any commyn wele. Of thys surely schold spryng the
 fountayn of al cyuylyte and polytyke rule; ye, and
 wythout such a thyng, I can not tel whether al the rest
 of our deuysse wyl lytyl avayle. I thynk hyt wyl neuer 313

be possybul to instytute our commyn wele wythout thys
 ordynance brough[t] to passe and put in effect.² Our
 old fatherys haue byn lyberal in byldyng grete abbeys
 and monasterys for the exercyse of a monastycal lyfe

Abbeys haue done
 much good;

among relygyouse men, wych hath downe much gud to 318
 the vertuese lyuyng of Chrystyan myndys; whose ex-
 ampul I wold that we schold now folow in byldyng
 placys for the instytutyon of the nobylite, or els in
 chaungyng *some of thes to that vse, because ther be

change some of
 these to institu-
 tions for the sons
 of nobles.

[* Page 40.]

¹ To thys vse turne both Westmester and Saynt Albonys, and many other.

² Prebendys schold be premia to yong gentylnen, maryd and lernyd in scripture; by thys mean scripture schold be more communyng then hyt ys.

The above sentences are written in the margin. No reference mark is supplied to denote where they should be placed.

323 ouer-many of thys sort now in our days ; that, euen lyke as thes monkys *and* relygyouse men ther lyuyng togyddur, exerceyse a *certain* monastycal dyscyplene *and* lyfe, so they nobylls, beyng brought vp togyddur, schold lerne ther the dyscyplene of the *commyn* wele.

The nobles think they were born to spend what their ancestors provided.

You see now how they nobullys thynke themselfe borne only to tryumphe *and* spend such landys, the wych theyr anceturys haue prouydyd for them, in theyr vayne plesurys *and* pastymys. They neuer loke to other end

332 and purpos. But here I wold haue them in thys dyscyplene, fyrst, to take hede *and* dylygently to lerne what they be, *and* what place the[y] occupy in the *commyn* wele, *and* what ys the offyce *and* duty *perteynyng* to the same. Here they schold lerne how and aftur

Here they should learn all which pertains to their office,

what *maner* they myght be abul *and* mete to dow *and* put in exerceyse that thyng wych *perteynyth*

339 to theyr offyce *and* authoryte ; *and* so playnly *and* fully to be instructe in the admynstratyon of justyce both publyke *and* pryuate. *And*, as I sayd, at voyd tymys also conuenyent to the same, they schold vse to exerceyse themselfys in featys of the body *and* chyualry, no lesse

344 expedyent for tyme of warr then the other exercyses be for tyme of peace. *And* thys they schold be worthy of the name wych we now vnworthyly gyue vnto them *com-*

and become nobles indeed, and the people would be glad to be governed by them.

mynly ; then they schold be nobullys in dede ; then they schold be true lordys *and* masturys ; then they pepul wold be glad to be gouernyd by them, when they *per-*

351 ceuyd so playnly that they regardyd the wele of them no lesse then theyr owne pryuatly. But, Mastur Lvpset, the *partycular* mean of bryngyng thys *mater* to passe requyryth, as I sayd before, a hole boke. Hyt ys enough for vs now to schow *and* touch the *maner and* mean in general.

L. confesses it would be a noble institution,

9. Lvpset.—Syr, thys schold be a nobul instytutyon, and to such a prynce as schold be in a true *commyn*

358 wele esy to bryng to passe, or to any such rularys as

intend a veray true cyuyle lyfe. *I pray God we may lyfe to se some men of authoryte bend to put thys in effecte. Thys schold bryng forth in few yerys, I trow, Plato's commyn wele, or els, rather, the true instytutyon of Chrystyan doctryne; so that ther schold be wyse men among thys vthe to instytute them in the summe of Chrystys Gospel.

[* Page 41.]
and hopes we
may live to see it.

362

They should be
instructed in
Christ's Gospel.

10. *Pole*.—Yes, Mastur *Lvpset*,¹ that ys to be vnderstoned; that ys the hede dyscyplyne and publyke that I spake of befor; in the wych, I thynke, in few yerys, as you say, they schold more profyt to the commynyng of Chrystyn charyte and the veray Gospel of Chryst, then our monkys haue downe in grete processe of tyme in theyr solytary lyfe, wych hath brough[t] forth, wyth lytyl profyt to the publyke state, much superstycyon. Thys vthe, as sterrys, schold lyght in al partys of the reame hereaftur, and they schold put in effect that thyng wych thes solytary men dreme of in theyr cornarys.

P. says that is
understood, and
is the head dis-
cipline of all;

369

it would do more
than the monkish
life which has
been the cause of
much superstition.

375

11. *Lvpset*.—Vndowtydly suchan instytutyon schold wel remedy thys mater of the wardys, and bryng in a contrary fame into our cuntrey. For as we be now infamyd therwyth, so we schold be then of al other most praysyd; and not only for the wardys and gud ordur of them, but for the hole educatyon of noblyte, wych ys in al placys, as you sayd, more neclecte then of the nobyllys theyr haukys and theyr houndys, of whose educatyon they haue grete cure.

L. This care of
wards would
bring us great
praise;

380

as for the nobles,
they think much
of their hawkes
and hounds.

385

12. *Pole*.—Syr, you say truth; and specyally wyth vs, wher gentylnen study more to bryng vp gud houndys then wyse heyrys. But now let vs go forward, and you schal see how, yf thes ij thyngys wych we haue spoken of—that ys, the takyng away of al occasyon of tyranny and ordeynyng of gud hedys, and now thys gud educatyon of the noblyte—had place and effecte, that the remedys of al other mysordurys schold, as I haue oft

True, says P.;
they study more
to bring up good
hounds than
wise heirs.

389

393

¹ MS. *ie*.

- 394 sayd, shortly be found *and* put in effect, as al other
 [* Page 42.] mysordurys of our lawys before notyd. As, fyrst, *re-
 Appeal to London must be abolished.
 Appellatyon.¹ mouyng of causys by wryte from schyre townys to
 London, wych we notyd a grete abuse, *and* not wythout
 a cause ; for by that mean euery man of powar vexyth
 hys aduersary wythout cause, *and* when he knowyth
 400 ryght wel hys mater ys vniuste. Thys thyng, I thynke,
 schold be remedyd by *and* by, wythout ferther payne or
 punnyschment appoyntyd therto, yf the nobylte *and*
 The duty of the nobility is chiefly to see justice done, and to keep men in unity.
 gentylnen of euery schyre wold consydur theyr offyce *and*
 duty therin ; wych ys chefely to see justyce among theyr
 405 *seruantys and* subiectys, *and* to kepe them in vnyte *and*
 concorde. Wherfor thys must be ordeynyd :—that no
 No cause must be removed to London, except such as the gentlemen of the shire cannot determine.
 cause be remouyd by wryte to London, but such only as
 they *gentylnen* of the scyre, by the reson of the dyffy-
 culty of the mater, *can* not decyde ; or els for some other
 resonabul cause to be prouyd before them. And at
 London the jugysschold admyt non in sute, but such only
 412 as, forsome resonabul cause, were remytted to them by the
gentylnen of the scyre ; wych haue authoryte therin
 in the sessyonys *and* sysys at scyre townys appoyntyd.
And moreouer they *partys* both schold be sworne apon
 a boke that wyth gud opynyon of justyce they *persue*
 417 *and* defende euer theyr ryght, for the avoydyng of al
 calumnyouse contentyon *and* wylful vexatyon of theyr
 aduersarys. And besyde thys, the *party* condemnyd by
 the authoryte of the hye jugys, schold euer be awardyde
 to pay costys *and* al other dammage cumyng to hys ad-
 uersary by the reson of the vniust sute *and* vexatyon.
 423 And so by thys mean, that ys, *partely* by the wysdome
and gud prouysyon of the *gentylnen and* of the nobylte
 [* Page 43.] *rulyng in the cuntrey, *and* *partely* by feare of thys
 payne, both of *periury and* of the paying also of costys
and dammage, the *controuersys* of the *commyns* in euery
 schyre schold easelyar be pacyfyd *and* the *commyn*

Thus contro-
 versies would
 easily be set at
 rest,

¹ In margin of MS.

quyetnes much incresyd ; the wych, *Master Lvpset*, now
 ys much trowblyd by *contentyous myndys and froward*
 wyttyes, not only of the *partys* themselfys, but also,
 much more, by the *auarycouse myndys and couetouse*
 of the *proktorys and attorneyes*, wych *commynly* regard
 more they owne lucur then the justyce of theyr clyentys
 cause. Wherfor the same othe that ys mynstryd to
 the clyent hymselfe schold be gyuen also to hys proktor
 or aduocate, and also *punnyschement*, not only of *per-*
iuury, but also of promotyng vniuste causys, wold be
 joynyd therto. The *punnyschement* schold be aftur thys
 sort : bycause he for hys lucur deludyth bothe *partys*
and prolongyth the *controuersy* by hys crafty wytt, when
 so euer hyt myght be manyfestely prouyd, *and* hys
 couetouse mynd openly declaryd, he schold pay the
 costys *and* dammage to both the *partys*, as wel to the
 aduersary of hys clyent, wych by hys craft was long de-
 fraudyde of hys ryght, as to hys owne clyent, wych by
 hys dyssymulatyon *and* fare wordys was interteynyd in
 long sute. Thys ordynance, I thynke, wold helpe much
 to the setting forth of the justyce of causys ; thys schold
 cause the *attorneyes and prokturyes* to refrayne from theyr
 crafty inuentyonys ; the wych ys the ground *and* the
 veray chefe key of the longe sute of causys in the Court
 at Westmonastere, wych we notyd *and* obseruyd con-
 sequently for a nother grete faute *and* mysordur.

13. **Lvpset*.—The couetouse myndys of the mynys-
 turyes of the law ys, wythout dowte, a gret *parte* cause
 of thes long sutys, wych, I thynk, schold be well re-
 dressyd yf thys payne were set apon them before pre-
 scribyd ; speccially yf you joynyd to thys some prouysyon
 concernyng the multytude of them. For of them are
 ouer-many, though ther be among them ouer-few gud.
 Therfor, yf hyt were ordeynyd that only such whose ver-
 tue *and* honesty *and* gud lernyng in the law were by

and quietness
restored.

432

Advocates who
prolong contro-
versies to be
punished,

440

by paying costs
and damages to
both parties to a
suit.

446

451

[* Page 44.]
L. has no doubt
that the covetous-
ness of the
lawyers is the
cause of long
suits,
Aduocatys.¹

460

and he would only
admit the virtuous
and honest to
practise ;

¹ In margin of MS.

- 464 many yerys prouyd, schold be admyttyd to practyse in
causys ; *and* such as loke not for al theyr lyuyng of theyr
and they should
be men of means.
clyentys, but gentylnen, wych haue other lande, offyce,
or fee, suffycyently to maynteyn themselfys wythal,
then I thynke ther wold not be so grete robbery vsyd of
469 them as ther ys now, *and* the sutys schold not be so
long interteynyd. How be hyt, you, as I remembyr,
But is there not
another cause of
these long suits ?
notyd a nother ground of thys long sutys before, *and* that
ther was also faute in the veray ordur of the law. Dyd
you not so ?
- P. answers yes ; 14. *Pole.*—Yes, *Master Lvpset*, that ys troth, *and*
that ys the fountayn *and* cause of the hole mater ; the
wych cause (as we haue downe in some other mys-
477 ordurys before reheryd) we must study to take away,
yf we wyl vturly remedy thys faute of vs touchyd,
our law is
confused ;
Master Lvpset. Thys ys no dowte but that our law
and ordur therof ys ouer-confuse. Hyt ys infynyte,
and wythout ordur or end. Ther ys no stabyl grounde
482 therin, nor sure stay ; but euery one that can coloure reson
makyth a stope to the best law that ys before tyme de-
uysyd. The suttylty of one sergeant schal enerte *and* de-
stroy al the jugementys of many wyse men before tyme
receuyd. Ther ys no stabyl ground in our *commyn*
487 law to leyne vnto. The jugementys of yerys be infynyte
and ful of much controuersy ; *and*, besyde that, of smal
authoryte. The jugys are not bounden, as I vnderstond,
to folow them as a rule, but aftur theyr owne lyberty,
Judges are not
bound to follow
the laws.
they haue authoryte to juge, accordyng as they are *in-
structyd by the sergeantys, *and* as the *cyrcumstance* of
the cause doth them moue. *And* thys makyth juge-
494 mentys *and* processe of our law to be wythout end *and*
infynyte ; thys causyth sutys to be long in decysyon.
To remedy this,
we should follow
the example of
Justinian,
Therfor, to remedy thys mater groundly, hyt were
necessary, in our law, to vse the same remedy that
Justynyan dyd in the law of the Romainys, to bryng
499 thys infynyte processe to certayn endys, to cut away

[* Page 45.]

thys long lawys, *and*, by the wysdome of some poly-
 tyke *and* wyse men, instytute a few *and* bettur lawys
and ordynancys. The statutys of kyngys, also, be ouer-
 many, euen as the *constytutyonys* of the emperorys
 were. Wherfor I wold wysch that al thes lawys schold
 be brought into some smal nombur, *and* to be wryten
 also in our mother tong, or els put into the Latyn, to
 cause them that study the cyuyle law of our reame,
 fyrst to begyn of the Latyn tong, wherin they myght 508
 also afturward lerne many thyngys to helpe thys pro-
 fessyon. Thys ys one thyng necessary to the educatyon
 of the noblyte, the wych only I wold schold be ad-
 myttyd to the study of thys law. Then they myght
 study also the lawys of the Romayns, where they 513
 schold see al causys *and* controuersys decydyd by ruly-
 more conuenient to the ordur of nature then they be in
 thys barbarouse tong *and* Old French, wych now *seruyth*
 to no purpos els. Thys, Mastur Lvpset, ys a grete
 blote in our pollycy, to see al our law *and* commyn
 dyscyplyne wryten in thys barbarouse langage, wych, 519
 aftur when the youth hath lernyd, *seruyth* them to no
 purpos at al; *and*, besyde that, to say the truth, many
 of the lawys themselfys be also barbarouse *and* tyran-
 nycal, as you haue before hard. Wherfor, yf we wyl
 euer bryng in true cyuylte into our cuntrey by gud 524
 pollycy, I thynke we must abrogate of thos lawys veray
 many; the wych ys the only remedy to cure such fautys
 as we found before in pryuate successyon **and* intayl-
 yng of landys in euery mean house. For as hyt ys in
 pryncys housys *and* lordys conuenient that the eldyst
 sone schold, as chefe hede of the famyly, euer succede
 (alway prouysyon had for the yongur also) so hyt ys
 playnly agayne nature in mean famyls *commynly*;
and, as we sayd *and* scho[w]yd at large before, occasyon
 of much hurte, as many other barbarouse custumys *and*
 ordynance be, of the wych we spake of before; the 535

who instituted
 but few laws and
 ordinances.

The statutes of
 kings also are too
 many.

The laws want
 to be made few
 in number, and
 written in Eng-
 lish or Latin,

not in this bar-
 barous tongue,
 Old French.

Besides which,
 many of the laws
 are barbarous and
 tyrannical,

and must be
 abrogated.

[* Page 46.]

Primogeniture
 conuenient for
 the few.

All the faults
spoken of might
be remedied by
adopting the
Roman civil Law

- wych al by thys one remedy schold be amendyd *and* correct, yf we myght induce the hedys of our cuntrey to admyt the same : that ys, to receyue the cyuyle law of the Romaynys, the wych ys now the *commyn* law almost of al Chrystyan natyonys. The wych thyng vndowtydly schold be occasyon of infynyte gudnes in the ordur of our reame, the wych I coud schow you manifestely, but the thyng hyt selfe ys so open *and* playn, that hyt nedyth no declaratyon at al ; for who ys so
- 540 blynd that seth not the grete schame to our natyon, the grete infamy *and* rote that remeynyth in vs, to be gouernyd by the lawys gyuen to vs of such a barbarouse natyon as the Normannys be? Who ys so fer from rayson that consyderyth not the tyrannycal *and* barbarouse instytutyonys, infynyte ways left here among vs, whych al schold be wypt away by the receyuyng of thys wych we cal the veray cyuyle law ; wych ys vndowtydly the most auncyent *and* nobyl monument of the Romaynys prudence *and* pollycy, the wych be so wryte wyth such grauyte, that yf Nature schold hyrselfe *prescrybe* partycular meanys wherby mankynd schold obserue hyr lawys, I thynke sche wold admyt
- 553 the same ; specyally, yf they were, by a lytyl more wysedome, brought to a lytyl bettur ordur *and* frame, wych myght be sone downe *and* put in effect. *And* so ther aftur that, yf the nobylyte were brought vp in thys lawys, *vndowtydly our cuntrey wold schortly be restoryd to as gud cyuylte as ther ys in any other natyon ; ye, *and*, perauenture, much bettur also. For though thes lawys wych I haue so praysyd be *commyn*
- 558 among them, yet, bycause the nobylyte ther *commynly* dothe not exercyse them in the studys therof, they be al applyd to lucur *and* gayne, bycause the popular men wych are borne in pouerty only doth exercyse them for the most parte, wych ys a grete ruynes of al
- 571 gud ordur *and* cyuylte. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, yf

in the place of
the laws given
by barbarous
Normans.
Our tyrannical
and barbarous
institutions must
be wiped away.

If the nobility
were brought up
[* Page 47.]
in better laws,
our country
would soon be
improved.

we myght bryng thys ij thyngys to effecte—that ys to say, to haue the cyuyle law of the Romaynys to be the *commyn* law here of Englonde *with vs* ; *and*, secondary, that the nobylyte in theyr youth schold study *commynly* therin—I thynk we schold not nede to seke *partycular* remedys for such mysordurys as we haue notyd before ; for surely thys same publyke dysceplyne schold redresse them lyghtly ; ye, and many other mow, the wych we spake not yet of at al.

The two things required are, (1) to adopt the Civil Law of the Romans for our Common Law ; (2) to cause the nobility to study the laws.

578

15. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, I hold wel wyth you in thys behalfe. Thys were a *commyn* remedy, yf hyt myght be brough[t] to passe. How be hyt, seyng that so many yerys we haue byn *gouernyd* by our owne law, I thynke hyt schold be veray hard to bryng thys to effect.

L. thinks it would be hard to bring this to effect.

584

16. *Pole*.—Nay, nay, *Master Lvpset*, eysyar then you thynke of. The gudnes of a prynce wold bryng thys to passe quykly ; for the law of hytselfe were easyar to lerne then ys ourys in the French tong. Wherfor ther lakkyth no thyng but authoryte to put hyt in effecte ; the wych I pray God we may onys see, *and* some occasyon therof onys for to take. But the mean tyme, *Master Lvpset*, bycause you thynke hyt ys so hard, let vs procede to the second remedy, that ys, to correct *partycularly* the fautys wych we notyd in the ordur before *and* pollycy. **And* as touchyng the successyon *and* intaylyng of landys, ther must nedys be prouysyon ; *and* aftur thys maner me thynke hyt wold dow wel : that yongur bretherne schold haue a certayn portyon deputyd out of the hole inherytance, other by the wyl of the father, or els, yf he dyd intestate, by an offyce[r] appoyntyd therto ; for hyt ys agayn reson *and* the ordur of nature that the eldyst brother schold haue al, *and* the rest *non* at al, as we haue resonnyd before.

P. answers, a good prince would soon bring it about,

590

it only requires authority.

He proceeds to discuss the succession to, and entailing of, lands.

[* Page 48.]

598

And as touchyng the intaylyng of landys, surely thys band wold be broke, wych now puttyth the heyrys out

Younger sons should have a portion of the inheritance.

604

The entailing of lands should be abolished,

608 of al feare *and* drede of theyr parentys ; and much
 bettur hyt were that they schold stond upon theyr
 behayour, *and* that, wythout they ordryd themselfys
 wel, hyt myght be at the lyberty of the father to dys-
 heryte hys sone yf he wold, proveyng hys cause before
 a juge ; for wythout cause hyt were not mete that the
 614 father schold dyssheryte hys chyld.

and the father
 have liberty to
 disinherit the son
 for just cause.

L. answers that
 this was a Roman
 ordinance.

17. **Lvpset.**¹—*Sir*, thys was the ordynance of the
 Romanys, as I remembyr. Wherfor, as you sayd be-
 fore, a compendyouse way for the amendyng of al were to
 procure the ordur of the cyuyle [law] here in our cuntrey,
 wych schold be a grete *conseruatyon* of the true cyuyle
 620 lyfe *and* just pollycy.

18. **Pole.**—Ther ys no fayle but yf hyt myght be,
 that were the best way, as we haue before agred. But
 yf hyt wyl not be vnyuersally receyuyd so quyky, yet
 let vs study to *commyn* hyt the mean tyme as much
 625 as we may in the *partycular* materys *and* correctyon
 therof.

19. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, you say wel ; *and*, therfor, goforthe ;
 for as *concernyng* *pruuate* successyon, intaylyng of landys
 629 *and* long sutys of the law, you haue sayd metely wel.

[CHAPTER III.]

L. asks what of
 theft and
 treason ?

P. Remove the
 cause, and you'll
 [* Page 49.]
 soon find the
 remedy.
 Theft.²

1. [**Lvpset.**]—But now for theft *and* treson, what
 wyl you say ?

2. **Pole.**—Fyrst (as in the other spoken of before)
 remoue the cause, *and* schortly *you schal fynd remedy.
 The cause of theft, chefe *and* pryncypal, spryngyth of
 the idul route wych we notyd before, *and* of yl educa-
 tyon of youth. Wherfor, thos ij thyngys correctyd be-
 8 fore, the cause of thys grete faute schold wythal be re-

¹ MS. Lep.

² In margin of MS.

mouyd ; notwystondyng, yf the fraylity of man fal 9

thervnto, *and* specyally to preynt theft, as pykyng *and* stealynge secretly, I wold thynke hyt gud that the felon schold be take *and* put in some commyn worke, as to labour in byldyng the wallys of cytes *and* townys, or els in some other magnyfycal work of the pryuce of 14

the reame, wych payne schold be more greuouse to them then deth ys reputyd ; *and* so by theyr lyfe yet the commyn welth schold take some profyt. For, as we resonyd before, dethe ys ouer-strayte punnyschment for al such theft pryuely commytted ; but robbery by the hie ways, wyth murdur *and* mansloughtur, wold be, as hyt ys, justely wyth most cruel deth punnyschyd. And in lyke maner treson, wych ys the gretyst faute that may be agayn the ordur of the commyn wele. How be hyt, thys semyth ouer-hard to punnysch the 24

chylde for the fatherys offence, being nothyng preynt nor consentyng therto. Wherfor, in such case reyson requyryth a poreyon of hys godys to remayne to hys hayre. And lyke wyse he that bryngyth not probabul argument *and* grete lykelyhood, wyche takyth upon hym the accusatyon in treson, schold be punnyschyd wyth the same punnyschement ; for hyt ys no smal mater to accuse a man of. But yf tyranny were taken away, as we haue declaryd before, you schold neuer haue occasyon of treson ; for tyranny ys the mother of 34 treson. Therfor surely thys ys a gospel word :—take away tyranny, *and* you schal haue lytyl occasyon of treson.

3. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, as you sayd, dowtles the correctyng of that faute amendyth, *consequently*, infynyte *other. I thynke ther be but few fautys in our commyn wele but they may be resoluyd to that pryncypal, or els to the yl educatyon *and* instructyon of the noblyte.

If a man fall to picking and stealing,

take him and put him to work ;

this would be more grievous than death,

which is a punishment over severe for such theft ; but highway robbers and murderers must suffer death ; and so must treason be punished. Treson.¹

But even then a portion of the goods should go to the heir.

Take away tyranny, and you shall have little treason.

L. thinks most faults may be attributed to that, or to the ill education of the nobility. [* Page 50.]

¹ In margin of MS.

Plato in his Commonwealth laboured to instruct his governors,

because good rulers are "lively laws,"

and a good prince will soon remedy all things ;

without one, all counsel is void.

Let us now go to the correction of the faults of the spirituality.

Pope.¹

[* Page 51.]

Cardinals ought to be elected, not made by money.

4. *Pole*.—Hyt ys not for nought be you assumyd that the most wyse phylosopher Plato, in hys *commyn* wel that he deuysyth, laburyth so much to instructe the offycerys *and* *gouernarys* therof. He puttyth to them in hys cyte *non* other lawys ; he jugyth that gud rularys euer be lyfely lawys. Therfor be you assuryd that yf the pollycy be not spottydyd wyth some spyce of tyranny, treson you schal see *non*. Therfor, a gud prynce in a *commyn* welth set, as I oft reherse, schal schortly bryng in the remedy of al other thyngys, the wych thyng 54 makyth me breuely here to passe such thyngys as els had nede of much delyberatyon *and* counseyl. How be hyt, wythout that thyng, al conseyl ys voyd *and* neuer can take place ; wythout that ther ys no gud ordynance can be stablyschyd nor grondyd ; *and* wyth 59 thys al thyng *perteynyng* to the cyuyle lyfe schold some be redressyd *and* brought to gud ordur ; of the wych I thynke now, *Master Lypset*, we haue here suffycyently spoken, at the lest, of al such thyng as we notyd before in yesturday's *communycatyon*. Wherfor now let vs go, fynally, to the correctyon of such thyngys as we notyd in the *spiritualty* ; *and* as we dyd in the *temporal parte*, so in thys let vs begyn of the hede, wher- 67 in we may apply some remedys.

(4.) For as the prynce by prerogatyue *and* pryuylege brekyth the ordur of the lawys *and* the knot of al cyuylte, so doth the Pope *and* hede of the Church, vsurpyng authoritye of dyspensatyon apon al *the lawys by general counseyl decred, wythout *communyn*g wyth hys counseyl 72 of Cardynallys wych are appoyntydyd, ye, *and* schold be electyd, *and* not made by the fre wyl of the Pope by money as they be now—for thys purpos only, that ys to say, that in such causys of appellatyon as *perteyne* to the welth of Crystundome, or of any *controuersy* in any natyon 78 therof, that they schold, hauyng the authoritye of the

¹ In margin of MS.

general conseyl, accordyng to the law redresse such con- 79
trouersys, *and* by equyte *and* ryght defyne the same.

Wheras, as now, contrary to the instytutyon *and* fyrst The Pope usurps
ordur, the Pope, by hys *propur* authoryte, vsurpyng a authority,
certayn clokyd tyranny vnder the pretext of relygyon, under the pretext
defynyth al, *and* dyspensyth wyth al at his owne of religion.

lyberty. Wherfor I wold wysch in no case that we 85
schold hang apon such a hede so much as we dow. I
wold not yet but we schold take hym as hede of the
Chrystun Church, seing that authoryte ys gyuen to hym
by general counseyl; but I wold we schold in our
reame gyue so much to hys authoryte, leynyng therto 90

as to the iugement of God. Wherfor an ordynance An ordinance
must be had, that ther be no cause sewyd out of the must be had that
reame, except causys of scysme in the fayth wych per- no cause be sued
teyn to the dyssolutyon of the vnyon of the Catholyke out of the realm,
and Chrystyan fayth. Such causys we schold reserue except schism.

to hym as hed appoyntyd by *commyn* authoryte; *and* 95
as for al other *controuersys*, I wold they schold be de-
fyndyd at home in our owne cuntre. For thys hath byn
a grete dystrectyon to our reame, wyth the mayntenyng
of thys holy powar vnder *pretense* of relygyon. Thys 100

hath byn one of the gretyst ruynys that *euer* hath come This has been a
to the reame of Englund, as I coud, by many storys, great ruin to
both old *and* of late days, playnly declare. But thys Englund,

ys to no *man vnknowen. I wyl therof cesse. Wher- [* Page 52.]
for I wold that we schold in no case medyl wyth that as is well known.

tend to open heresy. *And* so for the recognysance of 106

thys superyoryte, I wold that our reame schold pay Our realm should
thys Peter pens, releysyng thes annatys, wych ys pay its Peter
euer chargebul to our reame, except of the Archebys- pence.

choppys, whome I wold schold be instytute by the Archbishops
Pope, but electyd at home, *and* of them haue a certayne; instituted by the
at home;

but al other byschoppys schold be instytute by the but bishops
Archbyschoppys here in our owne cuntre, *and* schold should be insti-
tuted by the

Archbishops, and have no need to go to Rome.

not haue nede to run to Rome for theyr instytutyon *and* authoryte, as they haue downe many a yere, payyng therfor the fyrst frutys of theyr bunfyceys, the wych we obseruyd as a grete mysordur. For by thys we mayntenyd the pompe of the Pope, gyyng to hym that wych schold be dystrybutyd among the pore men of the dyocese here in our owne natyon.

119

L. asks what's the difference between sending first-fruits to Rome, and spending them on whores at home?

5. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, you say wel ; but, I pray you, tel me one thyng that I schal ax of you here. What dyfferens ys in thys mater to send the fyrst frutys to Rome *and* spend hyt in tryumphe here at home among whorys *and* harlatys *and* idul lubburys *seruyng* to the same purpos in our owne natyon ?

127

P. goes on to note a fault in bishops and abbots.

6. *Pole*.—Dyfferens ther ys ; for yet thys hyt ys spent at home in our owne cuntrey. How be hyt, *Master Lvpset*, here you touch a nother grete faute wych we notyd also before in our byschoppys *and* abbotys, wych tryumphe no lesse then the *temporal* lordys, the wych thyng, *Master Lvpset*, we must also now in hys place *tempur and* amend. *And*, breuely to say, I wold no thyng in thys mater but only prouysyon that the ordur of the *commyn* law of the Church myght haue place ; that ys to say, that byschoppys schold dyuyde theyr possessyonys in *iiij* partys to the vse appoyntyd by the authoryte of the law : the fyrst to byld churchys *and* tempullys ruynate in theyr dyocesys ; the second to maynteyne *the pore youth in study ; the thryd to the pore maydys *and* other pouerty ; *and* the ferth to fynd hymselfe *and* hys household wyth a mean nombur conuenient to hys dygnyte. Other prouysyon then thys

133

Bishops ought to diuide their possessions into parts :
1. To build churches ;
2. to maintain poor youths in study ;
[* Page 53.]
3. to maintain poor maids ;
4. to support themselves.

145

They should be resident. Abbots and priors should be chosen every 3 years ;

resydent apou theyr sees, except such as were necessary aboute the prynce. *And* as touchyng abbottys *and* pryorys in our cuntrey, I wold non other but only the ordur of the monkys of Italy ; that ys to say, that euery *iiij* yere to chose theyr abbotys *and* pryorys, *and* ther to gyue

150

rekenyng of theyr offycys *commynly*, *and* to lyue among
 hys bretherne, *and* not to tryumph in theyr *chamburys*
 as they dow; wych causyth al the enuy in the cloysturys, 153
and ys the occasyon of the grete spens of the intrat of
 the monastery; for to hys tabul resortyth the idul
 cumpany dwellyng about hym. Thys maner surely
 schold be a grete reformatyon in the monasterys of
 Englund. But, as I haue sayd many tymys before, the 158
partycular mean of thys *and* of other must be deuysyd
and put in effecte by such as schal haue authoryte to
 reforme the same. Hyt ys enough for vs now to schow
 in general, *and* lay *commyn* groundys to the fyndyng of
 the rest. 163

(6.) Aftur thys maner, *Master Lvpset*, *consyderyng*
 that they wych haue grete possessyonys wyl not of
 theyr fre wyl lyberally spend them accordyng to reson,
 hyt were veray *conuenient*, by ordur of law, to *constrayne*
 them therto; for when men *pruately* abuse theyr owne
 godys to the hurte [of] the *commyn* wele *and* ordur 169
 of the same, hyt ys then mete that the mater schold be
 had in *consyderatyon* of them wych bere rule in *com-*
myn authoryte. Wherfor the old Romanys made a law
 agayn *prodygalyte*, *constraynyng* men to *frugalyte*, wych
 ys to a *commyn* wele the ground of al other *vertues*.

Therfor, lyke ordynance as ys *determyd* to *byschoppys*, 175
 wold be *proporeyonably* apon other *inferyor* *dygnytes*
 of the Church; for as *much as they are only *dyspens-*
aters of the godys of the Church. Therfor, me *semyth*
 thys were wel, that euen lyke as by ordur of law the *pore*
 men are bounden to pay theyr *tythys* to theyr *curate*, so
 lyke wyse, they wych are *parsonys* *and* *curatys* schold
 be bounden to *dystrybut* that wych they haue *superfluose*
 among the *pouerty* of theyr *parreysch*; *and* so they schold
 also be *constreynyd* to be *resydent* apon theyr *bunfyceys*,
 ther to *preche* *and* *tech* the Gospel of *Chryste*, *and* see
 the *dystrybutyon* of theyr godys *themselves*; except 186

and should live
 among their
 brethren.

163

There should be
 some power to
 regulate the
 expenses of those
 who have great
 possessions.

169

The Romans con-
 strained men to
 frugality.

175

[* Page 54.]

As poor men are
 compelled to pay
 their tithes,

so parsons should
 be bound to give
 to the poor, and
 to live in their
 parishes,

except a few in
cathedral
churches.

hyt were certayn aboute the prynce *and* also certayn in
cathedral churchys, wych I wold not haue to be resydent
wyth such an idul *company* as they dow now, but to be,
190 as hyt were, *conseyllarys* to the byschope, men of grete
lernyng *and* vertue, helpyng to set ordur in al the rest
of hys dyocese; *and* obseruyng wyth al dylygence that
the rest of inferyor prestys dyd theyre offyce *and* duty,
and to se that non schold be admyttyd but such as in al
195 poyntys were mete for theyr offyce, both of lernyng *and*
wysdom conuenyent to the same. For the wych I wold
thynke veray conuenyent non schold be made prestys vnder
xxx yere of age, wych had spend theyr vthe *vertuesly*
in letturys, *and* not in huntyng nor haukyng *and* such
200 other idul pastymys. The same ordynance also I wold
schold be obseruyd in admytting of al other relygyouse
personys of what ordur so euer they be, non vnder xxx
yere of age. For thys admytting of frayle vthe wyth-
out conuenyent profe of theyr vertue *and* lernyng, ys
the *ground *and* mother of al mysordur in the Church
and relygyon, as you may se, *Master Lvpset*, in euery
207 place. Of thys fountayn spryngyth al the sklandur of
the Church by mysbehauour. Wherfor, yf thys hole
were stoppyd, surely the gretyst cause of al fautys in
the Church of Chryst schold be taken away wythal, the
wych remedyd, schold be a grete occasion of the remedy
212 of the hole body; for as much as they *commyn* pepul
loke chiefely to the lyfe of *prelatys and* prestys, takyng
theyr exampul of the ordur of theyr lyfe. Wherfor,
Master Lvpset, as we dyd schow a general mean of the
bryngyng vp of nobilyte wych schold be in the *tem-*
poralty, rularys, *and* hedys, so now a lytyl we must touch
218 the bryngyng vp of the vthe determyd to the *spiritualty*
and exercyse therin. *And*, breuely to say, for as much
as the Latyn tong *and* the Greke be the ground of lern-
yng, in the study wherof they must spend theyr vthe,
ther must be certayn *and* gud scolys instytute wyth

None ought to be
admitted priests
under 30 years
of age,

and after proof
of virtue.
[* Page 55.]

Thus the greatest
cause of faults
would be re-
moved.

He would have
schools instituted,

prudent masters *and* wel lernyd to instructe thys cumpany. Hyt were no thyng amys to put ij or iij of thes smal scolys of x^{li}. a yere togydur *and* make one gud, wyth an excellent mastur, *and* in euery towne let the prestys instructe them *and* make them somewhat mete to hys handys ; *and* then, aftur they had byn brough[t] vp in lernyng a wyle, such as he schold jure mete wyttys, wyth other lernyng men appoyntyd to the jurement therof, schold then be send to vnyuersytes, ther to be instructe in the lyberal scyence, *and* so to be made precharys of the doctryne of Chryst. 223

and thinks it would be better to put several small schools together to make one good one.

(6.) But here, aboue al thyng, the scolemastur must study no les to bryng vp thys vthe no les in vertue then in lernyng ; for loke, how they be custumyd in vthe, so aftur the[y] folow the trade other of vyce or of vertue. Therfor ther must be as much regard of the one as of

228 From such schools those who were found meet should go to the universities.

the other. *For the lernyng wythout vertue ys pernycyouse *and* pestylent. The same ordur must be take in vnyuersytes, that thos sedys wych are plantyd by the scolemastur may bryng forthe some gud *and* perfayt frute. But thys thyng in studys *and* vnyuersytes ys neclectyd *and* despysyd, as hyt ys in grammer-scolys. Wherfor ther must be reformatyon for that, as in theyr maner of studys wych are confusyd, *and* by the reson of that, we haue few grete lernyd men in our cuntrey. The ordur of studys in vnyuersytes must, breuely, be amendyd, or els al letturys *and* lernyng wyl fayle. How, *and* by what mean, I had though[t] before here for to schow ; but now, euen as hyt was in the educatyon of the nobylte, so hyt ys in thys, ouer-long partycularly to declare. Eche one of thes ij materys requyre a hole boke, *and*, besyde thys, ther be wyse *and* lernyd men wych haue wryte in the same mater, whose counseyl I wold to God we myght fulfyl. Among thes, of late days the

233

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[* Page 56.] Learning without virtue is pernicious.

Virtue in the universities and grammar schools is neglected.

Byschope of Carpenteras, one of the wysyst men of our tyme, hath put forth a boke. Hyt schalbe now our

246

The order of study in the universities wants amending,

but the subject is too long to discuss.

254

The Bishop of Carpenteras has written an excellent book, and our prince should

put his counsel
into effect.

duty only to persuade our prynce to put thys same hys
conseyll in vse *and* effecte, the wych downe, I dowte not
261 but that we schold haue such prestys in our cuntrey as
are requyryd to thys our commyn wele before deusyd.

[* Page 61.]

* And thys, *Master Lvpset*, I thynke we haue schowyd
in general the mean to correct the errorys before of vs
obseruyd *and* notyd, except you remembyr any other.

266 7. *Lvpset*.²—*Sir*, one thyng among other I remem-
byr you haue not yet spoken of, *and* that ys thys : you
haue not supplyd the lake of certayn offycerys wych
semyd to lake in our cuntrey.

I. asks about
certain officers
which we lack in
this country.

8. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*,² you say veray truth.
271 How be hyt, in thys mater ther ys no grete lake ; for yf
euery offycer dyd hys duty appoyntyd by the ordur of
our cuntrey, I thynke you schold schortly agre therto.

And, *Syr*, an offycer for that same purpos me seme
lakkyth aboue al other ; for, albehyt that hyt semyth
276 to perteyn to the offyce of the prynce in general, yet

P. would have
in every great
city an officer to
see that all other
officers did their
duty.

to the partycular cure therof, I wold some man schold
be appoyntyd in euery grete cyte *and* towne, the wych
schold haue non other cure nor charge but to se that
al other offycerys dylygently dyd execute theyr offyce
and duty.

I. says this
censor conserued
Rome, and was of
high authority.

9. *Lupset*.—You say veray wel. Thys offyce was
the thyng that chefely conseruyd the state of Rome ;
and was among the Romaynys of hye authoryte. They

285 callyd them Censorys, as you wold say, jugys of the
manerys of al other ; in lyke wyse, wyth vs, as you say,
such an offyce surely schold conserue the hole state mer-
uelously. Wherfor I wold haue them to be callyd con-
seruatorys of the commyn wele ; and lyke as thes con-

290 seruatorys schold haue cure of al other offycerys to
the intent that they myght wyth more dylygence dow
theyr duty, so I wold, in euery cyte, haue other also ap-
poyntyd, who schold haue *regard of such thyng as

He would have
another to see
[* Page 62.]
after the orna-

¹ See note on p. 215.

² MS. Le.

330 nature, by the gudnes of God ; the wych ys the end of
al lawys *and* ordur, for wych¹ purpos they be wryt
and ordeynyd. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynk
you not thys ?

L. agrees in this
conclusion,

11. Lvpset.—*Sir*, thys ys a *certayn* truthe that you
say *and* conclud now, at the last, aftur our long communy-

336 catyon, that, yf we coud put in effect such ordynance as
you haue deuysyd, we schold haue other a true *commyn*
wele, or, at the lest, some lykelyhod therof, to the wych

but doubts the
ability of the law
to bring man to
this perfect con-
dition.

al lawys be ordeynyd *and* deuysyd ; but whether yet al
thes ordynance, ye, or al the powar of law, be abul to
bryng man to thys perfectyon, I somewhat dowte. For

342 as much as the perfectyon of man stondyth in reson *and*
vertue, by the wych he both knowyth that wych ys
truth *and* gud, *and* also hath wyl, stabyl *and* constant
purpos, to folow the same, not compellyd by feare of any
payne or punnyschement, nor yet by any plesure or pro-

347 fyt alluryd therto ; but only of hys fre wyl *and* lyberty,
wyth prudent knolege *and* perfayt loue mouyd, he euer
applyth *hys mynd to such thyng as schal bryng hym to
hys perfectyon ; and to thys me thynke no law ys suf-
ficyent. Wherfor, except we fynd some other mean

[* Page 58.]

Except we
find some other
means, all this
communication
is void.

wherby man may come to thys hys perfectyon, al our
communcatyon, me thynke, ys voyd, *and* al law wyth-
out effecte.

355 12. Pole.—Mastur Lvpset, you entur now into a
grete mater, the wych, yf you remembyr, we touchyd
before. But now here in hys place, bycause you bryng
hyt agayn in remembrance, therof hyt schalbe no hurt
to make a lytyl more mentyon. Mastur Lvpset, though
hyt be so that the law of hyt selfe be not abul to bryng
man to hys perfectyon, nor gyue hym perfayt reson *and*
vertue wythal, yet, for as much as hyt ys a mean to
bryng man therto, hyt ys not vturly to be despysyd.
For, as Sayn Poule sayth dymely, hyt ys the pedagogue

P. confesses the
laws cannot make
man perfect,

but it is a means
to this end, and
not to be de-
spised.

¹ MS. thys wych.

of Chryst ; that ys to say, hyt preparyth mannys mynd 365
 to the receuyng of vertue by profyt *and* plesure, payne
and punnyschement ; hyt dysposyth man some thyng to
 the way of vertue ; ye, *and* as man ys of nature formyd
 rude *and* wythout *per*fatyt knolege, hyt ys necessary to
 haue the instytutyon therof, wythout the wych al cyuyle
 ordur wold deokay, wherof hyt ys the bande *and* sure 371
 grounde, as we haue at large declaryd befor. And yet
 thys ys trothe, as you say, hyt ys not suffycyent to bryng
 man to his perfectyon, but to that ys requyryd a nother
 more celestyal remedy, the wych our Master Chryste
cam to set *and* stablysch in the hartys of Hys electe 376
 pepul. He *cam* to make *per*fatyt man, *and* supply the de-
 fecte of the law, by Hys * celestyal *and* dyuine doctryne ;
and thys ys the thyng, Mastur Lvpset, that I perceyue
 you requyre. Thys ys the thyng wythout the wych al
 our communycatyon ys voyd *and* of lytyl or no effect.
 Wherfor now remaynyth, aftur that we haue schowyd 382
 somewhat how by mannys prudence certayn fautys *and*
 mysordurys in the cyuyle ordur, wych ys the mean to
 bryng man to hys perfectyon, as you see, may be reme-
 dyd *and* redressyd ; now I say we must study for the
 mean to stablysch thys celestyal doctryne, wych our 387
 Master Cryste hath left here to conducte al Chrystyan
 myndys to theyr perfectyon.

Man is naturally
 rude and without
 perfect know-
 ledge.

Christ only can
 supply the law's
 [* Page 59.]
 defects ;
 and it is this
 which L. re-
 quires.

L. says yes ;
 but this is the
 work of God.

13. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys the thyng that I dyd re-
 quyre in veray dede ; but to bryng thys to passe, to
 stablysch thys doctryne, hyt ys not the worke of man—
 hyt ys only the worke of God. Therfor in thys poynt
 how we schal behaue ourselfys I *can* not tell. 394

14. *Pole*.—Sir, as touchyng that, you schal schortly
 here my mynd therin. Fyrst, thys ys troth, that thys
 thyng ys the worke of God ; hyt ys He that must bryng
 thys mater to effect, or els al mannys labour ys spent in
 vayne, notwythstondyng the prouysyon of God hath or-
 deynyd thys, that man schal haue nothyng that ys gud,

God has ordained
 that man shall
 haue nothing per-

fect without
labour.

nothyng *perfayt*, wythout hys owne labour, *dylygence*,
and cure—

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Virtutem posuere dii labore parandam.

No man can
attain honours
without diligence.

Thys you may see in al thyngys wych *pertheyne* to the *per-*
fectyon of man ; for who ys he that can attayne that we
may begyn of wordly thyngys, other ryches or honowre,
except he wyth gret *dylygence* apply hys mynd therto ?
Who can kepe hys body in helth, except he put *dylygente*

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cure therto ? Who can attayne to any excellency in any
maner of art or craft, ye, or come to any hye phylosophy,
except he wyth much cure, labour, *and* *dylygence* exercyse
hym selfe in the studys therof ? Vndowtydly, no man.

[* Page 60.]

This heavenly
doctrine is only
given to such as
purge their
minds from
worldly affec-
tions ;

* Wherfor much more, wythoute lyke *dylygence* *and*
labour, ther ys no way to attayne thys celestyal doctryne,
wych ys not inspyryd into neclygent hartys, but only
to such as, by grete study, haue purgyd ther myndys
from al wordly affectys ; *and* so, wyth *perfayt* fayth
and sure trust, loke for such thyng as God hath pro-

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mysyd to al them wych, al wordly thyngys set apart,
desyre *contynually* celestyal. Therfor, be you assuryd,
that euen as thys celestyal doctryne far excellyth *and*
passyth al other, so hyt requyryth more *dylygence*, more
cure, more ardour, affecte, *and* desyre of mynd, then any
other. *And* though hyt be heuenly *and* *commyth* only
of God, *and* may not be by the powar of man, yet hyt
ys neuer gyuen to idul *and* slepyng myndys, nor to such

it comes from
God, and is never
given to idle
minds.

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as haue no cure nor regard therof, no more then hyt ys
to them wych by theyr owne natural powar, thynke
themselfys abul to optayne *and* deserue such precyouse
gyfte. Wherfor, al be hyt that hyt ys as you say, to
stablsch thys doctryne in any *commyn* wele, the only
worke of God *and* not of man, yet thys ys not amys to
schow somewhat the mean how man may dyspose hym-
selfe *and* make hymselfe mete to receyue thys heuenly
doctryne ; wherin we must vse other mean then cyuyle

It is proper to
show how man
may make him-
self worthy of
this doctrine.

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ordynance, wherof we haue spoken of before, the wych,

by feare of pyne *and* desyre of plesure, mouyth the 437
 cytyzynes to folow vertue.

(14.) * We must now take another way, *and*, as nere [* Page 63.]
 as we may, folow the exampl of our *Master* Chryst, the Christ used two
 wych by no *compulsyon* instytute Hys law, nor by any means to estab-
 drede or fear of anythyng. Two¹ meanys I note He vsyd ¹ MS. ij.
 in the stablyschyng of Hys law at the fyrst begynnyng;
 the wych yf we folow we may, *perauentur*, stablysch *and* 444
confyrme that wych He began, or at the lest schow the
 way how hyt schold be downe. They ways were thes:
 exampl of lyfe *and* exhortatyon. By thes ij meanys Example of life
 Hys dyscypullys dyd stablysch Hys doctryne, as hyt ys and exhortation;
 manifest in the Gospel of Chryst *and* story of the Church.
 Wherfor, as the restoryng of the cyuyle lyfe stonyth 450
 chefely in hedys *and* rularys, as we haue sayd before, in
 so much that yf they be gud, al the commynalty wyl
 folow the same, so the *confyrmyng and* stablyng of and now it must
 thys celestyal doctryne stonyth chefely in the offy- be established
 cerys therof; that ys to say, in the precharys, in the in the godly
 godly lyuyng *and* doctryne of them. We must, therfor, living and doc-
 haue ordynance made, that such only may be admyttyd trine of preachers.
 to preche w[h]os lyfe *and* doctryne ys many ways prouyd
 to be *perfayt and* gud. For now a days the precharys 459
 sklauder the word of God, rather then teche hyt, by
 theyr contrary lyfe.

15. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say truthe. No dowte gud No doubt, says
 precharys schold help to set thys forward wondurfully. L., but how shall
 But how schold we make *them? Thys ys the handy- we make them?
 worke of God; hyt ys not in mannys powar. So al [* Page 64.]
 commyth to one poynt; that ys, hyt ys not in our powar 466
 to bryng thys *mater* to passe that we now speke of.

16. *Pole*.—Mastur *Lvpset*, we haue sayd befor, that P. confesses that
 man alone can not in dede bryng thys thyng to passe; man cannot do it.
 but man may make ordynance that such only as God hath
 made met to prech Hys doctryne schold haue authoryte to
 exercyse the same. Thys man may dow, *and* not only 472

- 473 thys, but ordeyn mean how man schal be brough[t] vp
in conuenyent mean mete for the same, as in *commyn*
studys *and* vnyuersytes, *and* admyt *non* to that offyce
but such as theyr are prouyd, both in lyuyng *and* in
doctryne. But now, to schow the mean how men schold
- 478 in that study be brought vp, here ys not [the] place ;
and besyd that, hyt ys wryten in our days of the most
famuse dyuyne Erasmus, whose *conseyl* I wold in our
studys we myght folow, that al such as schold prech the
doctryne of Chryst schold be instruct wyth such doctryne
and maners as he largely schowyth in hys Tretyse of the
- 484 Study of Dyuynyte, *and* now a late in hys Boke of the
Prechar. Thys myght, by polytyke rularys in our *com-*
myn wele, shortly * be brought to passe *and* put in effect ;
wherof we must begyn. The gud ordur of studys in the
vnyuersytes ys the fountayn *and* the ground of makyng
thes precharys. Wherfor thes must be redressyd, wych
- [* Page 65.]
The universities
are out of order ;
- 490 [be] now so ferr out of ordur, that ther be few men lesse
met to prech thys celestyal doctryne then thos be wych
professe the same, in whome ys all arrogancy wyth-
out meknes, wych ys the ground of thys doctryne ; in
whome al affectys rule *and* reyne wythout any sparkyl
- 495 of reson, as experyence schowyth. But I wyl not now
stond to schow theyr fautys, nor partycularly schow
theyr instructyon *and* instytutyon, wych Erasmus, wythe
grete eloquence *and* wysdome, doth at large. As I sayd,
we must ordeyne the mean to put hyt in executyon,
- of them Erasmus
has written
largely.
- 500 wych ys, breuely to say, only thys way,—to cummand
the hedys in collegys to se the vthe brough[t] vp aftur
such fascyon as he describyth, *and* other wyse men c^t
our tyme, as the Byschope of Carpenteras, *and* other of
that sorte. *And* thys vndowtydly, wythin few yerys, we
schold see precharys of thys doctryne such as schold
commyn hyt abrode, *and* induce the pepul wyth louyng
maner to folow the same. How be hyt, as I haue
- 508 schowyd breuely how, by exampul of lyfe *and* by gud
- Heds of colleges
to see the young
brought up after
plans described
by Erasmus and
others.

exhortatyon of the precharys, thys doctryne must *be
 tought so upon the parte of the pepul ther may be cer- [* Page 66.]
 tayn ordynance made wych may make them mete to 511
 here thys prechyng *and* techyng of theyr masturys *and*
 doctorys. How be hyt, the pryncypal cause lyth in only
 God. He must forme *and* lyght theyr hartys wyth Hys
 grace, or els the prechyng can take lytyl effect. But
 the gudnes of God ys such that, al men, what sort so
 euer they be, wych by prayer *and* by humylyte, make 517
 themselfe apte to receyue thys lyght *and* grace, schal be
 by *and* by parte-takers therof. He ys not acceptor
 personarum, but, euen as the lyght of the sone schynyth
 in al bryght bodys, wych of theyr nature be clere *and*
 bryght, so dothe thys grace *and* celestyal lyght com-
 muncat hyt selfe, by the gudnes of God, to al hartys 523
and myndys wych wyl, wyth dylygence *and* ardent affect,
 loungly desyre hyt. But as touchyng the partycular
 maner also how euery man scholde institute hys mynd
 to receyue thys doctryne, Erasmus also, wyth grete wys-
 dome, hathē declaryd in hys boke, wych ys callyd the
 Instructyon of a Chrystun Man. Wherfor, as concern-
 yng thes partycularytes, I schal referre you to the same
 boke, the wych I thynke veray mete to be put into our 531
 mother tong, to the intent that al such as haue letturys
 may be the rather instructe in Chrystun lyfe *and* euan-
 gelical doctryne.

It all lies with
 God; He must
 give His grace, or
 preachers will
 have no effect.

God is no acceptor
 of persons.

Erasmus's book
 on the Instruction
 of a Christian
 Man ought to be
 translated into
 English.

(16.) **And* as for publyke ordynance touchyng thys
 thyng, I haue thys only to say, that for as much as thys
 doctryne of Chryst ys the end *and* perfaytnes of al law, 537
and the veray lyfe of mannys soule, to the intent that
 hyt myght be the bettur *and* wyth more profyt prechyd,
 I wold hyt were also put into our mother tong, that,
 by the redyng therof ofte-tymys at home, the pepul
 myght at the lest be more abul to comprehendē the
 mysterys therof prechyd *and* openyd by the precharys
 of hyt. For thys thyng apperyth meruelouse straunge— 544

[* Page 67.]

The Gospel ought
 also to be given
 to the people in
 their mother
 tongue.

545 pepul to haue the lyne of theyr lyfe to be wryte in a straunge tong, as though the law were wryten to straungerys, *and* not to them. The law was wryten to the intent that al men schold know hyt, *and* study to apply to forme theyr lyfys theraftur. I neuer red in no

It is thought this would be the destruction of all religion.

550 storys of grettur blyndnes *commynly* approuyd then ys thys ; for hyt ys thought that the puttyng of our law into our mother tong schold be the destructyon of relygyon ; as though the law, yf hyt were knowen, schal make men to forsake the law, *and* as though the ignorance of the

555 law schold make men to folow the law. Wherfor, seing that al prechyng ys ordeynyd to thys poynt, to instructe the pepul in the *law *and* doctryne of Chryst, hyt must nedys folow that al mean must be approuyd wych helpe to thys knolege ; *and* so, to put the law of the

[* Page 68.]

560 Gospel into our mother tong were a necessary ordynance. Moreouer, hyt were conuenient, aftur my mynd, to make men *commynly* more apte to receyue thys lyght *and* grace, to ordeyne al prayerys both pryuatly *and* *commynly* in churchys for the pepul reheryd, to be made in the vulgare tong, *and* al dyuyne *seruyce* ; the wych

All publie and private prayers should be in the vulgar tongue.

566 thyng schold cause dowteles the pepul bothe wyth more effecte themselfe to pray, *and* wyth more dylygence herken [to] the storys of the Bybul *commynly* reheryd, wych are reheryd only for thys cause, that they pepul heryng them, may be the rather sterryd to

571 folow the *exampul* of the old' fatherys *and* holy men, whose vertuese are celebrate in our *tempullys and* churchys. For what avaylyth els thys reheryng of thes legendys *and* loude syngyng therof now in a straunge tong as they be reheryd ? Hyt ys as you wold tel a tale to a deffe man ; for dyfference ys *non*, as touchyng the profyt of the word, betwyx a deffe man *and* hym that

To have service in a strange tongue is like telling a tale to a deaf man.

578 vnderstandyng nothyng at al.

(16.) Wherfor, *Master Lypset*, breuely to conclude thys mater, thys I thynke, that [if] *they *precharys* were in

[* Page 69.]

vnyuersytes wel brought[t] vp in ryght studys, wych, as we sayd, are fer now out [of] frame, *and* therfor wyth al cure *and* dylygence to be reformyd, *and* the Gospell *and* law of Chryst conuertyd wel *and* faythfully into our mother tong, *and* al dyuyne seruyce celebrate in the same; then, I thynke, schortly you schold see more frute of the Gospel then we haue. You schold see wythin few yerys men wyth loue dow such thyng as now they cannot be brought to by no mannys law; you schold se then both reson *and* vertue in mannys lyfe to haue place; they schold then be the rularys of mannys lyfe, al vayn affectys troden vnder fotte. And so, by thys mean, man, fyrst inducyd by fere of punnyschement *and* payne, *and* by desyre of honest plesure *and* profyt by law prescrybyd, schold be inducyd by lytyl *and* lytyl to thys perfectyon, that he for loue only of vertue schold folow vertue, *and* for loue of Chryste, al plesure *and* payne set aparte, schold folow Chryst, *and* then at the last, thys lyuyng in *perfoynt concord and* cyuylyte, schold attayne to the euerlastyng lyfe due to the nature of man, ordeynyd to hym by the prouydence of God in immortalite. And thys, *Master Lvpset*, now breuely you haue hard in thes iij days' *communycatyon*, what ys a *commyn welth*, *and* wherin hyt stondyth. What lakkys therof *and* fautys be in our cuntrey, *and* how *and* by what mean, wyth gud prudence **and* pollycy, they myght be correctyd *and* amendyd, as much as may be by mannys powar redressyd, *and* cyuyle ordynance. For, as we haue oft tymys before sayd, the chefe poynt therin lyth in God *and* in a gud prynce. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, let vs thys make an end, bycause hyt ys late, except you haue any [thyng] in thys mater further to say.

17. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, I haue no thyng to say but only thys. Seyng that al men, as you sayd in the begynnyng of the fyrst day's *communycatyon*, are bounden as much as they can to ferdur *and* set forward thys same true

If preachers were well brought up,

the Bible faithfully translated, and Divine Service conducted in English, we should see more fruits of the Gospel than we now do.

589

Thus man would be gradually led towards perfection.

595

600

Thus you have heard,
1. What is a commonwealth.
2. What our country lacks thereof.

[* Page 70.]

3. How our faults may be corrected.

609

L. wishes to say all men are bound to further this commonwealth,

616

- 617 *commyn wele*, wych you haue spoken of before, in theyr cuntrey,—I wold that you, wych thys prudently perceyue the fautys therof *and* the mean how they schold be reformyd, schold, wyth al dyligence *and* cure, apply your mynd to the redressyng of the same, seyng that we
- 622 haue now such a prynce as ysto be desyryd; wych nothyng els desyryth, day nor nyght, but to stablysche thys *commyn wele* among hys subiectys in thys our natyōn. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, I wold in no case you schold let thys occasyon slype; lest, as I sayd at the begynnyng of our *communycatyōn*, men justely schold accuse you as ingrate to your owne cuntrey.

and exhorts P. not to let this occasyon slip, lest men call him an ingrate.

18. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, as touchyng thys, be you assuryd, for my parte, I wyl neuer be slake in thys behalfe; but when so euer hyt schal *plese the prynce to cal me to thys purpos, I schal wyth the same mynd be redy to thys as to lyue, for the wych I lyue, *and* wythout the wych I wot not why I schold lyue. But in thys, *Master Lvpset*, I must tary my tyme.

[* Page 71.]

P. says he shall be ready when his Prince calls him—till then he "tarrys his time."

- 636 19. *Lvpset*.—Thys taryng of tyme, *Master Pole*, ys the destructyōn of al. You may not tary tyl you be callyd, but put your selfe forth, at the lest to schow the desyre that you haue to *serue* your prynce *and* to helpe your cuntrey.

L. says he must put himself forward.

- 641 20. *Pole*.—Why, *Master Lvpset*, wold you haue me now to spot my lyfe wyth such ambycyōn? Nay, I wyl not dow so, but, as I sayd, I wyl tary my tyme.

Nay, says P., I will tarry.

- 648 21. *Lvpset*.—Nay, but in thys me thynke you are deceuyd, to cal thys affect ambycyōn, wych ys then only to be imputyd when men desyre honowere to theyr owne plesure or profyt; but when men desyre to bere offyce *and* to rule, to the intent they may stablysch *and* set in theyr cuntre thys *commyn wele*, wych you before haue describyd, hyt ys the hy[e]st vertue that ys in any nobul stomake, *and* ys a certayn argument of true nobyltye; for sluggysch myndys lyue in cornarys *and*

L. urges that it is virtue, not ambition, to desire office that one may do good.

Sluggish minds live in corners,

content themselfys wyth pryuate lyfe. Wheras veray 653
 nobul hartys euer desyre to gouerne *and* rule, to the
commyn wele of the hole multytude.

noble hearts
 desire to govern.

22. *Pole*.—Wel, Master Lvpset, I perceyue wether
 you go. You wold haue me to schow my mynd in thes
 other grete questyonys, wether a wyse man ought to
 desyre to handul materys of the *commyn* wele, or tary
 tyl he be callyd ; *and* also what ys veray true nobylite,
 the wych you say so mouyth man to set forward al gud 661
and iust pollycy ; the wych thyng at another tyme I wyl
 not refuse. But now, bycause hyt ys late, *and* perteynyth
 not gretely to our purpos, I wyl dyffer hyt tyl more
 conuenyent lesur ; *and* the mean tyme, of thys be you
 assuryd, in me you schal fynd no faut nor neclygence ; 666
 but that I schal euer, as occasyon mouyth me, be redy
 to dow *seruyce* to my prynce *and* cuntrey, to Goddys
 honowre *and* glory, to whose gouernance *and* prouy-
 dence, the mean tyme, we schal *commyt* al ; *and* thus
 make an end of our *communycatyon*.

P. says at another
 time he will give
 his mind
 whether a man
 ought to tarry till
 he be called, and
 what is true
 nobility.

It is late now,
 and not much to
 our purpose,

but I shall ever
 be ready to do
 service for my
 Prince.

671

[FINIS.]

[Note to p. 204. Starkey had written as far as the end of page 60 of the MS. when he remembered that he had omitted to discuss the necessity of appointing superior officers and their duties. Not having room on page 56 he was compelled to commence on page 61, and go on to the end of page 62. He has made the necessary reference marks.]

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Many of the words here mentioned occur frequently, but I have thought it unnecessary to give more than one reference except in a few instances. The following abbreviations have been used: B = Bailey's Dict.; B. B., Babees Boke; C. L., Castel off Loue; Gawayne, Sir Gawayne, ed. Morris; H., Halliwell's Dict.; L., Levins's Manipulus; L. S., Latimer's Sermons; M. A., Perry's Morte Arthur; P., Philips's Dict.; P. C., Pricke of Conscience; P. P., Promptorium Parvulorum; R. P., Romans of Parthenay. For the extracts from the Utopia and Latimer I have used Arber's excellent reprints.

1/16 means page 1, line 16.

- A, 123/821, an.
 A, 55/1013, on.
 God uoryaf hys dyap to ham þet
 him dede *a þe rode*.
 Ayenbite, p. 114.
 A, 70/55, of, or on.
 þeos sculde *a twa haluen*;
 halden to þan uehte.
 Lazamon, iii. 87.
 A, a late, 210/484, of late, lately.
 Abbey-lubbarys, 131/1079.
 Lubber, a mean servant, that
 does all base services in a house; a
 drudge, a lazy Drone. *P*.
 Abhorre, 21/727, "abhor from," to
 reject or renounce. See *K. H. VIII.*
 ii. 4.
 I utterly *abhor*, yea, from my soul
 Refuse you for my judge.
 Adherentys, 77/296, adherents.
 Ænnates, 126/895, Annates.
 Affecte, 29/77, 31/142, affection;
 property of the mind.
 An *affect*, affection. *L.* 47.
 Affecte, or *welwyllynge*. *P. P.*
 Agayne, 18/612, against.
 Alowyd, 131/1091, permitted,
 granted.
 Als, 11/357, as.
 Altogyddur, 49/790, altogether.
 Alye, 114/488, ally. *Alye*, *affinis*.
 P. P.
 Alyenat, 151/305, alienated.
 Annatys, 126/921, Annates.
 Annexyd, 95/916, annexed, joined
 to.
 Antyquyte, 78/327, antiquity.
 Antiquitie, *vetustas*. *L.* 109.
 Apon, 15/502, upon.
 Arge, 87/642, argue.
 Arryue, 57/1075, arrival.
 Whose forests, hills, and floods then
 long for her *arrive*
 From Lancashire.
 Drayton's Poly. p. 1192, quoted by *H.*

- Artyfycerys, 86/623, artificers.
- Artys, 123/808, "lyberal artys," liberal arts.
- Asper, 134/1174, rough, uneven. *Lat.*
- Aunceturys, 84/556, ancestors. God gaue him . . . more then euer anye of hys *auncitours* had. *L. S.* p. 71.
- Avaunce, 3/61, advance. *He . . . auauanced* hymself ryghte inheriture to the crowne thereof. *Utopia*, p. 57.
- A-worke, 96/955, at work, to work.
- Ax, 130/1057, ask.
- Basse, 113/470, base, low.
- Be, 153/350, bee.
- Bend, 105/160, bent, or bound.
- Beryng, 113/464, bearing, conduct.
- Bestys, 52/894, beasts.
- Besyly, 3/67, busily, earnestly. *Besyge* with beveryne lokkes. *M. A.* 3631.
- Besynes, 5/147, business.
- Bollen, 152/317, swollen. The barley was in the ear, and the flax was *bolled*. Exod. ix. 31.
- Bolsteryd, 117/599, bolstered, upheld, maintained (by unfair means). Men haue sinnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and *bolster* vp other men in their naughtines. *L. S.* p. 155.
- Botte, 4/95, boat.
- Breue, 126/911, brief.
- Broderly, 109/311, brotherly.
- Brokarys, 83/519, brokers.
- Brokys, 16/533, brooks.
- Bunfycyal, 13/427, beneficial.
- Bunfycys, 133/1155, benefices.
- Bunfyte, 14/481, benefit.
- Butful, 98/1023, fruitful. Halliwell says *batful*, meaning fruitful, is used by Drayton. Cp. *batten*, to fatten.
- Bylldyd, 9/280, builded.
- Byth, 175/1125, buyeth.
- Canterying, 137/1295, to sing in such a manner that the people cannot understand what is sung. To cant, to talk darkly . . . so as not to be understood by others; to use an affected kind of speech. *P.*
- Capitayne, 3/89, captain.
- Cardarys, 171/1004, card-players.
- Cardyng, 77/287, playing at cards. As *dysynge*, and *cardynge*, And such other playes. *B. B.* p. 346. Ouer night they *carded* for our english mens coates. *Percy*, B. ed. *Furnival*, i. 125.
- Cauyllatyonys, 10/334, cavillations.
- Chamlet, 95/911. Camlet, a sort of stuff made partly of camel's hair, and partly of silk or stuff. *P.*
- Chanonys, 77/295, canons. Chanone, *chanonicus*. *P. P.*
- Chepe, gud chepe, 89/725, cheap; bettur chepe, 141/1447, cheaper. Theyr diligent vse in prouision for graine is notable. For be it deare or *good cheape*, theyr common graner . . . is in maner alwayes furnished. *Historye of Italye*, etc., by W. Thomas, ed. 1561, lf. 82. See *P. P.* p. 72, note 2. 'A.Sax. *Ceáp*. 1. A bargain, sale, business. 2. Any thing for sale, a chattel. 3. The price, also cattle, as they were used in barter. *Ceápián*, To bargain, chaffer, trade, to contract for the purchase or sale of a thing, to buy, to cheapen.' *Bosworth*.
- Chesyth, 29/71, chooseth. To-wardez Chartris they *chese*. *M. A.* 1619.

- Christundome, 88/685, Christendom.
- Chyldur, 36/318, children.
- Clene, 8/269, quite, altogether, entirely.
Cortaysye is closed so *clene* in hym-seluen.
Gawayne, 1298.
- Clokyd, 36/331, concealed.
We should not dissembly nor *cloke* them. *Bk. of Com. Prayer*.
- Cogytatyonys, 66/1414, cogitations.
- Coleryke, 58/1100, choleric.
Passionate, hasty, apt to be angry, peevish. *P.*
- Commyn, 6/175, communicate.
Comoune *communico. P. P.*
- Commyn, 10/339, common.
- Commynyng, 8/241, communicating.
- Commynys, 90/748, commons.
- Complexyon, 69/13.
Complexion the natural constitution, or temperature of the body. *P.*
- Conceytys, 80/415, conceits.
- Conferre, 176/1187.
To confer, to communicate; to collate, give, or bestow. *P.*
- Conseyllys, 26/881, counsels.
- Consumptyon, 76/248, consumption.
- Conteyne, 110/341, contain, keep, restrain.
- Conturpayse, 182/117, counterpoise.
Quha will study his wittis, and *conterpace*
The hie planetis.
Qu. Elizabethes Achad. 100/191.
- Conuehauns, 93/865, conveyance.
- Conuehyth, 43/580, conveyeth.
- Conuersant, 23/780, conversant.
- Cormorants, 118/644, cormorants (used figuratively).
- On couetous and vnsatiabie *cor-maraunte* and very plage of his natyue contrey may compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers. *Utopia*, p. 41.
- Cornarys, 189/376, corners.
- Coud, 73/144, could.
- Count, 186/276, account.
- Couplyd, 45/656, joined.
- Cumpynable, 13/428, companionable; sociable, friendly.
Companyable, or felawhle, or felawly. *Socialis. P. P.*
- Cure, 92/825, care.
- Curyouse, 80/412, curious; nice, fastidious, dandified.
- Custommably, 30/132, by custom, habitually.
Custamably, *Consuete, solite. P. P.*
- Custumyd, 138/1319, accustomed.
- Darth, 87/631, dearth.
- Debylyte, 72/103, debility.
- Defynynd, 118/641, defined, finished.
Defyne, *definire. L.* 139.
- Descanterys, 80/412, composers of music.
Descant, in music signifies the art of composing in several parts. *P.*
- Determe, 105/184, determine.
- Detrymentys, 93/858, detriments.
- Deuysarys, 80/412, devisers, makers, or inventors.
- Deuysys, 80/406, devices, contrivances, conceits, or fashions.
- Dome, "rayson dome," 103/97?
- Dote, 151/299, dowry, marriage portion, or endowment. *Lat. dos.*
- Downe, 77/286, done.
- Dress, 57/1071, direct.
Men myghte don it wel, that myght ben of power to *dresse* him thereto. *Maundeuille*, p. 306 (ed. 1866).

- Drowne, 77/303, drone.
- Drunkerys, 171/1003, drunkards.
- Dyat, 33/232, diet.
- Dyffer, 26/907, defer.
- Dyffynytyon, 11/364, definition.
- Dymely, 206/364, dimly.
Dymme, or hard to be vndyr-
stonde. *Misticus. P. P.*
- Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
- Dyseceyue, 70/64, deceive.
- Dysconuenyent, 140/1391, incon-
venient.
- Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit.
Exhereder, to disherit, or disin-
herit. *Cotgr.*
- Dyssymylyng, 91/787, dissimu-
lating.
Dissimulings, *dissemblings. H.*,
who refers to Chaucer.
- Dysyng, 77/287, playing with
dice.
- Enerte, 192/484, to render in-
capable of action; to inert.
- Enyoy, 67/1429, enjoy.
- Escheuyng, 71/70, eschewing.
- Ether, 32/183, easier; A.S. *éað*,
easy.
Sipen god so feire cloþus haþ.
þat haþ no feir Colour to day,
And schal to Morwe beo lad a way,
How muchel more may he ow cleþe?
As hos seiþ, þat may he don eþe.
Vernon MS. fol. 206 b. col. 3.
Note. In Starkey's MS. this
word is written "other."
- Extyme, 14/471, esteem.
- Exystymatyon, 151/287, reputa-
tion, estimation. Lat. *existimatio*.
As one rather willing the harm
or hindraunce of the weale publike
then any losse or diminution of his
owne *existimation. Utopia*, p. 82.
- Eysyar, 195/587, easier.
- Fach, 173/1074, fetch.
- Facyle, 133/1172, facile.
- Facyon, 106/210, faction. "Fa-
cyon and partys" = Factions and
parties.
- Fangulyd, new fangulyd, 80/410,
newfangled.
Gape not nor gaze not at euery
newe fangle. B. B. p. 341.
Strange, or folishelye *new-*
fangled. Utopia, p. 65.
- Fantasy, 51/860, fancy.
- Fautys, 28/44, faults.
- Fayte, 129/1005.
Fait, Fr. a fact, deed, or action. *B.*
- Fer, 15/512, far, very.
- Fers, 12/386, fierce.
- Fle, 78/328, fly.
- Fon, 24/815, fond; foolish, tri-
fling.
Ande this knyght weddide a fair
womañ, of the kyrede of Levi, but
she was *fon*, and biter; and in hir
house dwelte a serpente of long
tyme, in his cave. *Gesta Romanorum*,
ed. Madden, p. 196.
- Forbycause, 42/542, because.
- Forsyth, 19/644, matters, signifies.
- Fortylite, 12/405, fertility.
- Foulys, 78/315, fowls.
- Frank, 53/936, free.
- Frate, 172/1040, freight.
Freythe of caryage (freyt, freight,
or cariage). *P. P.*
- Frayle, 57/1064, frail.
- Frenesy, 86/615, frenzy.
- Fruth, 134/1184, fruit.
- Fullarys, 95/914, fullers.
Fuller, one that fulls, mills, or
scours cloth. *P.*
- Fundatyon, 37/382, foundation.
- Fustyanyys, 95/912, fustians.
Fustian, a kind of stuff made of
the down of a certain fruit grow-
ing in Egypt. *P.*
- Fyne, 98/1047, fine, a payment.

- Fyschys, 77/314, fishes.
- Gape, 156/472, gap.
A *gappe*, *vacuum*, *interuallum*.
L. 26.
- Gardying, 80/406. Gard. A facing or trimming. *H*.
- Garded, cote. *Laciniatus*. L. 49.
- Geddur, 3/60, gather; obtain.
More commonly *gader*.
Swilk men purchases and *gaders*
fast. *P. C.* 1342.
But see *C. L.* 643,—
For hose seze a such *gederyng*.
- Godys, 38/408, goods.
- Goo, of goo, 88/696, ago.
- Gost, 126/926, ghost, spirit, conscience.
- Grauyte, 194/555, gravity.
- Grettur, 90/767, greater.
- Groundly, 29/76, firmly.
- Gruge, 14/462, grudge.
- Gud, 77/305, good.
- Gyrdyllys, 94/875, girdles.
- Habundaunce, 62/1250, abundance.
- Harduos, 27/3, arduous.
- Harp, 126/923, to harp upon one string, phrase, meaning to repeat.
- Haukyng, 77/287, hawking.
- Hauntarys, 154/401, haunters, frequenters. *Hawntare*, *frequentator*. *P. P.*
- Hauyn, 43/591, haven.
- Hayre, 197/28, heir.
- Heddy, 182/120, heady, headstrong. *Hedye*, *effrænis*. L. 97.
Heady, highminded. 2 Tim. iii. 4.
- Henge, 126/923, hang.
- Her, 20/682, hear.
- Herabul, 96/977, arable. Earable, *arabilis*. L. 2.
A rough valley which is neither *eared* nor sown. Deut. xxi. 4.
- Hethys, 73/148, heaths.
- Heyrys, 169/915, heirs.
- Hole, 2/22, whole, entire.
Preche
Twyes or pryys in þe zere
To þy pæresh *hole* and fere.
Myrc's Instructions, p. 13.
- Holly, 137/1292, holy.
- Holly, 150/238, wholly.
- Ille, 88/695, isle.
- Imbecyllte, 43/571, imbecility.
- Impedymentys, 69/21, impediments.
- Indeur, 25/850, endeavour, urge forward.
"Endeavour myself," to consider myself in duty bound. *Alford*.
"I do declare that I do hold there lies no obligation upon me . . . to *endeavour* any change, or alteration of government. *Act of Uniformity*, xiv. Car. II.
- Infamyd, 189/379, defamed, made infamous, slandered; Lat. *infamo*.
Whosoeuer for anye offense be *infamed*, by their eares hange rynges of golde. *Utopia*, p. 100.
- Ingrate, 214/628, ungrateful.
- Inhabytans, 72/116, inhabitants.
- Iniust, 71/67, unjust.
- Inserch, 71/91, ensearch, examine.
- Inserchyng, 70/50, ensearching, examination.
- Insewyth, 19/649, follows, ensues.
- Intendyng, 74/180, "intending to," tending to.
- Intrate, 186/278, } income; Lat.
Intrat, 201/154, } *intro*.
- Inuentyon, 116/574, invention, discovery, bringing out.
- Inyoy, 79/368, enjoy.
- Jaggyng, 80/406, cut, or slashed (applied to garments). *Iag*, *lacin-*

- are. *L.* 10. "Vandyked" is, I think, the word now-a-days.
- Jarryth, 63/1281, jars.
- Jopardy, 43/569, jeopardy, danger.
- Jugyd, 36/346, judged, esteemed.
- Jurysdycyon, 170/971, jurisdiction.
- Knyfys, 94/865, knives.
- Knyte, 58/1095, knit.
- Laburyd, 73/155, laboured, tilled.
Labour, to cultivate the earth. *H.*
- Laburyd, 92/831, "byn laburyd," have had experience.
- Lake, 72/125, lack.
- Lakkys, 91/774, lacks, hindrances, wants.
- Leegys, 170/951, leagues.
- Legys, 103/106, leagues.
- Lene, 84/529, yield, give, produce.
Cp. I shal *lene* þe a bowr þat is up in þe heye tour.
Havelok, 2072, ed. *Skeat*.
- Let, 36/332, hindered.
- Leyser, 1/16, leisure. Leysere, *oportunitas*. *P. P.*
- Long, 173/1058, belong.
- Lubbur, 139/1370. See Abbey-lubbur.
A lubber, *mediastinus*, *tardus*. *L.* 75. See *Utopia*, p. 102.
- Lude, 139/1369, lewd.
- Lykyth, 71/99, likes, suits, pleases.
- Lykkun, 83/490, } liken, to
Lykkynnyd, 83/492, } compare.
Likenyd, *assimilatus*. *P. P.*
To whom will ye *liken* me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may be like? Isa. xlvi. 5.
- Lyne, 212/545, lyne of theyr lyfe, the course of their conduct; the guide of their life.
- Lyst. 124/836, like, choose.
- Lyth, 33/209, lieth.
- Lyue, 78/338, life.
- Lvvely, 63/1291, living.
Lyvely, or qwyk, or fulle of lyyf. *Vivax*. *P. P.*
Stif contemnars of gods *lyuelie* wound.
Lauder's Minor Poems, 4/39.
- Magnyfycal, 176/1185, magnificent, splendid.
- Melancolyk, 58/1099, melancholie.
Melancholy . . . a disease which proceeds from the overflowing of black choler. *P.*
- Met, 6/186, meet, worthy.
Mete, or *fyf*, or *euene*. *Equus*. *P. P.*
- Metely, 122/783, meetly, worthily.
- Mo, 59/1132, } more.
Mow, 191/580, }
- Mouabul godys, 151/295, moveable goods.
"The term 'moveable' included not only corn, cattle, and merchandise, but money, fuel, furniture, wearing apparel, &c." *P. M. Gazette*, April 12, 1870.
- Mumbling, 132/1114, repeating inaudibly. To mumble, *murmurare*. *L.* 188.
- Musys, 144/33, muses.
- Mynyschyng, 52/1133, minishing, diminishing.
- Mysordurys, 69/20, misorders, disorders.
- Mystere, 158/526, mystery. Mystery, or *prevyte*, *Misterium*. *P. P.*
Any particular art, trade, or occupation is termed a mystery. *P.*
- Naroly, 23/804, narrowly.
- Neclecte, 27/17, neglect.
- Neclygence, 18/615, negligence.
- Nonage, 115/516, the time of being under age. Nonage, *anni pupillares*. *L.* 11.

- Nother—nor, 38/411, neither—nor.
- Nother — nother, 42/556-8, neither—nor.
- Noyful, 38/415, hurtful. Noyful, *nociuus*. *L.* 185.
- Oldys, 73/148, wolds, holds, open flat country. *Old*, the name of a place in Bedfordshire.
Wold, a down, or champain ground, hilly and void of wood; as Stow in the Wolds, and Cotswold. *P.* See also *Lazamon*, ii. 421, 478.
- On, 33/235, one.
On couetous and vnsatiable cor-
maraunte . . . may compasse
aboute and inclose many thousand
akers. *Utopia*, p. 41.
- Onys, 186/258, once.
- Oode, 12/386, wood; mad, foolish.
- Optayn, 23/782, obtain.
- Ornat, 178/1229, ornate.
- Ornate, 178/1233, to adorn. The
word is used by Latimer, according
to Webster.
- Other—or, 9/270-1, either—or.
- Ouercomyn, 43/574, overcome.
- Ouer-hye, 182/122, over high.
- Ouerlayd, 74/191, overlaid, over-
stocked. Ovr leydn̄, or oppressyn̄.
Opprimo. *P. P.*
- Ouerse, 156/450, oversee.
- Parreysch, 201/183, parish.
- Partyes, 2/29, parts, regions.
- Passage, 134/1174. A passage,
exitus. *L.* 11.
- Pastur, 74/191, pasture.
- Pastymys, 77/288, pastimes.
- Pattur, 132/1113.
To patter and pray, to repeat
many Pater-Nosters. *B.*
- Paysybly, 56/1024, peaceably.
Cp. pare es peysebelle loy ay lastand.
Pricke of Conscience, 7833.
- Pedagoge, 206/364, pedagogue.
- Perauentur, 19/660, peradventure.
- Percase, 146/111, perchance.
Percase, *fortè*. *L.* 7.
Part to you here, where that ye
shall haue
Such thing that ye *percas* fele now
shall. *R. of P.* 5637.
- Perfayt, 20/672, perfect.
- Perfyttyst, 62/1262, perfectest.
- Perys, 106/207, peers.
- Peter pens, 199/109. “Peter
pence, called also *Rome Scot*, was a
levy of a penny on every house
wherein there were 30 pence *viva*
pecuniæ, to be collected and sent to
Rome, one half of it went for alms
to the English school at Rome, and
the other half to the pope’s use.”
B.
- Phlegmatyk, 58/1099.
- Pine, 164/734, pin, or peg (fig.).
“To hang upon one pin,” to depend
upon one point.
- Placardys, 102/76, proclamations.
Placard, (among the French) a
table wherein laws, orders, &c., are
posted, or hung up. *P.*
All former *Placards* granted by
the King for shooting . . . shall be
void. *Statutes*, 14, 15 H. VIII. c.
7. See also *Ibid.*, 25 H. VIII. c.
17.
- Pollyng, 127/942, spoiling.
To poll, pil, *spoliare*. *L.* 160.
He could not kepe them in awe,
but onlye by open wronges, by
pollinge and shauinge, and by bring-
inge them to beggerie. *Utopia*, p.
62.
- Populos, 74/178, populous.
- Pretense, 67/1445, pretence.
- Pretermyt, 8/244, neglect; to leave
undone.
- Proporcionabul, 79/351, pro-
portionable.
- Pykyng, 197/10, picking; pilfer-
ing.

- The verb to pick, as used by the old writers, has, amongst various significations, that of obtaining anything by mean, underhand proceedings, or pilfering. *P. P.* p. 397, note 1.
To keep my hands from *picking* and stealing. *Cat. of Ch. of Eng.*
- Pyl, 26/918, to plunder.
To pil and pol, *depeculari*. *L.* 123.
I pyll, I robbe. *Palsgrave*.
Quoted in the Index of English words, *ib.*
Pylled and impouerished. *Utopia*, p. 58.
- Pyne, 209/437, pain, punishment.
- Quyke, 171/998, quick, active.
Quick, *citus, agilis*. *L.* 120.
- Rayne, 73/166, reign.
- Rayson, 194/549, reason.
- Rauynys, 127/941, ravenous.
- Reame, 88/684, realm.
- Rebatyd, 175/1128, abated, lowered in amount.
- Rech, 48/758, reach.
- Rechles, 113/457, reckless, careless.
The Devil doth thrust them . . . into *wretchlessness* of most unclean living. *Thirty-Nine Art.*, xvii.
- Redunde, 178/4, redound.
- Refrayne, 120/713, refrain, restrain. To refrayne, *refrenare*. *L.* 201.
- Relese, 149/202, relax. Relece, or for-zeuenesse, *relaxacio*. *P. P.*
- Reproue, 139/1374, reproof.
- Repugnyng, 14/464, "repugnyng to," repugnant to.
- Resemblyd, 85/571, compared.
Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I resemble it? *S. Luke*, xiii. 18.
- Reueneuys, 186/278, revenues.
- Reyn, 31/148, reign.
- Rote, 194/546. Rot, applied to the condition of the nation. See note — "tabes in corpore" — on margin of p. 100.
- Rotte, 98/1024. Rot, a disease - common among sheep. Rot, or rotyng, *corruptio, putrefaccio*. *P. P.*
The Rotte, *tabes*. *L.* 176.
- Rotyd, 13/445, rooted.
- Route, 129/1025, a multitude, or throng of people.
- Royalty, 79/355, dignity, strength, magnificence. See *B. B.* 175/858.
Now haue y shewyd yow, my son, somewhat of dyuerse Iestis þat ar remembrid in lordes courte / þere as all *rialle* restis.
- Rustycyte, 70/62, rusticity.
- Ruynate, 70/39, ruined, in ruins, or reduced to ruins.
- Ryse, 130/1042, risen.
- Sanguyn, 58/1099, sanguine.
Full, or abounding with blood, being of a complexion, wherein that humour is predominant. *P.*
- Saue, 67/1416, safe.
- Saueguard, 141/1417, safeguard.
- Sayntuary, 140/1410, sanctuary.
- Says, 94/874. Saye clothe, serge. *Palsgrave*.
Say, a thin sort of stuff. *P.*
- Scaseness, 47/714, scarceness.
Cp. More's *Utopia*: Al the resydewe of the woomans bodeye beinge couered with clothes, they esteme her *scasely* be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face). p. 124.
- Schrode, 79/357, shrewd.
Shrewd, *prauus, malignus*. *L.* 49.
- Schypcotys, 72/133, sheep cots.
- Schypmen, 43/576, sailors.
- Scolastycal, 69/17, scholastical.
- Scyre, 190/408, shire. Hu he sette *sciren*. *Lazamon*, iii. 287.

- Scysme, 199/93, schism.
- Secondary, 195/574, secondly.
- Sellarys, 94/886, cellars.
- Semblably, 46/691, similarly.
- Senyor, 130/1055. Seignior, or Signior (Ital.), Lord, Master. *P.*
- Serch, 50/822, examine, search into.
- Seruytute, 114/496, servitude.
- Skabe, 98/1024, scab, a disease to which sheep are liable. *Y^e* scab of sheepe, *mentigo*. *L. 1.*
- Skant, 74/189, scant, scarce.
- Skase, 87/650, scarce.
- Sklender, 27/6, slender.
You shal haue but *sklender* fare, one dish and that is al. *L. S. p. 89.*
- Sklendurnes, 76/248, slenderness, leanness.
- Sklendurly, 90/738, slenderly.
- Slo, 79/377, slow.
- Slomeryng, 5/135, slumbering.
And fore slewthe of *slomowre* one a slepe fallis. *M. A. 3222.*
- Slype, 40/484, slip, pass by.
- Slyppyng, 72/113, slipping.
- Smateryng, 17/583, smattering.
- Smellyth, 116/566, savours.
- Solne, 79/379, 384, swollen.
- Sonar, 26/902, sooner.
- Soudiar, 3/89, soldier. A Sodioure, *miles*. *L. 223.*
- Sounderly, 46/689, separately.
- Sounyth, 63/1281, soundeth.
- Sowne, 101/33, "to sowne to" = to sound like.
- Sparkle, 165/771. A little spark, a scintillation. A sparkle, *scintilla*. *L. 32.*
- Sparkul, 12/409, sparkle.
- Sparklyd, 177/1205, sprinkled, scattered.
- The chyldys clothys, ryche and gode,
- He had *sparkylde* with that blode. *H.*
- Spens, 201/154, expense.
- Spot, 214/642, to spotte, *maculare*. *L. 176.*
He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be *spotted* with it. *L. S. p. 151.*
- Spottydyd, 198/50, spotted; corrupted, disgraced, or tainted.
- Spryte, 144/34, inspiration.
- Sprytual, 122/779, spiritual.
- Spyce, 198/50, spice, a small quantity. The beginning, part, or remains of a distemper. *B.*
- Squeakyth, 109/310, squeaks. The meaning seems to be endangers, or risks.
- Stablyd, 42/534, stablished.
- Stabul, 67/1449, stable, stablish.
And *stables* the hert thare it restes. *H.*
- Stabullys, 72/133, stables.
- Stabyl, 99/1077, establish.
- Stapul, 173/1053, staple.
Staple, a city or town, where merchants joyntly lay up their commodities for the better uttering of them by the great. *P.*
- Stond, 39/433, stand, consist.
- Story, 209/449, history.
- Strangth, 10/318, strength. *Cp.*
The toune . . . extendith in *length* aboute a quarter of a mile. *Leland, It., iii. 39.*
- Strayte, 120/685; strayttur, 120/688, strict, severe.
- Streght, 38/395, correct.
- Studys, 203/243, places of study.
- Styffe, 100/1092, stiff, stubborn.
- Stynt, 175/1128, stint, limit in amount.
- Subrogate, 169/922, to put in the place of another.

- Succur, 144/34, succour, help, aid.
- Sundurly, 6/195, separately.
And to vchone *sunderlyng*
He ʒaf a dole of his fulnesse.
C. L. 290.
- Sustenans, 75/195, sustenance.
- Sustentatyon, 56/1050, sustenance; maintenance.
- Susteyne, 49/786, sustain.
- Syldon, 85/580, seldom.
For in him,
Es *selden* sen any mekenes.
P. C. 260.
- Syngular, 57/1065, singular, individual.
- Sysys, 190/414, assizes.
- Talage, 151/278. A tribute, impost, toll, or tax. P.
- Taske, 151/278, labour due to a superior.
A taske, *taxatio*. L. 35.
Tasck, an old British word signifying as much as tribute. P.
- Tempur, 120/713, to temper, moderate.
- Tenantys, 72/123, tenants.
- Theft, 79/361. "By them ys nuryschyd the commyn theft," i.e. By them the system of universal robbery is maintained.
- They, 11/351, the.
- Thought, 7/199, though.
- Thynkys, 56/1038, things. This form occurs in Leland's *Itin.* according to H., but a wrong reference is given.
- Thys, 8/254, thus.
- Togydur, 11/353, together.
- Trade, 65/1345; 203/237, path, practice, or course. But see *trade* in Glossary to the Minor Poems of William Lauder, E. E. T. S.
- Translated, 92/833, translated: removed, carried away.
By turninge, *translatinge*, and
- remouinge thies markes into other places they may destroye their enemies nauies. *Utopia*, p. 73.
- Tryfullys, 80/415, trifles.
- Tryumphe, 78/319, triumph; pomp, pride, or show.
- Tukkarys, 95/914. tuckers. Fullers. H.
Tucker, a fuller of cloth. P.
Oterey water is devidid . . . to serve Grist and *Tukking* Milles. *Leland, It.*, iii. 55.
- Tyllarys, 49/785, tillers.
- Tyranne, 115/541, tyrant.
- Vncomly, 52/903, uncomely, uncivilized.
- Vnlusty, 79/377, unlusty, weak, powerless.
- Vnsure, 39/440, uncertain. Vnsure, *incertus*. L. 83.
- Vnweldy, 79/377, unwieldy
- Vnyte, 54/983, unity.
- Vnyte, 57/1094, united.
- Vp so downe, 67/1427, upside down. þai be turned *up-swa-downe*. P. C. 7230.
- Vth, 164/736, }
Vthe, 161/636, } youth.
- Vtward, 49/783, outward.
- Vtylyte, 10/339, utility.
- Vade, 35/315, fade.
All as a slope, and like the grasse Whose bewty sone doth *vade*. H.
- Venge, 141/1421, avenge; Fr. *venger*.
Tell you the dauphin, I am coming on,
To *venge* me as I may, and to put forth
My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause.
King H. V., i. 2.
- Veray, 33/218, very.
- Vytayl, 74/195, }
Vytel, 74/188, } victuals, food.

- Weddur, 90/752, weather.
- Welthys, 88/685, wealthiest.
- Wordly, 7/213, worldly. Cp. *Wor*[*l*]dly matters, *Utopia*, p. 15, and *Wordleliche* þinges in *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 164.
- Wornyth, 76/256, wasteth, weareth. *For-weornian*, to grow old, wear away. *Weran*, to wear. *Bosworth*.
- Worstyd-makyr, 95/914, worsted makers.
- Wy, 38/391, why.
- Wyle, a wyle, 203/229, awhile.
- Wyt, 92/816, whit, "neuer a whit," none at all.
- Wytyng, 66/1393, knowing.
- Witandly thurgh þair knawying. *P. C.* 5727.
- Wyttys, 26/911, intellects, minds; wits. He 3af him *wittes* fyue. *C. L.* 138.
- Wurs, 186/263, worse.
- Y, 70/79, I.
- Ych, 56/1052, each.
- Ye, 48/757, eye.
- Yes, 48/777, eyes.
- Yere, 48/757, ear.
- Yerys, 48/777, ears.
- Yl, 38/415, ill.
- Yle, 88/694, isle.
- Yssue, 16/533, issue.

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- 9 Thynne on Speght's ed. of Chaucer, A.D. 1599, ed. Dr. G. Kingsley and Dr. F. J. Furnivall. 10s. "
- 10 Merlin, ab. 1440, Part I., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 2s. 6d. "
- 11 Lyndesay's Monarchie, &c., 1552, Part I., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. "
- 12 Wright's Chaste Wife, ab. 1462, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 1s. "
- 13 Seinte Marherete, 1200-1330, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. 18
- 14 Kyng Horn, Floris and Blancheffour, &c., ed. Rev. J. R. Lumby, B.D. "
- 15 Political, Religious, and Love Poems, ed. F. J. Furnivall. "
- 16 The Book of Quinte Essence, ab. 1460-70, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. [In print.] "
- 17 Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers the Plowman, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 1s. [In print.] "
- 18 Hali Meidenhad, ab. 1200, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. "
- 19 Lyndesay's Monarchie, &c., Part II., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. 6d. [In print.] "
- 20 Hampole's English Prose Treatises, ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. 1s. [In print.] "
- 21 Merlin, Part II., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. [In print.] "
- 22 Partenay or Lusignan, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. "
- 23 Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, 1340, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d. [In print.] "
- 24 Hymns to the Virgin and Christ; the Parliament of Devils, &c., ab. 1430, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 18
- 25 The Stacions of Rome, the Pilgrims' Sea-voyage, with Glene Maydenhod, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. "
- 26 Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, from R. Thornton's MS. (ab. 1440), ed. Rev. G. G. Perry. 2s. "
- 27 Levin's Manipulus Vocabulorum, a ryming Dictionary, 1570, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 12s. "
- 28 William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, 1362 A.D.; Text A, Part I., ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 6s. "
- 29 Old English Homilies (ab. 1220-30 A.D.). Part I. Edited by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 7s. "
- 30 Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 2s. "
- 31 Myrc's Duties of a Parish Priest, in Verse, ab. 1420 A.D., ed. E. Peacock. 4s. 18
- 32 Early English Meals and Manners: the Boke of Nourture of John Russell, the Bokes of Keruyng, Curtasye, and Demeanor, the Babees Book, Urbanitatis, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall. 12s. "
- 33 The knyght de la Tour Landry, ab. 1440 A.D. A Book for Daughters, ed. T. Wright, M.A. 8s. "
- 34 Old English Homilies (before 1300 A.D.). Part II., ed. R. Morris, LL.D. 8s. "
- 35 Lyndesay's Works, Part III.: The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. 2s. "
- 36 Merlin, Part III. Ed. H. B. Wheatley. On Arthurian Localities, by J. S. Stuart Glennie. 12s. 186
- 37 Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part IV., Ane Satyre of the Thre Estaitis. Ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. "
- 38 William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, Part II. Text B. Ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 10s. 6d. "
- 39 Alliterative Romance of the Destruction of Troy. Ed. D. Donaldson & G. A. Panton. Pt. I. 10s. 6d. "
- 40 English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs, 1359 A.D. Edit. Toulmin Smith and Lucy T. Smith, with an Essay on Gilds and Trades-Unions, by Fr. L. Brentano. 21s. 187
- 41 William Lauder's Minor Poems. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. 3s. "
- 42 Bernardus De Cura Rei Famularis, Early Scottish Prophecies, &c. Ed. J. R. Lumby, M.A. 2s. "
- 43 Ratis Raving, and other Moral and Religious Pieces. Ed. J. R. Lumby, M.A. 3s. "
- 44 The Alliterative Romance of Joseph of Arimathe, or the Holy Grail: from the Vernon MS.; with W. de Worde's and Pynson's Lives of Joseph: ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 5s. 187
- 45 King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, edited from 2 MSS., with an English translation, by Henry Sweet, Esq., B.A., Balliol College, Oxford. Part I. 10s. "
- 46 Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. "
- 47 Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part V., ed. Dr. J. A. H. Murray. 3s. "
- 48 The Times' Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., 1616; ed. by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s. "

E. E. TEXT SOC. TEXTS AT PRESS, AND PREPARING. GENERAL NOTICES.



ADVANCE SUBSCRIPTIONS NEEDED.

Besides the Texts named as at press on p. 4 of the Cover of the Early English Text Society's last books, the following Texts are also *at press* or preparing for the Society:—

ORIGINAL SERIES.

- Thomas Robinson's Life and Death of Mary Magdalene, from the 2 MSS., ab. 1620 A.D. (*Text in type.*)
 Queen Elizabeth's Translations, from Boethius, Plutarch, &c., edited by Miss Pemberton. (*At Press.*)
 George Ashby's Poems, 1463-75, ed. from unique Cambridge MSS. by Miss Mary Bateson. (*At Press.*)
 Vices and Virtues, of the unique MS. ab. 1200 A.D., ed. Dr. F. Holthausen, Part II. (*At Press.*)
 Anglo-Saxon Poems, from the Vercelli MS., re-edited by I. Gollancz, B.A.
 Anglo-Saxon Glosses to Latin Prayers and Hymns, edited by Dr. F. Holthausen.
 An Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, edited from the 4 MSS. by Dr. G. Herzfeld.
 Aelfric's Metrical Lives of Saints, MS. Cott. Jul. E 7, Part IV, ed. Prof. Skeat, Litt.D., LL.D.
 All the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Lives of Saints not accessible in English editions, including those of the Vercelli MS. &c., edited by Prof. Napier, M.A., Ph.D.
 The Anglo-Saxon Psalms; all the MSS. in Parallel Texts, ed. Dr. H. Logeman and F. Harsley, B.A.
 Beowulf, a critical Text, &c., ed. Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.
 Byrhtferth's Handbooc, edited by Prof. G. Hempl.
 Early English Homilies, 13th century, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
 The Rule of St. Benet: 5 Texts, Anglo-Saxon, Early English, Caxton, &c., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
 The Seven Sages, in the Northern Dialect, from a Cotton MS., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris.
 The Master of the Game, a Book of Huntynge for Hen. V. when Prince of Wales, ed. Mr. T. Austin.
 Ailred's Rule of Nuns, &c., edited from the Vernon MS., by the Rev. Canon H. R. Bramley, M.A.
 Lonelich's Merlin (verse), from the unique MS., ed. by Miss Mary Bateson and Prof. E. Kölbmg, Ph.D.
 Merlin (prose), Part IV., containing Preface, Index, and Glossary. Edited by Prof. W. E. Mead, Ph.D.
 Early English Verse Lives of Saints, Standard Collection, from the Harl. MS., ed. Dr. C. Horstmann.
 Supplementary Early English Lives of Saints, ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.
 The Early and Later Festivals, ab. 1400 and 1440 A.D., ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.
 Select Prose Treatises from the Vernon MS., ed. Prof. C. Horstmann, Ph.D.
 Early English Confessionals, edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.
 A Lapidary, from Lord Tollemache's MS., &c., edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.
 Early English Deeds and Documents, from unique MSS., ed. Dr. Lorenz Morsbach.
 Gilbert Banastre's Poems, and other Boccaccio englishings, edited by Prof. J. Zupitza, Ph.D.
 Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, edited from the MSS. by Dr. Axel Erdmann.
 William of Nassington's Mirror of Life, from Jn. of Waldby, ed. Sidney J. Hertridge, B.A.
 A Chronicle of England to 1327 A.D., Northern verse (42,000 lines), ab. 1400 A.D., ed. M. L. Perrin, B.A.
 More Early English Wills from the Probate Registry at Somerset House. (*Editor Wanted.*)
 Early Lincoln Wills and Documents from the Bishops' Registers, &c., edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
 Early Canterbury Wills, edited by William Cowper, B.A.
 Early Norwich Wills, edited by Walter Rye, Esq.
 The Cartularies of Oseney Abbey and Godstow Nunnery, englished ab. 1450, ed. Rev. A. Clark, M.A.
 The Three Kings' Sons, edited from the unique Harl. MS. 326, ab. 1500 A.D., by Dr. Leon Kellner.
 The Macro Moralities, edited from Mr. Gurney's unique MS., by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A.
 A Troy-Book, edited from the unique Laud MS. 595, by Dr. E. Wülfing.
 Alliterative Prophecies, edited from the MSS. by Prof. Brandl, Ph.D.
 Miscellaneous Alliterative Poems, edited from the MSS. by Dr. L. Morsbach.
 Bird and Beast Poems, a collection from MSS., edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
 Seire Mori, &c., from the Lichfield MS. 16, ed. Miss Rosa Elverson, LL.A., and Miss Florence Gilbert.
 Nicholas Trivet's French Chronicle, from Sir A. Acland-Hood's unique MS., ed. by Miss Mary Bateson.
 Hours of the Virgin, from the Addit. MS. 27,592 in the British Museum, ed. G. N. Currie, M.A. (*At Press.*)
 De Guileville's Pilgrimage of the Sowle, edited by G. N. Currie, M.A.
 Stories for Sermons, edited from the Addit. MS. 25,719 by Dr. W. Meck of Coblenz.

EXTRA SERIES.

- Vicary's Anatomie, 1548, ed. 1577, edited by F. J. & Percy Furnivall. Part II. [*At Press.*]
 Bp. Fisher's English Works, Pt. II., with his Life and Letters, ed. Rev. Ronald Bayne, B.A. [*At Press.*]
 Hoccleve's Minor Poems, from the Philipps MS., ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A., Ph.D. [*At Press.*]
 A Parallel-text of the 6 MSS. of the Ancren Riwe, ed. Prof. Dr. E. Kölbmg.
 Trevisa's Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum, re-edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker.
 Bullein's Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence, 1564, 1573, 1578. Ed. A. H. and M. Bullen. Pt. II.
 The Romance of Boctus and Sidrac, edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
 The Romance of Clariodus, re-edited by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
 Sir Amadas, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
 Sir Degrevant, edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. Luick.
 Robert of Brunne's Chronicle of England, from the Inner Temple MS., ed. by Prof. W. E. Mead, Ph.D.
 Maundeville's Voiage and Travaile, re-edited from the Cotton MS. Titus C. 16, &c., by Miss M. Bateson.
 Arthur and Merlin, re-edited from the unique MS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring.
 Guy of Warwick, Copland's version, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D.
 The Siege of Jerusalem, Text A, edited from the MSS. by Dr. F. Kopka.
 Liber Foundationis Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum: the 15th century englishing in the Cotton MS.
 Vespasian B ix, ed. Norman Moore, M.D.
 Awdelay's Poems, re-edited from the unique MS. Douce 302, by Dr. E. Wülfing.
 William of Shoreham's Works, re-edited by Professor Konrath, Ph.D.
 The Wyse Chyilde and other early Treatises on Education, ed. G. Collar, B.A.
 Gaxton's Dives and Seyengis of Philosophers, 1477, with Lord Tollemache's MS. version, ed. S. I. Butler, Esq.

Jan. 1891. For this year the Original-Series Texts are now ready: No. 96, Part II of the Anglo-Saxon version of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, re-edited by Dr. T. Miller, and No. 97, Part I of the *Earliest English Prose Psalter*, edited from its two MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring. For the Extra-Series 1891, the first Text has been long ready,—No. 59, Part III of Prof. Zupitza's edition of the Romance of *Guy of Warwick* from the Auchinleck and Caius MSS.,—and the second Text is nearly ready: Dr. J. Schick's edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*, with a full discussion and classification of its MSS., and a chronological arrangement of all Lydgate's chief works, with some account of his best poem, still in MS., 'Reason and Sensuality.' As Dr. Schick's book is so nearly finished, the issue of the three others for this year will probably be put off till the *Temple of Glass* is ready, so that all the 1891 Texts may go on together.

The Original Series Texts for 1892 will be chosen from Prof. C. Horstmann's edition of 'Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine*'; his first volume of the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, of both of which the text is all printed; and Mr. Gollancz's re-edited *Exeter-Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part I, of which the Text, with a modern englishing, has been long in type. Of the two concluding Parts VI and VII of the *Cursor Mundi*, by Dr. Haenisch, Dr. Kaluza, and Dr. Hupe, the German workers' portion is all printed, and the Parts need only for issue short Forewords by the editor, Dr. Richard Morris. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker has in the press—text nearly finished—a treatise perhaps more valuable for Dictionary purposes than any yet issued by the Society, an englished *Lanfranc's Chirurgie*, about 1400 A.D., which takes up to Chaucer's death the whole class of surgical and medical words (besides many others of common speech) which we before had only from the black-letters of Queen Elizabeth's time. The Editor is collating the English text with its Latin; and he shows how largely our first printed *Anatomie* (Vicary's) is borrowed from it. Some of these Texts will form the issues for 1892, 1893 and 1894. **Members are therefore asked to send Advance Subscriptions, in 1891 for 1892 and 1893**, in order that the 1892-3 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finished. The Society's experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society's purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation's thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year's work will then be ready for issue on New Year's Day. Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finished all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

For the Extra Series of 1892, Mr. Donald's edition of the prose Romance of *Melusine*, ab. 1500 A.D., Prof. Ingram's, of the first englishing of Thomas a Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi*, ab. 1440-50, and Dr. Deibling's re-edition of *The Chester Plays* from the latest and best MS., are almost all in type. Dr. Mary N. Colvin's edition of Caxton's *Godfrey of Bologne* has several chapters and all the Introduction in type. It will therefore be necessary to ask Members for **advance Subscriptions in order that the Books for 1892 and 1893** may be issued when they are ready in 1891. During 1891 the Extra Series books for 1892 are almost sure to be ready.

Mr. G. N. Currie—besides editing the *Hours of the Virgin* now at Press—is preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs's MS., Mr. Gibbs having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinage de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.¹ Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-I, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford²; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited by Mr. Sidney J. Herbage for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library;³ "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or

¹ He was born about 1295. See Abbé GOUJER'S *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M.

² These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

³ Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.

its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited by Mr. Currie for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,¹ Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pelerinage* into a prose *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*.² By the kindness of Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs, as above mentioned, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pelerinage de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englished in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguilleville's *ABC* or *Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 gaps, of which most of the second can be filled up from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The rest of the stopgaps must be got from the original French in Harleian 4399,³ and Additional 22,937⁴ and 25,594⁵ in the British Museum. Lydgate's version will be edited in due course for the Society.

Besides his first *Pelerinage de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'aue separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1418, *The Pilgrimage of the Soule* (perhaps in part by Lydgate), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,⁶ at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose Englishing of the *Soule* will be edited for the Society after that of the *Man* is finished, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Mr. Gibbs's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. Dr. Logeman then raised the question of how the other MSS. should be treated; and he was authorised to prepare a Parallel-Text edition of the first ten Psalms from all the MSS., to test whether the best way of printing them would be in one group, or in two—in each case giving parts of all the MSS. on one page—under their respective Roman and Gallican Latin originals. If collation proves that all the MSS. cannot go together on successive pages, there will be two Parallel-Texts, one of the A.Sax. MSS. following the Roman version, and the other, of those glossing the Gallican; but every effort will be made to get the whole into one Parallel-Text. This Text will be an extravagance; but as the Society has not yet committed one in Anglo-Saxon, it will indulge in one now. And every student will rejoice at having the whole Psalter material before him in the most convenient form. Dr. Logeman and Mr. Harsley will be joint editors of the Parallel-Text. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of Prof. Arber, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints. Five of its 1866 Texts, and one of its 1867, still need reproducing. Donations for this purpose will be welcome. They should be paid to the Hon. Sec., Mr. W. A. Dalziel, 67 Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, under the editorship of Prof. Carl Horstmann. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found interesting incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. The differences between the foundation MS. (the Laud 108) and its followers are so great, that, to

¹ According to Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs's MS.

² These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

³ 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

⁴ 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

⁵ 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.

⁶ Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.

prevent quite unwieldy collations, Prof. Horstmann decided that the Laud MS. must be printed alone, as the first of the Series of Saints' Lives. The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes. The Glossary to the whole set, the discussion of the sources, and of the relation of the MSS. to one another, &c., will be put in a final volume.

When the Saints' Lives are complete, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,¹ Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölbinger has also undertaken for the Society's Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the *Ancoren Riwele*, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English.

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year's income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1886-7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has copies of 2 or 3 MSS. in hand for future volunteer Editors.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonels Kölbinger and Horstmann, volunteers Hausknecht, Einkenel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, &c. &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Dr. Erdmann; Holland, Dr. H. Logeman; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser;—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; while America is represented by Prof. Child, Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin and Prof. Perrin. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has called forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

Among the MSS. and old books which need copying or re-editing, are:—

ORIGINAL SERIES.

Maumetrie, from Lord Tollemache's MS.
The Romance of Troy. Harl. 525.
Biblical MS., Corpus Cambr. 434 (ab. 1375).
Purvey's Ecclesie Regimen, Cot. Titus D 1.
Hampole's unprinted Works.
þe Gloude of Unknowyng, from Harl. MSS. 2373, 959,
Bibl. Reg. 17 C 26, &c.
A Lanterne of Lizt, from Harl. MS. 2324.
Soule-hele, from the Vernon MS.
Lydgate's unprinted Works.
Boethius, A.D. 1410, &c.; Pilgrim, 1426, &c. &c.
Vegetius on the Art of War.
Lydgate and Burgh's 'Secreta Secretorum,' from
Sloane MS. 2464.
Early Treatises on Music: Descant, the Gamme, &c.
Skelton's englishing of Diodorus Siculus.
The Nightingale and other Poems, from MS. Cot.
Calig. A 2, Addit. MS. 10,036, &c.
Lyrical Poems, from the Harl. MS. 2253.
Penitential Psalms, by Rd. Maydenstoon, Bramp-
ton, &c. (Rawlinson, A. 389, &c.).
Documents from the Registers of the Bishops of all
Dioceses in Great Britain.
Ordinances and Documents of the City of Worcester.
Chronicles of the Brute.
T. Breus's Passion of Christ, 1422. Harl. 2338.
Book for Recluses, Harl. 2372.
Lollard Theological Treatise, Harl. 2343.
H. Selby's Northern Ethical Tract, Harl. 2388, art. 20.
Hilton's Ladder of Perfection.

EXTRA SERIES.

Erle of Tolous.
Ypotis.
Sir Eglamour.
Emare.
The Northern Verse Psalter.
Le Morte Arthur, from the unique Harl. 2252.
Sir Tristrem, from the unique Auchinleck MS.
Sir Gowther.
Dame Siriz, &c.
Orfeo (Digby, 86).
Dialogue between the Soul and Body.
Barlaam and Josaphat.
Amis and Amiloun.
Ipomedon.
Richard Cœur de Lyon. Harl. 4690.
Sir Generides, from Lord Tollemache's MS.
The Troy-Book fragments once called Barbour's in the
Camb. Univ. Library and Douce MSS.
Partonope of Blois, &c., Athelston.
Gower's Confessio Amantis.
Poems of Charles, Duke of Orleans.
Carols and Songs.
The Siege of Rouen, from Harl. MSS. 2256. 753,
Egerton 1995, Bodl. 3562, E. Museo 124, &c.
Pilgrimages to Jerusalem.
Mulcaster's Positions, 1561, ed. T. Widgey, M.A.
Jn. Hart's Orthographie, 1569, and Methode to read
English, 1570.

The Founder and Director of the E. E. T. Soc. is Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3, St. George's Sq., Primrose Hill, London, N.W. Its Hon. Sec. is W. A. Dalglish, Esq., 67, Victoria Road, Finsbury Park, London, N. The Subscription to the Society is 21s. a year for the *Original Series*, and 21s. for the *Extra Series* of re-editions.

¹ Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercelli Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi,

Four Supplications.

1529—1553 A.D.

Early English Text Society.

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A
Supplication for the Beggars.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1529 BY

Simon Fish.

NOW RE-EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

WITH

A Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde
Kynge Henry the Eght
(1544 A.D.),

A Supplication of the Poore Commons
(1546 A.D.),

The Decaye of England
by the great multitude of shepe
(1550-3 A.D.),

EDITED BY

J. MEADOWS COWPER.

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R. CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.

FOREWORDS.

WHEN trying to get together some evidence on the Condition of England in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reigns for the Introduction to the Ballad of *Now a Dayes* (? ab. 1520, A.D.) for my first volume for the Ballad Society, I was struck by the difficulty of finding out what tracts and books on the subject there were, and how few of them could be easily got at, much less bought at any reasonable price. But when I did get hold of some of them, I found them of such interest and value that I resolved to reprint such of them as I could, and one of the earliest¹ is now before the reader.

The second in date, the celebrated *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, is however the first in importance, from its influence on Henry VIII and the Reformation, and its calling forth an answer from Sir Thomas More, his *Supplycacyon of Soulys* (in Purgatory), which gave rise to his controversy with Tyndal. I therefore give Foxe's full account of the whole matter from the third edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, A.D. 1576, pp. 986—991.

¹ Roy's *Rede me and be not wroth* is the earliest, and was in print by 1527 or -8, says Mr Arber. Mr Hazlitt dates Roy, 'Wormes 1526': but query. It is not in Foxe's list of Forbidden Books in 1526 (p. xii., below), though it is in that of 1531, printed in my *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, 1866, p. 34: '7. The burying of the masse in English yn ryme.' Of Roy's other book in that list, '13. A Boke made by freer Roye ayeunst the sevyne sacramentis,' I know of no copy. Bohn's edition of Lowndes says of the '*Rede me and be not wroth*', "in the Roxburghe Sale Catalogue this piece stands entitled 'The Buryinge of the Mass, a Satire'." Can Foxe's 'M. Roo' on the next page be William Roy?

THE STORY OF M. SYMON FISHE.

M. Simon Fyshe,
author of the
booke, called the
Supplication of
Beggars.

Before the tyme of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I should haue placed the story of Symon Fish, with the booke called "the Supplication of Beggars," declaryng how and by what meanes it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynges, especially of the Clergy. But the missyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here [under the year 1531] which should haue come in sixe yeares before. The maner and circumstance of the matter is this :

After that the light of the Gospel, workyng mightely in Germanie, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrre and alteration folowed in the harts of many : so that colored hypocrisie, and false doctrine, and painted holynes, began to be espyed more and more by the readyng of Gods word. The authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals, was not so high, but such as had fresh wittes sparced with Gods grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sinceritie from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd M. Symon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord .1525. that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the same Inne, Gentleman, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take vpon them to play that part, whiche touched the sayd Cardinall, this foresayd M. Fish tooke vpon him to do it ; wherupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpon the Cardinals part : In so much as he, beyng pursued by the sayd Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedie was playd, was compelled of force to voyde his owne house, & so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall : vpon occasion wherof, the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (beyng about the yeare .1527.) and so not long after, in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Which booke, her brother seyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gaue it her agayne, willyng her earnestly to giue it to the kyng, which thyng she so dyd.

The booke of the
supplication of
beggars geuen to
the kyng.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord .1528. The kyng, after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her, who made it. Wherunto she aunswered and sayd, a certaine subiect of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realme for feare of the Cardinall. After the kyng had kept the booke in his bosome iij. or iiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was giuen by the kynges seruantes to the wife of y^e sayd Symon Fishe, y^t she might boldly send for her husband, without all

perill or daunger. Whereupon, she thereby-beyng incouraged, came first, and made sute to the kyng for the safe returne of her husband. Who, vnderstandyng whose wife she was, shewed a maruelous gentle and chearefull countenance towardes her, askyng where her husband was. She answered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then sayth he, fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shal do him harme; saying moreouer that hee had much wrong that hee was from her so long: who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M. More set in his place of the Chauncellourshyp.

Thus Fishes wife, beyng emboldened by the kynges M. Fishe brought, and gently enter- tainned of the kyng. wordes, went immediatly to her husband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord .1530. When the kyng saw him, and vnderstode he was the authour of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenance; who after long talke, for the space of iij. or iiij. houres, as they were ridyng together on huntynge, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wife, for she had taken great paynes for him. Who answered the kyng agayne and sayd, he durst not so do, for feare of Syr Thomas More, then Chauncellour, & Stoksley, then Byshop, of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord .1530.

The kyng, takyng his signet of his finger, willed hym M. Fishe rescued by the kyng. to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellour, charging him not to bee so hardy to worke him any harme. M. Fishe, receiuyng the kynges signet, went and declared hys message to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but he asked him if he had any thyng for the discharge of his wife; for she a litle before had by chaunce displeased the Friers, for not sufferynge them to say their Gospels in Latine in her house, as they did in others, vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had discharged the man, yet leauyng not his grudge towardes the wife, the next Syr Tho. More persecuteth M. Fishes wyfe. mornyng sent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her husband, the sayd M. Fish, deceasing M. Fishe dyeth of the plague. within halfe a yeare, she afterward maryed to one M. Iames Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhams sonne, a worshypful knight of Glostershyre. The which foresaid M. Iames Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concernyng Symon Fishe, the author of the booke of beggars, who also translated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch. The summe of the scripture translated by M. Fishe.

Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys, the kynges footeman, touching the same matter.

M. Moddys the
kynges footeman.

This M. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayde, if it might please hys grace to pardon him, & such as he would bryng to his grace, hee should see such a booke as was maruell to heare of. The kyng demaunded what they were.

The booke of
Beggars brought
to the kyng by
George Elyot, &
George Robynson.

He sayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot & George Robynson. The kyng poynted a tyme to speake with them. When they came afore his presence in a priuye closet, he demaunded what they had to saye, or to shew him. One of them said y^t there was a boke come to their handz, which they had there to shew his grace. When he saw it, hee demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea, sayd George Elyot, if it please your grace to heare it. I thought so, sayd the kyng, for if neede were, thou canst say it without booke.

The kynges
aunsweare vpon
the booke of
beggars.

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pause, and then sayd, if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begyn at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head: and then he tooke the booke, and put it into his deske, and commaunded them vpon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man, that he had sene the booke. &c. The Copie of the foresayd booke, intituled of the Beggars, here ensueth.

[The Boke of Beggars follows here in print.]

The supplication
of the soules of
Purgatory, made
by Syr Tho.
More, agaynst the
booke of beggars.

Agaynst this booke of the Beggars aboue prefixed, beyng written in the tyme of the Cardinall, another contrary booke or supplication, was deuised and written shortly vpon the same by one sir Thomas More, knight, Chauncellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, vnder the name and title of the poore sely soules pewlyng out of Purgatory. In the which booke, after that the sayd M. More, writer therof, had first deuided the whole world into foure partes, that is, into heauen, hell, middle earth, and Purgatory: then he maketh the dead mens soules, by a Rhetoricall *Prosopopœa*, to speake out of Purgatory pynfolde, sometymes lamentably complayning, sometymes pleasauntly dalyng and scoffing, at the authour of the Beggars booke, sometymes scolding and rayling at hym, calling hym foole, witlesse, frantike, an asse, a goose, a madde dogge, an hereticke, and all that naught is. And no meruel, if these sely soules of Purgatory seeme so fumish & testy. For heate (ye know) is testie, & soone inflameth choler; but yet those Purgatory soules must take good hede how they call a man a foole and heretike so often. For if the sentence of the Gospell doth pronounce them guiltie of hell fire, which say, *fatue*, foole: it may be douted lest those poore sely melancholy soules of

Math. 5.

Purgatory, calling this man foole so oft as they haue done, do bryng themselues therby out of Purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by y^e iust sentence of the gospell: so that neyther the v. woundes of S. Fraunces, nor all the merites of S. Dominicke, nor yet of all the Friers, can release them, poore wretches. But yet for so much as I do not, nor cannot thincke, that those departed soules, eyther would so farre ouershoote themselues if they were in Purgatory, or els that there is any such fourth place of Purgatory at all (vnlesse it be in M. Mores Vtopia) as Maister Mores Poeticall vayne doth imagine. I cease therefore to burden the soules departed, and lay all the wyte in maister More, the authour and contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not kepyng *Decorum Personæ*, as a perfect Poet should haue done. They that geue preceptes of *Arte*, do note thys in all Poeticall fictions, as a speciall obseruation, to foresee and expresse what is conuenient for euery person, accordyng to hys degree and condition, to speake and vtter. Wherefore if it be true that maister More sayeth in the sequele of hys booke, that grace and charitie increaseth in them that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that such soules, lying so long in Purgatory, should so soone forgette their charitie, and fall a rayling in their supplication so fumishly, both agaynst this man, with such opprobrious and vnfitting termes, and also against Iohn Badby, Richard Howndon, Iohn Goose, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of the Lord burned for hys worde: also agaynst Luther, William Tindall, Richard Hunne and other mo, falsly belyng the doctrine by them taught and defended: which is not lyke that such charitable soules of Purgatory would euer doe; neyther were it conuenient for them in that case, which in dede though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more encrease of their payne. Agayne, where the B. of Rochester defineth the Angels to be ministers to Purgatory soules, some wyll thinke peraduenture maister More to haue missed some part of his *Decorum* in makyng the euill spirite of the authour and the deuill to be messenger betwene middle earth and Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the prisoned soules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touchyng the maner how this deuill came into Purgatory, laughyng, grynnyng, and gnashyng his teeth, in sothe it maketh me to laugh, to see y^e mery Antiques of M. More. Belike then this was some mery deuill, or els had eaten with his teeth some *Nasturcium* before: which comming into Purgatory to shew the name of this man, could not tell hys tale without laughing. But this was (sayth he) an enmious & an enuious laughing, ioyned with grynnyng and gnashyng of teeth. And immediatly vpon the same, was contriued this scoffing and raylyng supplication of the pewlyng soules of Purgatory, as hee hym selfe doth terme them. So then here was enmyng, enuyng, laugh-

Vtopia, that is to say, *Nusquam*, no place.

A Poete sayth *Horace, Reddere personæ fit conuenientia cuique*

M. Mores Antiques.

Satan *nasturciatur.*

ing, grinning, gnashyng of teeth, pewlyng, scoffing, rayling, and begging, and altogether to make a very blacke *Sanctus* in Purgatory.

A blacke Santus in Purgatory. In deede we read in Scripture, that there shall bee wepyng and gnashyng of teeth in hell, where the soules & bodies of men shall be tormented. But who woulde euer haue thought before, that the euill aungell of this man that made the booke of Beggars, beyng a spirituall and no corporall substance, had teeth to gnashe, & a mouthe to grynne? But where then stode M. More, I meruell al this meane while, to see the deuill laugh with his mouth so wyde, y^t the soules of Purgatory might see all hys teeth? Belyke this was in Vtopia, where M. Mores Purgatorye is founded. But because M. Moore is hence departed, I will leaue hym with his mery Antiques. And as touchyng hys booke of Purgatory, whiche he hath lefte behynde, because Iohn Frith hath learnedly and effectuously ouerthrowne the same, I will therefore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre agayne (the Lord willyng) to the historye.

After that the Clergye of England, and especially the Cardinall, vnderstode these bookes of the Beggars supplication aforesayd, to be strawne abroade in the streetes of London, and also before the kyng, the sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruantes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they should not come into the kynges handes, but also, when he vnderstode that the kyng had receaued one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maiesty saying: If it shall please your grace, here are diuers seditious persons which haue scattered abroad bookes conteyning manifest errours and herisies; desiryng his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the kyng, puttyng his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the bookes, and deliuered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Byshops, consulted how they might prouide a spedy remedy for this mischief,

Prouision by the Byshops, agaynst Englishe bookes. & therupon determined to geue out a Commision to forbid the readyng of all Englishe bookes, and namely this booke of Beggars, and the new Testament of Tyndals translation: which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstall, Byshop of London, who sent out his prohibition vnto his Archdeacons, with all speede, for the forbiddyng of that booke and diuers other more; the tenor of whiche prohibition here foloweth.

¶ A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his diocesse, for the callyng in of the new Testaments translated into English, with diuers other bokes: the Cataloge wherof hereafter ensueth.

A prohibition against English bookes.

“Cuthbert by the permission of God, Byshop of London, vnto our welbeloued in Christ, the Archdeacon of London, or to hys Officiall, health, grace, and

benediction. By the duety of our pastorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power, to foresee, provide for, roote out, and put away, all those thynges which seeme to tend to the peril & daunger of our subiectes, and specially the destruction of their soules. Wherefore, we, hauyng vnderstandyng by the report of diuers credible persons, and also by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many children of iniquitie, maintayners of Luthers sect, blynded through extreme wickednes, wandryng from the way of truth and the Catholicke fayth, craftely haue translated the new Testament into our English tongue, entermedlyng therewith many hereticall Articles & erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensiue, seducyng the simple people, attemptyng by their wicked and peruerse interpretations, to prophanate the maiesty of the Scripture, which hetherto hath remained vndefiled, & craftely to abuse the most holy worde of God, and the true sence of the same; of the which translation there are many bookes imprinted, some with gloses and some without, contayning in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poyson dispersed throughout all our diocesse of London in great number: which truly, without it be spedely foreseene, wythout doubt, wyll contaminate and infect the flock committed vnto us, with most deadly poyson and heresie, to the grieuous peril and danger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maiesty. Wherefore we, Cuthbert the bishop aforesayd, greuously sorowyng for the premisses, willyng to withstand the craft and subtletie of the auncient enemy and hys ministers, which seeke the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care, to take hede vnto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide spedy remedies for the premisses, do charge you ioyntly and seuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, straightly enioyne and commaunde you, that by our authority you warne or cause to be warned all & singular, aswel exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your Archdeaconries, that within .xxx. dayes space, wherof .x. dayes shalbe for the first, .x. for the second, & .x. for the third and peremptory terme, vnder paine of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of herisie, they do bryng in, and really deliuer vnto our vicare generall, all & singular such bookes as conteyne the translation of the new Testament in the Englishe tongue; and that you doe certifie vs, or our sayd Commissarye, within ij. monethes after the day of the date of these presentes, duely, personally, or by your letters, together with these presentes, vnder your seales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder payne of contempt, geuen vnder our seale the .xxij. of October, in the v. yere of our consecration .an. 1526."

¶ The lyke Commission in lyke maner and forme, was sent to the three other Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, vnder the Byshops seale.

THE NAMES OF THE BOOKES THAT WERE FORBIDDEN AT THIS TYME,
TOGETHER WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Bookes con- demned and forbidden.	The supplication of beggers.	(2) ¹
	The reuelation of Antichrist, of Luther.	(3)
	The new Testament of Tindall.	(22)
	The wicked Mammon.	(23)
	The obedience of a Christen man.	(24)
	An introduction to Paules Epistle to the Romanes.	(22)
	A Dialogue betwixt the father and the sonne.	(1)
	Oeconomicæ Christianæ.	(6)
	Vnio dissidentium.	
	Piæ precationes.	(5)
	Captiuitas Babilonica.	
	Ioannes Hus in Oseam.	
	Zwinglius in Catabaptistas.	
	De pueris instituendis.	
	Brentius de administranda Republica.	
	Luther ad Galatas.	
De libertate Christiana.		
Luthers exposition vpon the Pater noster.		

The editor of the reprint of the *Supplicacyon* in 1845 refers also to Strype's *Memorials*, i. 165, and says that Wilkins (*Concilia*, 3. 706) gives us this edict or injunction [of Tonstall's, above] issued by the authority also of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Again, in the year 1530, a public instrument agreed upon, says Wilkins (3. 728), in an Assembly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham and others, by order of King Henry the Eighth, was put forth "containing diuers heretical and erroneous opinions selected from various books, which had been considered and condemned." One of those is from *the Supplication*, and is the passage [on Purgatory] beginning, "There be many men of great literature, &c." [p. 10, below, l. 21], and ending, "in all holy Scripture." And, once more, in the same year (*Wilkins*, iii. 737), or, with less probability, in 1529 (*Strype*, i. 165), a Royal Proclamation was published "for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies sown

¹ These numbers refer to those in the 'List of Books proscribed in 1531' printed in my edition of *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, for the Society, 1866, p. 34-5, in which nine books in Tonstall's 1526 list are repeated. (The *Pre* of No. 5 there should be *Pie*.)

within this realm by the disciples of Luther, and other heretics, perverters of Christ's religion ;" at the end of which, with some other books, "the Supplication of Beggars" is strictly prohibited. Mr Arber tells me that Foxe's list of books on the opposite page is a spurious one, because it contains the names of several books not published till after 1526,—among them our *Supplication of Beggars*, which can be proved to have been published late in 1528 or early in 1529¹;—that the *Unio dissidentium* is by H. Budius ; and that *Piæ Precationes*, *Captivitas Babylonica*, and *De Libertate Christiana*, are Luther's.

Wood's account of Fish, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, is taken from Foxe, but he notes also what Sir T. More, in his 'Apology' (*Works*, &c., ed. Rastell, 1577, p. 881), says of Fish: that he "had good zeale, ye wote well, whan he made the Supplicacion of beggars. But God gaue hym suche grace afterwarde, that he was sory for that good zeale, and repented hymselfe, and came into the church agayne ; and forsoke and forswore all the whole hill of those heresyes, out of which the fountain of that same good zeale sprange."

"In More's *Supplication of Souls*, written to counteract the effect of Mr Simon Fish's *Supplication of Beggars*, More continually calls Fish 'this beggar's proctor,' and represents one of the souls in purgatory as saying of him, 'He is named and boasted among us by the evil angel of his, our and your ghostly enemy, the devil ; which, as soon as he had set him at work with that pernicious book, ceased not to come hither, and boast it among us : but with his envious and envious laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told us that his people [*i. e.* the reformers] had, by the advice and counsel of him, [*i. e.* the devil] and of some heretics almost as evil as he, made such a book for beggars, that it should make us beg long ere we got aught.'—More's '*Works*,' pp. 288-9. The *Supplication of Beggars* . . . was originally transmitted to England from the Continent, whither Fish had fled ; so that More would suppose that Tyndale and Joye were privy to its composition."—*Parker Soc.'s Tyndale's Works*, iii. 268, note. In the Parker Society's Tyndale's Works, ii. 335, Tyndale, in his tract on *The Practice of Prelates*, again makes mention of Fish's *Supplication*, "which secretary (Thomas More) yet must first deserve it with writing against Martin [Luther], and

¹ See Mr Arber's Preface to his facsimile reproduction (1871) of Tyndale and Roy's first printed English New Testament, Cologne-Worms? 1525, 4to.

against *The Obedience* and *Mammon*, and become the proctor of purgator^y, to write against *The Supplication of beggars*.”

Bishop Tanner ascribes to Fish ‘The boke of merchants¹ rightly necessary to all folkes, newly made by the lord Pontapole,’ and ‘The spiritual nosegay.’

That he translated from the Dutch the *Sum of the Scriptures* Foxe has already told us in the last lines of page vii above.

Fish was living at his house at Whitefriars in 1527-8. See Necton’s Confession. *Strype*, I. ii. 63, ed. 1822. (Arber.)

No new facts about Fish are given in any modern biographical dictionaries that Mr W. M. Wood has searched for me. Foxe, as we have seen (p. vii, above, l. 9 from foot), says that Fish died of the plague about 1530; and the way that Sir Thomas More speaks of him seems to assume that he died before 1533.

The reader will notice how the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546, refers, on p. 61-2 below, to the *Supplicacyon of Beggars*, and its influence on Henry VIII.

F. J. F.

The second and third *Supplications*, printed from the original black-letter editions now in the British Museum,² are anonymous. The dates of their publication are 1544 for the second, and 1546 for the third. It is useless to guess who was the author (I believe the two proceed from one pen), but I have not much hesitation in suggesting Henry Brinklow (“Roderick Mors”), who was busy at this time. Brinklow’s two tracts³ will as soon as practicable be included in this series, and then our readers will be able to judge for themselves. The same vehement language, and unqualified abuse of the clergy and all who were not of his way of thinking, will be observed throughout. The references to certain topics of the day cannot be

¹ Lond. Jugge, 1547, 12mo.—*Lowndes*.

² Mr E. Brock read the proofs with the originals.

³ ‘The Complaynt of Roderick Mors . . . for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs, and cruel decreys, 1536’; and ‘The Lamentacyon of a Christen Agaynst the Cytie of London, for some certayne great vyces vsed therein, 1545.’

reckoned on to weigh much with regard to the question of authorship in a case like this, else we might direct attention to several such in this Preface. Three must suffice :

The Lamentacyon of a Christen.

And I thinke within fewe years they will (wythout thy greate mercy) call vpon Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall, & vpon the vnholy (I shulde saye) holy Mayde of Kent. l. 4.

Accordyng to there office they barked vpon you to loke vpon the poore, so that then some relefe they had ; but now, alas, ye be colde, yea euen those whiche saye they be the favorers of the Gospell. l. 9, bk.

London beyng one of the flowers of the worlde, as touching worldlye riches, hath so manye, yea innumerable of poore people forced to go from dore to dore, and to syt openly in the stretes a beggyng, and many . . . lye in their howses . . . and dye for lacke of ayde of the riche. l. 9.

Ye abhorre the remedy ordayned of God [marriage], and mayntayne the remedy of Sathan. l. 22, bk.

These are not worth much, but they may serve as a hint to those who care to go further in this direction.

The subjects embraced by the second and third *Supplications* are such as to justify their being placed in the same volume as Fish's more famous tract.¹ That gained its celebrity as much from its early appearance in the great struggle, and the notice taken of it by the king, as by its own intrinsic merits. More than this, Foxe embalmed it in his

A Supplication of the Commons.

Now must we beleue that they can not erre . . . though they were bandes and fornicators with the holy whore of Kent. p. 75.

Although the sturdy beggers gat all the deuotion of the good charitable people from them, yet had the pore impotent creatures sone relefe of theyr scrappes, where as nowe they haue nothyng. Then had they hospitals, and almshouses to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and starue in the stretes. Then was their number great, but now much greater. p. 79.

Hordome is more estemed then wedlocke . . . amongst a great nombre of lycensious persons. p. 82.

¹ When the *Supplication of the Poore Commons* first appeared, it bore on its title page "¶ Whereunto is added the Supplication of Beggars." This is now omitted, as the *Supplication of Beggars* contained in the present volume is printed from a copy of the original black-letter edition in the British Museum.

pages, so that while the *Supplication to the King* and the *Supplication of the Commons* have not been reprinted for more than 300 years, and are unknown except to a few, the *Supplication of the Beggars* has been reproduced as often as Foxe's own immortal work.

The ignorance and immorality of the clergy are commented upon in severe terms. They, as usual, are charged with being the authors of every crime either by the suppression of the Bible, or by their false teaching. Their want of faith and neglect of preaching are said to be the cause of insurrections, commotions, popish blindness, idolatry, hypocrisy. It is said that many of the Abbots of the suppressed monasteries were admitted to have the cure of souls to the increase of all ignorance and to the damnation of those committed to their care. Of course. Having turned out these men, how could the virtuous patriots of the day do less than persecute them to the death? They had voluntarily or involuntarily resigned their livings into the hands of the Royal Defender of the Faith, and were willing to conform to the new order of things; but this was not enough. It was held that no good thing could come out of the Church as it existed a few years before, and so these men must submit to every indignity and be taxed with every crime. It was even considered dangerous to admit a man to the ministry who had studied the decrees and laws of the Church of Rome (p. 46).

But Church matters are not the only ones which gain attention. We hear of the extravagance which prevailed in fashions—now the French, now the Spanish, then the Italian, and then the Milan (p. 52), till many were brought to poverty by the foolish fancies and vain pride of men and women. The crimes of the rich make the writer apply Hosea's words to his own country—"There is no truth, no mercy, no knowledge of God in earth; cursing, lying, murder, theft, adultery, hath broken in"—and yet, notwithstanding all this, "doo owre shepherdes holde theyr peace."

The miserable poverty of the people, who expected great things from the expulsion of the monks, is clearly expressed. Under the old order of things there was some relief (p. 79), but under the new, instead of the monk there was the "sturdy extortioner." The people

could get no farm, not even a cottage. Rents were raised, abbey lands bought up, and the old leases declared to be void. Altogether the picture is anything but a cheering one, and makes us curious to know in what part of England "free fare and free lodging, with bread, beef, and beer," were to be had, and no questions asked.¹

The last tract in this volume was copied from one then in the Lambeth Library, but as that was mislaid when we went to press, our text has been made to correspond² with the copy of another edition in the Cambridge University Library. The date³ of this "Sheep-tract" must be 1550-3 A.D.; but the name of its author is unknown. It, too, is in the form of a petition or supplication, which seems to have been a favourite mode of exposing the grievances under which the people groaned. A noteworthy circumstance in connection with this tract is that the clergy are not even mentioned! It deals with rural troubles only. In cities men saw and perhaps envied the rich; in large centres of population also, just as in our own day, the clergy were the especial objects of the attacks of "reformers;" but this writer, whose style is far less effective than that of the *Supplications*, confines himself solely to the misfortunes which resulted from excessive pasture farming. His references to Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, lead us to believe that his lot was probably cast in one of these counties. The complaint is made in very homely language and manner, but they give to it an air of truthfulness.

The calculations as to the losses sustained by the country are very interesting. A single plow, it seems, was calculated to keep six persons and leave thirty quarters of grain for sale annually.

¹ For further information on the subjects of these *Supplications* the reader is referred to the Introduction to *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i. by Mr F. J. Furnivall, and to the Preface to *England under Henry VIII., a Dialogue, &c.*, by Mr J. M. Cowper.

² Mr Denis Hall of the Camb. Univ. Library collated the proofs with the original.

³ Hugh Singleton's print of *The vocacyon of Johan Bale* is dated 1553, and he died between July 1592 and 1593. Herbert gives the date of Singleton's ed. of Fox's *Instruccion of Christen Fayth* as 1550. (Dibdin's *Ames*, iv. 290.) The copy of the Sheep-Tract mentioned in *Ames* as among the Harleian pamphlets is not now in the British Museum. It was the same edition as the missing Lambeth copy, having an *e* in *onely* and *housholde* in the title.—F.

Put into figures, the first calculation (p. 98) will stand thus :—

40 plows decayed in each county :	
1 plow = 6 persons \therefore 40 plows =	240 persons.
In addition each plow yielded 30 qrs. corn. \therefore 40	
plows = 1200 qrs. Allowing 4 qrs. to each person,	
this shows a further loss of	<u>300</u> „
Total in each county	540 „

But if there be 80 plows less in each of these shires, “as we do think” (p. 99), this number will be doubled, and in each county 1080 persons are deprived of their means of support.¹ In the writer’s own touching language we may say, “Now these persons had need to have living : whither shall they go? into Northamptonshire? And there is also the living of an equal number of persons lost. Whither shall then they go? Forth from shire to shire, and to be scattered thus abroad, within the King’s Majesty’s Realm where it shall please Almighty God; and for lack of masters, by compulsion driven, some of them to beg, and some to steal” (p. 98).

These Reformation Tracts are submitted to the careful attention of all who wish to study this period of our history, in the firm belief that the only way in which Englishmen can form a correct estimate of the wonderful change the country then went through, the causes which led to it, and the means by which it was brought about, is by placing in their hands all the contemporary documents which are within our reach.

J. M. COWPER.

¹ The calculation on p. 101 suggests a condition of things too frightful for belief :

1 Plow kept	6 persons
besides producing corn sufficient for	$7\frac{1}{3}$ „
50,000 plows \times $13\frac{1}{3}$ =	675,000 „

thrown upon the country; which, supposing the population to have been 5,000,000, would be one-eighth of the whole population, and reveals a state of things worse than that which exists at the present day, when every twentieth person receives parish relief, exclusive of the “beggars” who swarm on our highways, tramping from Union to Union because they can’t sleep in the same “house” two nights together.

A

Supplication for the Beggars.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1529,

AND (AS IS BELIEVED) BY

Simon Fish.

NOW RE-EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

TO THE KING OVRE

souereygne lorde.

Most lamentably compleyneth theyre wofull mysery vnto youre highnes, youre poore daily bedemen, the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke,) the foule, vnhappy sorte of lepres, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore increased, that all the almesse of all the welldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine theim, but that for verey constreint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen, by the reason and¹ there is, yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed, craftily crept vnto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent, but) of strong, puissaunt, and counterfeit holy, and ydell, beggers and vacabundes, whiche, syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilnesse of Satan, are nowe increased vnder your sight, not onely into a great nombre, but also vnto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the rauenous wolues going in herdes clothing, deuouring the flocke,) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archedeacons, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell,

The King's
beadsmen, though
lepers, maimed,
and blind, find
not half enough
alms to sustain
them;

and this by
reason that
others who are

[for that]

strong and able
have crept in,
numerous enough
to form a
kingdom.

These are no
shepherds, but
wolves, that is,
Bishops, Abbots,
&c.,

who work not,
but have the
third of the land
in their hands ;

with the tithe of
corn and wool,
&c.,

and of every
servant's wages,

as well as the
good-woman's
eggs, or else she
has no Easter
rights.

Then, they gain
much by
probates, private
tithes and
masses,

for which dead
men's friends
must pay ; and
from confessions
(which they
divulge), from
cursing and
absolving.

Then again, how
great is the
number of the
begging Friars.

In England are
52,000 parish
churches, 10
households in
each parish ;

from each
household the

rauinous sort, whiche (setting all labour a side) haue begged so importunately that they haue gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the therd part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this, they haue the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, coltes, calues, lambes, pigges, gese, and chikens. Ouer and besides, the tenth part of euery seruantes wages, the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, chese, and butter. Ye, and they loke so narrowly vppon theyre proufittes, that the poore wyues must be countable to theym of euery tenth eg, or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester, shalbe taken as an heretike. hereto haue they there foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, priuy tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgrimages, and at theyre first masses ? Euery man and childe that is buried, must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him, or elles they will aecuse the dedes frendes and exeoutours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will kepe therof no counceyle) by halowing of churches, altares, superaltares, chapelles, and belles, by cursing of men, and absolving them agein for money ? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yere ? Howe moche money get the Somners by extoreion yn a yere, by assityng the people to the commissaries court, and afterward releasing thapparauce for money ? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres : whate get they yn a yere ? Here, if it please your grace to marke, ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of Englund .liij. thousand parisshe churches. And this standing, that there be but tenne houshouldes yn euery parisshe, yet are there fieu hundreth thousand and twenty thousand houshouldes. And of euery of these houshouldes hath euery of the

five ordres of freres a peny a quarter for euery ordre, that is, for all the five ordres, five pens a quarter for every house. That is, for all the five ordres .xx. d, a yere of euery house. Summa, five hundreth thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels. That is .cclx. thousand half angels. Summa .cxxx. thousand angels. Summa totalis .xliij. thousand poundes and .cccxxxiiij. li. vi.s. viij.d. sterling. wherof not foure hundreth yeres passed they had not one peny. Oh greuous and peynfull exactions thus yerely to be paied! from the whiche the people of your nobill predecessours, the kinges of the auncient Britons, euer stode fre. And this wil they haue, or els they wil procure him that will not giue it them to be taken as an heretike. whate tiraunt euer oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subiectes shall be abill to helpe their prince, that be after this facion yerely polled? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres, blinde, sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that youre people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueille that the taxes, fiftenes, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken among your people, to defend them from the thretened ruine of their comon welth, haue bin so sloughtfully, ye, painfully leuied? Seing that almost the vtmost peny that mought haue bin leuied, hath ben gathe ed bifore yerely by this rauinous, cruell, and insatiabill generacion. The danes, nether the saxons, yn the time of the auncient Britons, shulde neuer haue ben abill to haue brought their armies from so farre hither ynto your lond, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines, to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure, if suche

five orders take
20 pence a year,
or in round
numbers,
£43,333 6s. 8d.

Your Highness's
predecessors did
not pay this, and

no subjects can
help their king if
they are so
fleeced; and none
can give alms to
us.

How will the
taxes, which you
have so tenderly
taken, be levied?
for these raveners
have got all
beforehand.

Neither Dane
nor Saxon could
have won Britain,
if they had had
such a brood at
home.

Nor could Arthur
have resisted
Lucius, with such
extortioners

among his people,
nor the Greeks
besieged Troy,

nor Rome won
the world, nor the
Turk so much of
Christendom.

These men, then,
have nigh half
the substance of
the realm,

and yet they are
but one in a
hundred of the
lay-men, or with
women and
children added,
one in four;

but yet they have
half the property
of the realm.

What do they with
their exactions?
Nothing, but
claim all power;
excite rebellions,
as they did

yerely exactions had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to haue so long continued at the siege of Troie, if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abil to haue put all the hole worlde vnder theyre obeisaunce, if theyre people had byn thus yerely oppressed. The Turke nowe, yn youre tyme, shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome, if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to deuoure his substaunce. Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme, that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not : So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort, vnto the nombre of the laye people, and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld haue half. Compare them to the nombre of men, so are they not the .C. person. Compare them to men, wimen, and children ; then are they not the .CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part therefore, yn foure hundreth partes deuided, were to moche for them except they did laboure. whate an vnequal burthen is it, that they haue half with the multitude, and are not the .CCCC. parson of there nombre ! whate tongue is abill to tell that euer there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began ?

¶ And whate do al these greedy sort of sturdy, idell, holy theues, with these yerely exactions that they take of the people ? Truely nothing but exempt them silues from thobedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordshippe, auctorite, obedience, and dignite, from your grace vnto them. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall ynto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace, and be vnder them. As they did vnto your nobill predecessour

king Iohn : whiche, forbicause that he wolde haue punisshed certeyr traytours that had conspired with the frenche king to haue deposed him from his crowne and dignite, (enoug the whiche a clerke called Stephen, whome afterward ageinst the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury, was one) enterdited his Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas, for shame !) hath stoznd tributary (not vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell, deuclishe bloudsupper, dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) euer sins. Here were an holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly coude punisshesuche a rightuous kinge, all his realme, and succession, for doing right !

against that noble King Iohn, when one of them interdicted the land;

and from that time the land has been tributary to a devilish blood-supper.

A holy sort of prelates to treat a righteous king so!

¶ Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that coude thus enterdite an hole realme, and plucke away thobedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his rightuousnesse ! Here were a blisshed sort, not of meke herdes, but of bloudsuppers, that coude set the frenche king vppon suche a rightuous prince, to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite, to make effusion of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blisshed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the sheding of the bloude of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite, agaynst all right and conscience had submitted him silf vnto theym ! O case most horrible ! that euer so nobill a king, Realme, and succession, shuide thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloudsuppers ! where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become, wherby he mought haue done iustice yn this maner ? where was their obedience become, that shuld haue byn subiect vnder his highe power yn this mater ? Ye, where was the obedience of all his subiectes become, that for maintenauce of the comon welth shulde haue holpen him manfully to haue re-

Holy men were they ! hating one who more feared to shed blood than lose his crown ;

but they had translated all power to themselves.

No man's wife
or daughter is
safe for them;
so that no man
can be sure of his
own child; and
still by abstaining
from marriage,
they may make
the realm
desolate.

5

sisted these bloudsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to-gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto them? Ye, and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silues, by all the sleightes they may, to haue to do with euery mannes wife, euery mannes doughter, and euery mannes mayde, that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all among your subiectes, that noman shulde knowe his owne childe, that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of euery man, to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritaunce, yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by theire absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people, wherby all the realme at length, if it shulde be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable.¹

But for them,
100,000 women
would have lived
honestly.

They carry
disease from
one to another,
and boast of their
success.

They draw
women from their
husbands.

¶ These be they that haue made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme, whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces, had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected them to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme; that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere them to an other; that be brent wyth one woman, and bere it to an other; that catche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other; ye, some one of theym shall bost among his felawes, that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they haue ones drawen mennes wiues to suche incontineney, spende away theire husbondes goodes, make the wimen to runne away from theire husbondes, ye, rynne away them silues both with wif and goodes, bring both

¹ Sir Thomas More points out the seeming contradiction between this sentence and the last: for if the monks were such good begetters of bastards, they would increase the population, rather than diminish it. But this is answered in the next page here.

man, wife, and children, to ydelnesse, theft, and beggeri.

Ye, who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles ocean see, full of euilles, that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may lauffully bring vppon vs vnponissed? where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become, that shuld punisse (by punissement of deth, euen as other men are punissed) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is their obedience become, that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all to-gither translated and exempt from your grace vnto them? yes, truely. whate an infinite nombre of people might haue ben increased, to haue peopled the realme, if these sort of folke had ben married like other men? whate breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by them? suche truely as was neuer, sins the worlde began, among the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ Who is she that wil set her hondes to worke, to get .iij. d. a day, and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day, and may haue at lest .xij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies, but to cloke the prestes yncontinency, and that they may haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for their laboure? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggery, theft, and idelnesse, whiche shuld haue kept their good name, and haue set them silues to worke, had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, whiche yn auncient time, bifore the coming yn of these rauinous

Why should you not punish them as you do other men?

Evils numberless they bring on us.

Why should they not be married like other men?

What woman will work for 3*d.* a day, when she may get 20*d.* by sleeping with a monk?

How many men marry priests' ladies, just to get a living by it?

Before these wolves came,

there were but few thieves, few poor, and those had given to them enough without asking.

wolues, was so prosperous, that then there were but few theues ! ye, theft was at that tyme so rare, that Cesar was not compellid to make penalite of deth vpon felony, as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people, and yet they did not begge, but there was giuen them ynough vnaxed ; for there was at that time none of these rauinous wolues to axe it from them, as it apperith yn the actes of thapostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggars, theues, and ydell people ? Nay truely.

Why wonder, then, there are so many beggars, thieves, &c. ?

You cannot make laws against them. They are stronger in Parliament than you.

¶ Whate remedy : make lawes ageynst them ? I am yn doubt whether ye be able : Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your silfe ? whate a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours, are lordes of your parliament ? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with them, to speake yn your parliament house for them ageinst your crowne, dignite, and comon welth of your realme ; a fewe of youre owne lerned counsell onely excepted ? whate lawe can be made ageinst them that may be aduaylable ? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murdre of his auncestre, rauishment of his wyfe, of his doughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or eny other offence, dare ley it to theyre charge by any wey of accion ? and if he do, then is he by and by, by theyre wilynesse, accused of heresie. ye, they will so handle him or he passe, that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure, he shal be excommunicate, and then be all his accions dashed. So captyue are your lawes vnto theym, that no man that they lyst to excommunicat, may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme, he hath, or the yere go out, suche a yoke of heresyey leyd in his necke, that it maketh him wisshe that he had not done it. Your

Who dare lay charges against them ?

If any one does, he is accused of heresy :

grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshoppe rageth for endyting of certayn curates of extorcion and incontineny, the last yere in the warmoll quest.¹ Had not Richard hunne commenced acycon of premuure ageinst a prest, he had bin yet a lyue, and none eretik, a tall, but an honest man.

as your Grace has seen, because certain curates were charged with incontineny. Take Richard Hunne's case.

¶ Dyd not dyuers of your noble progenitours,—seyng theyre crowne and dignite runne ynto ruine, and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of this myscheuous generacyon,—make dyuers statutes for the reformacyon therof, among whiche the statute of mortmayne was one? to the intent that after that tyme they shulde haue no more gyuen vnto them.

Did not your ancestors pass the statute of mortmain against them?

But whate awayled it? haue they not gotten ynto theyre hondes, more londes sins, then eny duke yn ynglond hath, the statute notwithstanding? Ye, haue they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes, from your grace, half your kyngdome thoroughly? The hole name, as reason is, for the auncientie of your kyngdome, whiche was bifore theyrs, and out of the whiche theyrs is growen, onely abiding with your grace? and of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kyngdome (as they call it), for they wyll be named first, And your temporall kingdome. And whiche of these .ij. kingdomes (suppose ye) is like to ouergrowe the other? ye, to put the other clere out of memory? Truely the kingdome of the bloudsuppers; for to them

But what avails it? They have since got more land than any Duke has.

The kingdom is divided, and they have the overgrowing share;

¹ There is a custome in the Cytie, ones a yeare to haue a quest called the *warmoll queste*, to redress vices; but alas, to what purpose cometh it, as it is vsed? If a pore man kepe a whore besides hys wife, & a pore mans wyfe play the harlot, they are punished, as well worthie. But let an alderman, a Ientleman, or a riche man, kepe whore or whores, what punishment is there? Alasse, this matter is to bad.—*The Lamentacyon of a Christen against the Citye of London* (by Henry Brinklow, A.D. 1542), ed. 1548, sign. b. vii. back.

Quest or *Quest Men*, Persons who are chosen yearly in every Ward, and meet about *Christmas*, to enquire into Abuses and Misdemeanours committed therein, especially such as relate to Weights and Measures.—*Kersey's Phillips*, ed. 1706.

for they gain,
but never give.

is giuen daily out of your kingdome. And that that is ones gyuen them, comith neuer from them agein. Suche lawes haue they, that none of them may nether gyue nor sell nothing.

They will break
any law, and will
swallow all
your substance.

Whate lawe can be made so stronge ageinst them that they, other with money, or elles with other policy, will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome can endure, that euer gyuith thus from him, and receyueth nothing agein? O, howe all the substaunce of your Realme forthwith, your swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres,¹ to be swalowed and deuoured!

They profess to
pray for us and
deliver us from
purgatory,

¶ Nether haue they eny other coloure to gather these yerely exaccions ynto theyre houndes, but that they sey they pray for vs to God, to delyuer our soules out of the paynes of purgatori; without whose prayer, they sey, or at lest without the popes pardon, we coude neuer be deliuered thens; whiche, if it be true, then is it good reason that we gyue them all these thinges, all were it C times as moche. But there be many men of greate litterature and iudgement that, for the love they haue vnto the trouth and vnto the comen welth, haue not feared to put them silf ynto the greatest infamie that may be, in abiectiion of all the world, ye, yn perill of deth, to declare theyre oppinion in this mather, whiche is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing inuented by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie, onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes vnto them, and that there is not one word spoken of hit in al holy scripture. They sey also, that if there were a purgatory, And also if that the pope with his pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens; he may deliuer him aswel without money: if he may

(which in many
learned men's
opinion exists
not, but is their
own invention;)

and if there be
a purgatory, the
Pope might
deliver 1000 as
well as one.

¹ Fr. *Goulfre*, *Gouffre*: m. A gulfe; whirlpoole, deepe hole, or vnmeasurable depth (of waters) that swallows vp whatsoeuer approaches, or comes into, it.—*Cotgrave*.

deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand, he may deliuer them all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite, if he kepe them there in pryson and in paine, till men will giue him money. ¶ Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spiritueltie, that if they will not pray for no man but for them that gyue them money, they are tyrauntes, and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned vncheritably, for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort of folkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage ageinst, put to open shame, and make them bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory, and the Popes pardons, is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes; wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar, he toke nothing from hym, but taught that the highe powers shuld be always obeid: ye, he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all, and innocent,) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a-brode yn your moder tong, lest men shulde espie that they, by theyre cloked ypochrisi, do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power, that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and ypochrites, that they seke not the honour of Christ, but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not giuen by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we haue in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that, except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed, all is like to runne ynto their hondes; and as long as it is couered, so long shall it seme to euery man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue them. For this I am sure

Again, they pray only for those who give them money.

They who cannot pay, are called heretics, and are burnt.

Christ, on the contrary, upheld powers, and paid tribute,

which is their reason for withholding the New Testament in the mother tongue;

for they seek their own honour, not Christ's.

All are of my opinion, Lords, Knights, and yeomen; else the statute of mortmain robs us of salvation.

Declare, then, their hypocrisy.

Doctor Allen appealed to another Court to the derogation of your dignity;

and Doctor Horsey murdered Hunne, because he sued a writ of "premunire" against a priest.

And one offender paid only £500 fine;

your grace thinketh, (as the truth is,) I am as good a man as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue them as moche as my father did? And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes, knightes, squire, gentilmen, and yemen in englond; ye, and vntill it be disclosed, all your people will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was never made with no good conscience, seing that it taketh away the liberte of your people, in that they may not as laufully by their soules out of purgatory by gyuing to the spirituallte, as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

¶ Wherefore, if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignite, let their yprocrisye be vttered; and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made, be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punissh any offender, except it were more for to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt avayle? Did not doctour Alyn, most presumptuously, nowe yn your tyme, ageynst all his allegiaunce, all that ever he coude, to pull from you the knowlege of suche plees as long vnto your hyghe courtes, vnto an other court, in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most heynously, as all the world knoweth, murdre in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunire against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple in a spirituall court, for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And whate punisshement was there done, that eny man may take example of to beware of lyke offence? truly none, but that the one payd five hundreth poundes (as it is said) to the bildinge of your sterre chamber; and when that payment was ones passed, the capteyns of his kingdome (bicause he faught so manfully ageynst

your crowne and dignite,) haue heped to him benefice vpon benefice, so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other (as it is seid) payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices, whiche, forbicause that he had lyke wise faught so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite, was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon,) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice, to the value of .iiij. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence, seyng the promocions that fill to this men for theyre so offending? So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this croke and peruers generacyon.

the other, £600; and each has received many times over what he was fined, from pluralities. Thus

others will be encouraged to commit like offences, so weak is your power to strike the offenders.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of your lawe, ye, the chief of your counsell, and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond, to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient, is always a spirituall man, whiche hath euer suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome, that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth of the worlde shulde therefore vtterly be vndone. Here leue we out the gretest mater of all, lest that we, declaring suche an horrible carayn of euyll against the ministres of iniquite, shulde seme to declare the one onely faute, or rather the ignoraunce, of oure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse, whiche is, to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormitees that we haue spoken of, to knowe it pleynty him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore, sike, lame, and sore, bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely. The moo the worse; for euer the fatte of the hole foundation hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyuers of your noble predecissors,

The reason is that your Chancellor is a priest, who loves only his own kingdom.

Many hospitals will not help us, for the priests will get the best part, as they have done with your ancestors' gifts.

They are paid
for masses, yet
never say one.

Your Grace
should build us
a sure hospital,
and send these
loobies to work
for their living.

Genesis iii. 19.

Whip them at
the cart's tail
that they take not
our alms; so
shall we decrease,
and your power
not pass from
you;

your people will
obey you, the
idle work, people
marry, be rich,
have the gospel
preached, none
beg,

kinges of this realme, haue gyuen londes to monasteries to giue a certain somme of money yerely to the poore people, wherof, for the aunciente of the tyme, they giue neuer one peny: They haue lyke wise giuen to them to haue a certeyn masses said daily for them, wherof they sey neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundacion, .M. monkes were to fewe. wherfore, if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs, all your poore bedemen, so take from them all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world, to get them wiues of their owne, to get their liuing with their labour in the swete of their faces, according to the commaundement of god, Gene. iij. to gyue other idell people, by their example, occasion to go to labour. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to labour, that they, by theyre importunate begging, take not away the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen. Then shall, aswell the nombre of oure forsaid monstrous sort, as of the baudes, hores, theues, and idell people, decrease. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you haue full odedience of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased. Then shall your comons encrease in richesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge oure almesse from vs. Then shal we haue ynough, and more then shall suffice vs; whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs. Then shall we

daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.¹

and all will ever
pray for your
long reign.

Domins caluum fac regem.

¹ Sir Frauncys Bygod, about 1534, in his *Treatyse concernynge impropriations of benefices* thus supports the last remedy of the *Beggars Supplicacyon*:

But & as man might (sauyng their pacyence) be so bolde with them / what mater were it (vnder correction I speke) if all these improfytable sectes / and stronge sturдые route of idle paunches were a lytell poorer / to thende that the trew relygion of christ might thereby somthyng be sette vp and avauused / and syfficient company of the ministers of goddes true worde prouyded for in all partes. I praye you / what an idle sorte be founde and brought vp in Abbeyes / that neuer wyll laboure whyles they ben there / nor yet whan they come thence to other mens seruyce / in so moche that there goth a comen prouerbe: That he which hath ones ben in an abbey, wyll euer more after be slouthfull / for the whiche cause they ben called of many men / Abbey loutes or lubbers. And some saye that many of our holye fathers spende nat a lytell vpon my cosyn Iane / Elisabeth and Marget (ye knowe what I meane) inso-moche that / *that euen* they which be most popysshe of all / & knowe none other god almost than the gret drafsacke of Rome / can nat deny this to be trew.

Idle paunches
should be poorer.

Once in an Abbey,
ever idle; Abbey
louts or lubbers.

Monks' women.

Page 6. *Priests' immorality.* The women were occasionally to blame. In a story told by the author of the *Ménagier de Paris*, a young wife married to an old husband from whom she gets no solace, thus answers the question of whom she will love: "Mère, j'aimeray le chapelain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieux craignent honte, et sont plus secrets. Je ne voudroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et gaberait de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages* à engager." Compare Robert of Brunne's complaint in his *Handlyng Synne* of these women who *will* have priests. But the lechery of the monks, &c., is continually complained of throughout Early English Literature; see the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, p. 59—86 (Ballad Soc. 1868), and *The Image of Ypocresye*, ib. p. 194-5, &c.

Page 6. *Check to the increase of Population by the not-marrying of the Clergy.* This is complained of in the Record-Office MS Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupton, written by Starkey, one of Henry VIII's chaplains, which Prof. Brewer has recommended us to print, and which we have had copied. Lupton is made to say: "I haue thought long & many a day a grete let to the increse of chrystun pepul, the law of chastyte ordeynyd by the church, whych byndyth so gret a multytude of men to lyue theraftur, as, al secular prestys, monkys, frerrys, channonys, & nunnys, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal nombur; by the reson wherof the generatyon of man ys maruelously let & mynyschyd. Wherfor, except the ordynance of the church were, (to the wych I wold neuer gladly rebel,) I wold playnly Iuge that hyt schold be veray conuenyent somethyng to relese the band of thys law; speccially consydering the dyffyculty of that grete vertue, in a maner aboue

* Peut-être faudroit-il *bagues*, effets, joyaux.—J. Pichon.

nature. . . " Pole answers ". . . in this mater I thynke hyt were necessary to *tempur* thys law, *and*, at the lest, to gyue *and* admyt al secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberty, *consydyryng* now the grete multytude *and* nowmbur of them. but as touchyng *monkys*, *chanonys*, *frerys*, *and* *nunnys*, I hold for a thynge veray *couuenient and* mete, in al wel-ordeynyd *commyn* welys, to haue certayn *monasterys and* *abbeys*, to the wych al such as, aftur lauful proue of chastyte before had, may retyre, *and* from the besynes *and* vanye of the world may wythdray themselfe, holly gyuyng theyr myndys to prayer, study, *and* hye *contemplatyon*. thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete comfort to many febul *and* wery soulys, wych haue byn oppressyd wyth wordly vanye. but as touchyng the secular prestys, I vtterly agre wyth you, *and* so that obstacul to take away, wych lettlyth by many ways the increse of our pepul, as many other thynngs dow more also; among the wych a nother chefe, aftur my mynd, ys thys:—that grete multytude of *seruyng* men, wych in *seruyce* spend theyr lyfe, neuer fyndyng mean to marry *couueniently*, but lyue alway as *commyn* corruptarys of chastyte."

Page 7. The good luck of a wench who is taken as a priest's concubine is, noticed in the *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II.* (Camden Soc. *Political Songs*, 1839; Percy Soc. 1849), "And wel is hire that first may swich a parsonn kacche in londe," *ib.* p. 62.

Pages 9 and 12. *Richard Hunne's case.* "In the year 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, fell into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergyman demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand; but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, he took out a writ of *premunire* against his pursuer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollard's Tower at St Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames, bishop of London, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes,—that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics,—and lastly, that he had 'in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.'* It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had 'unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which,' he added, 'I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my Lord's charitable and favourable correction.' He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found

* Foxe, p. 737.

suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, the jury 'did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison;' and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's sumner* and the bellringer guilty of it. It may be suspected that the excited feelings and strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not very probable story; but, be that as it may, the violence and indecency shown on the other side were fully equal to any they can be thought to have displayed. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and his clergy began a new process of heresy *against Hunne's dead body*. The new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles, the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wycliffe to the English Bible that had been found in his possession. He, or rather his dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London, assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcase was actually, on the 20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment. The affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in the Commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their father, which had been forfeited by his conviction. This, however, did not put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and sumner had been charged on the finding of the coroner's jury as both principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr Standish, who had asserted the claims of the civil power in a debate before the king, and put him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion; and an appeal was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his other selfish and overmastering passions: when the convocation, therefore, assailed him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament on the other likewise addressed him 'to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies,' he was thrown into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils, together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Staudish had made themselves liable to a premonition. Soon after, the whole body of the lords spiritual and temporal, with all the judges and the king's council, and many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the king at Baynard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at Rome. To this request, however, Henry made answer, with much spirit, 'By the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings

* Or summoner, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, more commonly called the apparitor.

of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time.' The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be respited till a communication could be had with the court of Rome, had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty: and that, satisfied with this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion that was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases."—*Macfarlane's Cab. Hist. of England*, vol. vi., p. 113—116.

Page 12. *Doctor Alyn*. By the sayd power Legantine, he [Wolsey] kept also generall visitations through the Realme, sending Doct. Iohn Alein, his Chaplein, riding in his gowne of Veluet, & with a great traine, to visite all religious houses.—*Foxe*, 1576, 3rd edit., p. 960.

Page 2. *The tenth part of every seruauntes wages*. "Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative; is that not much through the realm in a year? *There is no servant but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages.*"—Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Parker Soc.'s edit. of Tyndale's "Works," vol. i. p. 237.

A Supplycation

to our moste Soueraigne Lor:
de Kyng Henry the Eyght /, Kyng of En:
gland, of Fraunce, and of Irelande /, & moste
ernest Defender of Christes Gospell /: Supre:
me Heade vnder God here in Erthe /,
next & immediatly of his Chur:
ches of Englande and
Irelande. .:

( )

Matthei .ix.

The harweste is greate, but the laborers are fewe. Wherefore praye the
lorde of the harweste to sende forth the laborers into his harweste. .: .: .:

A Supplication to our moste
Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght,
Kynge of England /, of Fraunce /,
and of Irelande, &c.

¹M Ost dreade Soueraigne Lorde & most Christen Prynce, / when I remembre the lamentable & wonderfull great blyndnes wherin the most parte of all Englande, not onely of *the* layete, called the temporaltie /, but also of the clergie, / haue pytuously erred and wandered many hundereth yeres /, acceptinge /, reputynge /, & most vngodly, / erronyously /, and blyndely /, estemyng the bysshop of Rome to be supream head ouer & aboue all Christen congregations; and in dyuerse other poyntes suche as be touchynge *the* necessarye articles of our faithe; I coulde not but meruell how, and by what meanes, suche pestilent errors and horrible darke blyndenes coulde, or myght, entre /, invade, & ouerflowe this your realme /, & to contynewe so longe in the same /, not espied /, perceyued /, nor repelled. Consideringe, that by all that tyme and space, this your realme (as the most parte of men dyd then iudge and esteame) was well endowed /, replenyshed /, and furnyshed *with* many profounde lerned clerkes /, wherof some were bysshops, arche-deacons /, deanes /, prebendaries /, parsons /, doctors /, bachelars in deuinite /, & other profounde

When I remember the blindness in which the clergy and laity of England have wandered many hundred years,

I can but marvel why such errors have been allowed to continue.

Considering the number of learned men in this realm,

clerks of both universities,

¹ A six-line ornamental initial letter in the original.

I tried to find out the cause of this blindness,

and happening to read the fifth chapter of Isaiah,

I found that lack of knowledge was the cause of all the harm.

Mar. xij.

I had forgotten that Christ said, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures," which rebuke ought to have been sufficient.

But how could there be error from not knowing the Scriptures?

There are numbers of profound clerks and ancient fathers in the country who teach the people.

But Paul says there are two kinds of knowledge, one a doctrine of health, the other unprofitable

learned clerkes in bothe *the* Vniuersytees, which were / graue /, sage /, & auneynt fathers. Contemplating and reuoluinge these things in my mynde—not a lytle moued /, troubled /, and vexed with *the* same /—I applyed me *with* all my powre & dyligence, exquysytely to serche & to knowe the originall grounde & cause therof. And, in *conclusyon*, amongest other things it chaunced me to reade in the .v. chapitre of Ezay a proposition that muche lamenteth *the* captiuite and bondage which *commeth* & groweth to all people for lacke of knowlege in Godds Worde /; sayeng /, "Therefore *commeth* my flocke also into captiuite /, because they haue not vnderstandinge /; their glory is famyshed *with* hunger /, & their pryde marred *with* thyrstie. Therefore gapeth hell and openeth her mouthe meruelously wyde." By this text, graciouse Lorde, it appeareth that all miserable blyndenes, captiuite, & bondage vnder synne /, *commeth* for lacke of knowlege in Gods Worde. I had forgotten, at that tyme /, that Christ reprobued the Pharasees /, sayeng /, "You erre not knowinge the Scriptures;" which reprove and rebuke shulde haue ben a suffycient admonycion and doctryne to me, and to all other; wherby we myght haue knowen that all erreure *commeth* for lacke of vnderstandinge & knowlege in the Scriptures. But by what reason, then, coulde there be suche erreure and blyndenes for lacke of knowlege in Gods Worde in this your realme, most gracyouse Lorde /, seing there were suche profounde clerkes, & auneynt fathers /, bysshops, and studentes in the same /, which dyd teache & preache vnto the people *contynually*? The Apostle Paul, in the .vi. chapitre to Timothe, descrybeth two kyndes of doctrynes; / the one he calleth a godly doctryne & a doctryne of helth /; the other he calleth a proude doctrine, full of vnprofitable questions /, stryuyng more for wordes than for godly knowlege /;

“wherof spryngeth envy /, stryffe /, raylings /, euyll surmysyngs /, & vayne dysputacions of men with corrupte myndes, destytute of the trueth /; which thinke that lucre is godlynes.” This kynde of lernynge and subtile dysputacyons vnto this daye we call scole matters /; from the which Paul commaundeth all Christyans to separate them selues. Soche clerkes, sayeth Paul /, be “euer lernynge /, but neuer atteyne to the knowleage of the trueth.” With suche wayne, vngodly, and vnprofitable lernynge /, this your realme, most redoubted Soueraigne, was ouer moche replenyshed through the preachinge and teachinge of suche scole men & subtyll disputers /; otherwise called deceyuers. Which was one of the causes of our myserable blyndnes /, and of dyuerse errours and abuses spronge vp and crept into this your Graces realme. For certeynely, if *the* clerkes, of this your Graces realme /, had bene endowed *with* true knowleage of Gods Worde /, and had also syncerely preached the same /, althoughe suche errours and blyndnes had entered into this realme /; yet they shulde neuer haue so longe contynewed in the same /, but we shulde haue bene delyuered through the Worde clerely from them. As Christe saieth: “If you continewe in my wordes /, then are you my very disciples /, & shall knowe the trueth /, & the trueth shall delyuer yow /, and make you free.” Therefore, most dread Soueraigne Lorde /, seinge *that* all erreure /, spyrytuall blyndnes /, myserable captiuite /, and seruyle bondage vnto synne, cometh for lacke of knowleage and syncere vnderstandinge in the Holy Scriptures /; and, of *the* contrarye parte, / through *the* knowleage & syncere vnderstandinge of the Holy Scripturs, we knowe God our Father and his Sonne, Ihesus Christ, our Lorde /, which is eternall liffe /; we be also become free from all condempnation of synne. And through the syncere and true know-

—f. in the latter
we must separate
ourselves.
ij. Ti. iij.

There is too
much vain,
ungodly learning,
and this comes of
the preaching
and teaching of
the Schoolmen,

for which the
clergy are to
blame,

because they do
not sincerely
preach God's
word.

Io. viij.

As all errors
spring from a
lack of know-
ledge of the
Scriptures,

and through
knowledge of
them we know
God,
Ioa. v.
Io. xviij.

and become His children,

nothing is so necessary as God's Word.

Treason, murder, theft, adultery, and such, trouble nations ;

Prouer. xiiij.

and these the faithfull try to avoid and abolish,

Gal. v.

endeavouring to crucify the flesh, and by faith to do all good works.

Rom. v.

God's Word is the comfort of the Christian,

who has no refuge, no help but this.

Mat. iiij.

Roma. xiiij.

Heb. xi.

leage of *the* Worde we be newly regenerate, & become *the* childerne of God /, the habitacle and dwelling place of the Holy Ghoste /, which moueth & steareth vs euer to mortefye the fleshe /, & all her synfull lusts and concupiscence, / [and] to abhor and resyst vice. What is then so necessary, good, and profitable for the Christian people, bothe spirituall and cyuile wealthe /, as the Worde wherby we receyue faithe /, & by faithe, the Holy Ghoste? What troubleth all commen wealthes /, but treason /, murder, theft /, couetousnes, /, adulterye /, extorcion /, whordome, /, dronckenes /, periurye /, & suche other synne? / as saythe the Holy Ghoste: "Iustice and rightuousnes maketh the people wealthy /; but synne maketh *the* people most myserable." And all these the faithfull, through *the* true and syncere vnderstandinge of Gods Worde /, doo euer studye and labour to ouercome /, and vtterly to abholshe by faythe. As Paul sayeth: "They which be Christes /, doo crucyfy the fleshe, with her lustes and concupiscence." All good workes and counceyles [be] increased and stablyshed through faythe. There is no study /, striffe /, nor laboure agaynst synne, but through faithe. All conscyences that be quyet from synnes /, onely through faythe be made quyet. As Paul sayeth /: "Because we are iustifyed by faithe /, we are at peace with God, through our Lorde Ihesus Christ." What counforte hathe any Christian man in aduersytyes /, temptacions /, desperation /, but onely by fayth in Gods Worde? The Christyan man hathe noo refuge nor helpe to resyst synne /, but onely by Gods Worde /, as our Sauour Christ dyd /; wherin he must fyxe a sure and constant faythe. Faythe causeth vs and all ours / to be acceptable in *the* syght of God. For a conclusion /: "What soeuer is not of fayth that same is synne." And *withowte* a constante and sure fayth /, it is impossyble to please God. All

men maye well perceyue / that, by the lawes, and by the iuste execution of them /, although synne may be for a tyme cohybyted and restrayned /, yet it can not be suppressed and abholysed /, but onely through fayth. For there was neuer more godly lawes made for the punyshmente of synne /, nor neuer more iuste and godly executyon of lawes admynistred /; and yet there was neuer more synne raygnynge. For cyulle lawes made by man / can not be of greater effycacye or strength /, nor worke greater perfectyon, vertue, and good wyll in man /, than the lawe of God: but the lawe of God not onely worketh no obedyence or vertue /; but rather, through occasyon taken of the infirmyte of the fleshe /, steareth vp synne, / as sayethe Paul: “I knowe not what luste dyd meane /, except the lawe had sayed, thow shalte not luste. But synne toke an occasyon by the meanes of the commaundemente /, and wrought in me all maner of concupiscence: / for verely, withoute the lawe, / synne was dead.” “I ones,” sayth Paul /, “lyued without lawe; but when the commaundement came /, synne reuyued, / and I was dead /: and the very same commaundement, which was ordeyned vnto lyffe /, was founde to be vnto me an occasyon of deathe.” But nowe, graciouse Lorde /, for asmoche as it appeareth / that the lawe of God was not geuen to take awaye synne /, but rather to declare and to punyshe synne; moche lesse any lawe made by man / can auoyde and put awaye synne. But faythe is the true instrument appoynted by God /, wherby synne is ouercome & exiled. As the Scripture sayeth /, that “God through faithe / dothe purifye & make cleane all hartes.” Also Christ sayethe /: “Nowe are yow cleane /, by the meanes of the wordes / whiche I haue spoken vnto you.” This faythe shall cause /, noryshe, and breade / true obedyence /, and all other vertues, in your Graces subiectes hartes /; wherby they shall be

Sin cannot be suppressed except through faith.

There never were more godly laws made, and laws never were better enforced than now; and yet there was never more sin.

God's law does not bring obedience, but rather stirs men up to sin, as St Paul says it did with him.

Rc. vij.

Ro. vij.

The Law of God was given, not to take away, but to punish, sin.

Act. xv.

Jo. xv.

Faith will produce and nourish true obedience to the laws of God and man.

Rom. x.

And of this faith
the clergy should
be ministers ;

because it is their
duty to teach it
to the people
sincerely and
truly.

If they do not,
sin will abound,
and the people
become divided,
and perish.

*Act. xx.
i. Pe. v.
Mal. ij.*

*Proue. xxix.
Sa. xiiij.*

The want of
preaching has
caused insurrec-
tions and com-
motions in the
realm ;

brought in popish
blindness,
vain ceremonies,
men's traditions,

idolatry,
and hypocrisy :
and all for lack
of a knowledge
of the Bible.

enforced to laboure, not onely to obserue & kepe Godes lawes /, but also all your Graces ordynances, commaundementes, and lawes /, without grudge or murmuracyon. This faythe, as the Apostle sayeth, “ com-methe by hearinge ” of Gods Worde preached /; wherof byshops, parsons /, vicars /, & suche other, called to haue spirituall cure /, be, or shulde be, dilygent mynisters /; to whose vocatyon iustely parteyneth to declare and publyshe Gods Worde, syncerely & truely, / to all the people commytted to their spirituall charge. Most myghty Prynce, wherfor, if the pastours appoynted to preache & teache Gods Worde /, within this your Graces realme, / doo not dyligently instructe & teache the people commytted to their spirituall charge with the sayd Worde, / accordinge as they be commaunded in the Scriptures, Act. xx., i. Pet. v., and Malache. ii.¹; all kynde of synne shall increase and abounde, / & the people vtterly be deuyded. As sayethe the Holy Ghoste : “ When the worde of God is not preached, the people perysheth.” Also the Wyse Man sayethe : “ All men be vayne in whom there is not the knowlege of God.” Wherfore, without any doubt, the wante and lacke of preaching of Godes Worde syncerely and truely hathe bene the very originall grounde and cause of all the insurrection, / commotion /, [and] dyscention /, which hathe rysen, or begone, within this your Graces realme, or any parte therof. For through the want of prechyng of Godes Worde synce[re]ly, haue entered in all popyshe blyndenes /, vayne & dead ceremonyes /; mennes tradycyons be crept into the consciences of the symple innocentes, in the steade of the lawe of God. Yea, ydolatrye, and all hypocrysy, with detestable superstycyon, for lacke of the lyght of Godes Worde /, is become Gods seruyce. And yet, notwithstandinge this wante & lack of knowlege in Godes Worde & the

¹ Orig. .xx.

euyll which commethe manyfestly therof /, (the more it is to be lamented /) there be many popishe monckes, which late were abbottes, (to whom not onely vnworthely /, but also vniustely /, were geuen greate penyons) and many of their covent monckes, hauinge nother lernynge nor other godly qualytyes, (apte, meate, or conuenient to be in spirituall pastours) be nowe admytted to haue cure of soules. And some suche which ded neuer knowe what is a soule /, nor yet be able to haue cure ouer one soule, / be nowe admytted to haue charge ouer an hundreth and many moo /, to the increase of all yngnorancye, and all popishe blyndnes /; the hyghe waye & meanes to let in all kynde of synne, / to the vtter dampnacion of all the soules commytted to their spirituall charge. Alas! doo nother the patrones of suche benefyces /, nor yet the incumbentes, ponder, or regarde, Gods threatenyngs by his prophete Ezechiell, sayeng: / “As truely as I lyue, sayeth the Lorde, for asmuche as my shepe are robbed, and deuowred of the wilde beastes of the felde, hauynge noo shepherde, / and seing that my shepherdes take noo regarde of my shepe /, but feade them selues onely, / and not my shepe: Therefore, here the worde of the Lorde, O ye shepherdes: / thus sayeth the Lorde God, Beholde, I my selfe will [be] vpon the shepherdes /, and requyre my shepe from their handes /, and make them cease from feadinge of my shepe; yea, the shepherdes shall feade them selues nomore: / for I will delyuer my shepe owte of their mowthes /, so that they shall not deuoure them after this.” If this threatenynge be not sufficient warnynge & monycion to suche blynde shepherdes /, yet, at the lest, let them feare Goddes curse pronownced in the same chapiter agaynst suche negligent and ingnorant shepherdes; / sayenge: “Woo be to the shepherdes of Israell that feade them selues! /

Many monks are admitted to the cure of souls,

having neither learning nor godly qualities;

some of them never knew what a soul is, and certainly were never able to have cure of souls. This increases ignorance and sin, and leads to the damnation of the souls committed to their charge.

Patrons and incumbents do not regard God's threatenings
Ezech.
*xxxiiiij.*¹

by Ezekiel, against such as rob His sheep to feed themselves.

He will require His sheep at their hands.

If they do not regard this threatening, at least let them fear the curse pronounced by the same prophet, who says:—
“Woe to the shepherds who feed themselves!

¹ Orig. xiiiij.

You have eaten the fat, but the flock you have not nourished."

One shepherd cannot attend two or three flocks,

especially when they are far distant.

The duty of a good shepherd is to seek the lost, to call back the strayed, to heal the broken,

and to adventure his life for the defence of the sheep.

i. Pe. v.

His example, his pains and labours,

his humility, his love and care, should be seen by all men.

shulde not the shepherdes feade the flocke /? yow haue eaten vp the fatt, / yow haue clothed yow with the wolle /, the best fedd haue youe slayne /: but the flocke haue yow not noryshed /." Heauen and erthe shall muche rather perishe /, than these wordes, wherwith God threatened suche pastours, shalbe found vntrue /; that is /, "I will requyre my flocke of the handes of the shepherde." Suerly, most myghty Prynce, it is to busye an office /, to muche and laborouse, for one spirituall shepherde, (althoughe he were very expert and connyng) to guyde, ordre /, and kepe /, two or thre flockes of shepe /, specially beyng so farre dystant one from an other /, that the sayd shepherde can not be dayly present with them /, to se the governaunce of them /, whose nature is dayly to falle into dyuerse offences and spirituall dysceases. For the office of a good shepherd is, not onely to feade his shepe in good pasture /, but also to seke the lost shepe /, to call agayne the strayed shepe in-to the ryght waye /, to salue and to make hole the broken which is broken by aduersyte /, the weake and sycke shepe in the faythe /, with the counfortable promyses of God /, declared in the Gospell /, to make stronge & constant; and, in conclusyon, to aduenture his liffe (if nede requyre) for the defence of his shepe /. Ever circumspecte, lyeng in wayte / to resyst the roringe lyon /, whiche neuer slepeth /, "goinge abowte and seakyng whome he maye deuoure." Suche, I saye, shulde be their diligence and dayly cure over their flocke shewed /, that, not onely their shepe /, but also all other /, seing and perceyvinge¹ their greate paynes and labours sustayned and taken for the helpe and counforte of their shepe /, the gentle entertayninge with all pacyence /, humylyte, & meakenes /; the fatherly love /, cure /, and affection, which the said byshops and other pastours shulde

¹ Orig. seing and preceyvinge.

daylye shewe /, exerceyse, & practyse towardes Christes flocke, commytted to their spirituall charge; shall iudge them, not onely good shepherdes, which enter in by the dore, / but also shall receyue & take them to be most gentle /, prouydent, kynde, / & lovinge spirituall fathers. But, most prudent Gouvernoure, how shall this fatherly cure /, love /, zeale /, & affection /, be shewed by the pastoure to his spirituall shepe, which daylye cowcheth and wayteth in your Graces householde and courte /, and in other noble & worshipfull mennes howses /, attendinge to please men whych is called onely to serue God? And, not wthstandinge his callinge to be a shepherde to feade Christes flocke, / yet he will scase se and visyte them ones in the yere. And when he visyteth his shepe /, what ghostely counsell he geveth them /, God knoweth. But, for the more parte /, he loketh more to his owne profett than to their wealth. Alas! the ambicyouse appetyte & burnynge covetuouse desyre of the yerely commodityes /, profettes, and advauntages of the benefycees /, hath vtterly extynguyshed and supped vp the spirituall love /, zeale, and affection which ought to be in the spirituall shepherdes. So that nowe it is straunge and wonderfull to se, or knowe, one iustely to execute his offyce. Is this the honowre of auy kyng, or of any other gouernowre /, that, vnder the cloke and coloure of hys seruyce /, a byshope or pryste, called to feade the flocke of Christe /, shall leaue the same vntaught /, and so transgresse the commaundement of Christe for the pleasure of men? Haue not kynges and other rulers sufficyent to endowe their chapelaynes /, wthout retayninge suche which haue receyued lyuinge and stypende to be in their churches feadinge Christes flock? This is tomoche dishonoure to the higher powers /, agaynste Goddes commaundement & word, to retayne an other mans seruau^t. But certainly althoughe

The non-resident shepherd cannot show these virtues;

he does not visit his flock above once a year, and when he does what counsel he gives them, God knows.

It is wonderful to find one shepherd who does his duty.

Should a king so transgress for the pleasure of men?

Kings and rulers keep chaplains who have other livings,

which is a great dishonour to the commands of God.

*Anno .xxi.
Henrici .xiiij.*

Chaplains to the
Royal Family
and others may
hold two livings,

and every duke,
marquess, earl,
viscount, arch-
bishop, bishop,
and others,
may keep two
chaplains.

Chaplains may
be non-resident,
and so may
pilgrims.

If there had been
godly shepherds
we never should
have agreed to
this statute.

Are benefices
nothing but

your Highnes, or other rulers, wolde nother call nor re-
tayne suche ambyciouse blynde guydes and couetouse
pastours /, yet they their selfe will, by their fryndes,
make importunate sute, and laboure to be in seruice
with youre Magestye, and with other rulers. The
cause is thys / (one inconuenyence graunted /, many
folowe): there is a lawe made in this your noble
realme /, that all spirituall parsons of youre counsell
maye haue thre benefyces with cure. And all the
chaplaines of the Kynge, / Quene /, prynee /, prynces,
or of any of the Kyngs children /, brethren, / sisters /,
vncles and aunes /, maye haue lycence to haue two
benefyces with cure. Euery duke /, marques /, erle /,
vycounte /, archebysshope /, bysshope /, with dyuers
other estates, aswell men as women, maye haue two
chaplaines which maye haue two benefyces *with* cure /.
And also dyuerse other degres of scole maye haue euery
one two benefyces *with* cure /; so that ouer one of his
cures, althoughe he take the profyttes, yet from that he
muste neades be no[n] resydent ; and, peraduenture, to
bothe he wilbe no feader nor teacher. And also, in the
same estatute, all attendaunce in the courte and all
other attendaunces vpon suche noble and worshipfull
men which be lycenced to haue chaplaines, maye be
not resydent ; / yea, pylgrymes, in *the* tyme of goynge
and *commynge* from their pylgrymage, be by that
estatute dyspenced to be non resydent. O Lorde,
where was *the* light of thy worde /, which shulde haue
bene written in the hartes of the makers of *that* esta-
tute ? If there had ben godly shepherdes, which had
dyligently executyd their office and callynge /, we had
neuer wandered so blyndely to agree or consent to the
makyng of any suche estatute. Doo we, which thinke
vs Christen men, esteame spirituall benefyces to be
nothings els but lyvings to be geuen at owre pleasure
to prystes for seruyce done ? Is not the benefyce geuen

in respecte of a spirituall offyce to be executyd & done? Doth not God commaunde straytely shepherdes to feade their flocke dyligently? Can man, or any lawe made by man, dyspence with Gods commaundement? O Lorde, in thy handes be the hartes of all kynges and other rulers /; enlyghten theyr hartes, Lorde, with the light of thy worde, that they maye knowe and see this pestylent yll blyndenes /, which so longe hathe caused thy shepe to wander in darckenes. And, when they perceyue it, they maye haue grace and tyme to reforme the same, to thy glory and the helpe of this realme. And I shall euer desyer of God, and wishe in my harte, to all suche as be called to be attendaunte nere youre Magestie, and all other gouernowres /, that for any carnall loue /, faouere /, or affectyon whiche they beare to any man for kyndred /, frendshipe /, luker /, or otherwise /, they doo not make any suche vngodly suytes, petycions, or requestes to your Highnes, or to any other gouernowre, for any parson to be admytted to any offyce, other spirituall or temporall /, whome they doo not certeynly knowe, by most certeyne and sure proues and witnesses /, to be apte /, meate /, and conuenient, aswell in lernynge as in condycions /, to excercise, vse, and to occupye suche offyce and rome /, wherunto he, by suche their sute m[ade], / shulde be called /, appoynted, and admy[tte]d (not onely for the shame, rebuke, and troble whiche, vpon dewe examynacion had, and founde contrary to their vntrewe sute) myght come and growe to them /; but also for the euyll incommoditye and pestilent myschef which shall ensewe to all suche which shalbe commytted to his or their gouernaunce & charge. Alas, that euer amongst the Chrysten flocke, shulde be knowen or sene that suche office, which in Christes churche shulde be the most godly /, most necessary /, most spirituall, and most profytable, bothe to the bodye and sowle /, nowe is become

livings to be given at pleasure? God commands shepherds to feed their flocks, and man's law cannot dispense with God's.

I desire that patrons present only such to any temporal or spiritual office as are well known to them

to be fit for the duties required,

because of the mischiefs which may arise from such wrong appointments.

Alas, that the most godly office should become one of honour and lordly dignity,

and the possessor
have neither
virtue nor
godliness!

It is needful to
be circumspect
in the choice of
ministers,

and to deprive
such as are unfit,
because they
either cannot or
do not execute
their office,

and put others
into their places.

Such as do not
their duty

are images,
bearing only the
name and appear-
ance of bishop
or pastor,

a worldely honowre /, a lordely dygnyte, / a riche, carnall,
prowde luyng, estate, and countenance /; and the pos-
sessor therof, hauinge onely the name of a spirituall
minyster /, but no vertue nor godly qualyte, which of
right ought to be in euery suche minister. If this be
well pondered and remembred, most mercyfull Gouer-
nowre, / it is most to be lamented. But seyng this
blyndnes hathe so longe contynewed, & somoch ewill
hathe ensewed & folowed therof, in the defaulte of
godly pastours¹ /; it is not onely nedefull aboue all
thinges to be circumspect in chosynge earnestly tryed /,
experte /, and well lerned ministers to preache Gods
worde syncerely /, but also to compell the same to be
demurante, abydinge, and resydent vpon their cures.
And all suche whiche be crepte into benefices for luker
& aduauntage, vpon vntrewe suggestion and false fayned
sutes made, / which can not or doo not feade their
flocke /, to depryue them of suche benefyces, because
they other can not or doo not execute the offyce to that
belonginge. Suerly no wyse man lyghteth a candell
and putteth hym vnder a bushell. And if he set vp a
candell (which, other for lacke of talowe or for other
cause, can not geue light) shortely he taketh hym
downe and putethe an other which can geue good light
in his place. So all godly wyse men will order all
spirituall lightes, which in dede can not geue godly
lighte for lacke of spirituall grace which shulde be in
them. For byshops and other pastors, which be
chosyne & instytuted contrary to the ordynaunce ap-
poynted & prescribed by Gods Worde /, which other
doo not or can not execute the offyce perteyninge to his
or their callinge /, be not godly & trewe byshops, but
rather images & idolles, hauinge and bearinge onely
the name and outwarde apparance of a byshoppe or
pastor. But as concernynge the lernynge, vertue, &

¹ Orig. postours.

other godly qualyties whiche parteyne & be of greate necessity and iustyce requysyte to be in every godly pastor, / they haue nothinge lesse. For if Christ (which sayed to Peter "from henceforthe I make the a fysher to catche men") doo not endowe *the* offycer wyth lernynge /, grace, / power, & good will to preache his worde, before patrons present hym to any suche spirituall office; / the electe and admytted, notwithstandinge the admyssion and patrons presentment, / shall contynually abyde and remayne an hypocrite /: and suche one, which dothe not enter in by the dore /, but presumeth to enter withowte a weddyng garment, / whom Christ condempneth to owtwarde darckenes /, and also calleth hym a thef /, whose rewarde, withowte doubt /, shalbe, at the daye of the laste iudgement, with thefes /; if he repent not, and reasygne vp hys offyce, which he can not execute, fulfill, and performe. Wherefore I mystruste not but that all suche which haue power to present and to admytte theyr clerkes to spirituall offyces, readyng this lytle boke for the discharge of theyr consyence, and for the glory of God /, the commodyte and vtylite of the common wealthe (which will ensewe the godly presentacyon and admyssion of well lerned /, approued, & godly clerckes to spirituall offyces) will, from thenceforthe, applye and conforme them to the forme and maner of electyon of spirituall mynisters appoynted, prescrybed, and lynyted by Godes Worde /, which is this:—That euery man chosyn to vse any spyrituall offyce /, shulde be fyrste well proued, aswell for theyr lernynge as also for theyr other vertuose condycions. Fyrst for theyr lernynge, wherwith they muste not onely be able to enstruchte and teache the people commytted to theyr spyrytuall charge /, but also able to reprove other which resyst the same doctrine /, with many other godly qualyties. As it apperethe in the fyrste Epistle

and have none of the godly qualities requisite. If Christ do not endue him with learning and power to preach before he be admitted,

he shall be considered a hypocrite.

Ioan. x.

Math. xxij.

Such a one enters not in by the door, is without the wedding garment, and shall be condemned at the last.

Patrons, after reading this book, for the discharge of their conscience,

and the good of the commonwealth,

ought only admit to livings according to God's Word,

which is this, that every man shall be first well proved in learning and virtue.

[*i.*] *Tim. iij.*
Tyt. i.

Every spiritual
minister must
first be proved to
be learned in the
Scriptures,

and to have given
good example of
living.

Remember why
your ancestors
gave bishoprics,
and other patrons
gave livings.

Kings have given
bishoprics to
chancellors'
chaplains,

to almoners,
clerks of the
closet, and others;

while God's Word
disapproves of
all such gifts.

Noblemen have
followed their
example,

of Paul to Tymothe and also to Tyte. Nowe, moste myghty Defender of the Christyan religyon /, seinge that Godds Worde hathe prescrybed and declared that euery man, which shalbe called and appoynted to be a spirituall mynister, muste fyrste be proued and knowen howe godly and spiryтуally he hathe enstructe and taught the people /; what lernynge he hathe in the Scriptures /, and not in the lawes /, to reprove errors and to condempne heresydes; what paynes he hathe taken in preachynge Godds Worde /; and also whether he hathe geuen good example of luyng accorde to his doctryne. In this maner euery Christian ought to proue his clerke before he other present or admytt hym. But nowe also, moste benyngne Lorde /, consyde of the contrary parte, & remembre for what causes the kynges, your noble progenitors in tymes paste, haue chosen bysshoppes /, & other patrons haue presented theyr clerkes to personages & vicarages to haue cure of sowles. These bothe causes well consydered, no man wyll greatly meruell that we haue wandered so longe in blyndenes. For, in tymes paste, kynges haue geuen theyr bysshoprycks to theyr counsellors / chaplaynes, whiche haue bene daylye attendauntes in the courte /; which also haue done to them good seruice / as embasadoures /; or to suche which haue taken paynes in theyr householde /, as amners & deanes of the chapel /, clerks of theyr closett, & suche other officers /; where Gods Worde dothe not approue any byshopricke to be geuen to any man for any suche seruice done /, or for any suche paynes taken /; but onely for the gifte whiche he hathe from God to preache his worde /, & for the paynes & laboures susteyned in preachinge of the sayd worde. And as kynges, in tymes paste, haue abused their giftes of byshoprikes /, so noble men & worshipfull men, aswell of the clergie as of the layete, haue abused their presentacions to their prebendes, per-

sonages, & vicarages /; geuing them to their chaplaynes /, or to other, for kyndred in bloude, or for alyauce; / or els to suche as haue ben surueyours of thier landes, / receyuoures of their rentes /, stuardes of their housholde /, faconers /, gardyners, or to suche other whom they faouere for suche worldely seruice & qualyties. To suche they geue their benefyces as rewardes or wagues to hyrelynges, for suche seruice done /, or to be done /; hauinge lytle or noo regarde to the great charge and spirituall cure which, by Goddes Worde, belongeth to all suche spirituall offices. For kynges and rulers, in tymes paste, had noo lesse knowlege of any thyng / then of Godes Worde, which the subtyll byshops & crafty prystes were euer studious and desyrouse to kepe secrete from the hygher powers. For so longe as Godes Worde was kepte secrete and hyden from gouernours /, so longe the clergie dyd leade, not onely the kynges /, but also, all gouernowres & the commons, whyther they wolde. Thys was the crafty polycye of the clergie /, to kepe the knowlege of Gods Worde from all men /, that they myght vnlawfully and vnworthely be promoted to spirituall cures / and vse the profettes of them vngodly /; and that they myght also contynually exercyse their lustes and iniquyties. As Paul saythe: "They be agaynste all men; forbyddinge vs to speake to the people wherby they myght be saued /, that they myght fulfill their iniquyte and synne contynually." Haue not some of the byshops, with their retynewe, at this daye practysed their olde polycye to extinguysh the light through all Englande /, that they myght ones agayne leade vs quyetyly in darckenes? Is not there a lawe made, through their crafte & subtylte, which geueth power to certayne commyssioners, wherof the byshoppes chaunceler or commyssarye shalbe named to be two of the commyssioners /, which shall haue full power to take

and have presented livings to surveyors, receivers of rents, falconers, gardeners, and such like, as wages to hiringes, or as rewards.

Kings and rulers were ignorant of God's Word in times past; the bishops were ever anxious to keep it secret.

This was the policy of the clergy to keep this knowledge from all men in order that they might be promoted to spiritual cures.

[i.] *The. ij.*

A law is made through their craft appointing commissioners

to receive & burn
all bookes which
are contrary to
the Six Articles,

according to
their discretion.

The intention is
to take away all
bookes against
the primacy of
the Pope,
because no one
can write against
this without
touching some of
the Six Articles.
They punish all
who have any
learning, calling
them heretics,

lest the iniquity
of the clergy
should be known.

No man who
knows the
Scriptures will
marvel at this,
Ioan. iij.

because he who
does evil hates
the light.

And since they
have contrived to

into their custodye all suche bokes wherin is conteyned any clause or artycle repugnaunte to any of the Syx Artycles, / and *the* same bokes to burne and dystroye, as to the discretion of thre of them shalbe thoughte expedyent? Marke well what they purpose by this estatute. Are there any bokes which write agaynste the Popes prymacie /, but they also write agaynste some of the Syx Artycles? Their coloure is to take awaye all bookes which wryte agaynste the Syx Artycles /; but their very *intente*, purpose, and meaning is to take awaye all bookes, whiche conteyne any godly lernynge, that write agaynste *the* Byshop of Romes prymacy. Howe cruelly doo the byshops punyshe all *them* which pretende to haue lernynge, and specially in Godds Worde? Suche they call heretyques, and persecute with puttynge them to open shame /, with enprysonmente /, and, in conclusyon, with deathe most fearefull and paynefull. All this they doo to dyscourage all men from the studye of Gods Worde / fearinge leaste that, by suche studious braynes which learne Gods Worde and publyshe the same, their iniquyte shulde be made manyfest. What studye and paynes they take to kepe *the* light from the people! But no man, which knowethe *the* Scriptures, will meruell of this their policie and crueltye. For Saynt Iohan declarethe their practyse playnely, sayenge: "He that doth euyll hateth the light" /; and why? because his workes, whiche be euill, shulde not be reprovod by the light. And, for asmuche as oure byshops countenance of luyinge /, their greate possessyons /, and lordely domynyons in them, agreeth *with* Godds Worde /, as deathe with lyffe /, God with the deuill /, light with darckenes /; therefore they hate *the* light which declarethe the same /, and studye to suppress the same by all craft and polycye. And, seinge they can so craftely iuggle, and haue suche frendshipe

and faouere¹ to conuey /, [&] brynge to passe / that all bookes shall come into their handes vndre the coloure of the Syx Artycles /, it is to be feared that, shortly, they will, by lyke crafte, subtylte and frendshipe, procure the Byble in Englyshe to be taken from the layete /; & then we shalbe ledd in darekenes by our byshops and other blynde gydes, and not pastoures, at theyr pleasure and will /; whiche is the effecte of all theyr study, labour, and purpose. Nowe, most valc-aunt Defender of Christ /, it appeareth playnely howe many myseryes we be wrapte in /, through the vngodly electyon of suche as be admytted to haue spirytual cure and offyce to teache Godds Worde /; whiche not onely haue lytle lernynge /, but also they be enemyes to all men whiche can and doo preache Gods Worde sy[n]cerely and trewly, / because they lyue contrarye to the same /, as I haue before declared /. And this is the origynall grownde and cause of the abundaunce and increase of darkenes and of synne /; as also of the longe contynuaunce of popishe blyndnes whiche hath raigned in this realme so longe. Wherefore, yf the byshops, and other elected and appoynted to be shepherdes accordinge to theyr vocatyon and callinge /, be not fyrste knowen and well proued to haue suche knowlege & godly doctryne /, so that they can, & also doo, instantely & dyligently preache Gods Worde, whiche is *the* light expelling all darekenes of synne /, then muste nedes synne encrease & abounde, without any restraynte or brydle. “For if the light whiche is amongst yow be darekenes /, howe muche shall the darkenes be!” Youre Grace and your cyuile power doo punnyshe synne /, when it is done and commytted /, accordinge to the iustyce of lawes /, as to your vocatyon & office of right belongethe to doo. But the office and dewtye of the pastor is to preache Goddes Worde /,

get such books
into their hands,

they may also
take the Bible
from the laity,
and then we shall
be led in dark-
ness by our own
spiritual guides,

who have little
learning,
and are enemies
to such as preach
God's Word.

This is the cause
of the increase
of sin.

If bishops and
others do not
preach the Word
of God,

sin must increase,
and abound in
Matt. vi.
the land.

The civil power
punishes sin
committed, as it
ought to do;

but the pastor
converts the
sinner who is

¹ Orig. fououere.

disposed to
commit sin;

so that,
through him,
there is less sin,

the higher
powers have less
occasion to
execute the
justice of the law,
and men's lives
are preserved.

Wherefore it
appears the good
order of the
realm depends
upon the minis-
ters of religion.

It behoves
patrons to be
very careful in
the bestowal of
their patronage.

If they present
unfit pastors,
such as do not
feed the flock
committed to
them,
Ezech. xxxiiij.

they consent to
the death of souls,

wherby he shall conuert the hart of the synner /, whiche is willinge & dissposed to doo synne /, so that he shall not breake fourth to doo synne in the acte /, which *the* cyuyle powre, for the example of other, by equyte and iustyce is bounde to punyshe. Therefore the dyligent executyon of the office of the pastoure shalbe the pryncipall meane and occasyon that lesse synne shalbe *commytted*; / and so the higher powers shall haue lesse occasyon to execute the extreame iustyce of lawes /, and, consequently, many mens lyues, whiche nowe for lacke of the knowlege of Godes Worde shuld be loste for *commyttinge* murder /, felonye /, and suche other offences, / shall then be preserued that they shall not *commytte* suche offences /, which the hygher powers, by the lawes of equyte & iustyce, be compelled to *condempne* and to punyshe with deathe. Wherefore, *the* godly tranquyllyte, reste, and peace of all this your realme, soueraygne Lorde /, and the good order of the same, hangeth and resteth moche vpon the godly and dyligent executyon of the office of pastors and of the spirituall shepherds, dewly called and admittel accordinge to Godes Worde. Therefore it behoueth the presenter of the clercke to a benefyce and cure of sowles, to be circumspect and well ware what clerke he doth present /; and that he haue good knowlege, experience, and proue of his clercke before he present hym. For, if a pastour doo not feade the flocke of Christe *commytted* to his charge /, the deathe of their sowles shalbe required of his handes. As the prophete Ezechiell sayeth in the .xxxiiij. chapi.: And if the patron willingly /, other for kyndred /, faouore /, frendshippe /, seruice, or money /, present a clerke which he knoweth not to be so lerned in Gods Worde /, that he be able to instructe and teache the people *commytted* to his charge, bothe *with* the lawe of God and *with* the Gospell /, every suche patron *consenteth* to

the deathe & dampnacion of the sowles commytted to the charge of suche vnlearned preste. And therefore suche a patron shall also be punyshed with lyke payne /; whiche is eternall /, as the Apostell sayeth: “Not onely they that doo euill /, but also they whiche consent therunto, shalbe punyshed with lyke payne.”

and will be punished with eternal pain.

Rom. i.

What wyse man liuyng wolde hyer a shepherde to gouerne hys beastly & worldly shepe, which nother wolde nor coulde feade /, handle /, salue, nor ones see his shepe commytted to his charge? Suche a wyse shepherde wolde shortely make his masters profet come to lytle aduantage. Surely, a wyse man wolde chose no suche shepherde. And if he were deceyued through the persuasyon of some of his frendes /, yet, when he hathe proued that he hathe no connyng nor dylligence /, he will shortely dyscharge hym of his cure and seruice.

What man would hire a shepherd who would not feed his sheep?

If a wise man were deceived by his friends' persuasion, yet he would soon discharge him from his service.

Shall we be esteemed Christen men whiche haue more tender loue and affectyon to owre corruptyble profett /, than we haue to the honowre of God & the eternall wealth of *the* immortall sowles of owre Christen bretheren /, whom Gode commaundeth [vs] to loue as owre selfe? Christ ded not commytt to Peter the cure and charge of his shepe, before he asked thryse of Peter whether he loued hym. As who shulde saye, I wolde not commytt my best beloued ioywell and treasure vnto the /, vnlesse thowe loue me hartely. I wolde wyshe that all gouernowres and rulers in this case wolde take example and folowe Christ, whiche, knowyng *the* good wyll of Peters harte /, yet as one ingnorante therof, ded demaunde this question of Peter before he ded commytt *the* cure of his flocke to hym /; therby to geue example & common doctryne to all his faythfull folowers, *that* they shulde haue suche tender and feruent loue towards the Christen sowles /, that they wolde not commytt the gouernaunce and cure of them to any man /, but vnto suche of whom they haue

Io. xxi.

Christ asked Peter whether he loved Him, before He committed His sheep to his charge;

and patrons should follow this example.

He knew Peter's good will, but He asked the question to give example to all His faithful followers.

A pastor without knowledge is but a blind eye,

and the patron who chooses him deceives the souls of men.

An ignorant bishop cannot do his duty because he does not know the Scriptures.

Some are drunkards, players at unthrifty games; without justice, or temperance.

By such idle and wicked ones Christ's inheritance is trodden under foot.

proue & sure knowlege /, that, aswell by their preaching & syncere teachinge of Gods Worde /, as also by their vertuose lyuinge consonante to *the* same Worde, they had vnfaynedly a faythfull hartye loue towardes Chrystes flocke. A blynde eye, which can not dyrecte and leade the bodye, is a blemyshe and a burden to the naturall bodye /, and noo commodyte. In lykewyse a man, chosen to be a spyrytuall pastour, which hathe not the knowlege and grace to preache the lawe and the Gospell /, is but a blynde eye, not able to dyrecte and leade the spyrytuall bodye. Wherefore, if any patron chose any suche ingnorante man to be a pastoure /, a spirituall eye and light to leade the spirituall sowles /; he not onely deceyueth them, but also, asmoche as lyeth in hym, kyllethe the bodye / and dothe greate iniurye to Christes bloode. Now it maye please yowre Highnes to note and marke what myschef and inconuenyence folowe the electyon and admyssion of an ingnorante pastour.¹ Fyrste, if an ingnorante byshope in Gods Worde be admytted /, he can not execute his office because he knoweth not the Scryptures whiche teacheth hym what shulde perteyne to his owne office. And as the byshop is ingnorante in Godes Worde /, so he admytteth suche as be vnlearned in Gods Worde /; evyn suche as by noo possybylite can execute the office of their callinge; idle parsons /, vnhappy / dronckerdes /, swerers /, common players at all vnthryfye games /, in whom there is no chastyte, / noo humylyte /, iustyce /, nor temperance. For a conclusion, / suche they admytte in whom there is noo holynes /, godly doctryne /, nor good example of lyuinge. To suche they commytte *the* healte of sowles /, the flocke of Christe, dearely bought with his bloode /; by suche ydle and wicked harlottes the enheritaunce of Christe is troden vnder fote. All euyll condycions, maners,

¹ Orig. postour.

and doctrynes by them be tawght /; so that in the steade of Holy Scripture is crepte in the doctryne of lyes /, all superstycious /, dead & vayne ceremonies /, and lycence to doo all kynde of synne. Some of the blynde ignorante prestes teache the people that God is honowred /, and sonles releued of their paynes, through the rynginge of belles /, painting of postes /, and settinge vp tapers and candelles before the sayd postes /, whom the blynde prestes doo bothe sence & sprynce with holy water. An other sorte of blynde shauelings teache the people to gett heuen with fastyng /; this prescripte daye & that daye /, with trentalles and masses of scala celi /; with forbearinge of bodely workes & kepinge ydle holy dayes /. They preache mucche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle /, holy creame /, holy water /, holy asshes /, hallowed bedes /, mumblyng of a numbre of psalmes in Laten /, keapinge of church ales, in the whiche with leappyng, / daunsyng /, and kyssyng, they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke). And thus the blynde leadeth the blynde /, that both fall hedlonge into the lake of eternall brenninge fyer. What naturall harte is there whiche will not lamente the misery /, yea the dampnacion, most certenly thretenede by Gods Worde vnto all ingnorante, and neglygent bysshoppes, and other spyrytuall shepherdes, which doo not dylygently execute theyr offyce and vocation? What honest louinge harte doth not bewayle the habundaunce of synne /, the longe myserable blyndnes, wherin this realme hath ben ledd and wrapped in through the ynignorancye and neglygence of suche blynde guydes? But is there any Chrysten harte which can forbere contynuall syghinge and mornyng /, remembringe the multytude, yea, the infynyte numbre, of sowles (whiche without the greate mercye of God, passinge all his worckes) through ing-

Some of them teach that souls are relieved by the ringing of bells, painting of pillars, setting up candles ;

by fasting on this or that day,

and keeping Holy Days. They say much holiness stands in holy oil, holy chrisem, holy water, and such like, and in keeping church ales.

Thus the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the ditch.

Such things make all Christians mourn when they remember the huge number of souls which are utterly damned.

The country is overburdened with priests of one sort or another.

These idle parsons are no good,

but a harm to the State; they are robbers of the king's subjects, who are deprived of the alms of many in the hope that prayers avail for the dead.

Many are encouraged to live wickedly by an ungodly trust in masses and dirges.

norancye & negligence of suche blynde shepherdes /, be vtterly cast awaye & dampned? What good cyuyle harte wolde not, I saye, lament and bewaile the greate burden wherwith this your realme (gracyouse Lorde) is ouercharged through the greate multytude of chauntery prestes /, soule prestes /, chanons /, resydensaryes in chathedrall churches /, prebendaryes /, muncke penycons /, morowe mas prestes /, vnlearned curattes /, prestes of gyldes and of fraternytees, or brotherhedes /, rydinge chaplaynes / and suche other ydle parsons /; whyche yf they be well noted /, and also what frute spryngethe of them, indyfferently valewed /, consydered /, and pondered, / it will appere manyfestly to all reasonable and godly wyttes /, that they do brynge noo maner commodyte, profett, or vtlylte, other spyrituall or temporall, to this your publycke wealthe. No /, no /! They be not onely no commodyte nor profett to the common wealthe /, but rather moche hynderance. And truly no lytle wasters /, spoylers /, and robbers /; and that of the most poore /, indygent, and neadye of youre louinge subiectes /, which be most craftely /, subtelly /, and vnrightuously depryued of the charytable succoure and almes of many symple, vnlearned innocentes /, through a vayne hope and false confydence that theyr sowles shulde be releued and released of theyr paynes and tormentes dewe for theyr synnes /, when they be departed this worlde /, by the longe prayers of prestes. And (the more it is to be lamented) noo lytle nombre of your subiectes, through suche vngodly truste and confydence in masses and dyryges to be songe and celebrated for them when they be dead /, be greatly encouraged to lyue both wickedly towardes God /, and also vnfrutefully towardes the worlde /; lytle remembrynge and estemynge their vocacion & callinge, wherin God hath appoynted them to walke /, and moche lesse the extreame necessitye of

their Christen bretheren. This vayne hope in the longe prayers of prestes (no doubt, graciouse Lorde) is a greate occasyon of moche pouerte amongst the poore and neady of this yowr realme. For the spedy remedy of this pouerte amongst your louinge subiectes /, and the vtter suppressyon of suche vayne hope in the prayers of prestes to be made for your subiectes when they be deade /, whiche is the greate cause of this myserable pouerte /, it may please your Magestye, of your accustomed goodnes, to call to your graciouse remembrance that all the people, of this your regyon, be subiect vnto yowr gracyouse power /, rule /, and dominion, as vnto their supreme hedd and gouernowre, dewly by God appointed to gouerne them onely duryng their naturall lyues /; but when it pleaseth God to take their sowles owt of this myserable worlde, / than yowr Grace is dyscharged of all gouernance /, cure, & charge ouer them /, as of suche which, after their death, doo not appertayne to yowr Grace /, nor be of your kyngedome /; but onely of the kyngedome of God /, vnder his gouernance, prouisyon, and rule. Into the whiche kyngedome, nother your Grace nor uoo other erthely prynce, maye lawfully vsurpe or take any rule, prouisyon, care or gouernance /, for the sowles entered therunto. Seinge that your Grace haue no auctoryte nor power ouer the sowles departed /, yow be not onely dyscharged to gouerne, to care, or to prouyde for them, beinge deade /; but moche rather to prouyde that they maye not be deceyued so vnder the coloure of longe prayre /, but that they may be taught syncerely Godds Worde, whyle they be lyuinge vnder your subiection, so that they maye beleue constantly and lyue godly /; and then, by Christes promesse, hell gates shall not prevayle ageinste them /: moche lesse they shall haue any neade of suche straunge succoure and helpe of men /, nothinge appointed nor tawght by Godds Worde,

The hope in the prayers of priests is a cause of poverty amongst the poor.

Whyle the people live they are under the dominion of the king;

when they die, the king is discharged of his care over them.

No earthly prince may usurp authority over the dead.

The king must see that the people are not deceived; they must be taught,

and then the gates of hell shall not prevail against them.

When you treat
for the reforma-
tion of abuses,

reform all which
have no strength
in God's Word.

All lands and
possessions taken
from religious
houses should be
given to support
common schools,

and to relieve the
poor while they
live under the
king's subjection.

This would be
better than to
allow these
possessions to be
used under a
pretence of re-
lieving departed
souls.

to be profitable or necessary for their sowles after their death. Wherefore, I mistruste not but that your Magestye, when you shall next intreate for the reformation of the enormities & abuses sprongen vp in the Christen religion /, yow will godly reforme suche abuse and dissembled couetuousenes /, and certeynely beinge no godly remedy nor helpe for sowles departed, which hathe noo strength nor effycacy of Gods Worde /, which is the very trew fowndacion of all the Christen religion and helpe for sowles. And, in *the* meane season, I doo no lesse thynke, and also pray hartely to God, that your Magestye will prouide and make ordinance /, that all suche landes and possessyons, wherevpon so many ydle hypocrytes and deceyuers be greate burdeyn & charge to your realme /, which hytherto haue lyued vngodly and vnprofytably /, maye, from henceforthe, be partly conuerted to the supportation and mayntenaunce of common scoles /, wherby errors crepte vp through ignorance maye be through knowlege repressed /, and godly lernynge and knowlege more plentuously planted and admynistred /; and partly that your poore louing subiectes maye be more mercyfully releued & succoured /, whyle they lyue vnder your subiection, charge, and gouernaunce. This godly dystribution (most prudent Soueraigne) of the landes and possessions, ordeyned and appoynted for the counforte, soccoure, and helpe of yowr poore louinge and lyuinge subiectes /, is moche more consonante and agreable to Godds Worde, and more certeyne dyscharge of your Graces conseyence, then to suffer the same possessyons to be vngodly caste awaye and consumed vnder suche false colowre and pretence to releue sowles departed /; of whom your Magestye haue nother cure nor charge /, nor can not assure to them, by Godds Worde, through suche longe prayers of prestes, relesse of paynes after their deathe /, or any other ayde, coun-

forte, or succoure. For, with owt any doubt (gracyouse Lorde) yf suche hyred prayers had ben godly and necessary for the sowles departed /, other Christ or his Apostelles wolde haue taught it /, or, at the leaste, haue prayseed or practysed it /; & not so manifestly reprovued & thretened it /, sayeng :—"Beware of them whiche deuoure wyddowes howses, vnder coloure of longe prayers /; theyr iudgment shalbe moche longer." In all the Newe Testament there is no mencyon made of any suche offycer, nor offyce instytuted, nor appoynted, to praye for the deade. And yet all men, I thynke, will confesse that the truethe of Godes Worde was most syncerely set forthe and preached in the tyme of Chryste & of his Apostles /; in whose tyme there was no suche craftye lernynge publyshed nor tawght by them /, nor longe tyme after. But then men stablyshed and grownded their religion and hope of healthe vpon Godds Worde /, whiche teacheth vs *that* who so beleueth is saued, and hathe no neade of longe, prystishe prayers /; and who so beleueth not /, shallbe condempned. Betwene these extreame contraries there is no meane /; as Saint Augustijn saieth. Wherefore I exhorte all them (whiche contrary to all Holy Scriptures) truste to the thyrd place, and there to haue release of paynes through *the* longe prayers of prestes; / that they wolde geue ouer suche fayned fantasye of men (subtylly ymagined only through insaciabie couetousenes of ambiciouse prestes, to gett mony therwith to mainteyne their vngodly lustes /, and to lyue ydley and delycately) and to truste rather to the sure and infallyble trewth of Godds Worde /, which, *withowt* doubte, is to repent and beleue /, and vtterly to forsake all synne /; and than constantly to trust to Goddes promesse of mercy. Here manifestly apperethe, soueraygne Lorde /, in what miserable blyndnes the most parte of this your realme haue longe tyme be[n]

If prayers for the dead had been necessary, Christ would haue said so.

Marc. xij.

There is no mention of them in the New Testament.

The Apostles taught no such thing.

He who believes has no need of priests' prayers.

Note here S. August. in his boke entyteled Hypognosticon. fol. ix. Wherefore I exhorte all who believe in Purgatory to leave their vain fancy,

and trust to the infallible truth of God's Word.

All men must lament the miserable blindness of such shepherds.

I trust the punishment with which the world was threatened *Amos. viij.* is past—a punishment of hunger and thirst for God's Word.

Lucc. i.

It is dangerous to admit for ministers such as have studied popish laws ;

they will poison the flock and increase popish power. [* leaf 22]

It is hoped all men will now see the evil of admitting unlearned

and carnal priests to spiritual offices.

led /, yea, and almost drowned, through the longe custome vsed theryn. Who is it that *can* not lament (I saye) this deplorate & miserable sorte of blynde shepherdes? Be not they bowght with the same pryce wherwith we be bought, to be membres of one bodye, wherof Christ is heade? If we be membres of one bodye, certainly we can not then but taste and feale, not onely their euill /, but also the lamentable estate of al other caste awaye through them. Lorde, I truste the punyshment is past wherwith thow haste threatened the worlde to be punished with hunger and thyrste ; not with hungre and thyrste of breade and drinke /, but for lacke of hearinge thy Worde. Yt is nowe tyme, Lorde, to shewe thyne accustomed goodnes & mercye /, for the whiche we doo dayly and hartely praye /, sayenge: "Through the tender mercy of God, wherwith he hathe vusyted vs /, geue light to vs which sytt in darcknes and in the shadowe of deathe /, to gyde our feate into the waye of peace." Also it is a daungerouse thinge to admitte one to be a spirituall pastoure, whose professyon and study all his youthe hathe ben in decrees and popishe lawes. For suche a study, for the most parte, ingendereth a popishe harte. If any suche be admitted to be a pastoure /, he shal not onely, other secretly in confessyon or by some other crafty meanes /, poyson his flocke with mans tradycions & popishe doctrine /, but also shall augment *the* popishe power /; for *the* abrogacion *wherof yowr Grace and yowr honorable Councell haue taken greate paynes & travayle. Nowe, eftsones, I truste that all men, which reade this lytle boke, shall perceyue therby what inconuenyence & dampnable euyll enseweth the vngodly presentacyon and admyssyon of the vnlearned in Godds Worde /, and carnall prestes to spyrituall offices.²

¹ This page is transposed in the orig., and stands where the next one should be.

² Orig. officers.

And although suche patrons haue lytle zeale and loue to the common and publike wealthe /, yet for the synguler and carnall loue which they beare to their clerkes (whom they addycte and bynde surely to eternall dampnacion /, if they geue them suche spyrituall offyces /, whiche they neyther can nor will execute and perfourme) or for the tender zeale and loue which they haue to the sowles so derely bought with Christes bloode /, they wyll, wyth all circumspection, proue theyr clerkes that they be not onely well lerned in Gods Worde /, but that they also haue taken greate paynes in preachynge the same /, and that they haue also lyued accordinge to their preachynge. Suche expéryment and proue was commaunded to be made of weddowes /, before they were admytted to lyue vpon the charge of the congregacyon, as it appeareth in Tymothy. *Muche more than euydent and sure proue of pastours (whose offyce is soo necessarie) shulde be hade and made before they be admytted to their spyrituall offyce and charge. And, although the election of the byshop and of other spirituall pastors in euery poynte be hade and done accordinge as I haue before wryten /, yet (most dreád soueraigne Lorde) I see two fowle deformytes and grete lamentable myschefes annexed to the vocacyon & offyce of byshops /, which, not reformed, will poyson and vtterly corrupte the godly vocacion and electyon of the sayd byshops. The one infection and pestylent poyson is there greate lordships and domynions, with the yerely prouentes of the same. Whiche hathe so fasshyoned them in proude countenaunces and worldely behaouure /, that nowe they be moste lyke to heathen prynces, and moste vnlyke vnto Christe /, althoug[h]e they wolde be esteemed of all men to be his trewe successours /; yet poore Christ

Although patrons
haue little zeal,

it is hoped they
will examine
clerks, and so
ascertain whether
they are well
learned.

i. Ti. r.
[* leaf 21, back] ¹

If bishops be
properly elected,

yet there are two
more evils be-
longing to
them:—

1. Their great
lordships,
and the rents
arising from
them.

They live like
heathen princes,

¹ This page from here is transposed ; in the original it precedes the one just given.

but "Poor
Christ" had not
where to lay
His head.
They have
castles,
parks full of deer;
fish-ponds,
and other
pleasures.

2. They have too
many cures and
too much worldly
business.
They manage
their estates in
all their details;

must hear testa-
mentary causes,
divorce suits,

and such other
matters not
belonging to their
vocation.
My lord is so
occupied with
these things that
he cannot find
time to study or
to preach.

Mat. v[i].

Act. vi.

sayethe :—"The foxes haue hooles /, the byrdes of the
ayre haue neastes /, but *the* sonne of man hathe not
wherin to laye his head." But oure byshops haue
gorgeouse & sumptuose buylded howses, maners, &
castelles, pleasauntely set abowte *with* parckes, well
replenished with deare /; warrens swarminge full of
conyes /, and fyshe poo'les well stored with dyuerse
kyndes of fyshes. And not onely these commodities
and pleasures /, but also diuerse other pleasures. Howe
this lordely and worldely byshoplike estate agreeth
with Christes wordes /; I thinke a man can not reason-
ably conyecture or ymagen, by theyr countenaunce and
lyuinge /, that they be Christes trewe disciples. The
other myschefe and euill is, that they haue to many
worldly cures and busenes. For to these maners and
lordeshipes belonge many tenauntes /, for whose leases
to be made, fynes and haryottes to be appointed and
taken /, amercyamentes to be assessed, taxed, & also
forgeuen and dispenced /, there be noo fewe sutes made
to my lorde byshope /; also the hearinge of testa-
mentorye causes /, dyuorses /, causes of matrimonye /,
of sclauders /, of leacherye, / adultery /, and pun-
yshement of bawedrye /; and suche other *bumme*
courte matters, wherof not one belong to his offyce &
vocation appointed by Godds Worde. My Lorde
Byshope is so occupied & vnquyeted /, that he hathe
noo leasure to studye nor to preache Gods Worde.
But suche affayres and worldly busynes, nothing per-
teyninge to his vocation, be very greate hynderance
and lett to my Lorde Byshop, that he can not applye
hym to exerceyse his owne offyce. "For no man can
serue two masters," sayeth Christ. The Apostles
thought it not iuste and equall to prouide for the
necessary lyuinge of the poore /, leauinge Godds Worde
vntawght. But my Lorde Byshoppe, doinge these
things, nothing perteyninge to his office /, thincketh

that he hathe exactly done his offyce. From these greate maners commeth yerely, greate rentes, pleasures, & profettes /; which, althowghe they be the good creatures of God /, yet thabundaunce of them (beinge where they be more impedymment than helpe) be a greate occasyon of corrupcion in the vser of them. And, peraduenture, they wolde allure and intyse a byshops harte to truste in them and so corrupte hym /, as the Scripture sayeth :—“Blessed is the ryche, which is founde without blemyshe, & hathe not gone after golde, nor hoped in money and treasures /; where is there suche a one and we shall commende hym and call hym blessed /; for greate things dothe he amonge his people.” And if my Lorde Bysshoppe shulde geue the superfluyte of his goodes to the poore (whose goodes iustely they be) as the prophete Ezay sayethe /, than my Lorde shulde lacke them to furnyshe his lordely countenaunce /; and so my Lorde shulde loose his lordely honoure and prayse of the worlde. Wherefore, as these superfluouse possessions be annexed to estates of bysshops, by mans vayne fantasye and not by Gods Worde /, so my Lorde Byshoppe wyll other keape them to make hym more fryndes/, remembrynge that “ryches makethe many fryndes /, but the poore is forsaken of his neyghbowre”/; or deuyse the expence of them contrary to Godes Worde /, other to make sure fryndes in the courte aboute the kynge, to obteyne more promocions & benefices /, or in curiouse buyldinge /, sumptuouse and delycate fare /, well appareled seruauntes /, tryme decked horses, to ryde pompecusely lyke a lorde. Althoughe there were no auctorite to proue this /, yet the lordely countenaunce & fashyon of byshops /, yea, their common exercyse and also practyse, can well proue and testyfye this playnely before the face of all men, which knoweth the lordelynes of bysshoppes. As the prophete Ezay sayethe :—

His great income might entice his heart to trust in it and so corrupt him.

“Blessed is the rich who is found without blemish, and has not gone after gold :

for he does great things among his people.”

 Esa. iij.

The bishops use their riches to make friends,

or to bribe those about the court;

or else in building, fine living,

servants, horses, and riding like lords.

Esa. iij.

All which are opposed to the saying of the Apostle, *i. Ti. vi.* "When we have food and raiment let us be content."

Lu. xviij.

Peter tells bishops to feed the flock of God;

taking the oversight willingly and with a godly mind.

But the proud countenance of our bishops is contrary to all this.

Math. xij.

And so long as this is so,

they cannot sincerely and truly *Rom. x.* preach.

Ioan. xx.¹

Christ was sent to preach, and He sent His disciples to do the same.

"The chaungynge of their countenance bewrayeth them /, yea they declare theyr owne synnes them selves as Sodomytes /, and hyed them not." Doo not these thinges fayntely agree with the sayenge of theyr predecessour, Paule the Apostle, which sayeth :—" When we haue foode and raymente we muste be contented ? " Is not this lordely honoure dyrectely agaynste Chrystes wordes /, which sayethe :—" The kynges of nacyous raygne ouer them / and they that haue auctoryte ouer them are called graciouse lordes. But yow shall not be so." Also Peter speakethe to his trewe successoures sayenge :—" Feade yow Christes flocke as muche as lyeth in yow /, takynge the ouersyght of them ; not as compelled therunto /, but wylyngelye /, after a godly sorte /; nor for the desyer of fylthy luker /, but of a good mynde /; not as thoughe yowe were lordes ouer the paryshes /, but that yowe be an example to the flocke /, and that withe good will." But owre lordely byshops estate, and proude countenance of lyuynge (as it is nowe vsed) is contrarye to Godes Worde /, as it appeareth by these wordes :—" But yow shall not be so." And also by these sayengs :—" Not as thoughe yow were lordes ouer the paryshes." And Chryst sayethe :—" He that is not with me /, is agaynste me." Wherefore, so longe as they raigne so lordely in the clergie, contrary to Godds Worde /, so longe be they againste God. And so longe as they be agaynste God /, they be not sente from God /, and then can they not preache trewly and sincerely his worde. " For howe can they preache excepte they be sente ? " sayeth Paul. Christe was sente to preache, as it appeareth. *Marc. i., Luce. iij., and Ezaye. lxi.* And Christe sayeth to all his trewe dysciples :—" As my Father sente me /, so I do sende yow." And commaundeth also all his Apostles, & trewe successors of the Apostles, to

¹ Orig. .ij.

preache the Gospell to the holle worlde, and not lordely to raigne in the clergye. Whom Paul teacheth to be as mynisters /, sayeng : “ Lett a man this wise esteame vs /, eyn as the mynisters of Christe and the stuardes of the secretes of God.” To preache the Gospell therefore (most gracyouse and prudente Lorde) is the trewe vocacyon and offyce of all godly byshops /, parsons /, vycars, and of other shepherdes /; and not to be embasadowrs to prynces, / nor to be iudges to here matters of contencyon, / testamentarye causes /, dyuorses /, sclauders, / bawdery /, and suche other. Your Grace hathe, of your laye fee, suffycient bothe in lerninge, and wysedome, and of good conscyence, to here and iudge suche causes and varyaunces /; remyttynge byshops to attende their offyce and vocacyon by God (and not by man) appoynted. And therefore they shulde not excercyse any other offyce than God hathe appoynted to them. For “ no man can serue two masters.” And if byshops and other pastoures wolde dyligently execute their vocacyon and offyce /, moche fewer of these matters of contencyon shalbe in vre and experience, other to be harde or iudged. Seinge the Scriptures commaundeth so earnestly euery man to walke as he is called, many Christen men meruell gretly why the byshops desyre and procure so greedely to excercyse the offyce perteyninge to an other vocacyon /, and to leue their vocacyon and offyce (appoynted by God to them to be excercysed) not executed nor performed and done. Verely bycause they loue the glorye of men / more then the glorye of God. And surely euen as Cayphas and Annas, beinge byshops, and excercysynge the offyce of seculer and temporall iudges, ded iudge Christ to be crucifyed /, so ovr byshops, so longe as they, contrarye to their callinge, doo excercyse the offyce of temporall iudges /, so longe shall they persecute Christe and his

i. Cor. iiij.

To preach the gospel is the vocation of all bishops and parsons,

and not to be ambassadors or judges.

There are plenty of lawyers, learned and wise enough to hear and judge such causes, leaving bishops to attend to their own duties.

Mat. vi.

Men marvel why bishops strive after other offices, and leave their own vocation unperformed.

Ioan. vii.¹
Verily it is because they love the praise of men more than the praise of God.

¹ Orig. ix.

There is business enough to employ them in their own office.

Sin reigns everywhere

Costly apparel and change of fashions have made men who once could maintain 20 or 30 yeomen,

and comfort many poor, now scarce able to maintain their own households.

These two things, costly apparel and varying fashions, especially of the women, are the chief cause of this altered state of things.

Men are compelled to sell their lands,

or get in debt.

They have to burden their lands with provision for children who should have been provided for during life.

membres /, and studie to suppress his worde /, and not to preache the same. Haue not they busynes suffycient, wherwith to occupye them in their owne offyce? If they wolde loke well therunto /, doo not they see on euery syde detestable synne raigne through-owt all this your realme? Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparell /, bycause of dyuersyte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen /, a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and counforte of many poore and neadye /; and the same nowe is not suffycient and able to maynteyne the heyre of *the* same landes /, his wiffe /, her gentle woman or mayde /, two yowmen /, and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell /, and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe /, somtyme hooode /; nowe the Frenshe fasshyon /, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon /; than the Italyan fasshyon /, and then the Myllen fasshyon /; so that there is neo ende of consumynge of substaunce, and that vaynely, and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womens fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neade. The fathers consumynge theyr goodes in vayne / pryde /, and wanton lustes (called vpon by yowr Grace to serue yowr Magesty for the defence of this yowr realme) haue not to doo their dewtye /; wherby they be compelled to sell theyr landes /, or els to burdeyne their fryndes /, or els to daunger them selfe in dette to many. Hereof rysethe it that the father is compelled to declare his will vpon hys landes to be executed after his deathe (when he can not occupye the same hym selfe) for the aduancement and helpe of his children, and the payment of his dettes /, whom easely he myght in his lyffe

haue aduanced, holpen, and dyscharged /, yf suche ryotouse expenses had ben auoyded. The prophete Osee sayethe :—" There is noo trewethe /, no mercye /, no knowlege of God in earthe /; cursynge /, lyenge / murdre, thefte /, adulterye, hathe broken in" /; and yet doo owre shepherdes holde theyr peace. What commessacyon /, dronckenes /, detestable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne " huntinge othes ") extoreyon /, pryde /, couetuousenes /, and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /; agaynste the whiche owre byshops, and other pastoures, shulde contynually crye owt /, as the Prophete sayethe :—" Crye nowe as lowed as thow canste /, leaue not of /, lyfte vp thy voyce lyke a trompett /, and shewe my people their offences, and the howse of Iacob their synnes." But, alas ! they be become bothe blynde and dome /, as the Prophete sayethe :—" His watchmen are all blynde ; they haue all together noo vnderstandinge /, they are all dome dogges, not able to barecke /; they are slepye /, folyshe are they, and lye snortinge /. They are shameles dogges that be neuer satsfyed. The shepherdes also in lyke maner haue no vnderstandinge /; but euery man turnethe his owne waye /, euery one after his owne couetuousenes, with all his powre." What is the cause that they doo not execute this their offyce ? Other bycause they can not /, or bycause they haue somoche worldely busynes that they will not, apply them selves to perfourme bothe. Or els they be afrayed to speake the trwethe /, lest they shulde dysplease men. Whom Paul reproueth sayenge : " If I shulde please men, I shulde not be the seruante of Christe." Also the Prophete sayethe :—" God breakethe the bones of them whiche studye to please men /; they be confounded /,

Ose. iiij.

Drunkeness, swearing by Christ's Body, " hunting oaths,"

pride, and vice reign in the realm,

against which bishops and pastors should cry aloud and *Esa. lviii.*¹ spare not.

But, alas ! they are blind and dumb,

*Esaie lvi.*²

and shameless.

Why don't the bishops execute their office ?

Gal. i.

*Psal. liij.*³

¹ Orig. v.

² Orig. lxvi.

³ 53rd in A. Version.

They love their possessions ;

they will not displease men ;

they will maintain their pride, and will continue in it ;

Esa. [lx]vj.

and so long as they continue in wealth and honour they will not do their duty, but rather persecute the Bible which declares what their duty is.

When the Pope was first endowed with great possessions, a voice was heard—
“Now poison is cast into the Church of God.”

So long as honour and wealth are annexed to bishoprics,

because the Lorde dispyseth them.” Notwithstandynge, owr byshops loue so well their greate domynions, whereby they maynteyne their lordely honoure /, that they will not dysplease men with preachynge the treuth /, lest they shulde then loose their greate possessyons /; and, consequently, their lordely glorye. But surely as longe as they possesse theyr greate domynions /, so longe they wyll contynewe and maynteyne their pryde. And so longe as they contynewe in pryde /, so longe they shall not receyue the Holy Ghoste /, whiche shall teach them to speake the treuthe. “For vpon whom shall my Sprete reaste” (sayeth the Prophete Esaye) “but vpon the meake and lowely /, and vpon hym which feareth the my sayengs.” Also the Prophete sayeth : “God resysteth the prowde /, and vnto the meake and lowely he geueth his grace.” Wherefore, so longe as the byshops contynewe in this worldely wealthe and honowre /, so longe will they neuer do their dewtye and offyce /; but rather persecute the Worde of God whiche declareth and sheweth what is their offyce and their dewtye. And so longe as they do not excryse their offyce and vocatyon /, but doo persecute the Worde and suche as syncerely preache the same /, so longe shall synne increase. “For if the eye be wicked /, all the body shalbe full of dareknes.” For euen as at suche tyme when the Byshoppe of Rome was fyrste endowed with greate possessyons /, a voyce was harde /, seyinge :—“Nowe venome and poyson is caste and shed forthe into the church of God.” In lykewyse, no doubt, most godly Gouvernoure /, semblable voyce and sayenge maye be veryfyed in and vpon all the church of Englande /, sythen yowr byshops were endowed with so greate possessyons and lordely domynions. No doubt, gracyous Lorde /, so longe as grete lordely domynions /, worldely honours and wealthe /, be anexed and knyght to the vocacyon and

offyces of byshops and other pastours /, these myscheues & inconuenyences shall euer ensue & folowe. Fyrste the moste prowde and ambycyouse /, the moste couetouse and wycked, / which other by money, frendshyp, or flattery, can obtayne the benefyce /, wyll laboure with all study and polycye to gett the benefice, / only for the worldely honoure, and not for the zeale and loue which he shulde haue to enstructe and teache the people commytted to his cure and charge. And for the profett which belongethe and apperteyneth to the same benefyce /, they wyll dyssemble humylyte and despeccyon of all worldely profettes and pleasures /, so colorablye and subtelly /, that yt shall be very harde for youre Magestye, or any other hauynge aucthoryte, to geue benefyces, to perceyue them. And when they haue obteyned the benefyce /, than eury Christen man shall well perceyue that he hathe not entered in by the dore; that is, for the zeale and loue, to doo and execute the offyce /, but hathe clymmed vp and assended by a nother waye; / that ys, for the luker and honoure annexed to the offyce. And than certainly, whosoer assendeth and entereth in by a nother waye /, can not be but a thefe /, by daye and by nyght; / whose study and laboure muste be to steale /, kyll /, and to destroy. As Christe (whose wordes muste euer be true) sayethe: —“The thefe commethe not but to steale, / to kyll /, and to destroye.” So that, so longe as so moche worldely profett and honoure belongethe to the benefyce, so longe wyll he that, for wante and lacke of lernynge can not doo the offyce /, and also the moste couetouse and proude, / wyll laboure to haue the offyce /, whereby the people commytted to his cure /, shall not onely be vntawght¹ /, and not lerned in Gods Worde /, but also all they which can preache and teache Godds Worde and loue the same, / by suche

these mischiefs will follow.

The proudest will seek the benefice for its honours,

and not to teach the people;

he will feign humility, and seem to despise all worldly profits and pleasures.

But when he has obtained it every Christian will perceive he has not entered in by the door,

and is therefore only a thief and a robber, whose study must be to steal, kill, and destroy.

Ioan. v.

The people will be untaught, and those who would teach

¹ Orig. vntawgth.

will be persecuted
and tormented.

It is easier to
gather grapes of
thorns than of
such greedy
thieves to have
any Christian
religion.

Seeing all
these things,

the king is

bound to take
away from
bishops and other
spiritual minis-
ters all their
superfluous pos-
sessions and
worldly cures;

and, this done,
to appoint such
as can preach and
have preached;

and to remove all
such as will not.

The poison
being removed,
faith shall in-
crease and sin
decrease;

a worldely wolfe /, shall be extremely persecuted and tormented. For he can not but steale /, kyll /, and destroye /, and vtterly abhore /, and hate the godly /, as Christe sayethe :—" Yf you were of the worlde /, the worlde wolde loue his owne. But because you be not of the worlde /, but I haue chosen you from the worlde /, therefore the worlde dothe hate you." No doubt a man shall moche rather vpon thornes gather grapes /, and vpon brambles and bryres gather fygges, / than of soche gredy theues to haue any Chrysten relygyon, other setforthe /, preached, / or stablyshed. Wherefore (moste redoubted Prynce) seinge that theyr greate possessyons /, ryches /, worldely offyces /, cures /, and busynes /, be the impedymnt and let that they do not execute theyr vocacyon and offyce /, whiche is so godly, profytable, and necessarye for this yowr common wealthe /; yowe beinge ovr soueraigne Lorde and Kynge (whom God hathe called to gouerne this yowr realme /, and to redresse the enormytyes and abuses of the same), by all iustyce and equyte are bounden to take awaye from byshoppes and other spirytual shepherdes suche superfluyte of possessyons, and ryches, and other seculer cures, busynes, and worldely offyces /, whiche be the cause of moche synne in them /: and no lesse occasyon whereby they be letted to execute their offyce /, to the greate losse and hynderance of moche faythe, vertue, and goodnes /, which myght be admynistred to your subiectes /, through the trew preachynge of Godes Worde. And that done /, than circumspectly to take heade that none be admytted to be pastoures, / but suche as can preache, and haue preached sincerely Godes Worde. And all suche as will not /, to remoue them from theyr cures. This godly ordre obserued in the electyon of spirituall pastoures /, and the pestylent poyson moued and taken away from theyr vocatyon /, faithe shall increase /, and synne shall decrease /; trewe

obedience shall be obserued wyth all humylite, to your
 Magestye and to the hygher powers
 by your Grace appoynted in office.

Cyuite quyetnes, reste, and pea-
 ce shalbe stablyshed /, God shal
 be feared, honoured, and lo-
 ued /, whiche is the effec-
 te of all Chri-
 sten lyuin-

ge.

()

•••

peace shall be
 established, and
 God shall be
 honoured.

O Lorde, saue our moste soueraygne Lorde, Kynge
 Henry the Eyght /; and graunte that he may ones
 throughly feale and perceyue what myserable calamyte,
 sorowe, & wretchednes we suffer now in these dayes a
 brode in the countre /, by these vnlearned /, popyshe /,
 and moste cruell tyrauntes /, euen the very enemyes of
 Chrystes crosse /; whose payne shall be without ende /,
 whan we shall lyue in ioye for euer. Graunte yet
 ones agayne, I say, goode Lorde, and moste mercyfull
 Father, through thy Sone Ihesus Christe /, that whan
 his Grace shall knowe and perceyue (by thy gyfte &
 goodnes) theyr most detestable wayes in mysusyng
 thy heretage /, that he wyll earnestly go a bouthe to se a
 redresse a monge them /; and to the penytent and con-
 tryte in harte to shewe his accustomed goodnes /, and
 to the other his iustyce /, accordinge to Saynt Pauls
 doctryne /, and his Graces lawes.

O Lord, save
 the king;
 may he once feel
 what we suffer
 from these
 tyrants.

Grant that when
 he knows their
 ways he may
 redress them.

And, moste dreade Soueraygne (with all humylyte and
 humblenes of harte), I beseeche your Grace / (accordinge
 to your accustomed goodnes), to take this my rude

I beseech your
 Grace to accept
 my supplication

as a fruit of my
obedience,

and not of malice
to any spiritual
shepherd.

supplycayon to the beste /, as a frute of my obedy-
ence /, wheryn I haue not dyssembled /, but haue
opened fully vnto your Grace the grounde and very
bottome of my hart ; / not of any grudge, euyl wyll, or
malyce that I beare to any spirytuall shepherde (God I
take to recorde), but onely for the glory
of God /, the honoure of your Gra
ce /, and the wealthe and profett
of your moste naturall
and louinge
subiec-
tes.
..

F I N I S.

¶ Enprynted in the yere of our
Lorde .M. CCCCC. xliiij.
in the moneth of
Decembre.
()
..

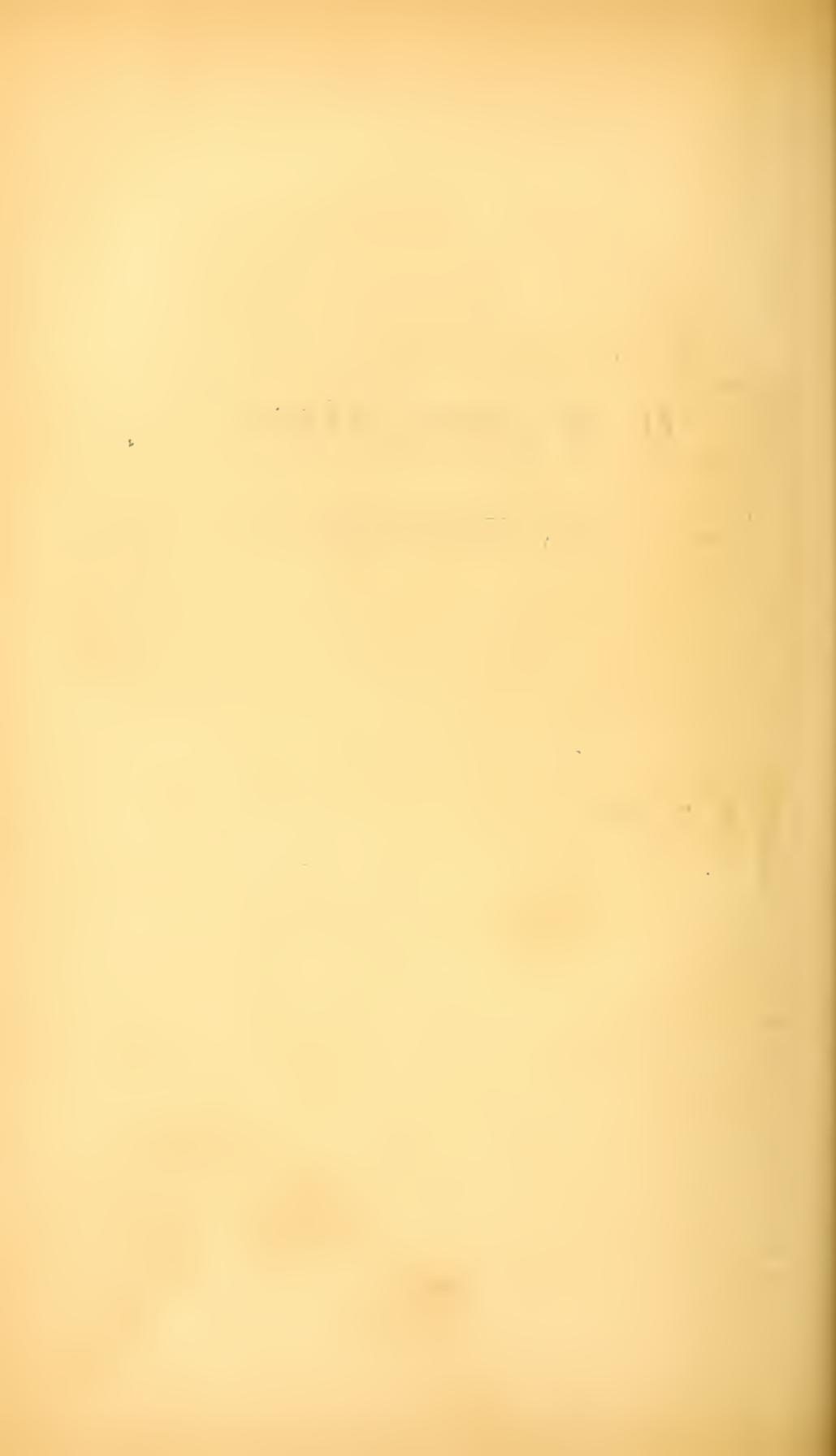
C A Supplica=

tion of the Poore

Commons.

¶ Proverbes .xxi. Chapter.

¶ Who so stoppeth his care at
the crynge of the poore, he shall
crye hym selfe, and shall not
be heard.



¶ To the most victorious
 Prynce Henry the viii. by the Grace of God
 Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, & Ireland ;
 Defender of the Fayth, and Supreme
 Head of the Church of England,
 and Ireland, immediatly next
 vnto God: hys humble and
 most faythfull Subiectes
 of the Realme of En-
 gland, wysh lyfe
 euerlastyng.

PItuously complaineth the pore commons of this
 your Maiesties realme, greatly lamentyng their
 owne miserable pouertie ; and yet muche more
 the most lamentable and more then wretched
 estate of their chyldren and posterite. Whose myserie,
 forsene and throughly considered, is and ought of very
 nature, to be more dolorous and sorowful vnto euerye
 naturall hert then that which we our selues feale and
 sustayne. Not many yeres tofore, your Highnes poore
 subiectes, the lame, and impotente creatures of this
 realme, presented your Highnes with a piteful and
 lamentable complaint, imputyng the head and chiefe
 cause of their penury and lacke of reliefe, vnto the
 great & infinite nombre of valiant and sturdy beggars
 which had, by their subtyll and crafty demaner in
 begging, gotten into their handes more then the third

The commons
 complain of their
 miserable
 condition,
 especially of their
 extreme poverty.

Some years ago
 the poor, lame,
 and impotent
 presented a
 petition
 against valiant
 and sturdy
 beggars,

who had got into
 their hands more
 than a third of

the yearly
revenues.

Your Majesty
weeded out the

monks and nuns,
who, under the
disguise of
contempt of
this world, wal-
lowed in riches;

and removed
many gilded
beggars, whose
holiness was held
in such esteem
that we
reverenced them
as gods.

When they were
abolished, like
children,

we fell into an
uproar,
and, forgetting our
obedience to the
king, we behaved
as the Ephesians
did to S. Paul,

and the Jews to
Stephen, when he
said God dwelt
not in temples
made with hands.

part of the yearely reueneuse and possessions of this your Highnes realme. Wher vpon (as it semed) your Hyghnes (sekyng a redresse and reformation of thys greate and intollerable enormitie,—as a merciful father ouer this your natural country; moued wyth pitie towarde the miserable and pittiful nombre of blind, lame, lazar, & other the impotent creatures of this your realme) hath, wyth most earnest diligence, supplanted, and, as it were, weeded out, a greate nombre of valiaunt and sturdye monckes, fryers, chanons, heremites, and nunnes. Which disguised ypocrites, vnder the name of the contempt of this world, wallowed in the sea in the worldes wealth. And to the entent your louing & obedient subiectes might the better be able to releue the neadie & impotent creatures, you toke from them the greate nombre of gilded beggars, whose holines was so fast roted in the hertes of vs your pore commons, through the false dilusions of the forsayd sturdy & valiant beggars, that we wold not stick to go an .C. myles on our bare fete to seke one of them, that we might not only bestow our almes vpon them, but also do them reuerence and honour none other wise then if they had bene very gods. Yea, when your Hyghnes had ordeyned that al these forsayd beggars shulde be vtterly abolished, neuer to deceyue vs of our almes anye more, we, like men alwaies brought vp in folish supersticion of these false Phariseis & flateriung hypocrites, knewe not the obedience that we owe to you, our natural and most rightful Prince, but in-continent fel in an vprore cryng, “Our holi dayes, abbayes & pylgrimages!” None o[t]her wise than the Ephesians dyd agaynst the elect vessell of God, Sancte Paule, whan he sayd, “They are not godes, which be made with handes,” and as the Iewse did against holy Steuen, whan he sayd that “God dwelleth not in an house made with mans hand.” Yea, had not God wrought

on your parte, in apeasing that sturdy thronge, this realme had, euen then, ben like to haue bene vtterly decayed. For euen those whome your Highnes had called to-gither to assiste you in that daungerous tyme, were (for the moste parte) so bente to the opinion of the other, that many of them woulde not stike to say, "When we shal come to the battaile,—we know what we haue to do." But nowe (the Lorde be thanked therfore) that your Highnes hath finished that your godly purpose, without bloudshede of your poore communes, and that the Worde of God hath ben so set furth & taught by your command[m]ent, that euery man that lusteth may therin learne his dutie and office ; we are fully perswaded, that all such as resiste the pours, whome God hathe ordeyned and appoynted to rule & gouerne the multitude of thys worlde, do not resyste man, but God. Be you certayne therfore (most graciouse Prince) that we (your most obedient subiectes) walkyng in the fear of the Lord, wyl not from hense forth (so long as the knowledge of Godes Worde shall reigne amongeste vs) attempt any such so diuilishe enterprise, as to rebel agaynst your Highnesse, our most natural Souerayne and Leage Lorde ; either for our forfathers popyshe tradicions, or other oure owne fantastical dreams ; not withstandyng that the remenaunt of the sturdy beggers (not yet weeded out) do daylye, in theyr writynges, counsels, and preachynges, stere vs thereunto. For what meane they in their sermons when they lament the greate discord and myserable estate of this our tyme, wishyng that all thyng were nowe as it was .xx. yeares since, but that they woulde haue a Pope, pardons, lightyng of candels to images, knockyng and knelyng to them, with runnyng hither and thither on pilgrimage ; besides the infinit number of purgatory horseleches, on whom the vengeaunce of God is so manifestly declared for their beastly buggery,

But you finished
your purpose
without blood-
shed of the
commons,

and now we are
convinced that to
resist the powers
is to resist God ;

and, so long as we
are taught by
God's word,
will never rebel
again,

though we be
tempted thereto
by the beggars
not yet weeded
out.

They tell us that vice has prevailed since we had the Scriptures in English,

but their aim is to make us abhor the Bible.

They would have us as blind as we were when we would have fought against our king, for the maintaining of their popish traditions.

They have procured a law that none shall have the Bible in his house, unless he can spend £10 a year, but they only wish to famish men's souls by withholding spiritual food.

Are the rich only in possession of souls? Christ said the Gospel was preached to the poor, and the Gospel, which they would shut

that the very places where they dwelt, are not thought worthy to be the dwellings of men, but the causes of brut beasts and venomous worms? They tell us what vice, uncharitableness, lacke of mercy, diuercitie of opinions, and other lyke enormities, haue raigned euer sence men had the Scripture in Englyshe. And what is this other then to cause mens consciens to abhorre the same, as the onely cause and originall of all this? They say that it sufficeth a laye man to beleue as they teach, and not to meddle with the enterpretation of the Scriptures. And what meaneth that, but that they would haue us so blynd agayn, as we were when we would haue fought agaynst oure naturall Prynce, for the mayntenance of their popyshe traditions and purgatory patrimony? They cannot abyde this name, "the Word of God;" but they would haue the Scripture called the commaundement of God. And what meaneth this, but that they are the same enemyes of God, whom that two edged sword shall destroy? Finally, they haue procured a lawe, that none shall so hardy haue the Scripture in his house, unlesse he maye spend x. pound by yere. And what meaneth this, but that they would famysh the soules of the residue, witholdyng theyr food from them? We appeale to your Highnes iudgement in this behalfe, whither this lawe be indifferent or not. If none should be allowed meat in your Highnes house, but suche as were clothed in veluet, with chaines of gold about theyr neckes, what seruantes would your Maiestie haue shortly? What steruelynges would your seruantes be aboue all other! For no man within your realme may refuse to do your Grace seruyce. Hath God put immortall soules in none other but in such as be possessioners of this world? Did not Chryst send word to Ihon the Baptist that the pore receyued the Gospell? And the Gospel that they shutte vp from us, was it not the wrytynges of pore fysher men and

symple creatures, euen taken for the dregges of the worlde? Were not the setters furthe of it and the prophetes also, persecuted, tormented, and slayne? And why do these men disable them for readers of the Scriptures, that are not indued with the possessions of this worlde? Vndoutely (most gracious Souerayn) because they are the very same that shut vp the kyngdome of God before men; thei enter not them selues, nother suffre thei them to entre that wolde. They are lyke to a curre dogge liyng in a cocke of haye. For he wyll eate none of the heye hym selfe, nother suffer any other beast that commeth to eate therof. But some wyl peraduenture say, they were not all sturdy beggers that were in the Parliament when this lawe was stablished. For many of them, and the most parte were seculer men, and not of suche habilitie that this lawe would permyt them to haue the Scripture in their houses. Wherefore, this lawe is in-different, and taketh not the Worde of God from vs; but we wyth oure ful consent haue committed it to them, in the sayde lawe limytted. Where vnto we aunswer, that, if we haue geuen it ouer from vs to the possessioners of this worlde, we may well be lykened to the Gedarites, Marke v., which desired Christ to departe from theyr country, and the lurking night birdes, which can not abyde the bryghte beames of the son. We may boldly affirme that what man soeuer doth wyttyngly and willingly forsake the knowledge of the lyuely Worde of God (the foode of our solles, and lyghte of oure footesteppes,) is none of the flock of Christ, forasmuch as his shepe heare his voyce, & reioyce in the same. Did thei that toke their names of any philosopher, shut vp theyr masters doctrine from them selfe? Did thei not thynke them selues vnworthy to be named after their masters, vnlesse thei knewe their preceptes and rules? Did not the monkes, friers, and other the superstitious religious, employe all theyr

up, was written by poor fishermen. Those who preached it were persecuted and slain.

These men are like the dog in the manger.

But many who made this law were secular men, and not rich enough to benefit by it.

The law is indifferent.

We answer, If we gave it away from ourselves to the possessors of this world, we are like the Gadarenes.

We boldly affirm that whosoever forsakes God's word is none of His.

Those who took the name of any Philosopher, studied his teaching, and thought themselves unworthy of him unless they knew his precepts; and the monks

following this example, study to obtain a knowledge of their statutes.

And shall we exclude ourselves from a knowledge of Christ's laws which we must follow, on pain of damnation?

If we have rejected God's offer, when He used your Highness to publish His word, in which we may learn His love towards us;

let us repent most humbly,

and beseech Him to forget our obstinacy.

Don't let our enemies say the

studye to knowe their rules and statutes? Do not the Coelginers at this daye set the boke of theyr statutes at libertie, streightlye commaundyng eche felowe vnder payne of punishement to employ them, to haue the through knowledge of the same? And shold we glory to be the flocke of Chryst, and to be called of him Christians, when we do willyngly and wittyngly exclude our selfe from the knowlege of the rule which he hathe commaunded vs to folowe, on payne of damnation of oure soules? Would your Hyghnes thynke that man were willyng to do your commaundement, that would not diligently reade ouer your Highnes letters sent from you to certifie hym of youre wyl and pleasure in hys office? And what other thyng is the whole Scripture then the declar[at]ion of the wyl of God? Wer it lykely therfore, that we, excludyng our selues from the knowledge therof, shold be willyng to do his wyl? If we haue therfore reiected this merciful profer of our moost mercifull Father, when he vsed youre Hyghnes, as hys instrumente, to publyshe and set forthe hys moost lyuelycke Worde, wherin is declared the inestimable loue that he beare towards vs, in that he gaue hys onely Sonne to be an acceptable sacrifice for oure synnes; and the vnspekable mercy which caused him to accept vs as iust, euen for his Sonnes sake, without our workes or deseruinges; let vs now humbly fal downe prostrate before his Maiestye, wyth perfecte repentance of this, the contempte of his mercifull gyfte; moost humbly beseking hym, of his infynyte goodnes, tenderly to beholde the doloures of our hertes, for that we neglected so mercifull a profere; and to forget oure obstinacie ther in, geuyng your Hyghnes suche desire of oure saluation, that you wyl as fauorably restore vnto vs the Scripture in oure English tonge, as you dyd at the fyrst translation therof set it abroad. Let not the aduersaries take occasion

to say, the Bible was of a traytours settinge forthe, and not of your Hyghnes owne doynge. For so they reporte, that Thomas Cromwell, late Earle of Essex, was the chyfe doer, and not youre Hyghnes, but as led by him. All thys thei do to withdraw the mindes of vs (your Hyghnesses subiectes) from the readyng and study therof. Which thyng doth easely appere by the diligence they shewe in settinge furth and execution of your Hyghnes proclamations and iniunctions consernyng the same. For when youre Highnes gaue commaundement that thei shoulde se that there were in euery parysh church, within thys your Highnes realme, one Byble at the least set at libertie, so that euery man myght frely come to it, and read therein, suche thynges as should be for his consolation, manye of this wicked generation, as well preystes as other their faythful adherentes, wuld pluck it other into the quyre, other elles into som pue, where pore men durst not presume to come. Yea, ther is no smale numbere of churches that hath no Byble at all. And yet not suffised with the withholdyng of it from the pore of their owne parishes, they neuer rested tyl they had a commaundement from your Highnes, that no man, of what degree so euer he wer, should read the Bible in the tyme of Goddes seruice (as they call it); as though the hearyng of theyr Latin lyes, and coniuryng of water and salte, were rather the seruice of God, then the study of his most Holy Worde, the onely foode of our soules, and lyght of our fote steppes; wythout whiche no man can walke vpryghtly in perfect lyfe, worthy our name and profession.

This was theyr diligence in settinge forthe the Byble at your Hyghnesse commaundement. But when your Highnesse had diuised a proclamation for the burnyng of certen translations of the Newe Testament, they were so bold to burne the whole Bibles, because

Bible was set forth by the traitor Thomas Cromwell, and not by your Highness, except as led by him.

Your proclamation commanded that a Bible should be placed in every church throughout the realm, so that every man might read it, but many wished to put it into the choir, or into a pew where the poor man dare not come;

and they never rested till it was decreed that no man should read it during God's service, as they call it.

When your Highness gave orders for burning certain translations of the New Testament,

they burnt the whole Bible because the same men translated it.

they were of those mens translations. And yf your Hyghnesse woulde enquire of them whoe toke the paynes in translatinge the Great Byble that your Highnes hath authorised, we thynke they coulde not, for verye shame, denie, but, euen agaynste theyr wylles, graunt, that those poore men, whose paines & greate traunyle they haue rewarded with fire and banishment, were the doers ther of. See, gratiouse Prince, how they play bopipe with your Highnes commaundementes, suppressinge, in al that they dare, the thyng that youre Highnesse hath authorised; euen as it were men that loked for a faire daye, which we trust, in the Lorde

See how they play bo-peep with your Highness's commands, suppressinge, where they dare, what you have allowed.

They wished the Bible called in, and promised a new translation in seven years.

Iesu, they shall neuer see. As we herd say, they profered your Highnesse, that if it wolde please you to call in the Bible agayne (for as much as it was not faithfully translated in al partes) they wold ouer see it, and with in .vii. yeres set it forth agayne. A wiles; we think they haue red the story of a certen man, who, beyng condemned to die, profered that, if he might haue his life, he would doo his prince such a pleasure as neuer man dyd, for hee woulde, wythin the space of .xiiii. yeres, teach him an ase to daunce. Where vpon he had his lyfe graunted him, vpon condition that yf he dyd not performe his promessed enterprise, that then he shoulde neuer the lesse suffer deathe. Thys done, he was demaunded of one of his familiers, why he was so madde to take vppon him such an enterprise, so farre beyonde all reason and possibilytie? He answered, "my frend, hold the content; I haue wrought wysly, for wyth in these xiiii. yeaes, other the kynge, I, or the asse, shalbe dead; so that by thys meanes I shall escape thys reprochfull and shamfull death." So your byshopes (most victoriouse Prince) if they might haue gotten in the Bible for vii. yeres, they wolde haue trusted that by that tyme, ether, youre Highnes shoulde haue ben dead, or the Bible forgotten, or els

In this they were like the criminal who saved his life

by promising to teach an ass to dance in 14 years.

They trusted that in that time your Highness would be dead, or the Bible forgotten,

they *them* selues out of your Highnes reache, so that you should not haue had like power ouer *them* as you haue nowe. Wel, go to, we trust ere the vii. yeres be past, God shall reuaile vnto your Highnes moch more of theyr subtyll imaginations then we are worthy to know of. Moreouer, wil your Highnes se howe faythfully they dyd youre commaundement, when you appoynted two of them to ouer loke the translation of the Bible? They sayd they had done youre Highnes commaundement therin, yea, they set their names there vnto; but when they sawe the worlde som what lyke to wrynge on the other syde, they denyed it, and said they neuer medeled therewith, causyng the prynter to take out theyr names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certifie all men that thei had diligently perused it according as your Highnes had commaunded. One other poynt of theyr diligence your Highnes may note in the setting furth and vsyng of youre Hyghnes Primer both in Englysh and Latin. And in the diligent readyng vnto the people, the exhortation to prayer, which you ordeyned and commaunded to be redde alwaies before the Prosession in Englysh. We thynk no man can blameles say, that euer he heard one of them reade it twyse oner. Yea, when your Highnes was returned from youre victory done at Bullyn, they dyd what they coulde to haue called it in agayne. In so much that they caused all such parishes as they myght commaunde, to vse theyr olde Kyre Eleyson agayne. And yet to this daye, thei vse, on solemne feastes, to folow theyr olde ordinary, not withstandyng your Highnes commaundement. But when thei catch any thyng that soundeth to the contrary, it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shalbe swynged in euery pulpyt wyth, "this is the Kynges gracious wyll; and yet these heretickes wylbe styll doyng in the Scriptures. A shomaker, a cobbler, a tayler, a boy not

or themselves out of your reach.

Two were appointed to overlook the translation,

and set their names to it, to testify they had done so;

afterwards they had their names omitted, saying they had never meddled with it.

They never read the exhortation to prayer, as commanded by your Highness,

and on Feast days use the old ordinary.

When they catch anything they like, it is "swinged" in every pulpit, as the king's gracious will.

They say how
well disposed the
people used to be;

how many
hospitals were
built,
and colleges
founded;

and would add,
abbeys and
chantries were
then founded,
if they dare.

If they had their
way, building
would be the best
trade going.

We pray that
their subtleties
may always come
to light before
they prevail;

that these sturdy
beggars be rooted
out;

and that the
tenth of every
man's increase
may go to the
poor,
as it was long
before Christ,
and long before
the Law.

yet xx. yeres of age, shal not stycke to reprove that a lerned manne of xl. yeares studye shall affyrme in the declaration of Gods Word. O how godly wer the people disposed, when thei knew nothyng of the Scripture, but as thei were taught by profound clerkes and well lerned men! Then were there hospitals buylded for the poore. Then wer there coleges buylded for the maintenaunce of lernyng." Yea, if they durst they would say, "Then were abbayes & chauntries founded for the realyfe of the pore soules in the bitter payns of Purgatory. Then were our purses filled with the offerynges of the deuout people that vsed to seke the blessed images, and relickes of our Sauior Christ, & of his Blessed Mother Mary with the residue of his saints." If your Highnes would rayse vp but one abbe, chauntry, or pilgremage, you shuld easely perceiue which way thei are bent. We dout not but for these vii. yeres folowyng, masons occupation, with other belongyng to buyldyng, would be the best handy craftes within this your royalme. We praye God their subtill imaginations maye alwaies come to lyght before thei preuail to the hinderance of Gods veritie. And that it may please hym alwaies to assist your Highnes in the defendyng and setting furth of the same, to hys glory, and the soul helth of vs, your Highnes most faithful & obedient subiectes. And that you leaue not of, tyll you haue roted out al these sturdy beggers, that the pore members of Christ may haue that porsion to lyue vpon, which was from the beginnyng apointed for them. We meane the x. part of euery mans yerly increase. For though, at the commyng of Christ, and long before, these tenthes were geuen to the pristes of the lawe, yet was it not so from the beginnyng; for at the fyrste, because the world was not so replenished with people, but that euery man was a great possessioner, it was thought good to take of the best of their increase and

to offer it to the liuyng God in sacrifice, as it appereth by the storie of Abel and Cain. But whan the people grewe to so greate a numbere that euerye man coule not haue a sufficient porsion to lyue vpon, vnlesse he were able to laboure and tyll the grounde; then was it prouided that euery possessorer shoulde set the tenth of his yearely increase in the porche of hys house, that the lame, blinde, sycke, and diseased, myght be there releued. This order continued tyl the time that Moyses, by the commaundement of God, gaue a lawe to the Israelites, and appoynted that a certayne kynred amongst them, that is, the Leuites, shuld be alwayes theyr priestes, and mynisters of the Tabernacle; vnto whom he appoynted certayne partes of euery sacrifice, that they myght lyue therby. For as yet there was no tenthes to be paid, for then they were in their iorney from Egypt, which iorney continued ful xl. yeres; but after that they wer once settled in the Lande of Promesse, and gathered the fruytes of the grounde, they thought good to geue the tenthes of theyr increase to the priestes that ministred in the Tabernacle, that they myght lyue ther vpon, accordyng to the wordes of the prophet Mal. iii:—"Bring in eueri tenth into my barn, that ther may be meat in my house." But then ther was an other prouysion for the poore, Leui. xxiii. For no man myght lease, rake, or gleane his grounde after he had gathered of his croppe. Noo, they mighte not gather their grapes nor frutes twyse, but must leue the latward fruit, with the scateryg of theyr corne, for the poore to gather, that they myghte haue some relyefe therby; this order continued to the commyng of Chryst. After whose commyng, the Christian sort had all thynges commune, so that no man knewe of any increase, for as much as no man toke anye thyng for hys owne, Actes iiii. But when the numbere of Christians increased so muche that they possessed hole cyties,

At the first every man offered his sacrifice to God, as we learn by the story of Cain and Abel.

Then Moses gave a law, commanding a certain family to be priests,

who were to receive a part of every sacrifice.

When they were settled in Canaan, tenths of all increase were given to the priests, who ministered in the Tabernacle.

Other provision was made for the poor, so that they might have some share in the produce of the earth.

After Christ, the Christians had all in common.

This did not answer when they increased in number.

countreys, & kyngdomes, it was thought good that euery *man* should knowe hys owne, to the intent that such as other wyse woulde haue lyued ydly shoulde therby be prouoked to laboure, as apeareth by the rule that Saint Paul gaue to the Tesselonians, ii. Tesseloni. iii.¹, which was thys :—"Who so laboureth not, let hym not eat."

But no tenthes were paid to the ministers.

Yet was ther no tenthes payd to the ministers, for Paull wrytinge to the Corinthians, i. Corin. ix., desireth *them* to be good to such as laboure in the ministration of the Gospell, affirminge that it is but mete that suche as serue the aulter, should haue a liuyng therby; and that it were farre vndesent to musell the oxe that trauayllet all the daye in treading the corne out of the strawe, Deutro. xxv. Which thinge he neded not to haue done, yf the tenthes of ech mans encrease had as *than* ben geuen to *them*; for that myght haue sufficed *them* well ynough (onlesse they had ben as gredye as oure ministres bee, whiche be neuer satisfied²).

After this, when the Christian religion was established, and men spent their time over the Scriptures, it was thought good to provide for the poor, by reuerting to the old lawe.

Yet after thys, whan the Christian religion was thorowly stablyshed in many congregations, & many men had laboured ouer the Scriptures, they thoughte good to provide for the poore impotent creatures accordinge³ to the example of the auncient fathers of the olde lawe. And bycause they were perswaded that Christ, offering vp him selfe vpon the crosse, had ended all sacrifice, Hebre. x., so that the ministers amonge *them* neded not to bee pestered with any other thing then preaching, they agreed to adde vnto the preachers an other sort of ministers, which myght supplie the office of holy Steuen, and the other which, in the primatiue church, were appointed to distribute the goodes of the congregation, accordinge as euerye man shoulde stand in neade, Actu. vi. To these men they gaue the tenthe of theyr yerlye encrease, to the intent that they shoulde there vpon

In the apostles' time, deacons were appointed to distribute to the poor, according to their need;

and these deacons received the tithes.

¹ Orig. iiii.

² Orig. satisfieth.

³ Orig. accordigne.

minister all necessaries, as well to the preachers, as to the poore impotent members of the church.

But after that persecution began to cease, & the preachers of the worde of God liued in peace, and that the people were fully bente to learne & followe the doctrine of Christe; they dyd by the preachers, as the Israelites wolde haue doone by Christe, when he had fede so many of them wyth so lytle bread, Iohn vi. They made *them* theyr rulers, thinkynge that those men which had broughte *them* out of the darkenes of erreure, and instructed *them* in the true knowledge of God, coulde best gouerne the publike¹ weale. And woulde walke most vpryghtly in example of lyfe, compellinge the people ther by, to embrace all godlye & honest lyuinge, and to detest and abhorre the *contrari*. This was their *intent* (most gracious Prince) whan they gaue rule to the preachers of Goddes truth and verite. And in very dede the thinge proued according to their expectation, for a season.

When persecutions began to cease, and ministers lived in peace, and people began to learn,

they made their ministers rulers, thinking they would walk most uprightly.

This answered for a season.

But alas, after the true shepherdes were departed out of thys lyfe, there entred into the foulde most rauening woulfes, of whom Saint Paule gaue vs warnyng, whan he said "I know for a certenty, that immediatly after my departinge from you, there shall enter in amonge you certen in sheppes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening woulfes," Act. xx.

After these shepherds died

wolves came into the fold,

The lyke thyng dyd Sainte Peter forsee, when he premonished the elders, that they shold not behaue *themselues* toward the people, as *men* hauing dominion ouer *them*, i. Pe. v.

These hierlinges intended not to maintain & increase the spiritual treasure of the congregation, but to fyl their owne coffers with golde and vayne treasure; to bringe *them* selues aboue kinges and emperours, yea to be taken for Goddes vicars vpon earthe. And

who only intended to fill their coffers with gold, and to raise themselves aboue all kings and emperors.

¹ Orig. publike.

They promised
to keep hospitality
for the poor,

and the people
not only gave
them tenths,
but possessions
also, that they
might be more
hospitable.

Then came
traditions,
or church laws,
which were
supposed to have
as much authority
as the commands
of God.

Now they may
command us to
build churches
with high
steeple and
bells;

to believe
their masses,

and Pope's
pardons;

that they myght the soner bringe this their purpose to passe, they persuaded the people that it should be much more conuenient that they had the tenthes & patrimony of the church (as they cal it) *then* the deacons, whom the people had elected there vnto. And that it shoulde be more beseaming that the deacones were at theyr fyndinge, then that they shoulde be at the deacons findinge; for they woulde kepe hospitality for the poore, accordinge as the institution of the Apostles was that they should; whiche thyng they could not do onles they had wher withal to maintain it. By these meanes were the people sone persuaded to geue vnto *them* not onely the tenth, but certein possessions also, to thentent thei might maintayne the more liberal hospitality for the relieue of the pore. This done, all theyr study was to set them selues so hyghe in the conscience of the people, that they shoulde take all theyr traditions to be of no lesse authoritie then the commaundement of God. To do this they could find none so ready a way as to name theyr traditions the lawes of the church. For yf we beleue that Christe is the heade of the churche, and that he is God; then muste we neades graunt that the lawes of the church be Goddes lawes. O diuelish subtiltie, more then serpenticall! What subtyl fouler coule haue diuised a more subtyl trayne to bring the poore, simple byrdes into his nette? Certes, yf al the deuels in hell had ben of theyr counsel (as we thinke they were) they could not haue concluded vpon a more subtil imagination. Now haue they ynough, what neadeth *them* to seke any further? Now may they commaunde vs to buylde them goodly churches with hyghe steaples, & greate belles to ryng oure pence into theyr purses, when our frendes be dead. Nowe may they make vs beleue that theyr masses be helpful sacrifices, both for the quick and the dead. Nowe must we beleue that the Popes pardons do re-

lease vs both from payne and faute, but Christ releaseth the faute only. Now must we beleue they can make of two creatures one, that is to say, coniure water and salte that it be made a medicine both for bodye & soule; and of such force that it may be able to roote out the deuell him self with all hys aungels and ministers. Nowe must we beleue that repentaunce auayleth vs not, onles we declare all our synnes, with the circumstance therof, to one of them, and do such satisfaction as they shal appoint vs to do. Now can we not denye but that the outragious belowing of a sorte of¹ sodomiticall buls, myngled with the proud pipying of organs, is the seruice of God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng and preching of Gods Worde. Now must we beleue that God wyl not heare our praier onles we be in fauoure with some of the deade saintes which wyl be our aduocate. Now must we beleue that the making and gilting of ymages, building of abayse, churches, chauntries, gyldes, hermitages, and gyuinge of boke, bell, candelsticke, basen, yower, crwetes, pax, chalypse, corporace, vestimentes, aulter clothes, curtens, hanginges, towels, torches, tapurs, shepe, sensoures, pixese, coopes, cannebes, & runnyng on pilgrimage, is more acceptable to God *then* the vii. workes of mercy. Now must we beleue that they can not erre, though they set vp the bloude of a ducke to be honored for the verye bloude of Christe, though they made the Rood of Kente to wagge hys yies, though they were baudes & fornicators with the holy whore of Kent. We maye not thinke they ought to marye wyues, though we take *them* dayly abusinge other mens wyues. We muste not saye that they are rauenyng woulfes, but the true shepherdes of Christ; although we see *them* bothe bye & sell the congregacions of Christ; & when they haue them, loke for nought els but what yearelye rentes may

that holy water may become a medicine for body and soul;

that repentance avails nothing, unless we confess to a priest.

We must believe that church music is the seruice of God;

that He will not hear our prayers unless we are in favour with certain saints.

We must believe that the gilding of images, the building of religious houses, the giving of ornaments and vestments to the churches, is more acceptable than works of mercy;

we must have faith in the infallibility of the clergy, though they set up the winking rood of Kent.

We must think celibacy is right;

we must not say priests are woulfes, though we see them buy and sell the congregacions of Christ.

¹ Orig. af.

Your Highness
knows their
desire to feed
the flock;

how a law was
passed compelling
them to preach
four times a year.

But they pleaded
for the chaplains
of your Majesty,
and the law was
relaxed for all
such as held
office, either
under the king or
the nobles.

We are compelled
to forget we are
your subjects,

and claim to be
brothers with
you in God's
household.

Ahab when he
intended to go
against Ramoth,
consulted the four
hundred false
prophets,

and they told
him he should
prosper;

be clearlye reased therof. Youre Hyghnes knoweth ryghte well what desyre they haue to fead the flocke, for it is not yet many yeares sense youre Hyghnesse, in your hygh Courte and Parliament, was, by theyre negligence, constrayned to establishe a lawe, that, vnder payne of a forfayte, they shoulde preache in euery of theyr paryshes foure tymes in a yeare at the leste, and that none shoulde haue moe benefices then one, wher-vpon he shoulde be reasident. But here they put your Highnes in mynde of all such chapelyns as do seruice to youre Hyghnes, and to other your nobles of this your realme, besides other, certain graduates of the vniuersities. Wherevpon it was prouided, by the authorite of the sayd parliament, that euery such chaplayn myght haue many benefices, and be non residence, to lye at the vniuersitie, or els where, at his pleasure, so he wer in any of your nobles seruice. Oh gracious Prince, here are we, your natural, and most obeisant leage people, constrayned to forget (with all humble subiection we speke it) that we are of nature & by the ordinaunce of God your most bounden subiectes, and to cal to remembraunce that by our second byrth we ar your brothers and felowe seruauntes (althoughe in a much inferior ministry) in the houshold of the Lorde our God. Most humble beseking your Highnes to forget also in thys poynte that you are our Leage Lorde and Souerayne, taking our wordes as a token of the feruent desire that we (your most faithful subiects) haue of your solles saluation. Achabe kyng of Israel, whan he intended to make a viage, and to take by force the country and inhabitantes of Ramoth Giliade, he caused hys prophetes, to the nombre of CCCC. false prophetes, to be brought before him, that he might know by them whether the Lord wolde prosper his iorney or not. These false prophetes, standing in the syght of the kynge, & beinge demaunded of him.

whether he sholde make expedition against Ramoth or not, answered with one voice, "Make expedition, the Lord shal geue it into the handes of the king," iii. Reg. xxii.¹ In lyke maner (most dread Souerayne) your Hyghnes & youre most noble prodicessours, haue alwaies consulted a great nombre of false prophetes, which, as Achabes prophetes dyd, prophesied vnto you lies; wringyng & wrestyng the Scriptures to stablishe your Hyghnes in all such thynges as they perseyued you bent vnto. And if at any tyme anye true Micheas haue prophesied vnto you the trueth of Gods Worde, one Sedechias or other boxeth him on the cheke that he renneth streight into the fyre. So that hitherto they haue led your Highnes in this detestable erreure, that you thyncke it lawfull for you and your nobles, to reward those false flattering Babilon[i]call prophetes wyth that porcion which, by the ordinaunce of God, is dwe to the poore impotent creatures, the lame, blynde, lazer, & sore membres of Christe. We beseke you (most deare Soueraine) euen for the hope you haue in the redemption by Christ, that you call to remembrance that dreadfull daye, whan your Highnesse shall stande before the iudgement seat of God in no more reputation then one of those miserable creatures which do nowe daylye dy in the stretes for lack of theyr dwe porsion, wherwith you & your nobles do reward those gnatonical elbowhangers, your chaplaines. Yf theyr ministrie be so necessary to your Highnes that you can not lacke them, yet let not the vnsasiable dogges deuour the bread that was prepared for the children; let them be appoynted lyuinges worthy their ministration. What reason is it that a surueyer of bildinges or landes, an alckmist, or a goldsmith, shoulde be rewarded with benefice vpon benefice, which of very reason oughte to be committed to none other but such

so have you,
and your pre-
decessors, and
they have told
you lies;

while he who
said the truth
was burnt.

Your Highnes
thinks it lawfull
to give to these
flattering priests
that which
should belong to
the poor.

Remember the
Day of
Judgment,

when you will
stand as he who
dies in the
streets.

If your Highnes
cannot do
without these
priests,
give them livings
worthy of their
ministration.

Why should
surveyors,
alchemists, and
goldsmiths have
benefices,

¹ 1 Kings xxii. in the Authorised Version.

which ought only
to be given to
godly and learned
men?

(Story of the
chaplain, who
had so many
livings

that he didn't
know them when
he saw them.)

Your Highness
would not
commit your
swine to the
keeping of
swineherds
who did not
know the cots
when they saw
them.

as, through godly lerninge and conuersation, wer able, and would apply them selues, to walke amydes theyr flocke in al godly example and puritie of lyfe? Howe greate a numbre is there of theym that, vnder the name of your chaplynes, may dispend yerly by benefices, some one C., some CC., some CCC., some CCCC., some CCCCC. ; yea, some M. markes and more! It is a comone sayng among vs, your Hyghnes pore commons, that one of your Highnes chapplene, not many yeres synce, vsed, when he lusted to ride a brode for hys repast, to cary wyth hym a scrowle, wherin wer written the names of the parishes wherof he was parson. As it fortunod, in hys iourney he aspied a churche standynge vpon a fayre hyll, pleasauntly beset with groues and playn feldes, the goodly grene medowes liying beneth by the banckes of a christalline ryuer garnished with wyllouse, poplers, palme trees, and alders, most beautiful to behold. This vigilant pastoure, taken with the syghte of this terestial paradise, sayd vnto a seruauzt of his (the clerke of his signet no doubt it was, for he vsed to cary his masters ryng in his mouth) "Robin," sayd he, "yonder benefice standeth very pleasantly, I would it were myne." The seruauzt aunswered, "Why, syr," quoth he, "it is your owne benefice;" and named the parish. "Is it so?" quoth your chaplen. And with that he pulled out his scroule to se for certentie whether it were so or not.

Se (most dread Souerayn) what care they take for the flocke. When they se theyr parysh churches they knowe them not by the sittuation. If youre Highnes had so manye swyne in youre royalme as you haue men, would ye comyt them to the kepyng & fedying of such swynherdes as did not know theyr swynsecotes when thei sawe theym? Oh merciful God, how far wide is this our tyme from the primatiue church! Defer not (moost deare Soueraine) the reformation of this

mysse ; for the day of the Lord is at hand, and shall come vpon vs as a thefe in the nyght, ii. Peter iii. Disceiue not your selfe through the false gloses of these flattering ipocrytes. Turne them out after theyr brethren, the pyed purgatory patriarkes ; and restore to the poore members of Christ theyr due portion, which they trusted to haue receiued, when they sawe your Highnes turne out the other sturdy beggers. But alas ! thei failed of theyr expectation, and are now in more penurye then euer they were. For, although the sturdy beggers gat all the deuotion of the good charitable people from them, yet had the pore impotent creatures some relefe of theyr scrappes, where as nowe they¹ haue nothyng. Then had they hospitals, and almshouses to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and stouie in the stretes. Then was their number great, but nowe much greater. And no merueil, for ther is in sted of these sturdy beggers, crept in a sturdy sorte of extorsioners. These men cesse not to oppresse vs, your Highnes pore commons, in such sort that many thousandes of vs, which here before lyued honestly vpon our sore labour and traauyl, bryngyng vp our chyldren in the exercise of honest labore, are now constrained some to begge, some to borowe, and some to robbe & steale, to get food for vs and our poore wiues & chyldren. And that whych is most lyke to growe to inconuenience, we are constrained to suffer our chyldren to spend the flour of theyr youth in idlenes, bringyng them vp other to bear wallettes, other eles, if thei be sturdy, to stufte prisons, and gamysh galow trees. For such of vs as haue no possessions lefte to vs by oure predicessours and elders departed this lyfe, can nowe get no ferme, tennement, or cottage, at these mens handes, without we paye vnto them more then we are able to make. Yea, this was tollerable, so long as, after this extreme exaction, we wer not for the residue of our yeares oppressed with

Turn them out after their brethren, and restore to Christ's poor members their due portion.

The poor got relief from the monks,

but now they get nothing ; there are no hospitals, and the poor lie and die in the streets.

Extortioners have come in who oppress the poor commons ;

who must beg, borrow, or steal.

Our children grow up in idleness,

to stuff prisons,

or garnish the gallows.

We can get no farm, no cottage ;

¹ Orig. thye.

rents are raised
much higher than
they were.

Abbey lands are
bought of the
king,

and the buyers
compel us to
bring in our
covenants,

and take new
leases, telling us
that all our
former writings
are void,

when we ought
to hold for two
or three lives
longer.

We cannot send
our children
to school,

they must labour
to help pay
the rent,

much greater rentes then hath of ancient tyme bene
paied for the same groundes ; for than a man myght
within few yeres be able to recouer his fyne, and after-
warde lyue honestly by hys trauel. But now these
extorsioners haue so improued theyr landes that they
make of xl. s. fyne xl. pounde, and of v. nobles rent
v. pound, yea, not suffised with this oppression within
theyr owne inheritaunce, they buy at your Highnes
hand such abbay landes as you appoint to be sold.
And, when they stand ones ful seased therin, they
make vs, your pore commons, so in dout of their threat-
ynges, that we dare do none other but bring into their
courtes our copies taken of the couentes of the late dis-
solved monastaries, and confirmed by youre Hygh
Court of Parliament, thei make vs beleue that, by the
vertue of your Highnes sale, all our former writynges
are voyde and of none effect. And that if we wil not
take new leases of them, we must then furthwith avoid
the groundes, as hauyng therin none entrest. Moreouer,
when they can espy no commodious thyng to be
boughte at your Highnes hand, thei labour for, and
optayne, certayne leases for xxi. yeres, in and vpon such
abbay landes as lie commodiously for them. Then do
they dashe vs out of countenaunce with your Highnes
authorite, makyng vs beleue that, by the vertue of your
Highnes leas, our copies are voyde. So that they com-
pell vs to surrender al our former writinges wherby we
ought to holde some for ii. and some for iii. lyues, & to
take by indenture for xxi. yeres, oueryng both fynes &
rentes, beyonde all reason and conscience. This thinge
causeth that suche possessioners as here tofore were
able and vsed to maintain their owne chyl dren, and
some of ours, to lernyng and suche other qualites as are
necessarye to be had in this your Highnes royalm, are
now of necessite compelled to set theyr owne children
to labour, and al is lytle inough to pay the lordes rent,

& to take the house anew at the ende of the yeres. So that we your poore commons, which haue no groundes, nor are able to take any at these extorsioners handes, can fynd no way to set our chyldren on worke, no, though we profer them for meat & drynk & poore clothes to couer their bodies. Helpe, merciful Prynce in this extremitie; suffer not the hope of so noble a realme vtterly to perysh, through the vnsatiable desyre of the possessioners. Remember that you shal not leaue this kyngedome to a straunger, but to that child of great towardnes our most natural Prince Edward; employ your study to leaue hym a Commune Weale to gouerne, and not an iland of brute beastes, amongst whom the strongest deuour the weaker. Remembre that your office is to defende the innocent & to punysh the oppressar. God hath not suffered al your nobles to distayne their consciences with this most vngodly oppression. If your Highnes would take in hand the redresse of these great oppressions, dout ye not you could lacke no ayde, for he is faythfull that hath promysed to prosper al them that seke his glory and the welth of his pore membres in this church mylitant. Contrariwyse, if you suffre his pore membres to be thus oppressed, loke for none other then the ryghtefull iudgement of God, for your negligence in your offyce and mynistry. For the bloud of all them that, through your negligence shal perysh, shalbe required at your hand. Be merciful therefore to your selfe, & vs your most obeisant subiectes. Indanger not your solle by the sufferying of vs, your poore commons, to be brought all to the names of beggers & most miserable wrechcs. Let vs be vnto your Highnes, as the inferiour membres of the bodye to their head. Remembre that your hore heares are a token that nature maketh hast to absolue the course of your lyfe; preuente the subtile imaginations of them that galpe, and loke after the crowne of

Help us in our
extremity,
and do not suffer
the hope of the
realm to perish!

Study to leaue
your son, Prince
Edward, a
Commonwealth,
not an island of
beasts.
Remember you
are the defender of
the innocent, and
the punisher of
the oppressor.

If you will
redress our
grievances you
are sure of aid;

if not, the blood
of those who die
by your
negligence
will be required
at your hands.

Remember
your hore hairs
are a token that
your life must
soon end,
and prevent the
imaginations of

such as gape for
your death.

We pray you
may live to see
the confusion of
all such traitors,

and see your son
able to govern
the realm.

Vice is rampant
in the land.

Simony has lost
its name,
and usury is
lawful gain.
Unless these
things be
redressed,
they will bring
the wrath of God
upon us.
By our example
we are worse
than Jews or
Mahometans.

this realme after your daies. For what greater hope can thei haue as concerning that¹ detestable and deuylysh imagination, then that they might wynne the hertes of vs, your Hyghnes commons, by the deliueying vs from the captiuite and mysery that we are in? We beseke God, your Highnes maye lyue to put awaye al such occasions, and to se the confusion of all suche trayterous hertes; and that youre Grace may se that worthy Prynce Edward able to gouerne and defend this your realme, vanquishyng all his enemyse, bothe far and nere, as your Highnes, by the ayde of Almightye God, hath done hitherto. Defer not, most dread Souerayne Lorde, the reformation of these so great enormities; for the wound is euen vnto death, if it continue anye whyle lenger. A prynce welbeloued of his people is muche more ryche then he that hath houses full of gold. And yet is he much more ryche that is beloued of God. For if God bee on your part, who can preuayle agaynst your Hyghnes? By thys we meane the great and myghtie abhomination of vyce, that nowe rayneth within this your Highnesse realme this day. For hordome is more estemed then wedlocke, although not vniuersally, yet amongst a great nombre of lycensious persons. Simoni hath lost hys name, and vsery is lawfull gaynes.

These thinges, onlesse they be redressed, wyl bringe the ire of God vpon the realme. For what doth it lesse then declare vs to be cleane fallen from the doctrine of Christ, who taught vs to lende, lokinge to haue no gayne therby? What example of lyfe is in vs this daye to declare, that we rather bee the people of God then the Iewes or Maometanse? Certes (most renomed Prince) none but that we confesse hym to be God. And that were sufficient, yf our deedes dyd not denye him. Yf the rulers haue geuen the occasion of these thynges, alas for them; they had ben better to haue had mylstones hanged about theyr neckes, and haue

¹ Orig. than

ben cast into the sea. But if the people haue taken it of them selues, and be not punished of the rulers, but be permitted frelye to vse it; the blud of them that perish shalbe requered at the watchmans hand, Ezechi. xxxiii. Thus princes are punished when the people offende. But now (most deare Souerayne) your Highnes may in this matter try your prelates whether they be of God or nat; for yf they were of God, they woulde, accordinge to the wordes of the prophet, neuer sease, but openly and with a crynge voyce, declare vnto the people theyr faultes, Esai. lviii, and not be hushed wyth an acte in parliament; for that declareth them to be the setters forthe of mans tradicyons and not of Godes lawes, so that this saying of our Sauour Christ is verifed in them:—"This people honoreth me with theyr lypes, but their herte is fare from me: they teache the doctrines and commaundementes of men," Math. xv. But here they thynke to stop oure mouthes wyth the feare of youre Highnesse displeasure; they say youre Highnes lawes are Godes lawes, & that we are as moch bounde to obserue them as the lawe of God geuen by Moyses. Trueth it is (most deare Lorde), that we are bounde by the commaundement of God, to obey your Hyghnesse, & all youre lawes set forth, by your Hygh Court of Parliament, but yf they dissent from or be contrary to anye one iote of the Scripture, we muste, with Ihon & Peter, say, Actu. iiii, "Iudge you whether it be better for vs to obeye God or man." We speake not this because we think by this, that we may rebel agaynst you, our naturall Prince. But that yf youre Hyghnes would enforce vs by a law to do any thing contrary to that God hath commaunded vs, that then we ought manfully to cleaue to the truth of Godes word, boldly confessing the truth therof, fearing nothing the death of this body; and yet moost humble submittinge oure selues vnto you, redy to abyde and pacientlye to suffer what kynde of torment so euer

If the prelates
are of God,

they will tell the
people of their
faults.

They tell us we
must keep the
laws of the king
as we would keep
the laws of God.

True; but if they
dissent from
God's laws,

we must act as
John and Peter
did.

We don't say
this because we
think we may
rebel,
but if you would
enforce us to
anything
contrary to
God's law,

we must submit
to punishment.

But these dumb
dogs only fawn
upon their
masters.

Before the law
allowed 10 per
cent. they could
preach against
usury,

but now they
are silent.

A grievous
burden on the
city of London

are the extortion-
ate charges which
are made on every
man in respect
of tenths.

should be leyd vpon vs, knowing for certenty that we are happy when we suffer persecution for the truthes sake, and that he is faythfull that hath promessed to be reuenged of oure iniuries. But these dombe dogges haue lerned to faine vpon them that vse to bringe them bread, and to bee wonderful hasty when they be mantayned and cherished; but yf they be but ones byde cowche, they know their lirioppe so well that they draw the taylor betwix the legges, and gette them selues streyght to the kennell. And then come who so wyll, and do what they wyll, these dogges wyll stere no more tyll they heare their maister saye, "hye cut and longe taylor." So frayd they are of stripes, and leste they shoulde be tyde vp so short that they myght not raynge a brode and wory now and than a simple lambe or two. Before it was passed by Acte of Parliament that men myghte take x. li. by yeare for an hondreth pound lone, how vehement were they in the matter? All their sermons were lytle other then inuectiues agaynst vsery. Then they could alleage both Christ and the Psalmist to proue that Christen men ought to lende what they may spare, & to loke for no gaynes therof. But nowe they do not onely holde them selues styll as concernyng this matter, but also they endeuoure to imitat, yea, and to passe the example of the extorsyoners and vsurers. For euen the laste yeare they opteyned by their importune sute, a graunte whych, yf it be not reuoked, wyll in continuance of tyme be the greateste impouirishment of vs your poore commons (and chyfly in the cite of London) that euer chanced sence the fyrst begynnyng therof. They haue obtayned, and it is enacted, that euery man wythin the sayd cytie, shall yearly pay vnto them accordyng to the rentes they are charged wyth xvi. d. ob. of euery x. s. So that yf the lordes of the groundes do double & triple the rentes (as they do in dead) then most the pore tenants paye

also double & triple tenthes as dwe encrease of their riches : this is not vnlyke vnto that which is practised in the contry amongst vs your Highnes poore commones. For when it hath pleased God to punish vs with the rot of our shepe, so that perhappes some one of vs hath hylded C. shepe, then haue some of the persons constrayned vs to geue them x. of the felles, for they cal it increase so longe as we sell them. And therefore must they (as Godes debities) take the tenth therof. Haue compassion vpon vs (most gracijs Soueraine) ; suffer not these vnsatiabie dogges thus to eat vs out of al that we haue ; considre that it is against al reason & conscience, that we, your pore commones, should be thus oppressed ; that where the landlorde taketh of vs duple & triple rent, that then we shall pay also to the person duple or triple tenthes. But see (moost dere Souerayne) howe craftely they haue wroughte thys feate ; they requyre not the tenthes of the lande lordes that haue the increase, but of the tenauntes, whych of necessitye are constrayned to pay to the lordes theyr askynge, other elles to be without dwellinge places. They know right well that yf they shoulde haue matched them selues with the landelordes, they hapelye shoulde haue bene to weake for them at the lengthe. But they were in good hope that we (your poore commons) shoulde neuer be able to stande in theyre handes, as in verye deed we shall not onles your Hyghnes wyll vouldsafe to take our cause in hand ; for yf we haue not wherwith to pay them, they mai, by the vertue of the acte distresse suche implementes as they shal fynde in our houses. They know our conditions of olde, sence they toke theyre mortuaries. We had rather, in maner, famysh oure selues for lack of fode, and to make right harde shyft besydes, then that we woulde be troubled for anye suche thyng. And doutlesse (most renomd Prince) yf the oppression were not

It is as bad in the country.

If 100 sheep die of rot, the parsons compel us to give them 10 of the skins: they call it all increase.

Don't let us be thus oppressed, to pay double or triple tenths, on double or triple rents.

We cannot stand against the priests, unless you take our cause in hand.

We would rather starve than trouble your Highness,

and if the oppression had

not been so unreasonable, we should have borne it.

We would rather fast three days a week than seem slack in keeping the law.

People beg at Easter to pay for the Sacrament ;

they beg to bury the dead.

A naked corpse was carried to be buried in the city of London,

and sent into the street again till the poor could beg enough to pay the priest's due.

The men who profess to teach the ignorant, and to be the light of the world, act thus,

and call the laity brute beasts.

to moch beyond all reason and conscience, we woulde neuer haue troubled youre Highnes with all. Yea, yf there were any hope that they would be satisfied by this, we woulde rather fast iii. dayes euery weake, then we woulde seame to be slack in doying all such thynges as the lawe byndethe vs to. But we se daylye so great increase of theyre vnsatiabie desire, that we fear lest in processe of time they wil make vs all begge an[d] brynge to *them* all that we can gette. It is no rare thinge to se the poore impotent creatures begge at Easter to pay for the Sacrament when they receaue it. And it is no lesse *commune* to se men begge for such dead corpses as haue nothinge to paye the pristess duitie.¹ Yea it is not longe sence there was in your Highnes cytie of London a dead corps brought to the church to be buryed, beyng so poore that it was naked wythout any cloth to couer it. But these charitable men, whiche teache vs that [it] is one of the workes of mercy to bury the dead, woulde not take the paynes to bury the dead corps, onlesse they had theyr dutye, as they call it. In fyne, they caused the dead corps to be caryed into the strete agayne, and there to remayne tyll the poore people, whych dwelled in the place where the poore creature dyed, had begged so moch as the pristess call theyr dwe. O mercifull Lord, who can be able worthily to lament the miserable estate of thys tyme? When those men whiche in all thynges professe to be the light of the worlde, the teachers of the ignoraunte, & the leaders of the blynd, are so fare withoute mercy (whyche Christe preferred before sacrifice) that they wyl not do so moch as wast a lytle of theyr breathe in readinge ouer a fewe psalmes at the buryall of one of the poore membres of Christ, onlesse they haue money for theyr labour! And whan those persons whom the other, called spiritual, do compt but as brute bestes, callynge *them* temporall, shall showe more mercy, the badge of

¹ Orig. diuitie.

the Christian souldiers, towards the poore members of Christ, then they which glory to be the true prophetes of Christ, and successoures of the Apostles ! Yea, when those paynted sepulcres be so merciles that they pitie not them, whom the verye infidelles woulde pitie ! Wher is theyr so litle mercy showed as amongst them ? In so much that theyr couetouse is growne into this prouerbe, " No peny, no pater noster." For they wyl not do that thyng whych euery Christian is bounde to do for other, onles they may be waged for money ; they wedde and bury, and synge ful mery, but all for money. If your Highnes would call a compt of them, and cause them to showe the bokes of the names of them that haue ben buried & maried with in thys yeare, conferringe that numbre wyth the summe of money they take for euery such burial & mariage, you should easily perseauue howe lytle neade they haue to oppresse vs with double & triple tenthes. Iudge then (most victoryouse Prince) what an vnesonable summe the whole & grosse summe of these enhanced tenthes wyth other theyr pettyt bryburrye, draweth to. They receaue of euery hondreth li. xiii. li. xv. s., & of the thousande, one hundreth, and xxxvii. li. x. s. Then may youre Highnes soone be certyfyed what they receyue of the whole rentes of the citie. No doute (gracyouse Prynce) they receyue of vs yearely moore then your Hyghnes dyd at anye tyme when you were besette on euery syde wyth mortall enemyes. And yet theyr conscience woulde serue them wel ynough to take three tymes as moche as they do, yf your Hyghnes woulde suffer them. For they vse to saye that, for as moche as it is establyshed by a lawe, they may, wyth good conscience, take it yf it were more. Yea yf your Hyghnes woulde suffer them, theyr conscience woulde serue them to lye wyth our wiues euery tenthe nyghte, other els to haue euerye tenthe wyfe in the paryshe at theyre

Their covetousness has grown into a proverb:

"No penny, no pater noster."

The fees they receive for marriages and burials render tithes unnecessary.

Of every £100, they receive £13 15s.

They receive more than your Highness did when beset by mortal enemies ; yet they wish for more.

They would tithed our wives, if they were permitted.

Before long they will endeavour to make your Highness pay tithes;

as they compel us, not only to pay them, but the seventh penny of the rents also.

They will require your Highness to pay the tenth of the spoils of your enemies, as Melchisedec did to Abraham.

Let Paul's order take effect, and allow none to eat who will not work.

Let not Christ's lambs be given into the care of wolves,

pleasure. But our trust is that your Highness will tye them shorter, and to saye the truethe it is tyme; for yf you suffer them a whyle they will attempt to make your Highnes pay the tenthes vnto them as longe as they haue payed them to you. For they haue already soughte oute our ware houses, store houses, stables, wharffes, and barnes, causynge vs to paye, not onely the tenthe for that we neuer payd before; but also the vii. peny of the whole rentes, raised throughout the whole cytie. Who can iudge other therfore (moost drede Souerayne) but that they wold, yf thei wist how, cause your Highnes to pay vnto them not only the tenth of your yerely reuenues, but also the tenthe peny of all such spoiles as youre Highnes shall take in warres; for they carp moch vpon Abrahams geuinge of the tenth of his spoile to Melchisedech. Wherfor most merciful Prince, consider with mercy this pitiful complaint of vs your most faithful subiects, deliuering vs from the mouthes of these vnsaciabie beastes, which do daylye employ them selues to deuoure vs, our wyues and children, euen as we were fode prepared for them to deuoure. Let the order that Paule toke with the faythfull of the primatiue church, take effect in these our days, the last days of this miserable world. Let none eat that laboureth not, ii. Thessa. iii.¹ Let them also that be called to be preachers, haue the rewarde of preachers; ouerlode them not with the possessions & ryches of this world, for the cares therof do choke the worde. Let not eche rauenyng woulfe that commeth wyth a shepohoke in hys hande be receued as a shepherde. Let not the simple lambes of Christ be committed to the tuition of these so rauenyng woulfes. Let not the porcion of the poore be committed to them that distribute not, but rather gather and heape vp, coumptyng all fyshe that cometh to the net. Let the

¹ Orig. iiiii.

worthy prophetes that walke diligently in theyr vocation, be called to the gouernance of the spiritual flocke of Christ, and let them be repelled that come vncalled, we meane suche as sue to beare the name of youre Hyghnesse chaplaynes, onelye because they trust to optayne therby lordlyck liuinges out of the porsion of the poore. Take pity (mooste mercifull Prince) vpon vs youre poore, and faythful leage people; take pittie vppon youre owne soule, which shall at the laste daye be charged wyth all abuses that your Hyghnes suffereth frely to raygne. Beleue not those gnatonicall adherentes that wyll not sticke¹ to affirme and denye, so that they may trust to please you therby. Let them not perswade your Highnes that al is good that is concluded in your Hygh Court of Parliament. Remembre, O, howe they ledde your Hyghnes when you sent forthe your letters vnder your broode seale, streyghtly commaunding eury and singuler your Highnes subiectes, vnder payne of youre Highnes displeasure, to ayde, supporte, and forther all and singular prockters & pardoners. Remembre in what case they had brought iour Highnes when you thought it godlynes to viset in your owne parson the graues, images, & relickes of dead saintes, doing to them diuine honour & reuerence. Let them not perswade you that God is or can be better serued in the Latine tong then in the Englysh; consider what great folly Saynte Paull counteth it for men to pray, which is to talke wyth almighty God, in a tong they vnderstand not, i. Corin. xiiii. Yea and how moch greater folly it is to thyncke holynes in hearynge a tale told in a straunge tong. Your Hyghnes commaunded that none should receaue the Sacrament at Easter,² but such as coulde and dyd vse the Lordes prayer wyth the articles of the fayth in the Englysh tong. But they byd vs vse that which is most ready to vs.

but to worthy prophetes who will walk diligently in their vocation.

Take pity vpon us, and vpon your own soul, which will at the last be charged with all the wrongs you have permitted.

Remember how these priests led you when you commanded us to aid proctors and pardoners.

Remember when you visited images and relics of dead saintes.

Don't let the priests persuade you that God is better pleased with the service in Latin, which is a tongue the people do not understand.

¹ Orig. stickt.

² Orig. Erster.

They baptize in Latin, making us say 'Volo' and 'Credo,' when we don't know what is asked of us, and know not what we profess.

If a child receives any hurt, we blame the priest, and say that member was not well christened,

applying that which is spiritual wholly to the flesh.

The oath of obedience to your Majesty is in English, that we may know what is our duty.

Why then should not the oath which we take to God be in a language which we can understand?

We pray God to preserve your

They baptize our children in the Latine tongue, bidding vs say, 'Volo,' and 'Credo,' when we know not what it is that they demande of vs. By this meane is it broughte to passe that we know not what we professe in our baptisme, but superstitiously we think that the holynes of the wordes which sound so straungly in our eares, & of the water that is so oft crossed is the doying of all the matter. Yea we thyncke that yf our children be well plunged in the founte they shalbe healthfull in all theyr lims euer after, but yf they, by any misadventure, receyue any hurte in any of theyr membres, incontinent we ley the faute in the priest, sayinge, that member was not wel christened. Oh mercifull God, what hert can be able worthely to lament this more then Iewdaical superstition? The thing that is mere spirituall, we applye whollye to the flesh. Was there euer any vayne ydolours that woulde honour theyr goddes in a language they vnderstode not? Were the monckes, friers, and chanons, wyth other superstitious religions, professed in a straunge tongue? Is not the othe of obeysaunce that we your leage people take vnto you, ministred in the English tongue? And for what other purpose but that we may therby knowe our mooste bounden deuities toward you our naturall Prince and Leage Lorde? Is it then beseamyng that we, takyng an othe of obeysaunce to the Kynge of all kynges, the God of all the world, and Maker therof, shulde not know what is demanded of vs nor what we answer agayne? Yf we hold vs styll as concerning thys more then hell darkenesse, the very stones of your pallayce woulde make exclamation. Preuent therefore, most gracious Prince, the yre of God whiche hangeth ouer thys your royalme. Remember that his long sufferance shalbe recompensed wyth the extremitie of the punysshment. Wherefore, most worthy Prince, we humbly beseke our heauenly

Father, the Geucar of al goodnes, euen for the Lord Iesu Christes sake oure Sauyoure and Redeamer, that he preserue you alwayes, geuinge you grace to walke circumspectly in your vocation and ministry, that, at the last day, you may receaue the incorruptible crowne of glory, and reigne with our Elder Brother the fyrst begotten Sonne of God the Father Almighty; to whom wyth the Holy Goost be all honore and glory for euer and euer. All true

Englysh hertes saye,

Amen.

Psalme. xl.¹

¶ Happy is the man that pitieth the poore: for in tyme of trouble the Lord shal deliuer hym.

THus haue we (your moost obeisant subiectes) declared the feruent desire we haue not only of your prosperous succes in the affaires of this life, but also of your eternal reign with the Lord Iesu in the celestial kingdom, of whose fayth ye are, in earth, Defender, and of the faythfull congregacion, in thys lytle angle of the earth congregate, the Supreme Heade immediatly nexte vnto him, by whose mighty hand you haue hytherto vanquished, not onely the externe enemies of this moost noble royalme, but all such as haue most dyuilyshly ymagined, conspired, & attempted treason against youre Hyghnes, theyr moost naturall Leage Lord and Gouvernour. What histories should we reade to know of so many and so daungerous conspirations, so wonderfully detect & auoyded? Who myghte so sone haue wrought the most detestable purpose of treason, as she that slept in your bosom? What mighty princes haue ben betrayed by them that they haue loued aboue all creatures? And howe wonderfullye, euen at the verye poynt,² and in the time of most

Highness, giving you grace to walk circumspectly,

and bring you to heaven at last.

Thus haue we declared our wishes for your success in this life and in the next.

By God's hand you haue vanquished all the enemies

who have conspired against you.

¹ xli. in Au. Ver.

² Orig. yoynt.

That abominable
idol, the Pope, who
was so high in the
consciencs of us
all,

he is become
your footstool.
Rejoice, for the
Lord is your
right hand.

Go forth to
conquer; and
return not till
you have purged
the Lord's
vineyard.

Let not Prince
Edward be
oppressed in
his youth,

but eall to mind
your own youth,
when these evils
were too strong
for you.

There are many
who would be
glad to see the
old times come
again.

The wisdom of
God lead you into
all truth. Amen.

daunger, hath the myghtye hande of the Lorde de-lyuered you? Besydes this, that moost abominable ydoll of Rome, which sate so hygh not only in the consciencs of vs your most bounden subiectes & poore commones but also your nobles (euen from the highest to the lowest) were all hys faythfull adherentes; in so moche that som of them would not styck to sheade the best bloude of theyr bodyes in hys quarel. And yet how wonderfully hath the Lord our God, made him iour fote stole? Reioise (deare Souerayne) reioyce. The Lord is your right hande, he hath found you faythful in a lytle, & shall ordeyne you ouer moch more. Onely beware that you, puttyng your hande to the ploughe, do not loke backwarde. Go forthe manfully to conquere, and turne not agayne tyll you haue purged this vineyard of the Lorde, so that there remayne not one lytle impe besydes those that our Heauenly Father hath *planted*. Let not that noble Prince Edward be oppressed in the dayes of hys youth, with the combrouse weadyng oute of suche rotton and fruyteles trees, lest perchaunce they take deaper roote *then* that his tender youthe may be able to moue. Forget not your owne youth, when these adulterine trees were to stronge for you. Thynke not but that you shall leaue behynd you a great *nombre* that wolde be glad to se the old stompes of these fruitles trees sprynge agayne. The Lord bringe them all to confusion, geuyng your Highnes long lyfe, with assistence of hys grace, to performe that whyche you haue begonne. The wysdom of the Lorde oure God leade you into all trueth. Amen.

¶ Your moste faythfull and
obeysaunt subiectes, the Pore
Commones of the Royalme
of Englande.

Anno. M. ccccc. xlii.

A Certayne

causes gathered together,
wherin is shewed the decaye
of England, only by the great
multitude of shepe, to the vt-
ter decay of houshold keping,
mayntenaunce of men, dearth
of corne, and other notable
dyscommodityes appro-
ued by syxe olde
Prouerbes.

Prouer. 20

A Kyng that sitteth in iudge-
ment, and loketh well about
him, dryueth away all euell.

[The title of the Lambeth copy had Causes, onely, multytude, housholde
kepyng, Kynge, euyll.]

To the Kynges moste honorable Counsell,
and the Lordes of the Parlayment house.

THe fyrst Article & poynt, as we do thynke, it is¹ great pyttye (so the will of God it were) that there is not² corne ynough within this Realme of Englande, at all tymes necessary to certyfy & suffyce the Kynges subiectes for the space of one yere, two, or thre, yf there were no corne sowen in this Realme by the sayde space.

We do saye that *the* Kinges Maiestie, mercifully hearing the petition of these his graces poore subiectes, maye at al tymes remedy it, when it shall *please hys Maiestie, being for a common wealth for his graces subiectes, & to the greate encrease of this noble realme of England.

We saye, as reason doeth leade vs, *that* shepe & shepemaisters, doeth cause skantye of corne, whiche we do thynke³ it maye be well approued, by reason of six prouerbes ; for & yf all our lyuynges, and all our commodities, were diuyded in partes, by reason of *the* same syx prouerbes, we that be *the* Kynges Maiestyes poore subiectes, do lose syx of our commodities, then haue we thre losses, whiche make nyne ; by reason of the same thre losses, we, the Kynges Magestyes⁴ subiectes, do lose *the* third part of our lyuinge, then haue we the tenth part, which we cal a remedy, beseching your noble grace, to remedye when your Maiestye shall please.

It is a pity there is not corn enough in England to last 1, 2, or 3 years, if there were none sown during the same period.

The king can remedy the matter when it shall please him [* sign. A .ij.] so to do.

Sheep and shepemaisters cause scarcity of corn, as six proverbs will prove.

For if all our livings were divided into parts we lose 6 commodities, have 3 losses,

and the tenth part which is called a remedy.

¹ is it—C(ambridge copy). ² no—C.

³ thincke—Lambeth copy; and with a *c* elsewhere.

⁴ mayestyes—C.

As touchyng the fyrste prouerbe of the syx, we do thynke

Concerning the first proverb.

The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.

The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.

The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.

The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.

The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate.

[* sign. A .iij.]

The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.*

In the 1st proverb the complaint is from Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Northamptonshire.

In *the* fyrst prouerbe, *the* more shepe, the dearer is the woll. Our complaynt is for Oxford-shyre, Buckyng-ham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre; and as for all other shyres, we refer it to the playntyues¹.

We desire you to pardon our ignorance, but to consider what we advance, seeing it is done for the good of the realm.

We shal desyre you, and al other that reade and se the true ententes & meanynges of this our doinges, to pardon our ignoraunce; yet not withstandyng, we desyre you sumwhat to attender the premisses, seinge it is done, and put forth, for the commodite of *the* Kinges Magesties realme, and for the welth of his graces poore subiectes.

In these 3 counties are many landowners

In the sayde Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre, there be many men of worshyp dwellyng within the sayde thre shyres, and hath great landes to lyue vpon, the which 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 feadynge of catle, but many of them doeth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes². And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate vंबरment of shepe: & 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 dwellynge

who set no store by tillage,

nor yet by breeding and feeding cattle,

but stock their land with sheep.

[† sign. A .iiij.]

¹ playntyues—C. ² L(ambeth copy) repeats *des* by mistake.

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. And by this meanes *the* fyrst prouerbe to be true : The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.

Rather than sell wool at a low price they keep it to make it dear.

So the 1st proverb is true.

In the seconde prouerbe, as we do thynke : The more shepe, the dearer is *the* motton.

The 2nd proverb : The more sheep, the dearer the mutton.

As by reason, the most substaunce of our feadynge was wont to be on beffe, and now it is on motton. And so many mouthes goith to motton, whiche causeth motton to be deare.

We used to feed beef, now it is mutton, and so many eat it that it is dear.

In the third prouerbe, as we do thinke : The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.

The 3rd proverb : The more sheep, the dearer the beef.

As by reason that breeding and fedyng, is not set by as it hath bene in tymes past ; and where as shepe is kepte vpon the pasture groundes where breadyng & feding of beffes was wont to be kept¹, And now there is nothyng kept there but motton.

Beef used to be fed,

now there is nothing but mutton.

The fourth prouerbe : The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.

The 4th proverb : The more sheep, the dearer the corn.

By reason tyllage is *not vsed, occupyed, and mainteyned as it hath bene before tyme, but shepe kept vpon the grounde, where tyllage was wont to be kept and mainteyned.

[* A 5] Tillage is not now used, but sheep are kept on the ground.

The .v. prouerbe : The more shepe, the skanter is the weyte meate.

The 5th proverb : The more sheep, the scanter the white meat.

By reason tyllage is² not vsed, occupyed, and maynteyned, nother mayntenaunce of houses and hospitalytye, where as catle was wont to be fede and brede ; by reason of keypyng of catle, shulde increase whyt meate ; and now there is nothyng kept there but only shepe.

Where cattle were fed, white meat was increased.

The syxte prouerbe : The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

The 6th proverb : The more sheep, the fewer egges for a penny.

¹ The Cambridge copy repeats ' & where as shepe is kept vpon the pasture groundes, where bredyng and fedyng was wont to be kept.'

² it—L.

Poultry was bred by cottagers : now there is nothing but sheep.

By reason cottages go downe in the contre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothyng kept there but shepe, which cause the egges to be solde for fower a penny.

Thus the six proverbs are true.

Thus be the syx prouerbes true, as we do thynke, desyrynge you to geue hearynge vnto them, and that it may be wel amended, for the common welthe of the Kynges poore subiectes.

Three losses which make nine. 1. Fewer plows by forty in Oxfordshire.

Then haue we thre losses, that maketh nyne.

Each plow kept six persons.

The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupied and mainteyned within Oxforthshyre as was in Kyng Henry the Seuenth tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl. plowes, euery plough was able to kepe vi. persons, downe lying and vprisynge in hys house, the whiche draweth to twelf score persons in Oxfordshyre.

Now there is nothing but sheep.

And where *that* the sayde twelf score persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God & to our Kyng, now there is nothyng kept there, but only shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had nede to haue liuing:—whether shal they go? into Northhamptonshyre? and there is also the lyinge of twelef score persons loste: whether shall then they goo? foorth from shyre to shyre, and to be scathered thus abrode, within *the* Kynges maiestyes Realme, where it shall please Almighty God; and for lacke of maisters, by compulsion dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

These 240 persons must live—where shall they go?

Some of these are driven to beg, some to steal.

2. Besides keeping 6 persons, every plow gives 30 quarters of grain a year to sell, and 40 plows, each yielding 30 quarters, make 1200 quarters in each county.

The seconde losse, as we do thinke: That there is neuer a plough of the .xl. plowes, but he is able to tyll and plowe to certifiye syx persons, and euery ploughe to sell .xxx. quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yll paye, syx, seuen, eyght poundt by the yeare. xl plowes, .xxx. quarters euery ploughe, draweth to two¹

¹ This "two hundredth" must mean twelve hundred: $40 \times 30 = 1200$.

hundreth quarters in Buckingham shyre, two hundreth quarters in Oxfordshyre, & two .cc. quarters in Northampton shyre, & so forth from shyre to shyre in certayne shyres within *the* Kinges Maiesties Realme of Englande.

what shall the twelf two hundreth quarters of corne do in Oxforthshyre? we do thynke it wyll mainteyne the Kynges markettes, and sustayne the Kynges subiectes; and lykewyse in Buckyngham shyre, & also in Northampton shyre and so from shyre to shyre, in certayne shyres wythin the Kynges Magesties Realme. Furthermore it is to be consydered what thys twelf hundreth quarters of corne is able to do within Oxfordshyre, it is able to certifye & suffyce xv. score people by the yeare, bread and drynke, & allowe to euery person ij. quarters of weate, and two quarters of malt, by the yere; where as in the fyrst the hole lyuing of twelf score persons, meate, & drynke, and rayment, vprysyng & downe lyinge, payinge skot and lot to our God, and to our Kyng. And the seconde losse, bread and drynke for .xv. score persons by the yeare, whiche the hole nombre draweth to .v. hundreth and .xl. persons in Oxforth shyre; and¹ so in Buckyngham shyre, & so lykewyse in Northampton shyre, and so forth from shyre to shyre wythin the Kynges Maiesties Realme.

And yf it be as we do thiuk, *that* there be .iiij. score plowes in euery one of these shires les then there was, then is there *the* lyuyng lost of a thousand & iiij. score persons in euerye one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse, as we do thynke, and call for remedy for it.

The thirde losse, as we do thinke: We do lose in the sayd thre shyres keypyng of houshold and hospitalite, & maintayning of tyllage and houshold keypyng; we do lacke corne, and also lese our cattell; for where any housholde is kept, there is kept kyne

These 1200
quarters of corn

would keep 300
persons a year.

The whole second
loss in Oxfordshire
draws near 540
persons.

It is thought
there are 80
plowes lost in each
shire.

3. The third loss
is in households,
hospitality, and
tillage.

Every house kept
kyne,

¹ C omits 'and'.

and calues; and of oure kine there commeth mylke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties subiectes; and for thys we haue nothyng but shepe.

hogs, poultry,
and other
commodities,

for which we
have only sheep.

The 10th point,
the Remedy.

A hundred times
as many plows
should be kept,
and as many
[* sign. B]
households as in
Henry VII's
time,
then there would
be enough.

Two more losses.

1. In Households,
Tillage, and
Shooters.

Shepherds are
but ill archers.

2. The king loses
in provisions for
his household,

to the amount of
5000 marks a
year.

And furthermore, where houtholdes be kept, there is hogges, pygges, and bakon, capons, hennes, duckes, egges, frute, and many other *commodityes*, that is necessary & nedefull to be had for *the* maintenaunce and lyuinge of the Kynges Maiesties poore subiectes to lyue by; and for that we haue nothyng but shepe. This is the thyrd losse.

The .x. is, which we do cal for remedy, and we desyre of God and the Kynges Maiestye, yf it shal please his Highnes to be so good & gracyous vnto his poore subiectes, that there might be in euery shyre & hundred, as many plowes vsed, occupied, and maynteyned, *as many houtholds kept, as was by king Henry the Seuenth tyme, fyrst commynge. And then vnfayned, as we do thynke, we sholde haue corne ynough, cattell ynough, and shepe ynough; then wil shepe and woll be in more mens handes; we shall haue also white meate ynough, and all thynges necessary. And thus Iesu preserue oure dreade soueraigne Lorde and Kyng!

As we do thynke, we haue two losses more that we haue not spoken: The firste losse is for lacke of houthold keypyng & mayntenaunce of tyllage. It is great decay to artyllary: for *that* do we reken that shepherdes be but yll artchers. And as we do further thinke, it leseth the kings Maiesty in prouision for his noble houtholdes, that is to saye, in wheat, malt, benes, mottions, veles, hay and otes, and pultry, & all maner suche prouisions *that* belongeth to hys Maiestyes houtholde, as we do thynke, v. thousande markes by the yeare with *the* left. In a trial as we do thynke, yf it shuld please the Kynges Maiesties offycers to call in hys graces purueyers, & examyne them where they

haue had within their tyme for his graces prouisions of his warres, & for his Maiestyes housholde, where as there is nowe nothyng to be gotten : for they that kepe the sayde landes, hath put the foresayde landes to pastures, *themself byeth all maner of grayne & corne to kepe theyr housholde with all.

Those who keep the lands, and have put them to pasture, [* sign. B. ij.] buy grain to keep their household.

Furthermore, yf it shall please the Kinges Highnes, and hys noble counsell, for to haue a further tryall of thys matter, and to assure it to be true, take al craftes men dwelling in cyties & townes, daye laborers that laboreth by water or by lande, cottygers & other housholders, refusyng none, but only them *that* hath al this aboundaunce, that is to saye, shepe or wollmasters, and inclosers, the lamentacions of the Kinges Maiestyes subiectes will make any true herted body to seke & call for remedy, whiche we beseche *the* Lorde to amende. Amen.

Take all craftsmen, and all labourers,

and their lamentation will make a true man call for remedy.

Furthermore, as we do thinke, this Realme doeth decaye by thys meanes : It is to vnderstande and knowen, *that* there is in England, townes and villages to the number of fifty thousand & vpward, & for euery towne and vyllage,—take them one with an other throughout all,—there is one plowe decayed sens the fyrste yeare of the raigne of kynge Henry the Seueuth. And in som townes and vyllages all the hole towne decayed sens that time ; and yf there be for euery towne and village one plough decayed, sens the first yeare of the raygne of kyng Henry the Seuenth, then is there decayed .l. thousande plowes and vpwarde.

In each of 50,000 towns, one plow is decayed since the 1 Hen. VII,

The *whiche .l. thousande plowes, euerye ploughe were able to mainteine .vi. persons : That is to saye, the man, the wyfe, and fower other in his house, lesse and more. .l. thousande plowes, six persons to euery plough, draweth to the number of thre hundred thousand persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, and rayment, vprysing and down linge, paying skot and

[* sign. B. iij.] which 50,000 plows represent a loss of 300,000 persons,

who paid scot and

lot to God and
the king.

Some are driven
to beg, some to
steal, and are
hanged.
Thus the realm
decays.

We pray you,
King and Council,
remedy these
evils!

lot to God, & to the Kyng. And now they haue
nothyng, but goeth about in England from dore to
dore, and axe theyr almose for Goddes sake. And be-
cause they will not begge, some of them doeth steale,
and then they be hanged, and thus the Realme doeth
decay, and by none other wayes els, as we do thynke.
Besechynge your Hyghnes (of your moste noble grace)
and honourable lordshyppes, the premisses tenderly
considered before you in examinacion vpon *the* premisses,
that we may haue a remedy in this behalf. And we
shall dayely praye for the *consernacion* of your Highnes,
and for your ful noble lordshyppes.

Finis.

¶ Imprinted at London in
Pouls church yearde
at the sygne of Saynct
Austen by Heugh Syn-
gelton¹.

¹ Dibdin's *Ames* gives dates for Singleton from 1553 (or 1550 according to Herbert's notes), and says that Singleton died in 1592-3. The date of the present tract cannot therefore be earlier than 1550, or later than 1553, when Edward VI, to whose Council it is evidently address, died.—F.

N O T E S.

p. 36. *Six Articles*.—These celebrated Articles are found in the “Bloody Statute,” 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. They run:—1. That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ’s mighty word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the Substance of Christ God and Man.

2. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem* by the law of God to all persons: and that it is to be believed and not doubted of, but that in the flesh under the form of bread is the very blood, and with the blood under the form of wine is the very flesh as well apart as though they were both together.

3. That priests, after the order of priesthood received as afore, may not marry by the law of God.

4. That vows of chastity or widowhead by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

5. That it is meet and necessary that private Masses be continued and admitted in the King’s English Church and congregation, as whereby good Christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolation and benefit; and it is agreeable also to God’s law.

6. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.—*Statutes at Large*, ii. 149, ed. 1811. Commissions were issued to the Archbishops, Bishops, &c., to execute the Act, and to them powers were given to take and burn books containing matters contrary to it. The Act was to be read quarterly in all churches.

p. 62. *Outbreak in 1536-7*.—On the 2nd of October, 1536, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their visitation at Louth,

they found a great body of peasantry in arms, clamouring for their holidays; and proclaiming that they were gathered together for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed. So far from Henry having finished his "godly purpose without bloodshede" of his "poore commones" (p. 63) he "wrote to Norfolk on the 22nd February, to 'cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practise any like matter.' A priest and a butcher at Windsor were hanged for expressing sympathy with the Northern rebels."—*Knight's Crown Hist. of Eng.*, p. 198, 200.

p. 64—68. *The Bible*.—It was in 1536 that the Vicar-general's injunctions directed every parish priest to place a copy of the whole Bible in his church. These copies were all based upon Tyndal's translation. The bishops, although they had undertaken to supply a version which should suit Catholic orthodoxy, left their work untouched. In 1539 Taverner's Bible appeared. This contained a summary of things in Holy Scripture. "The priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs." This led to the sale of unauthorized editions being forbidden, and after some discussion "a temporary limitation was imposed, perhaps wisely, upon its indiscriminate use." "It was wrangled over in ale-houses and tap-rooms. It was disfigured 'in rhymes, printed ballads, plays, songs, and other fantasies.' Scandalous brawls and controversies disgraced the churches where it was placed for the people to read."—*Froude*, iv. 288—291. In the 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, the Bible was forbidden to be read in English in any church. Women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen; husbandmen, and labourers, might read the New Testament in English. Nothing was to be taught or maintained contrary to the King's Instructions.—*Stat. at Large*, ii. 201.

p. 67. *Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex*.—It was "with the private connivance of Cromwell" that "other editions" of the Bible than those authorized were put in circulation (*Froude*, iv. 289), and this was not forgotten when he stood attainted of treason. Not only was he accused of having "been the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign," but it was alleged that "he being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, [the Bible probably being one,] particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament." On the day of his beheading, 28th July, 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard.¹ Six years later one of the very party, to serve which he had risked (and lost) so much, was found to brand him as "a traytoure!"

p. 69. *Boulogne*.—On the 18th of September, 1544, Henry made his solemn entry into Boulogne.—*Knight*, p. 211. See also *Froude*, iv. 352.

¹ *Knight's Crown Hist. of Eng.*, p. 206.

p. 75. *The Holy Maid of Kent*. Elizabeth Barton.—“About the time of Easter, in the seventeenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the Eight, it happed a certaine maiden . . . servant to one Thomas Kob . . . to bee touched with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascende at divers times up into her throte, and swelled greatly” (*Lambarde’s Perambulation*, p. 170, rep.). Her history is well known. “In the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceived people were well satisfied, these daungerous deceivers were worthely executed, and the Devill their Master was quite and cleane confounded.”—*Ib.* p. 175.

p. 75. *The Rood of Kent* was at Boxley. It is thus described by Lambarde (p. 205):—“It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the warres betweene us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliveraunce) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprize, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting together fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Rood of such exquisite arte and excellencie, that it not onely matched in comelynesse and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sorte; but in straunge motion, variety of gesture, and nimblenes of ioints, passed al other that before had been seene: the same being able to bow down and lift up it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: byting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amyable, and smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased.”

p. 91. *Queen Catherine Howard*.—In 1541, Henry solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in the society of this his Fifth Queen. On the 12th of February, 1542, she and lady Rochford were executed.

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GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE. B. = Bailey's Dictionary; P. = Kersey's Phillips; Bp Bale = The Select Works of Bp Bale, Parker Society; P.P. = Promptorium Parvulorum; H. = Halliwell's Arch. Dict.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. Dr Rock and the Rev. W. W. Skeat for their valuable assistance in the explanation of certain words in this Glossary.

- ADDYCTE, 47, to give over to.
 Aduaylable, 8, available.
 Adulterine, 92, adulterate, counterfeit, corrupt.
 Alckmist, 77, alchemist.
 Amners, 34, almoners.
 Artchers, 100, archers.
 Artillary, 100, artillery, the art of shooting with bows and arrows.
 Assityng, 2, to ascite, to call, to summon.
 Attender, 96, to attend to.
 Auncientie, 9, antiquity. *Antiquitie: auncientie. Cooperi The-saurus, in v. antiquitas.*
 A wiles, 68. ?In the mean time.
 Axe, 101, ask.
 Bedemen, 13. "Bedes men, alms-men, who pray'd for their founders and benefactors." *P. Bede (A.S.), a prayer. "Your bed-man, & seruant to þe vitermost off my poor power, Andrew Boorde."* *Furnivall's Andrew Boorde's Dyetary, p. 62. "And the bedeman shall pray for the soul of the dead."* *Toulmin Smith's English Gilds, p. 230.*
 Bloodsupper, 5, a murderer, a bloodsucker. "Poor creatures that should be killed by these un-saciate *blood-soupers* for his truth's sake." *Bp Bale, p. 324.*
 Bopipe, 68, bo-peep.
 "Some of the byshoppes at your injunctyons slepe,
 Some laugh and go hye, and some can play *boo pipe*."
Bale's Kynge Johan, p. 97.
 Brenninge, 41, burning.
 Bruit, 64, brute.
 Bryres, 56, briers.
 Buggery, 63, "the coupling of one man with another, or of man or woman with a brute beast." *P.*
 Bumme court, 48, a court which took cognizance of certain vices.
 By, set by, 97, thought much of.
 Cancebes, 75, canopies. "*Can-nabie, canabie, a corruption of canopy.*" *Jamieson: who adds that it is used in Inventories. "Canopeum, reticulum subtile factum de canabo. The Canope alluded to in the Promptorium was very probably the Umbraculum under which the Sacred Host was carried in the*

- procession on Palm Sunday. Canapy to be borne over the sacrament." *P. P.*, note 3, p. 60. Lat. *cannabis*, hemp. "Going processions with *canopy*, cross, and *pix*." *Bp Bale*, p. 524.
- Carp, 88, talk, or speak.
- Catyuite, 23, captivity.
- Chaplaynes, 42. "Rydyngge Chaplaynes" ?
- Church ales, 41; a church ale was a feast in commemoration of the dedication of a church.
- Cocke of haye, 65, "a conical heap of hay." *H*.
- Coelginers, 66. Bailey has "coeliginous," but whether the "Coelginers" were a "heaven-born" sect or what they were I don't know. Cp. "Then was there an infinite table of sententioners and summists, of *colliginers* and canonists." *Bp Bale*, p. 350. Canon Rock suggests that the writer meant Culdees. "The Culdees were a sect of religious monks, remarkable for their religious exercises of preaching and praying." *B*.
- Cohybyted, 25, hindered.
- Commessacyon, 53, commessation, revelling.
- Coopes, 75, Copes. "Cope, a sacred vestment which is directed by the Canons of the Reformed Church to be worn at the celebration of the communion in cathedral and collegiate church." *P. P.*, note 2, p. 91.
- Corporace, 75, "Corporasse, or corporalle. *Corporale*." *P. P.* "The term corporas, *corporalis palla*, denotes a consecrated linen cloth folded and placed upon the altar in the service of the mass, beneath the sacred elements." *Ib.* note 3, p. 93. The corporal "is the name given to the linen cloth which is spread over the body (*corpus*), or consecrated bread, in the communion." *Hook's Church Dict.*, 9th ed. So that the corporas or corporal is placed *beneath* the Elements by the Roman Catholic, *over* them by the Protestant.
- Coentes, 80, convents.
- Counfortable, 28, comfortable.
- Counforte, 28, comfort.
- Covent, 27, convent.
- Cream, 41, *Chrism*. Oil consecrated in the Romish and Greek churches by the bishop, and used in baptism, confirmation, orders, and extreme unction. "At the last crept in the worshipping of relics and shrines, with holy oil and *cream*." *Bp Bale*, p. 320.
- Crwetes, 75, cruets. "Crewet or crevet, a little vial, or narrow-mouth'd glass." *P*. "Copes, crosses, *cruets*." *Bp Bale*, p. 259.
- Cukkoldrie, 6, the act of adultery.
- Cure, 29, care.
- Dashed, 8, condemned, confounded. "The gentlemen were *dashed* by his earnestness." *Ginæ's Baby*, p. 175.
- Debities, 85, deputies. "These spiritual tyrants shall examine you . . . and so deliver you up unto kings and *debities*." *Bp Bale*, p. 6.
- Demaner, 61, demeanour.
- Demurante, 32, grave in behaviour.
- Deplorate, 46, deplorable.
- Dimitted, vii, dismissed, sent away.
- Distayne, 81, to stain.
- Dwe, 77, due.
- Dome, 53, dumb.
- Drafsacke, 15, a sack full of draf, a place of extreme wickedness. "Proving their traditions to be most vile *draf*, and most stinking dregs of sin." *Bp Bale*, p. 285.

- Effectuously, x, effectually, completely. "That Essay . . . with all other prophets, warneth aforehand to follow concerning Christ and his church, this mystery declareth *effectuously* fulfilled." *Bp Bale*, p. 253.
- Elbowhangers, 77, hangers-on, parasites.
- Enmious, ix, inimical, hostile. "Enmy. *Inimicus, hostis, hostilitas.*" *P. P.*
- Enmying, ix. *See above.*
- Enprysonmente, 36, imprisonment.
- Enterdite, 5, interdict.
- Entermedlyng, xi, intermixing.
- Eretik, 9, heretic.
- Estatute, 30, statute.
- Exquysytely, 22, exquisitely, accurately, with great exactness; minutely. "Exquisite, curious, choice; also exact, or carry'd on to the utmost height." *P.*
- Externe, 91, external.
- Felles, 85, fells, skins, or hides.
- Fiftenes, 3, fifteenths.
- Frayd, 84, afraid.
- Fumish, viii, angry, fractious.
- Fumishly, ix, angrily.
- Galpe, 81, gape, gape after, to look forward to.
- Gnatonical, 77, 89, gnat-like.
- Goulafres, 10. *See note*, p. 10.
- Gyldes, 75. "Gild, guild, or geld, A company of men united together, with laws and orders made among themselves." *P.* In the text it means the house in which a religious fraternity or gild lived.
- Habilite, 65, ability, power, or authority.
- Habitacle, 24, a dwelling or habitation. "And he shall finally sup with me and with him in the eternal *habitacle* of God . ." *Bp Bale*, p. 296.
- Holle, 50, whole.
- Hyed, 50, hide.
- Hylded, 85, skinned. *Hild*, to skin. *H.*
- Illected, 6, enticed. "Illectus. Pleasantly prouoked, intised, tolled, allured." *Cooperi Thesaurus.*
- Impe, 92, a shoot of a tree, a cutting, a bud. "He shall be called . . . a lamb of Christ's fold, a sheep of his pasture, a branch of his vine, a member of his church, an *imp* of his kingdom." *Bp Bale*, p. 292. The same writer uses it in a bad sense: "O very *imps* of hell, and limbs of the devil!" p. 441.
- Importune, 84, importunate.
- Iorney, 71, journey.
- Iote, 83, jot. "One *iote*, or one title of the law shal not seape." *S. Mat. v. 18, Genevan New Test.* 1557.
- Iour, 92, your.
- Ioywell, 39, jewel.
- Kyre Eleyson, 69. Kyrie Eleison, the Greek of "Lord, have mercy" upon us.
- Latward, 71. "Lateward, that is of the latter season." *P.*
- Lazer, 77, leprous, afflicted with leprosy.
- Leas, 80, lease.
- Liripope, 84. The following is Mr Halliwell's note on this word: "*Liripoops*. An appendage to the ancient hood, consisting of long tails or tippets, passing round the neck, and hanging down before,

- reaching to the feet, and often jagged. The term is often jocularly used by writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. 'A lirripoop *vel* lerripoop, a silly empty creature, an old dotard.' *Milles, MS. Devon Gloss.* A priest was formerly jocularly termed a *lerry-cum-poop*. It seems to mean a trick or stratagem, in the *London Prodigal*, p. 111. 'And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy *lyrripups* after another fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and billing with me, that am thy governour.' *Stanhurst*, p. 35.
- Theres a girle that knowes her *lerripoope*.
Lillie's Mother Bombie, 1594."
- "I believe the scarf grew out of the fur tippet or almuce, or amess, not the *liripipe* of the hood." *Church Times*, 16 Dec., 1870, p. 536, col. 4.
- Lobies, 14, looby, a silly awkward fellow. *H.*
- Loutes, 15, clownish unmannerly fellows.
- Lubbers, 15. "Abbey loutes or lubbers." Drudges, lazy drones. "Idul *abbey-lubbarys*, wych are apte to no thyng but . . . only to ete and drynke." *England in Henry VIII's Time*, p. 131, ed. J. M. Cowper.
- Lubricite, 7, lubricity, incontinency. See *Lubricus*, Cooperi The-saurus.
- Lyuelycke, 66, lively, living.
- Maiheme, 8. "Maihem or Mahim, (F.) main, wound, hurt." *P.*
- Morowe mas, 42. Morrow Mass. I am indebted to Canon Rock for the following:—"Time out of mind and while the Anglo-Saxons ruled, there used to be in every monastery, cathedral, and large church, in this land, two altars in every chancel: one, the high or large altar; the other, a smaller altar, not always but usually at the back of this larger altar. Every morning at dawn, and at the end of matins, a mass was sung or said at the smaller altar, and the monk or priest who celebrated it was termed the morrow-mass priest; and the altar itself was named the morrow Mass Altar." "The morrow masse awter" of Faversham had, in the 4th Henry VIII. "Imprimis. A chisebyll of grene damaske with lyones of golde with apparel for the preest. It. A masse boke preynted. It. 2 cruets of pewter. It. 2 kandylstycks and a small of laton standing upon brods herse." *Jacob's Faversham*, p. 164.
- And *Thomas Sterkey* of Faversham gave, in 1525, "to the *morrow masse* aultar every weeke a penny after my decese the space of one whole yere." *Lewis's Fun. Mon. in the Church of Faversham*, p. 37.
- Mortwaries, 85, mortuaries. "Mortuary, in the English ecclesiastical law, is a gift left by a man at his death to his parish church, in recompence of personal tithes omitted to be paid in his lifetime. By 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6, mortuaries were commuted into money payments." *Hook's Ch. Dict.*
- Mought, 5, might.
- Muncke pencyons, 42, ? Monk pensioners.
- Murmuracyon, 26, murmur, or murmuring.
- Mysse, 78, a wrong, that which is aniss.
- Nasturcium, ix, the herb nose-smart.
- Noble, 80, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. "And in thys yere (1527) began the golde to ryse, as the angell *nobyll* at vijs. and in November after it was made vijs. vjd." *Grey Friars' Chron.*, p. 33. The angel also was of the value of 6s. 8d.

But when "a phisician called Doc-tour Nicholas," received "xx Angellis, vij li. x. s." the angel was worth 7s. 6d. *Furnivall's Andrew Boorde*, p. 49, note 1.

Obeisant, 81, obedient.

Obeysaunce, 90, obedience.

Other, 46, either.

Outwarde, 33, outer, St Matt. viii. 12. Comp. "Thou shalt be thrown forth into *exterior* darkness, where shall be weeping." *Bp Bale*, p. 294.

Palme trees, 78. The Sallow, *salix caprea*, is commonly known in the Midland counties as the Palm.

"For look here, what I found on a *palm*-tree."

As You Like It, iii. 2.

"Ye leaning *palms*, that seem to look

Pleased o'er your image in the brook."

Clare's Rural Life, p. 62.

Pax, 75. A small tablet of silver, or some fit material, often very elaborately ornamented, by means of which the kiss of peace was, in the mediæval Church, circulated through the congregation. "Crucifixes . . . borne aloft in their gaddings abroad, with the religious occupings of their *paxes*, cruets, and jewels which be of silver." *Bp Bale*, p. 526.

Pewling, viii, ix, x. "To pule, to piep or cry as chickens and young birds do. To whine, to cry, to whimper." *B*.

"To speak *puling*, like a beggar at Hallowmas."

Two Gent. Ver. ii. 1.

"A wretched *puling* fool, A whining mammet."

Rom. & Jul. iii. 5.

Persequotion, 73, persecution.

Personages, 34, parsonages. "So

is there in *personages*, some sent from Christ as shepherds to fede, and some from the deuyll as theues to deuoure." *Lever's Sermons*, p. 66, Arber's reprint.

Pettyt, 87, petty, little, small, paltry.

Pixes, 75. Pyx, the vessel or box in which the Host is kept. Irreverently called "god-boxes" by *Bp Bale*, p. 527.

Pours, 63, powers, authorities.

Prescripte, 41, prescribed, appointed. "The dwellers of the earth . . . practised worshippings besides the *prescripte* rules of God's word." *Bp Bale*, p. 495.

Prist, 90, priest.

Prodicessours, 77, predecessors.

Prophanate, xi, to profane.

Prosession, 69, ? procession.

Prystishe, 45, priestish.

Pue, 67, pew.

Pyed, 79, black and white, parti-coloured. "These [freres of the Pye] would appear to be not very different from the Carmelites; they were called *Pied Friars* from their dress being a mixture of black and white, like a magpie." *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, ed. Skeat, p. 35. "The *Pied Friars* had but one house, viz. at Norwich. We find the expression 'Fratrum, quos *Freres Pye* veteres appellabant' in Thom. Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 182; ed. H. T. Riley. See also Notes and Queries, 4 S. ii. 496." *Additional Note to the same*.

Pynfolde, viii, a place of confinement.

Quest, 9, inquest, a jury of citizens.

Realyfe, 70, relief.

Renomed, 82, renowned.

- Reuaile, 69, reveal.
- Royalme, 78, realm.
- Salve, 28, to apply salve to, to heal.
- Scala celi, 41, Scala Cœli, the name given to "a vision of St Bernard's, who, while celebrating a funeral mass, saw the souls for whom he was praying going up to heaven by a ladder." Sometimes the term "is used merely as one of mystical figurative names of the Madonna." *Political and Rel. Poems*, xxvii.
- Scase, 29, scarce. See *England in Hen. VIII's Time*, scaseness, p. 223.
- Seased, 80 (Law term), seized of, possessed of.
- Sence, 41, cense, to perfume with incense.
- Sensoures, 75, censers.
- Serpentical, 74, serpent-like, devilish.
- Shaelings, 41. A term of contempt for a priest. "This Babylonish whore, or disguised synagogue of *shorelings*, sitteth upon many waters or peoples." *Bp Bale*, p. 494. *Shavelings* of prodigious beastliness in lecherous living under the colour of chastity. *Ib.* p. 497.
- Shepe, 75, ? ship. "SCHYPPE, vesselle to put yn rychel (incense)" *P. P.* "Acerra, a *schyp* for ceusse," *Nominale MS.* xv. Cent. quoted by Halliwell. "He gave a senser, and a *shyp* of clene syluer, *argento puro*." *Horman, P. P.* p. 80, note 6. Sir T. More uses the word, but the reference I have not at hand. Canon Rock tells me he thinks *sheep* is meant. He says, "It was usual in those times for people having nothing better to bestow in charity, to give certain animals to the church that therewith some money might arise, to be expended for charitable purposes: cows, for instance, that their milk, butter, and cheese might produce sums for charity; and sheep for the wool they produced, to be sold for the like purpose. The ship for incense is not a thimble, but an oblong shallow kind of box for holding incense. This appliance is now called 'an incense boat,' and in Latin is known as the *navicula*, because shaped in the form of one, but without any mast."
- Skanter, 96, scarcer.
- Skantite, 95, scarceness.
- Skot and lot, 98, "a customary contribution laid upon all subjects according to their ability." *B.* "Every freeholder is bound to be a partaker in *lot*, which is liability to hold office, and in *scot*, which means contribution to taxes and other charges." *Riley's Mem. of London*, p. 601, quoted in *Smith's English Gilds*, p. 474.
- Sloughtfully, 3, ? cruelly, murderously.
- Sparcled, vi, enlightened, illuminated.
- Stear, 24, 63, stir.
- Steruelynges, 64, starvelings; lean, hungry-looking persons.
- Strawne, x, strewn, scattered.
- Sumner, 17, summoner. See note, p. 17.
- Swynescotes, 78, pig-sties.
- Swynged, 69, repeated frequently and loudly.
- Tapurs, 75, tapers.
- Thouchyng, 96, touching.
- Towardnes, 81. "Child of great towardnes," child of great promise.
- Trentalles, 41, Trental, a service of thirty masses for the dead, usually celebrated on as many different days. "On þe morwe to seie

- a *trent* of masses." *Smith's English Gilds*, p. 8. "Pour out your *trental* masses, spew out your commendations." *Bp Bale*, p. 330. See *St Gregory's Trental*, Pol. Rel. and Love Poems.
- Vmbermente, 96, number. Vmber, number. *H*.
- Vnaxed, 8, unasked.
- Vndoutely, 65, undoubtedly.
- Voult safe, 85, vouchsafe. Another form of the word is *withsave*. "For unto them only are his heavenly verities known, to whom he *withsaveth* to open them." *Bp Bale*, p. 473.
- Vre, 51, ure, use.
- Vtylite, 3, utility.
- Wayne, 23, vain.
- Warmoll, 9. See note, p. 9. Mr Skeat says: "*Warnmall*. I know nothing of it, and can only guess. It may be *warn*, to admonish, and *mall*. But what is *mall*? It can hardly be Fr. *mal*. It can hardly be *Mall* or *Moll*, a common name for frail ones. Nor am I satisfied with a friend's guess that the word is *warn-'em-all*! It's too clever. And as if to make that which is dark darker, I find A.S. *worn-mælum* (spelt *wearn-mælum* in Bosworth) means *by companies*. Cf. O.E. *flockmel*, by flocks, and *piece-meal*, by pieces."
- Weyte, 97, white.
- Wringyng, 77. "To wrest . . . to *wring* . . . to force the sense of a passage or author." *P*.
- Wyllouse, 78, willows.
- Wyte, ix, blame, reproach.
- Yie, 1, eye.
- Yower, 75, ewer.
- Ypochrise, 11, hypocrisy.
- Ypochrite, 11, hypocrites.

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