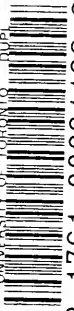


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EWS

# England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

PART I.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

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WITH AN APPENDIX, GIVING AN EXTRACT FROM

SIR WILLIAM FORREST'S

Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelic Practise,

1548.

EDITED BY

SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE B.A.,

AUTHOR OF "TUSSER'S FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRIE."

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# STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

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BEYOND what we can glean from a very few public documents and his own statements in his letter to Cromwell, we know little of the life of Thomas Starkey. Practically, the history of his career is little more than the history of the negotiations between Henry VIII. and Reginald Pole with reference to the support which the king hoped to receive from the latter on the two important questions of the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine, his brother's widow, and the supremacy of the Pope in England. For nearly two years did these negotiations last, and during these two years Starkey was the sole medium of intercommunication. At the time of their commencement he had only lately been appointed chaplain to the king, and with their failure he disappeared from public life, retiring in all probability to the church living which had in December 1536 been bestowed on him, and, as he tells us, utilizing his leisure moments in the composition of his *Dialogue* and other works.

§ 1. Of Starkey's birth and family we know nothing for certain. He

was in all probability descended from a family of high standing and considerable local influence in Cheshire.<sup>1</sup> Of this family we find four distinct branches, but to which of these Thomas Starkey belonged I am unable satisfactorily to ascertain. The four branches were, (1) the Starkeys of Stretton; (2) of Barnton (Cheshire) and Huntroyde (Lancashire); (3) of Olton or Oulton; and (4) of Wrenbury.

Thomas Starkey may have been brother to Laurence Starkey (mentioned below), who at that time was the representative of the *second* branch of the family; but he certainly could not have been son, since from an *Inquis! post mort.* we find that the latter's eldest son was only 14 years of age in 1547, when his father died.<sup>2</sup>

It is also certain that he was not the son nor the brother of the Hugh Starkey, the representative of the *third* branch, also mentioned below, for the latter at his death, in 1555, left but one son (illegitimate), Oliver, who afterwards became Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta;<sup>3</sup> and his only brother James was buried beside him in Over Church.<sup>4</sup>

Neither did Starkey belong to the *fourth* branch, for that branch was at the time represented by another Thomas, who was 30 years of age in 1528.<sup>5</sup>

The family of Starkey dates back to an early period of English history, for we find that in the reign of King John, Roger Fitz-Alured granted the Manor of Stretton (Cheshire) to Richard Starkey and his heirs, "to hold as freely as any of the said Richard's ancestors ever held the same, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. And Sir Geoffrey de Warburton released unto Thomas Starkey of Stretton, and to his heirs, all his claim in *Villa de Stretton, ceu in aliqua Parcella eiusdem, ut de Wardis, Maritagiis, Releviis, Exactis, Homagiis, aut Servitiis, que predictus Thomas aut Antecessores sui mihi, seu Antecessoribus meis, facere solebant: Datum 4 die Aprilis, 5 Rich. II. (1382).* Yet, notwithstanding, the said

<sup>1</sup> But there was another or a branch of the same family in Kent, and as Starkey held a living near Deal, as mentioned below, it is just possible he may have belonged to this branch.

<sup>2</sup> See Ormerod, *Hist. of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819, I. 474.

<sup>3</sup> Ormerod, II. 103, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 719.

<sup>5</sup> Ormerod, III. 205.

Thomas and his heirs shall pay yearly to the said Sir Geoffrey and his heirs one pair of white gloves on Easter-day for all service."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Humphrey Starkey, Kt, who belonged to this branch, was Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, appointed 15 June, 1 Edward V., and held the office for some years.<sup>2</sup>

In 1509 we find an order for Hugh Starkey to be one of the king's sergeants-at-arms,<sup>3</sup> and we frequently meet with his name afterwards in the State Papers. Thus, on the 7th January, 1514, we find a lease granted to Hugh Sterkeye, sewer of the Chamber, for 41 years of the Manor of Frodesham, Cheshire, from Michaelmas, 4th Henry VIII., at an annual rent of £48;<sup>4</sup> and on 22nd January, 1517, the king granted to the same Hugh Starkey the forfeited possessions of Roger Wodehowse in Chester, Salop, or elsewhere, of the annual value of £8, lately held by William Smyth from Henry VII., at the rent of one red rose payable at Midsummer. He died in 1555, and was buried in Over Church, Cheshire, which he had restored in 1543, and in the south aisle of which is a window to his memory with his portrait in armour.<sup>5</sup>

A John Sterkey is mentioned amongst the royal officers of the "Hall" as Surveyor.<sup>6</sup>

The name of Laurence Starkey occurs very frequently in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and he appears to have been a person of some considerable importance. He was trustee of the lands of Edward Stanley, Lord Montegle;<sup>7</sup> in correspondence with Cromwell and Wolsey; and, as he states in one letter, High Sheriff of the County of Lancashire for the year 1524.<sup>8</sup>

On 18th June, 1522, we find a petition presented from the Convent of St Leonard's, Stratford-at-the-Bowe, London diocese, for assent to the election of Eleanor Sterkey, nun, as prioress, *vice* Helen Hillard,

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, collected by Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., London, 1673, pp. 353, 354.

<sup>2</sup> Ormerod, II. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, I. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I. 719; see also II. pt. ii, p. 1483.

<sup>5</sup> Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, II. 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters and Papers, &c.*, II. 1549.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* IV. pt. iii. p. 2598.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* IV. pt. i. p. 111.

deceased;<sup>1</sup> and on the 28th of the same month a *significavit* from William Haryngton, LL.D., Canon and Residentiary of St Paul's, and official of the spirituality of the see of London for William, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his confirmation of Eleanor Starkey as prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Leonard's, and praying for restitution of the temporalities.<sup>2</sup> This is followed on the 28th July by a writ to the Escheator of the Counties of Essex and Herts for the restitution of the temporalities on the election of Eleanor Starkey.<sup>3</sup>

On the 12th June, 1517, an annuity of 10 marks was granted to Thomas Starke out of the lordship of Montgomery, Kery, and Kydyowyn, parcel of the earldom of March, his patent of the 6th February, 4th Henry VII., being invalid by the act of resumption; and on the same date we find a petition from this same person, described as of Wrenburye, Cheshire, to Sir John Dauncy and Robert Blagg, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, stating that Henry VII. had for his services "at his first entry into this his realm" granted him an annuity of 10 marks out of the earldom of Marche at Montgomerye, as appears by the king's confirmation of the grant, but that Sir Richard Herberd, the receiver there, owed the petitioner £22 13s. 4d. arrearages, and refused to pay, although ordered to do so by Sir J. Dauncy and Robert Blagg. The petitioner, therefore, prayed them to summon Herberd before them, and compel him to pay the said arrearages.<sup>4</sup>

There is also a second petition from the same to the same, stating that Sir Richard Herberd did not appear before them, either at Hilary term or on the octaves of St Trinity last, though commanded to by their privy seals, and praying for a privy seal of proclamation, ordering Herberd to appear on pain of his allegiance.

Probably it is this same Thomas Starkey whom we find set down for an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. amongst the king's "officers in Wales" in the year 1526.<sup>5</sup>

When Thomas Starkey, the author of the *Dialogue*, was born we have no information, but as he was, in all probability, some years

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, &c., III. p. 986, No. 2331.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 997, No. 2353.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1015, No. 3407.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 1072.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 873.

older than his friend and fellow-traveller Reginald Pole, who was born in 1500, we shall not be far wrong in assigning as the approximate date of his birth the beginning of the last decade of the 15th century.

The services of the family from which I assume him to be descended gave him an introduction to society, but it is only from his letters that we can gain any information as to the manner in which his earlier years were passed. His own words, in his letter to Cromwell asking to be nominated to some appointment in the king's service, seem to imply that he was educated at Oxford, but his name does not occur in *Anthony a Wood*. If the will mentioned below be Starkey's, he probably was educated at Magdalen College.

In company with Reginald Pole he travelled on the Continent, where, especially in Italy, he appears to have made numerous friends, amongst the learned men of the time, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence till the close of his life. In the Cott. MSS., Nero B. VI. and VII., are numerous letters addressed to him in Latin and Italian from friends thus made. He had evidently profited by his studies, and was welcomed and esteemed accordingly by the *savants* of Italy. Of the dates of his departure from and return to England we know nothing, but he had certainly returned, as will be seen below, before the end of 1522.

§ 2. The first certain mention of Starkey in any public document which I have been able to discover is contained in a letter from Wolsey to the University of Oxford, dated 21st May, 1522, in which he recommends for proctors *Thomas Starke* and Lawrence Barbar.<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th October following the University reply to this letter, stating that they have complied with the request for the appointment of Lawrence Barbar and *Thomas Starke* as proctors, and beg that they may retain for a time their usual form of electing proctors, at least until Wolsey has sufficient leisure for making more suitable arrangements for the University. They acknowledge their great obligations to his bounty, and add that if by his influence their

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 960.

University may be exempted from contributing to the loan<sup>1</sup> their obligations will be the greater.<sup>2</sup>

§ 3. On the 31st July, 1530, Starkey was presented by Archbishop Warham to the living of Great Mongeham, diocese of Canterbury, "per resignationem Magistri Thome Lupsett, A.M., ultimi Ineumbentis ibidem vacantem."<sup>3</sup> This living he held till his death.

Great Mongeham is in the hundred of Cornilo, lathe of St. Augustine, and two miles from Deal. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the living, which is stated to have been of the annual value of £20 1s. 6d., was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>4</sup>

§ 4. From this time we do not hear anything of Starkey till some time towards the close of 1534, when we find him writing to Cromwell, with whom he was already acquainted probably through Cardinal Wolsey, asking him to use his influence to procure for him some

<sup>1</sup> For the war.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III, pt. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Registers of Canterbury Diocese* (preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library), Archbishop Warham, leaf 402, back.

<sup>4</sup> By the kindness of Col. Chester I have been furnished with a copy of the will (recorded in Book "Pynnyng," at folio 6) of a certain *Thomas Starkey*, Clerk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 2nd May, 1544, but dated 25th August, 1538, which is, as nearly as we can judge, exactly the date of Starkey's death. In this will the testator desires to be buried in the "Chauncell of Northe Petherton at the discretion of the curat there," and leaves "towards the reparation of the Churche of North Petherton, vis." The will proceeds—"Item I geve to my father Thomas Starkey, in parte of recompense of his greate coste and chargies vppon my bringing vpp, furthring me in good lerynyng, xli<sup>li</sup>. Item I geve to the veray honnerable and my singulier good lorde, my lorde Montague, foure pounds to bie hym a hagg." To his brother, "John Starkey," he leaves his "best gowne," and all his books he bequeaths to a Dr Wotton, who is "to take certeyne to his children as he shall thinke profitable to farther theyme in tyme to come to their lerynyng." and the rest, some are to go to "the furnysshing of the library of Magdalen Colledge," and some to be given to poor scholars. To the family of the Vicar of North Petherton he bequeaths "for their diligent payne and labours by nighte and day taken abowte me in myne infirmite and sickness, foure markes of lawfull money of England," from which it would seem that the testator had been, and was then, residing at North Petherton, by the vicar of which place, Sir John Bulen, the will is witnessed. If this be the will of our author, it appears tolerably certain that he was the son of the Thomas Starkey already (p. vi.) mentioned as in receipt of a pension for his services to Henry VII. It is difficult to see what connection Starkey had with North Petherton, or why the will executed in August, 1538, should not have been proved till 1544.

appointment in the king's service, and giving a short sketch of his life and studies.

We are enabled to fix the date of this letter with tolerable certainty by Starkey's own words in his first letter to Pole, and his dedication of his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII. (printed below), in which he says :—"forasmuch as hyt pleysyd your hyghnes, *schortly aftur I was admyttyd to your gracys seruyce*, to commytt vnto me the wrytyng of your commandment and request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame."

The following is his letter to Cromwell :—

(*Harl. 283, leaf 129.*)

Syr, the grete gentylnes of you so manyfestely schowyd toward me, wythe the *continuanche* of such a benevolent mynd in setting forward my purpos, gyuyth me yet a lytyl more boldnes to trowbul you wyth the redyng of thys scrole, besechyng you of your patyence therin, whyle I a lytyl more at large schow to you my mynd & purpos, the wyche I had thought to haue downe thes days past presently before you, yf I myght haue found you at a *conuenient leysor* to the heryng of the same, for gladly I wold that you schold a lytyl more playnly know wyth what hart & mynd I wold *serue* the kyng wythal. And fyrst, for as much that you may *perauenture* juge, that I, mouyd only by the hygh authoryte wherin hyt hathe plesyd the kyngys hyghnes most worthyly to set you, so much desyre by your special preferment to be set forward to the kyngys *seruyce* now at thys tyme, I schal besech you of your *gentylnes* not to take me so, for, albe-hyt that by your authoryte I wyl not deny I am somewhat mouyd in dede, yet certaynly thys to you I wyl affyrme, yf ther were not other causys joynyd therto wych more scharpely styr and pryke my mynd then dothe that, I, beyng to you so vnknowen as I am, wold neuer haue temptyd nor enterprysyd such a purpos wyth you : for yf I had not found at such tyme as I fyrst salutyd you at home, a synguler humanyte & *gentylnes* in you, and yf I had not much herd of your gudnes in setting forward at honest purposys, ye and yf I had not seen & *perceyuyd* your excellent wysedome & your other vertues, most worthy of al hygh authoryte, I thynke I had neuer *conceyuyd* thys purpos, I thynke I had neuer set my selfe in thys case, wherein my special trust ys more to be to you bounden than in the rest of my lyfe wyth any *seruyce* I can deserue ; for of thys I assure you I am not of so vyle & base of stomake as for to optayne any benefyte wordly, to desyre to be bounden to any man whome I can not wyth hart and mynd reuerently both honoure & loue. Wherfor of thys I schal besech you to be

persuadyd euer surely to haue in me such a hart and stomake as ys conuenient to be in hym, who to you of al other schal be most bounden. And now, Syr, to the intent that you may somewhat perceyue such pore qualytes as be in me, and so therapon wyth your beneuolent mynd you may set forward somewhat better my purpos, I schal breuely showe vnto you the ordur, processe, & end of al my studys. Fyrst, here in oxforth a grete parte of my youthe I occupyd my selfe in the study of phylosophy, joynyng therto the knolege of both tongys bothe latyn & greke, and so aftur passyd ouer in to Italy, whereas I so delytyd in the contemplacyon of natural knolege—wherin the most parte of men lettryd ther occupye themselfys—that many tymys I was purposyd to haue spend the rest of my lyfe holly therin, tyl at the last, mouyd by chrystyan charyte, phylosophy set apart, I applyd my selfe to the redyng of holy scrypture, jugyng al other secrete knolege not applyd to some vse & profyt of other to be but as a vanyte. wherfor in the study of holy letturys certayn yerys I spent, aftur the wyche, by-cause my purpos then was to lyue in a polytyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cyuyle Law, that I myght therby make a more stabyl and sure judgement of the polytyke ordur & custumys vsyd amonge vs here in our countrey. aftur thys maner In dyuerse kyndys of studys I haue occupyd my selfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos at the last here in thys commynalty where I am brought forth & borne to employ them to some vse; and though in them I haue not most profytyd, yet dylgence & wyl hathe not lakkyd therto: but what so euer hyt ys that I haue by the gudenes of god attaynyd vn-to I schal most gladly, aftur your judgement & aduyse, apply hyt to the seruyce of our prynce, and therby rekun my selfe to attayne a grete parte of my felicyte. Wherfor I besech you, syr, as you of your only gudnes haue begun, so at your plesure & conuenient leser to helpe forward thys my purpos, and then schal I be to you more bounden then I am yet to any mortal man lyuyng.

Your assuryd seruant  
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsement

to Mr Secretary Cromwell touching the course of hys Lyffe, studyes and Travilles. [End of 1534.]

§ 5. In accordance with Starkey's request, Cromwell appears to have used his influence with the king, for we find him in February, 1535, holding the post of chaplain to Henry, who, it would seem, soon entertained a high opinion of him, since within a few months of his appointment he was intrusted with the delicate commission of ascertaining the views of Reginald Pole on the two questions of the legality of the king's marriage with Queen Katherine and of the supremacy of the Pope.



It would be out of place here to give any lengthened account of the events which led to this. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that the Pope, Clement VII., had, on the 23rd of March, 1534, in accordance with the decision of a consistory of cardinals, declared Henry's marriage with Katherine valid and indissoluble; while the parliament in England, on the other side, pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn lawful, and confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English Church, prohibiting every kind of payment to the Pope, and vesting in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes.<sup>1</sup>

§ 6. Previously to the introduction of the bills on the subject into parliament, the whole question had been considered by the Privy Council in 1533, when nineteen articles were drawn up,<sup>2</sup> which were embodied in certain resolutions of the Council on the 2nd December, the first of which runs as follows:—

“Acta in Concil[i]o Domini Regis, 2ndo Decembr.

“First. That the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr Dean [Dr Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel] and the almoner [Dr Fox] and other Doctors; to search their books and to make an answer again thereupon to the Lords of the Council by Fryday and Saturday next.”<sup>3</sup>

Dr Sampson accordingly wrote and published a treatise on the question of the supremacy with the following title:—

“Richardi Sampsonis, Regii Sacelli Decani, oratio; qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regie dignitati cum primis ut obedient, quia uerbum Dei precipit: Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo iure diuino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita iubet Rex, ut illi non obedient. Qui contra fecerint eos precipue docet legem diuinam contemnere. Non est ergo

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 208.

<sup>2</sup> See MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 313. The first, which is referred to above, runs as follows:—Fyrste. To sende for all the bisshopes of this realme and speeyallie for suche as be nerest vnto the Courte, and to examyn them a-parte whether they by the law of god can prove and iustefie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is aboue the generall counsaile, or the generall counsaile aboue him. Or whether he hathe gyuen vnto him by the law of god any more auctoryte *within* the realme then any other Foreyn Bisshop.”

<sup>3</sup> MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 317.

quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Rho-  
[mani], qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in  
Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo non homini.

“Hæc est ueritas Dei firmata.

“Londini, in Ædibus Tho. Bertheleti” (no date).

It consists of 14 leaves, 4to, with the colophon—“Thomas Berthe-  
letus Regius Impressor Excudebat. Cum privilegio.”

In this treatise Dr Sampson vindicated the king's action in as-  
suming the title of “Supreme Head of the Church,” and confuted  
the claim of the Pope to any jurisdiction in England. He grounded  
the king's right to supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil, upon the two  
texts—“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there  
is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God;”<sup>1</sup>  
and “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's  
sake; whether it be the king, as supreme,” &c.<sup>2</sup> Kings, therefore, he  
argued, were God's vicars and representatives here on earth, and  
should be obeyed accordingly; but the Pope had no jurisdiction out-  
side his province, and had no more power in England than the  
Archbishop of Canterbury at Rome.<sup>3</sup>

With this treatise the king was greatly pleased, and it was pub-  
lished with his authority and approval, and copies were sent to all  
persons of importance at home and abroad.

Henry was extremely anxious to have Dr Sampson's book  
approved and supported by some name of acknowledged standing,  
and naturally his thoughts were directed towards Reginald Pole, who  
had now attained to such a position that his opinion would carry the  
greatest weight, and, more than all others, induce the waverers to give  
their support to the king.

§ 7. Reginald Pole, the second son of Margaret Plantagenet,  
Countess of Salisbury, was born at Stoverton, or Stourton, Castle, in  
the year 1500. He had been treated by Henry with especial favour;  
had been educated at the king's expense; had been, while  
still a boy, appointed to a rich ecclesiastical benefice, and would  
doubtless, had his inclination or his views permitted him, have

<sup>1</sup> Romans xiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Peter ii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*

attained to the highest position in the English Church.<sup>x</sup> He had studied at Paris and Padua with such good results that, as he himself in 1536 states in a letter to the king, he, though still a young man, "had long been conversant with old men; had long judged the oldest man that lived too young for him to learn wisdom from."<sup>1</sup> He had not, however, been able to assent to the resolutions of parliament and convocation relative to the divorce of Henry from Queen Katherine, and he had in consequence applied for and obtained leave to reside for a time at Avignon, whence he afterwards removed to Padua. Meanwhile the king's feelings towards him had remained unchanged; the revenues of the deanery of Exeter and his pension were regularly paid to him, and he was exempted specially from the condition required of all holders of ecclesiastical benefices, of swearing allegiance to the issue of Anne Boleyn. To him, therefore, the king's thoughts naturally turned, and in conversation with Starkey he inquired from him what he believed to be Pole's sentiments on the subject of the Pope's supremacy and the divorce, and whether, if applied to, he would be likely to write in favour of Dr Sampson's book. To these inquiries Starkey answered cautiously, that, although he was confident that Pole's hearty desire was to do the king service, yet as to his opinions on these subjects he could say nothing, since Pole had always preserved a strict silence on the point. This answer did not satisfy the king, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to Pole and communicate to him his wishes. Starkey accordingly writes as follows:—

(15 February, 1535.)

(1) Syr, I most hertely commend me vn to you, and where as I haue byn somewhat sloo in wrytyng syne I arryuyd hyther to our cuntrey, (where as I bere the ayre bettur then I dyd wyth you in Italy) I wyl now my slaknes therin by the lengthe of thys in some parte recompense the wych I trust schal no thyng offend you but bryng to you grete plesure & comfort. Syr, as you know syth our fyrst acqyntance & famylyaryte many letturys ther hath byn at sundry tymys betwyx vs wryten, & much communycacyon ther hath byn also con-

*Abstract.*

(1) Promises to atone for past remissness in correspondence by the length of this letter, which he entreats Pole to consider seriously

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*, II. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 283, leaf 131.

cernyng the Instytution of our lyfys, wyth such fydeyte mynstryd apou both *partys* as was conuenient to the syncerenes of our hartys & myndys, but yf euer any of thes you haue jugyd to be worthy of remembrance, or yet dow styke in your memory & mynd, I besech you let thes few wordys wych I now to you wryte be put in the nombur of them, wyth gud aduertysment and consyderacyon of the same, for the[y] concerne the hole ordur of your lyfe here aftur to be lade in thys our cuntry among your natural louerys & frendys. (2) Syr, I was but Late by the synguler gentylnes of Maystur Secretary, wos gudnes bothe toward me & also to you ys so sonke in to my brest, that duryng my lyfe I schal euer reken my selfe next to our prynce aboue al other most faythfully to hym bounden, for in the court to the kyngys *seruyce* and by hys most louyng *commendacyonys* so graciously of hys hyghnes acceptyd & admyttyd that schortly aftur hyt plesyd the same to cal me to hys presenee, and ther of you, of your studys, and of your sentence & opynyon in hys gracys most weyghty causys here late defynyd, most louyngly many thyngys to demaunde; to the wych I made such answeere, as euer I haue jugyd conuenient to be made before the maiesty of a prynce; that ys, such thyngys as I knowe manifest & true playnly to affyrme, and such wherof I stond in dowte by coniecture only to rehere: and so your mynd, hart & desyre to dow hys grace true & faythful *seruyce*, wych I know no other wyse then I know myn owne, I boldly dyd affyrme, but as touchyng your opynyon in hys gracys late defynyd causys, one of the matrymony, the other concernyng the authoryte of the pope, for as much as you euer haue vsyd thys prudent sylence neuer to dysclose your sentence & mynd but in tyme & place, I conde not of your opynyon any thyng therin playnly affyrme, but yet thys to hys hyghnes I sayd & suerly I thought, that as fer as your lernyng & iugement, wych I estymyd by tyme & dylygent study somewhat was alteryd & incresyd, also touchyng the dycernyng betwyx goddys law & manys wold streche & extend, al your powar & al such knolege & lernyng as by the gudnes of god & hys gracys lyberalyte you had obtaynyd & got, to the mayntenyng of such thyngys as hys gracys wysedome by court of *parlyament* therin had decerd, you wold gladly confer to the honowre of hys hyghnes & welth of hys reame. (3) thys much I sayd, thys fer I went, but hys grace not satysfyd therwyth, desyryng to have your sentence therin playnly declaryd, *commandyd* me thys now to wryte to you, that hys plesure was that you schold lyke a lernyd man, al assertyon by any cause rysyng set asyde, in thos ij causys

*Abstract.*

(2) Has been appointed chaplain to the king, who had questioned him as to Pole's opinion respecting the divorce, &c., to which he had answered that Pole had never openly declared his opinion, but that he felt confident that his earnest wish was to please the king. (3) Henry, not satisfied with this, had ordered him to desire Pole to

pondur and wey the nature of the thyngys as they be in them selfe, and puttyng a-*parte* al successys & daungerouse effectys wych of them may insue, leuyng al such thyngys to hys gracys wysedome & hys pollycy, declare your sentence truly & playn wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulatyon, (wych hys grace most pryncely abhorryth,) not wylling you of thes thyngys to make any grete volume or boke but breuely to geddur the most effectual resonys wych in your stomake be of most weyght, & them to set forth aftur your playn faseyon & maner of wrytyng. thys was hys gracys pleasure & commandement that I schold to you wryte, wych I haue as nere as my memory wold *serue* me therin truly & faythfully now to you exerc[y]syd. (4) now, syr, considur and prudently wey how pryncely a request thys ys of oure pryuce, and then I am sure you wyl imploy your selfe wyth al dylygence & study to satisfye hys nobul desyre, to the wych also mastur secretary, (whose most louyng gudnes toward you gyuyth place to no man) most *gently* doth exhort you, wylling you also in any case, what so euer your *sentence* in thes causys schal be, to vse your wont & custumyd playnes wyth prudent symplycyte, and me apou hys behalfe thys to certyfyre you, that in case be your lernyng & iugement in thes materys of weyght wold strech & extend to the satsyfying of the kyngys desyre & mynd, that then your retorne hyther to your cuntrey schold be gretely to the kyngys pleasure, to your owne *comfort*, & much profyt to the rest of your frendys; ye and yet ferther, yf so be that your knolege & lernyng wold not *serue* you to thys purpos & request of the kyng, yet notwythstandyng wold he aduyse you, of a tendur & louyng mynd, to prepare yourselfe at your *conuenient* lesur toward your cuntrey, dowtyng no thyng but [th]at the kyngys hyghnes in other hys causys & hys allyarys schal vse your *seruyce* & most louyng & *seruysabul* mynd. for sory he ys that ther among straungerys wythout profyt to your cuntrey your *vertues* schold be so vtterly drownyd & lyke as in a dreme vanysch away. (5) wherby, syr, you may playnly *perceyue* the *gentilnes* of hys stomake & synguler gudnes to al men of honesty, wych to you almost *vnaequaynted* & of smal famylyaryte beryth suche mynd, mouyd only by the opynyon of *vertue*, wych to hym fame hath reportyd, in so much that thys he wylyd me now by my letturys of hys gudnes and *benevolent* mynd, so to assure you, that in al such thyngys as myght touche your preferment to my lady your mother & my lord your brother whome nature so straitly byndyth only he wold gyue place: wherin he

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*Abstract.*

state in writing briefly, but openly and sincerely, his opinion on the two points. (4) Has been further desired by Cromwell to assure him that, should his opinion be favourable to the king, his return to England would be very welcome; but that in any case he is to prepare to return, as the king would be glad of his advice and assistance in other weighty matters. (5) Assures him that Crom-

schowyth so gentyl a stomake that I dare thys boldly now say that, yf euer hereaftur hyt schalbe your chaunce presently here of thys mynd in hym experyence to take, you schal as I dow for hys *vertues* & not only for hys *authoryte* haue hym in stabyl & reuerent loue, such ys hys wysedome & in materys of state hys hygh pollycy. and thus now you haue hard the most prudent aduyse & synguler beneuolence of mastur secretary, to the wych I dowte not but that wyth grete gladnes you wyl apply yourselte, wylling therby to satysfye our pryncys plesure & desyre. And now, syr, for by-cause syth our last *departure* out of our cuntrey lytyl *communycacon* concerning thes materys hathe byn betwyx vs had, I wyl now adioyne thes few wordys vn to you. (6) Ponder you wel thys leuytycal law & how hyt ys rotyd in the law of nature, and how by general *conseyl* hyt hath byn many tymys declaryd & *authorysyd* therby, and forther how apou the other syde the sklendurnes of thys long vsurpyd & abusyd *authoryte* of the pope, wych by pacyence of pryncys, simplycyte of the pepul, & ambycouse auaryce of hys *predecessorys*, in processe of tyme by lytyl & lytyl ys growen to thys intollerabul iniquyte, and then I thynk that you schal see in thes causys the jugyd truth & playn equitye. But al thys I leue to your owne *consyderacon* & *jugement*, praying to hym, of whome to al men cumyth al lyght, that by hys lyght & grace you may see the truth, & so then to set hyt forth that hyt may be *comfort* to our prynce, plesure to your selfe and to al other here your louarys & frendys. And thus now, syr, I wyl make an end, fynychyng my *letturys* wyth *comfortabul* newys that al such rumor & fame wych by men of corrupt *jugement* not hauyng *discretyon* to juge & *discerne* betwyx veray & true relygyon & lyght & false *superstycyon* syth was in Italy you dyuulgyd, ys vtturly false & ful of vanyte. (7) For of this dowte you nothyng, that albehyt apou many resonabul & iuste causys our most nobul prynce hathe wythdrawen hymselfe from the popys *authoryte*, yet from the certayn & sure groundys of *screpture* hys grace in no poynt ys slyde, no nor yet from the lawys nor *ceremonys* of the church, the wych yet stond in ful strength & *authoryte*; and so the[y] schal boldly I dare affyrme, vntyl such tyme that to hys hyghnes & to hys most wyse *conseyl* hyt schal appere expedient them to abrogate & other to substytute by *commyn* assent more agreabul to thys tyme and to the nature of our men, & also to our hole cuntrey more *conuenient*. here ys no thyng downe wythout due ordur & resonabul mean; here ys touchyng

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*Abstract.*

well is prompted only by a sincere love for him. (6) Expresses his confidence that Pole, on consideration of the matter, will see the truth to be on the king's side. (7) Assures Pole that there is no truth in the report that the king had separated himself from the Church of Rome in points of doctrine, or had ordained new rites and ceremonies. Had it been so he himself would never have entered the king's service.

relygion nothyng almost alteryd at al but that wych was of al other most necessary, wych ys, as I trust, & schalbe a veray ground & a foundatyon to cyuyle ordur & a true & ryght pollycy. thys ys the state here, and of thys one thyng I dow you assure, yf I had found truth in dede thes thyngys wych by mysreport ther wyth you were commynly sayd, as that our prynce schold be slypt also from the foundys of scrypture, from the honowre of the sacramentys, & from al the commyn Lawys & holsome ceremonys of the church wythout ordur, I wold neuer haue byn so wythout sense or stomake of an honest man, as at thys tyme to haue sought to entur to hys seruyce; for the desyre wych I haue long nuryschyd in my brest to serue thys our mastur & prynce ys in thys stabyl, & I trust euer schalbe, in hys seruyce to serue god & my cuntrey, to the wych purpos the rest of my lyfe I wyl now dedycate to hys grace & wyth such hart & mynd serue hym wythal as ys conuenient to a true faythful & chrystyan subiect toward hys most nobul & catholyke prynce: thys ys my mynd & I am sure the same ys yourys, the wych I trust in factys you schal haue place schortly to declare & thys I commyt you to god. At London the xv of February,

By yourys assuryd,  
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed,

Thomas Starkey to his frend in Italy wishing him to geve his opinyone to the kinges grace touching his oppinyone for the Altering of Relygeon and the Abolishing of the popes Authoritye.

The bribe, however, thus plainly offered to Pole did not produce its effect so soon as the king expected. Writing on the 12th April, Pole merely acknowledged the receipt of Starkey's letter, excusing the delay in answering it by the plea that it had come to him by way of Florence, and had been delayed on the road. He promised, however, that he would with all diligence apply himself to the consideration of the subject, and endeavour to satisfy the king's request as stated by Starkey; namely, that he would "in few wordys, clerly & playnly, without coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon," declare his opinion on the matters in question.

Starkey, who evidently had begun to feel ill at ease in consequence of the non-receipt of any answer to his letter, felt relieved at this explanation, but lost no time in pressing the matter on Pole, and supporting the views expressed by him in his former letter by additional arguments. But this was not the sole nor indeed the principal object of this second letter. More especially was he anxious

to explain to Pole certain events which had in the interval occurred in England, and which were liable to be misrepresented abroad.

The most important of these was the execution, on the 5th of May, of certain monks of the Charterhouse and others for refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of the king's supremacy, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the Pope was Antichrist. The system adopted with regard to them was simple and expeditious ; they were condemned of high treason and hanged. Other executions followed on the 18th June.

§ 8. Such an event as this was eminently calculated to excite the indignation of the Court of Rome, more especially as it would in all probability be greatly exaggerated and misrepresented. With the view, therefore, of acquainting Pole with the true facts of the case, on which he could speak with authority (having been, as he tells Pole, one of those sent by Cromwell to try to persuade Reynolds to give way and acknowledge the king's supremacy), and of freeing his mind from the ill effects of such misrepresentations as might have reached him, Starkey writes as follows :<sup>1</sup>—

(End of May or June 1535.)

(1) Syr, I am glad that at the last, by your letturys of the xij of Apryle to Johan Walker, we haue hard of the receyte of such letturys as were wryte vn to you concernyng the kyngys plesure ; for much I maruelyd that of thys long tyme I hard no thyng of the delyuerance of the same, wych I now perceyue was by cause the letturys cam to you by the way of Florence. but how so euer hyt was that they were kept from you, glad I am that at the last they are arruyd to your handys, and much more glad that by the<sup>2</sup> few wordys you wrote in hast I perceyue you wyl wyth al dylygence apply your selfe to satysfye the kyngys most nobul request & plesure, wych was, in few wordys clerly & playnly, wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon, to schow your sentence in hys lately defynd causys, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl dow wyth glad hart and mynd, for yf I know you wel in such causys you wyl not dyssymbul wyth a kyng (from the wych dyssymulacyon I neuer see to thys day wyth any man a mynd more abhorryng) : therfor what so euer your sentence schalbe in the materys requyryd I boldly haue affyrmyd, both to the kyngys hyghnes & also to Maystur Secretary,

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*Abstract.*

(1) Is glad to see by Pole's letter of 12th April that he promises

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cleop. E. VI., leaf 358.

<sup>2</sup> MS. they.



that hyt schalbe vnfaynyd & pure, wythout cloke of dyssymulacyon, of the wych syncere jugement in you the kyng ys desyrouse by-cause perauentur in some other hys grace hath byn therin deceyuyd.

(2) Syr, of the inelangatyon of your mynd in thys behalfe, though the ful declaratyon you reserue to long leyser, yet in some parte to Maystur Secretory by your next letturys you may sygnyfye, when you make answeere to hys letturys dyrectyd to you, the wych I am sure before thys tyme by the ambassador of Venyce are come to your handys. And, syr, as touchyng the mater of the popys authoritye, we here, your frendys, put no dowte but therin you schal to the ful satisfactyon of the kyngys mynd see the jugyd truthe: for neuer can I thynke, when I consydyr your jugement and lernyng, that you can be of thys sentence that such a hede, or such superyoryte schold be of the Law of God & to the saluatyon of man of hys necessitye, the wych sayn Jerome playnly affyrmyth to be *constytute in remedium scismatis* & not to be of such necessite (*in epistola ad euagram*).

(3) And yf I haue any Iugement in any other kynd of letturys or dyuynyte thys I dare say, that thys superyoryte of long tyme gyuen to the pope only by the patyence of pryneys *et tacito quodam christiani populi consensu*, by processe of tyme ys growen in as a thyng conuenyent to the conseruatyon of the chrystyan vnyte, but in no case to be of such necessitye, that, wythout the same, chrystyan myndys may not attayn to theyr saluatyon nor kepe the *spiritual* vnyte: ye and yf you wey the mater wel I thynke you schal ferther fynd thys superyoryte, as hyt hath byn of many yerys vsyd, nothyng to be conuenyent at al to the conseruatyon of the polytyk vnyte, the wych thyng as you know bettur than I, to whome storys are bettur knowen, hath byn the gretyst brake that in memory we haue to al chrystyan cyuylte; for what chrystyan pryneys haue we who one a-gayn a nother hath not drawn theyr swordys for the mayntenance of thys authoritye? And dayly I besech hym that *gouernynth* al that in our days we see not the same; but aftur my pore fancy bettur hyt ys though hyt be wyth some daungere, to cut vp such a rote of sedyeyon in al chrystyan cyuylte, then let hyt remayn to the *contynual* destructyon of our posteryte. Thes thyngys I am sure you see wyth a hygher & deper *consyderatyon* then I can attayn vn-to, wher-by you schal I trust in thys behalfe satisfye the kyngys mynd & plesure. For sory hys hyghnes wold be to see you not to reche vn-to so manyfest a truthe, (as I haue *perceyuyd* of hys grace at sundry tymys when hyt hath plesyd hys hyghnes to talke of you to the declaratyon of hys nobul affecte wych he beryth toward you).

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*Abstract.*

to endeavour to satisfy the king's request. (2) He and all Pole's other friends are confident that the result of his examination of the subject will be to the king's satisfaction. (3) Declares his own conviction that the supremacy of the Pope is not essential to man's salvation,

(4) And as touchyng the mater of the fyrst maryage, I dowte not also but when you ley togyddur wythout any affectyon the weyght of such maryage betwyx brother & systur, & the sklendurnes of such powar as the pope had in such causys to dyspense, you schal schortly by your wysedome see of that maryage the *inconuenyency*, so that in both *partys* grete hope I haue to see you satysfye the kyngys plesure and mynd, and then schortly aftur wyth grete *comfort* both to your selfe & to your frendys so to retorne in to our natyfe cuntrye, here to fynysch the rest of your lyfe in quyetnes & tranquillyte.

(5) And where as sklenderouse fame & mysreport may *perauentur* put you in suspycyon of the *contrary*, for as much as before thys I am sure hyt ys blowen abrode in Italy how here are put to deth monkys of the charturhouse, *men* notyd of grete sanctyite, you schal vnderstond in few wordys the truth of the same to the intent you may by the declaratyon therof, as much as lyth in you, stoppe such mysreport as may therby be made to the sklaundyng of our natyon & cuntrye. Fyrst you schal vnderston[d] in the laste *parlyament* an acte to be made that al the kyngys subiectys schold, vnder payn of treson, renounce the popys *superyoryte*, to the wych acte as the rest of our natyon wyth one *consent* dyd agre so dyd thes *munckys*, iij pryorys & Raynoldys of Syon, the wych now of late, *contrary* to theyr othe & also to the acte, retornyd to theyr old obedyence, affyrmyng the same by theyr blynd *supersteyouse* knolege to be to the saluatyon of man of necessitye, & that thys *superyoryte* to the pope was a sure truth and manyfest of the Law of god, and a thyng wych was of chryst instytute as necessary to the conseruatyon of the *spiritual* vnyte of thys mystical body of chryst. In thys blyndnes theyr *supersteyouse* myndys were stablyd, lakkyng iugement to dyscerne the *dyuersyte* betwyx the vnyte *spiritual* & the vnyte *polytycal*, wych they thought schal run to ruyne for lake of thys hede whome they made *immedyate* iuge vnder chryst, on whose iugement al, as of the vycar of chryst, *chrystian men* ought of necessitye to hange. In thys opynyon most sturdyly stode Raynoldys, whome I haue hard of yore many tymys praysyd, who was so rolyd therin that he could admyt no reson to the *contrary*. Dyuerse were sent to them in pryson by the kyngys *commandement* to instruct them wyth the truth, but in that opynyon both he & the rest were so blyndyd & sturdy that nother they could

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*Abstract.*

but rather a cause of dissension and sedition. (4) As regards the divorce, he is certain that Pole will at once see the impropriety of a marriage between a brother and sister, and that the Pope has no power of dispensation in such cases. (5) As to the execution of the Charterhouse monks, they had been put to death for affirming the Pope's supremacy to be an essential article of belief, contrary to an Act of Parliament lately passed, and were therefore guilty of treason, for

see the truth in the cause, nor yet gyue conuenient obedyence due to such personys, as of them selfe can not see the truthe. Wherfor, accordyng to the course of the law, as rebellys to the same, & dysobedyent to the pryncely authoryte, and as personys wych, as much as lay in them, haue rotyd a sedycyon in thys commynalty, they most justely haue suffryd thys wordly dethe, whose synnys & blyndnes I besech our lord pardon.

(6) Thys ys the truth of thys mater, wherof I can certaynly assure you, for by the lycens & commandement of Master Secretary I was admyttyd to here Raynoldys raysonys, & to confer such lyght as god hath gyuen me in the same cause wyth hym. In whome I promys you I nother found strong rayson to mayntene hys purpus, nor yet grete lernyng to the defence of the same. Wyth hym I conferryd gladly, for sory I was for many causys that a man of such fame as he was here notyd both for vertue & lernyng, schold dye in such a blynd & superstycouse opynyon, but no thyng coulde avayle but that he wold in that opynyon as a dysobedyent person to the kyngys lawys suffur hys deth, wyth the other of the same mynd; wherof they them selfe were the cause, in so much that hyt semyd to me they sought theyr owne deth, of the wych no man can be justely accusyd but they themselfe. Thys thyng, syr, as occasyon, tyme & place doth requyre, you may commyn ther, as you schal thynke hyt expedyent, and to such as you may perceyue by mysreport are other ways informyd, for thys ys the truth, that I haue breuely touchyd by thes letturys vn to you.

After Starkey had written as above, but, as it seems, before he had despatched his letter, he received a further communication from Pole, dated 22nd April, in which he promises to consider the matter carefully, and to examine into all the ecclesiastical and other authorities on the point. It would seem from a passage in Starkey's reply to this letter that Pole had stated that a couple of months or so would intervene before he could forward his written opinion. To this the king does not appear to have raised any objection, but only to have repeated his wish that Pole would not make any "grete or long volume" on the matter, but state his views as briefly as possible. Starkey accordingly wrote to Pole (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VĪ., leaf 360).

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*Abstract.*

which, and not for their religion, they were condemned. (6) Of the facts of the case he could speak with authority, having been sent by Cromwell to argue with Reynolds, whom he had found blinded by superstitious obstinacy. He himself regrets the death of these men very much, and hopes Pole will correct any misreport of the matter.

(1) Aftur I had wryte thys much vn to you *perceuyng* your mynd somewhat of your letturys to Johan Walker, wch were receuyd apon Wytson morn, the same day at nyght I receuyd your letturys to me of the xxij of apryle, the tenoure wherof I haue schowyd to the kyngys hyghnes, who gratefully toke your mynd as I coul *perceyue*, but somewhat meruelyng that you schold take so much plesure in your quyat & scolastycal studys, as I schowyd hys grace you dyd, wylling you in thes materys requyryd, accordyng to your duty, as wel toward hys hyghnes as toward your cuntrey, to set *aparte* al such scolastical respectys, to the declaratyon of your lernyd iugement, wherby you myght in setting forth such a truth *profyt* your cuntrey, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl, so I affyrmyd, that you wold dow.

(2) By al thes ij monethys your *sentence* schalbe lokyd for, in the declaratyon wherof, as I haue wryte to you before, you schal not nede to wryte any grete or long volume, but *tempur* your style, as your *prudence*, lernyng & iugement schal *serue* you therin, in the wych thyng our lord gyue you hys lyght that you may see the sure & certayn truthe : wherof I haue grete hope when I *consydur* the saying of scripture, wherin hyt ys sayd that by puryte of mynd the lyght of truth ys sonyst *perceuyd*, and your mynd to thys day I haue not yet knowen spottyd wyth any notabul affectyon.

(3) Maystur Secretary also, of hys most *gentyl* & louyng mynd toward you and of hys grete wysedome & synguler *prudence*, wylling you to *pondur* thys thyng wel, that ys of *secrete* & quyat studys the vncertayne frute, wch hengyth for the most *parte* of the blynd Iugement of the redar & of the posteryte, and apon the other syde the wyse & prudent *handelyng* of *countrouersys* of weyght in thys our present age, to the ordur wherof we in thys tyme speccially be of nature borne & brought forth, as the posteryte to materys of their tyme, the close & manyfest defynytyon wherof also hathe annexyd and joynyd therto sure & certayn frute wch ys the stablyschyd quyetnes of the *commyn* wele—by the *pondering* of thys he jugyth in some *parte* you may be mouyd resonably at the last for a certayn tyme to set *aparte* your scolastycal studys, to the wych also you may as tyme & *occasyon* schal *serue* you therto haue recourse agayne.

(4) Maystur Baynton also, vy[ce]chamberleyn to the quene, your old louer & frende, to whome the kyngys plesure ys not vnknowen, aftur most hartye comendatyonys, apon hys behalfe wyllid me thys to wryte to you, that you schold wel *consydur*

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*Abstract.*

(1) Acknowledges receipt of Pole's letter of 22nd April, which he had shown to the king, who had expressed his satisfaction at it, but (2) hoped that Pole will not make any great volume on the subject, nor consume too much time in searching into the writings of ancient scholars which were not suited to the altered state of things ; in which hope (3) Cromwell and (4) his friend Baynton join, the latter impressing on Pole the nature and extent of his obligations to the king.

how the kyngys hyghnes most graciously serchyth, & euer hath downe, a conuenient mean to set you in such case that he myght accordyng to the fame of your *vertues* & merytys handyl & intrete you ; and ferthermore wel to *consydur* how much the kyng of hys grete gudnes gyuyng vn-to your lernyng & Jugement, whom he knowyth much wylling to haue your *consent* in hys grete causys although they be defynyd already, in so much that your judgement therto *can* lytyl auance, except *perauentur* in some *parte* to the *confyrmacyon* therof. Thes thynges I was wylyd to wryte vnto you to wryte, wych, though hyt gretely nedyd not at al for bycause you of your selfe are suffeyently styrryd to the fulfylling of the kyngys plesure therin, yet I jugyd hyt to *pertayne* to my duty both toward you & toward them to *certyfy*e you therof, wherin I *can* no more say but pray to god to gyue you such lyght as ys conuenient to that mynd wych labouryth for the enserchyng of the truth.

On the 3rd June Pole wrote again to Starkey. He repeated his promise to give the subject his most careful consideration, and reiterated more strongly his earnest desire and readiness to do all in his power to serve the king and fulfil his pleasure ; but he added that in his writing in this cause he would “ weigh Scripture, laying apart all authoritye of men.” He again excused his delay in answering Starkey’s and Cromwell’s letters by stating that he had been waiting for further instructions from the latter, which had been sent to him in the charge of the ambassador of Venice, and had been delayed on the road. In all probability, however, the true reason was that in the mean time he had been feeling his way at the Court of Rome. Pole in fact wished, before committing himself to any decided action in favour of either the king’s or the Pope’s party, to see which side was likely to give him the highest reward for his support. He saw his chance, and he utilized it to the utmost advantage by temporizing with the king while he was making his ground sure at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

§ 9. For such a man Starkey was no match in matters of business or diplomacy. Pole’s delay in answering his letters he attributed only to a possible unwillingness on the part of the latter to be drawn into

<sup>1</sup> Phillips, in his *History of Reginald Pole*, London, 1767, I. 74, 75, reproduces the story of Henry’s having, in 1529, offered Pole the archbishopric of York if he would give his support in favour of the king’s divorce, of the rejection of the offer by Pole, and of the subsequent interview between them, with its romantic conclusion—a story which Burnet characterizes as “a romantic adventure, invented by Sanders . . . and mentioned by no contemporary writer.”

the matter at all. His mind was therefore considerably relieved on the receipt of Pole's letter with the explanation of the delay, and he at once wrote again, urging the pressing nature of the business, and supporting his view of the subject with additional arguments (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 356):—

(? August, 1535.)

(1) Syr, You haue downe wel that by your letturys of the thryd of Iune you haue somewhat more at large openyd your affecte[on] & wyl to *serue* the kyng in the cause of you requeryd. Wherin though of your wyl, wch I know euer to be redy to *serue* the kyng in al poyntys that you may, I dyd no thyng dowte, yet by your long sylence mouyd I coude not but feare lest the cause had lytyl lykyd you, but now I *perceyue* you haue byn slakker in wrytyng bycause you mor lokyd for ferther *instructyon* by Mastur Secretorys letturys, wch haue byn longur by the way than the ambassador of venyce at hys *departure* made to me sure promys they schold; but now you haue al wch haue byn to you wryten in thys cause, hereaftur I schal not cesse to loke for your answere, trustyng that hyt schal be wyth such iugement & grauyte as ys *conuenient* to your lernyng & to the expectatyon that *men* haue here therof. (2) For syth hyt ys so as by your letturys you declare that wyth al *dylygence* you wyl wey scripture therin, leying *aparte* al authoryte of *man*, I dowte not also but that you wyl wyth lyke Jugement in examynyng of the same put asyde al such *preiudicia* as by custume and tyme in symptul myndys be reputyd of grete wayght; wherof we haue lamentabul experyence here in our cuntrey, by the blyndnes of many wch lately haue suffryd: hauyng no thyng of moment to lay agayn the authoryte of law, but only long custume, and vsage of many yerys, and auncyent opynyons wherin theyr fatherys haue dyed, they lake the true iugement of polytyke thyngys—wch be of thys nature that of necessity in processe of tyme & in many yerys euer by lytyl & lytyl grow to iniuste extremyte, *non* other wyse than the body of *man* by the course of nature euer in tyme fallyth in decay & natural debylyte—the wch thyng not wel *consyderyd* hath causyd dyuerse here of late, not wythout sorow of many honest myndys stubburnely to repugne to the *commyn pollycy*, whose *exampul* I am <sup>1</sup> sure schal wyth you no thyng wey, whome I haue knowen, euer wythout any exteryor & vayn respecte, euer loke wyth a *constant* & stabyl mynd to truth & honestye: (3) in

*Abstract.*

(1) Expresses his pleasure at Pole's promise to consider the points as desired, and his professions of anxiety to please the king. (2) Hopes that Pole will enter upon the question with a mind free of all prejudices arising from long custom and use. (3) That the supremacy

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 356, back.

so much that of thys I dow make wyth my selfe almost a sure ground, & of your iugement me semyth am certayn, that by your dylygent ponderyng both of storys & scripture in thys behalfe, you wyl soone see how that chrystys doctryne determ[yn]yth no one kynd of pollycey but in al statys may be stablyschyd & groundyd, so that thys superyoryte & vnyte of God, ys not to be requyrd of necessity, but hangyth only apon mere pollycey, for as much as chryst sayd, *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, & in a nother place as you know, quis me *constituit diuisorem* inter vos, by the refuse wherof, as I take hyt, he wold declare al such thyngys to be left to the *gouernance of man* and worldly pollycey. (4) Thes thyngys I thynke schal be somewhat in your mynd *confermyd* by the redyng of Marsilius, whome I take, though he were in style rube, yet to be of a grete iugement, & wel to set out thys mater, both by the authority of scripture & gud reysonys groundyd in phylosophy, and of thys I pray you send me your iugement. (5) Syr, as touchyng Mister Gaspero, whose excellent *vertue* & lernyng are to me knowen as they be to you, I can not be but glad; how be hyt I thynke he schal more rather gyue & adde honowre to the ordur, then therof to take any ornament, and yf I had not sure *confydence* in hys dyuine nature & as you say angelycal, I wold somewhat feare lest by thys dygnyte he schold also *conceyue* the nature of a cardynal—of whome ther I haue hard many tymys sayd that wyth the hatte wyl remayne *neuer* nother honowre nor yet honesty—but he by hys synguler vartue may be *perauenture* a meane to restore to that ordur some dygnyte: but as touchyng thys *parte*, that yf he were pope as I *coniecture* truly he schortly schalbe, he<sup>1</sup> schold restore in chrystys church the old vnyte, of thys I haue no expectatyon at al, for that vnyte ys now so open & playn that men I thynke schal *neuer* in our days desyre hyt to be restoryd agayne aftur that sorte as hyt hath byn vsyd. (6) To thys I suppose not only the nature angelycal of mastur gaspero ys not sufflyceyent, but the angellys of heuyn yf they schold come to preach that superyoryte agayn, of many I thynke they schold searsely be hard, for so hyt ys iugyd by wyse men to repugne to gud ordur & *commyn* pollycey, that they seme to lake iugement wych wold by any man haue that to be restoryd agayne. How be hyt of thys now I wyl speke no more, for I dowte not but in weying thys mater you

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*Abstract.*

of the Pope is a matter not of religion but of policy. Christ himself refused all earthly power, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world;" by which He plainly left worldly matters to be regulated by men. (4) In support of his view he refers Pole to Marsilius. (5) Is glad to hear of Gaspero's being raised to the rank of cardinal, but hopes his nature will not change like that of other cardinals, for "with the hat remains neither honour nor honesty." (6) Not even Gaspero, if made Pope, would be able to restore the Pope's authority in

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 357.

schal see thys to be true bettur than I can other conceyue or expresse. (7) And, syr, wher as you wryte that when you wryte to the kyng you wyl wythal make answere to *mastur* secretorys letturys, me semyth you are ouer slake therin, how be hyt I can not perceyue hys *gentylnes* to be much offendyd therwyth; he forsyth not much of your answere to hym, so that to the kyng you make such answere as may be to the honowre of god, & setting forth of the truthe, wherby you schal both profyt your cuntrey & bryng much *comforte* to your selfe & to your louarys & frendys; of thys *mastur* secretory semyth to be desyrouse, wherin you see how much you are to hys gudnes bounden, and not only for thys, but also for other hys grete *gentylnes*, wych dynerse ways he hath schowyd & dayly doth to other of your frendys, wych as I take hyt he gladlyer doth for your sake & for the loue wych he beryth to you, *conceynyd* by opynyon of such *vertues* as be reportyd to be in you, wherof I trust at your retorne you schal schow manyfest experyence, the wych I pray god schortly may be to your *comfort*.

With this letter is a small slip of paper in Starkey's handwriting, which appears from internal evidence to be in all probability his copy of a short letter from Cromwell to Pole enclosed in his own. It runs as under (leaf 357):—

Syr, aftur my most hartly recommendatyonys thys schalbe in few & schort wordys to requyre, you accordyng to the calling that our lord *Jesu* Chryst, hath callyd & indeuyd you, that ys to say, as wel wyth the gyft of gud *letturys* and vnderstanding as wyth the most excellent gyft of judgement in the same, ye wyl indeuur your selfe to make answere vn-to such thyngys as be *contynyd* in *mastur* Starkey's *letturys* to you wrytyn at thys tyme, by the kyng our *masturys* & soueraynys expresse *commandement*, & that the same answer may be such & of such graunte as the lyght & truthe therof may be to the honowre of god & the satysfuctyon of hys hyghnes: wherof I assure you I wold be as glad as any parent or frend ye haue luyng, not dowtyng in your approuyd wysedome & judgement but that ye wyl extend the gyftys *gyuen* vn-to you in such wyse and leuyng al your respectys or affectyon, wole so inserch your *conseyence* & judgement for the truth as ye wole both dyschar\_g\_e your selfe agaynst god & your *prynce*, in dowyng wherof you schal assurrdly dow the thyng much to the inrese of your meryte & fame. Wherin, as he that ys your assurrd frend to hys lytyl power, I requyre yow to haue indyf-

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*Abstract.*

England as it had been, no, nor yet an angel from heaven. (7) Hopes Pole will not neglect to answer Cromwell's letters, who has in many ways shown his affection towards him by kindness to his friends.



ferent *consyderatyon* & so to ordur your selfe therin as the expectatyon of your frendys wythe the jugement of al men that knowyth you may be satysfyd in that behalfe, & thus our lord send you no worse to fare then I wold ye dyd at London.

§ 10. From internal evidence it is clear that it was about this time that Starkey wrote the letter to Cromwell which is printed by Mr Collier in his *Nine Historical Letters* alluded to below. In it he apologizes for not having written before on the plea of an attack of ague. He encloses a "lytyl serole" which he hopes Cromwell will find time to read; refers to the death of "Raynolds of Sion," and afterwards to Pole, of whom he says, "apon the erth lyvyth not a more syncere and pure hart then hath Mastur pole, & lesse spottyd wyth dyssymulaeyon, therfor, whatsoever *Master Pole* thynkyth in thes causys the kyng schortly & playnly schal know."

He expresses the hope that Cromwell will "take occasyon to speke wyth the kyngys hyghnes of so pore a man as [he is] to stablysh in hys grace such opynyon of [him] as [his] hart doth deserve . . . for to hys se[r]vyce [he is] mouyd by love & faythful observaunce, & by no wordly benefyte nor wordly avauncement."

Pole's letters to Starkey had been, it would seem, so skilfully worded that the latter was very confident that the result would be one gratifying to the king, and no doubt he signified as much to his master.

§ 11. But there had been a letter, or rather a treatise, by Pole written, as it would appear from a passage in the following letter from Starkey (see p. xxviii, l. 5, and p. xxx, l. 33), before the king had instructed the latter to write to him asking for his opinion, in which he seems to have discussed the subject more as a matter of policy than of divinity, pointing out the dangers which might possibly arise from the course which had been pursued, but not touching at all on the very points on which the king was most anxious to have his opinion, viz., whether his marriage with Queen Katherine was legal according to divine law, and whether the supremacy which the popes had for so many centuries claimed for themselves was in accordance with the same rule. It was on these points that the king desired his opinion, and not on the probable or possible political results of the course which he had adopted, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to

Pole to this effect. Starkey accordingly wrote in the following terms (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 361) :—

(? — 1535.)

(1) Syr. You wrote before in our pryneys cause of your owne moeyon : wherin you schowyd loungly the daungerys that myght of hys cause folow, but the mater hyt selfe as hyt ys here by the kyng most scharply jugyd you dyd not almost touche. Wherfor now the kyng, as I haue wryt, requyryth your lernyd Iugement : & that you schold leue your prudent and wytty pollycey tyl you be requyryd. The poyntes be thes, wych though you ryght wel of your selfe know yet I wyl put them a lytyl aftur my mynd before your yes.

(2) An *matrimonium cum relicta fratris*, ab eo cognita,<sup>1</sup> sit iure divino licitum.

In thys and in the rest also, though the kyngys plesure be you schold gyue place to no mannys *persuasyon* nor authoryte, as I am sure you wyl not ; yet for the loue that I bere vn-to you & for the desyre that I haue that you schold se the Iugyd truth, I wyl note certayn plaecys of weyght aftur myn opynyon in thes thyngys to be *consyderyd*, euer leuyng your owne iugement fre.

(3) And fyrst for thys poynt *consydyr* how thys law ys rotyd in nature : pondur hyt by thys rule yf hyt seme to you gu[de] : al thyng wych byndyth man to the obseruatyon therof : al law wryten put asy[de] for the *conseruatyon* of the cyuyle polytyke lyfe vnyuersally *conuenient* to the dygnyte of the nature of man : al such I thynke ys rotyd in the law of nature. Apply thy[s] rule wythout affectyon, & wyth a ryght ye examyne hyt in thys case.

And then for the second poynt, *an lyceat dispensure*, esy I thynke hyt scha[1] be to fynd the popys powar extendyth not therto. And

*Abstract.*

(1) Has been desired by the king to point out that Pole's answer had not really touched the matter at issue, and to tell him to keep his opinions on the policy of the king's acts till they are asked for. (2) Again states the questions to be answered : viz., (a) Is marriage with a brother's widow lawful? (3) Arguments against it : 1st, the law of nature ; 2ndly, the Pope's power of dispensation did not, and ought not to, extend to such a case. Such power was a usurpation on the part of the Popes, and had never been granted to them by any general

<sup>1</sup> Starkey here appears to take as an undisputed fact that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. But this is very doubtful. Arthur was married on November 6, 1501, and died in the beginning of the following April, when he was only 14 years of age. From the *Simancas State Papers, Rolls Series*, ed. Bergenroth, it is clear that Henry VII. himself did not consider that the marriage had been consummated, as it appears that, in order not to have to restore Katharine's dowry, he proposed to marry her himself after his son's death.

though hyt were expediēt for the wordly pollycy for to haue dispensatyon, as hyt was *perauenture* in the kyngys ca[use], yet hyt ys not expediēt any one man to haue such powar to breke such Law so rotyd in nature, and apon thys ground hyt apperyth to me fer[ther] tha[t] the pope schold not haue powar not only to dyspense wyth any law so rotyd in nature, but also that he hath not powar (nor conuenient hy[t] ys that he schold haue): ye though he were made hede of the churc[h] powar to dyspense wyth lawys made in general conseyll, catholyke lawys, & vnyuersal groundys, ordeynyd for the conseruacyon of chrystyan lyfe in al chrystys churche, and though he hathe vsyd the contrary, hyt was, I thynke, a mysyse & vsurpyd by the reson wherof now hyt ys spyd, now hyt doth fal, now hyt ys plukkyd iustely away.

Loke also & pondur thys whether euer the hole authoryte of making, of abrogatyg, of dyspensyg wyth catholyke lawys & vnyuersal groundys of chrystian lyuyng, were euer gyuen & translatyd to the pope by any law wryten in general conseyll, wych were necessary to fynd yf we schold attrybute such authoryte. as to the emperourys we fynd *legem regiam qua potestas senatus & populi erat in principem collata*.

(4) <sup>1</sup>The second pryncypal mater:—an *superioritas quam multis in seculis romanus pontifex sibi vindicauit sit ex iure diuino*. Here you must way the placys of the gospel & scripture, wherin I thynke you schal fynd non manyfestly prouyng that; the *commyn* placys you know how y<sup>t</sup> they are vnderstood contrary therby dyuerse & many, as when the dyscepyels of chryste *contendyd* for superiorite you know what chryst sayd; you know how poule *confessyth* [he] knyoth only christ for heed, cyuyle & polytyke hedys he confessyd many, *sed iure diuino nullum*. Ferther loke to the begynnyng of the church when the truth therof was bettur knowen than hyt ys nowe. In the actys of the apostyls you schal fynd no such thyng, and aftur the apostyls days the iijj patriarchys of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constanti[nople], of rome had among them no superiorite.

(5) Loke ferther how the grekys fele from the church catholyke as we cal now, chefely for bycause the byschope of rome wold be chefe hede; you know what ys to be gyuen to the iugement of the grekys in the interpretatyon of scripture bettur than I dow.

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*Abstract.*

council. (4) The second question: Is the supremacy claimed by the Pope founded on Divine law? He points out that there are no passages of Scripture on which to ground it, and that the bishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome were originally equal in authority; that (5) this assumption by the Bishop of Rome of supremacy had caused the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 361, back.

The contentyon betwyx Petur & Poule takyth away such superioryte as ys gyven to the successorys of Petur.

Pondur why more from the byschope of Antyoche than of Rome such superiorite ys taken a way sayng Petur was byschope of bothe.

(6) Thes certayn poyntys I now wryte to you, *non quia preiudicium aliquod afferrent*: the kyngys plesure ys that you schold, wythout any preiudicial affectyon taken of any man upon one *parte* or other, wyth a sincere mynd & wyth that lyght that god hath gyven you in scripturys & lernyng gyue your *sentence*. And as touchyng the pollycey of bothe the materys & of bryngyng them to effecte, wch hys grace hathe now downen whether hyt be wel downen or yl he requyryth no judgement of you, as of one that in such thyngys hath no grete experyence as yet. As whether hyt be *conueny*[ent] that ther schold be one hed in the church & that to be the byschope of rome, set thys asyde, & in hys cause of matrimony, whether the pollycey that he hath vsyd therein be profytabul to hys reame or no, leue that asyde; only shew you whether, yf the fyrst matrymony were to make, whether you wold approue that then or no, and the cause why you wold not, & thus wey the thyng in <sup>1</sup>hyt selfe as hyt ys in hys owne nature & put a *parte* feare of al daungerys, hope of al gud wch schold succede & hangyth upon wordly pollycey, and so clerely wythout affectyon other of kyng or quene breuely gyue your *sentence*. And thus<sup>2</sup> you schal fyrst honoure god & truth; & second also satsfyue the kyng, wch sayd to me thes wordys, that rather he had you were beryd ther then you schold for any wordly promotyon & profyt to your selfe dyssymbul wyth hym in thes grete and weyghty causys.

Thus<sup>2</sup> you haue my mynd & the kyngys plesure withal, and yf case be that you reche to the jugyd truth, you nede not to feare, aftur my mynd, that men schold lay to you lyghtnes of mynd & chaungyng of sentence, for as fer as I can coniecture you dyd affyrme noathyng in the cause \* as was *conuenient* for *arrogancye* hyt (*i*) any thyng affyrme but only that wch by the word of god we haue declaryd to vs, wherfore you dyd \*<sup>3</sup> only put before hys yes the daungerys wch hangyd upon wordly pollycey. Yf I remembyr thys you dow, I can not wel tel for I neuer see nor red your boke but onys as you know wel, at the wch tyme hyt semyd to me you wrote so probably that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to co[me], but I trust

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*Abstract.*

(6) The king desires Pole to set aside all questions as to *policy*, and, without looking to any danger or advantage that might arise, give his opinion, sincerely and impartially, as to one who would rather see him dead than deceitful.

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 362.

<sup>2</sup> MS. thys.

<sup>3</sup> The words between \* are inserted both above the line and in the margin; the order of the clause is not quite clear, but this seems to be the best sense that can be made of it.

the gudnes of god & prouydence of our most wyse prynce schal auerte & turne al suche calamyte by mannys coniecture forseyn from thys our cuntrey.

Dyrecte your knolege yf you see nede by mastur gaspero, the byschope of chete, wyth other such men of hys lernyng & iugem[ent].

§ 12. These repeated requests and solicitations at last had their desired effect. On the 27th May, 1536, Pole forwarded to the king his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, with the following letter:—

“Pleaseth it *your* grace to vnderstond that wheras, furst by Master Sterkeys letters, chapleyn to *your* grace, and afterward by Master secretary confrmeng the same, I was aduertysed that it was *your* grace pleasure I shold by my wryting open to *your* grace my sentence concernyng the superiorite of the pope in the church, wyth other artycles belongyng to the same, ad[i]oyneng thervnto such reasons as dyd most induce me to enclyne to that parte I toke; assureng me the same shold be most acceptable to *your* grace, yf, withoutt affection of ony parte, or respecte other but only of the very truthe, I shold playnly sett furth my sentence. I, therefore, gevyng credence to thys enformation and obeyng to *your* plesure, haue, wyth all playnes, comprised in a boke my hole sentence, wch I have sent to *your* grace by thys bearar. And now how it schall satisfye *your* grace that I have wryten, I thynke he knoweth only *in cuius manu sunt corda regum*: for thys knolech I wyll not gyve to *your* grace, nor to no man, how grete so euer he be, in yerth, to know somuch of hys owne mynd afore he here the truthe how he shal be moued withall: but god only hath thys knolech, wch at hys plesure ys to gyue the lyght of hys spyrite, more or lesse; so he maketh the harte of man more or lesse contentyd wyth the trothe: wherfore to hys goodness now all my prayere shal be, in whom ys all my trust for the knolech of the truthe to be *persuadyd* to *your* grace. And as tochyng my purpose in the dyscourse of my boke to the manyfestyng of my sentence, yf it please *your* grace to have furder enformation, I have geven instructions therof to thys bearar, to whom it may please *your* grace to gyve credence.<sup>1</sup> Thus prayng to almyghty god to preserue *your* grace in highe honore, to the contentation of *your* most noble hartys desyre, the same agreyng to hys plesure. Writen at Venyce the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of May,

By *your* faythfull seruant,

Raynold Pole.

Indorsed:—“From Pole the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of May:” addressed “To the Kynges Grace.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These “additional instructions” are in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi., leaf 334.

<sup>2</sup> From the original in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII.; “the Pole letters, as transmitted by Mr Collier,” Sept. 1859. (See *Appendix to 21st Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 47.) Privately

In this treatise Pole not only dealt with the arguments adduced in Dr Sampson's book, but also commented freely and sharply on the king's private life and character, so much so indeed as to lay himself open to the charge of base ingratitude.

Before he forwarded the book to England, Pole had shown it to two of his friends in Rome, Contarini and Priuli, who remonstrated with him on the tone which he adopted, pointing out that by treating Henry in such a manner he would not only draw down the king's vengeance on himself, but would also involve his relations in his own danger.

To this Pole replied that their observations were very just, and that he was aware of their truth, but since flattery and temporizing had hitherto been the source of all the evil, the only remaining hope was in exposing the naked truth. "If, however (he says), when you have read through the work you still think, notwithstanding what I have said at the beginning and end, that it wants other correctives, I will submit it to those which you may judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." And in a further letter to Priuli he declares that he had entered upon the blamable part of the king's character with the utmost reluctance, and that he had been persuaded to do so only by his great desire to promote Henry's welfare, which could never be done unless the king himself were brought to a sense of his faults. "How (he says) can this be done unless they are placed before his eyes? Who will undertake this except myself?"

In his *Apologia* Pole declares that he read over the book before sending it to England, not without some thoughts of suppressing it, but that finding certain leaves which contained the sharpest strictures on the king's character cut out, he suspected that they had been purloined by some of his enemies for the purpose of sending them to Henry and doing him injury, and he therefore determined to forward the book as it was to the king.

He adds that with the book he sent to the king a letter full of

printed by Mr J. P. Collier, in 1871, with the title "*Nine Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII.*", written by Reginald Pole, Thomas Cromwell, Michael Throckmorton, and Thomas Starkey. Copied from the originals." There is another copy of Throckmorton's letters in MS. Cott., Nero, B. vi.

affection and duty, assuring him that what was written was written to him alone, and had been shown to none whose knowledge of the matter could cause any harm or danger; that he himself would suppress the work so long as he saw any hopes of being able to acknowledge in a more pleasing argument how much he was indebted to the king for his education and so many other marks of the royal bounty.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time he alludes to the fact that some of his statements had been called in question, and defies any person to point out a single false statement.<sup>2</sup>

Pole seems, however, to have at least partially regretted the tone of the book, for not all the injuries inflicted on him by Henry could induce him to allow it to be printed, nor was it till after a German bookseller had published an unauthorized and incorrect version from a pirated copy that he in self-defence consented to the publication of a true and authorized edition.

As to the delay in forwarding the book, Pole in his *Apologia* seems to wish it to be understood that he was anxious, if possible, to escape the necessity of sending it at all, but had, as he says, seized the opportunity presented by the death of Ann Boleyn, because then he felt that the king would either wander beyond all hopes of reformation or, if addressed in time, might be induced to return to the laudable paths which he had forsaken.

But such a surprise was this treatise to Henry, who had been led by Starkey to be firmly convinced that its contents would be favourable to his cause, that the natural result was the disgrace of the latter. Starkey himself, it is clear, was astonished beyond measure, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that in raising such hopes in the king's mind he was influenced by any other motive than a sincere belief in their fulfilment.

Starkey, on the receipt of the book, acting as Pole's true friend, desired that it might be committed to the judgment of some learned

<sup>1</sup> See Phillips's *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I. p. 136. This cannot mean the letter printed above, p. xxxi, but may refer to the *Additional instructions* already mentioned, in which he professes the strongest attachment to the king and the greatest desire to please him.

<sup>2</sup> *Apologia ad Angl. Parliamentum*, I. 179.

men, who should read and impartially report on it. To this the king assented, and Starkey himself was joined with them.

§ 13. But though all the committee seem to have been friends of Pole, yet when they came to read the book, so strong was its language and so full did it appear to be of ingratitude towards the king, his friend and patron, that they could not but be struck with surprise, sorrow, and indignation. Starkey especially was thunderstruck; all his hopes and his confident expectations were so rudely dashed to the ground that he, with the others, could scarcely believe the book to be Pole's own writing. He asked to be allowed to read it over privately alone, and did so carefully and seriously, as he says, with the result that after consideration of the whole matter he came to the conclusion that it was "the most frantyke iugement" that ever he had read of any learned man. He therefore writes as follows to Pole, expostulating and arguing with him (MS. Cott. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 365):<sup>1</sup>—

(1) Much I haue maruelyd, *Master Pole*, al thys yere past bothe of your syldon & schort wrytyng to me, *consydering* the *contynual* *dylygence* vsyd apon my behalfe euer toward you, and though of late at the fyrst cumyng of your *seruant*<sup>2</sup> when he brought your boke I jugyd that you *perauenture* wrote not, bycause you \* were so occupyd, in the fyrst settyng out \*<sup>3</sup> of your mater in wrytyng to the kyngys hyghnes, wherin you had byn before tyme somewhat slakke & so had lytyl leysure, yet now at hys second retorne, when you wrote to *dyuerse* other of your *frendys* I lokyd to haue had some one word wryten vnto me for that me thought our *frenschype* requyryd. Wherefore then I bega[n] playnly wyth my selfe to juge your *mynde* wythout cause *aljenate* as me thought, and most justely I myght accuse you of *vnkyndnes*, wych vsyd toward me such *contynual* *sylenge*; for thys I haue euer rekenyd, that *dyuersyte* of *opnyon* in such *thyngys* wych *perteyne* not of *necessyte* to *mannys* *saluatyon*, schold *neuer* brek loue & *amyte* betwyx them wych haue *iugement* &

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(1) Expresses the disappointment which he had felt in not receiving any letters from Pole, the reason for which neglect he had

<sup>1</sup> This letter has been considerably condensed, as it has already been printed by Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, I. pt. ii. No. lxxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Thockmorton, who was afterwards gained over to the king's side, and used as a spy upon Pole's actions.

<sup>3</sup> MS., wold gyne no occasyon of blame *crossed out*, and the words *between* \* *written over*.



dyscretioun, no more than doth dulnes or scharpenes in the syght of the ye, wherin one frend to be angry wyth a nother bycause he sethe ferther or not so fer as dothe he, ys veray smal reson, for as the one schold cause no anger so the other schold brede no enuye ; so that although I varyd from you in the iugement of the mater, yet your sylence declaryd much ingratytude toward me. (2) And thys count I made before I rede your boke, but aftur such tyme as I dyd rede the same & weyd your iugement therin I was no thyng sory of thys your sylence, but rather glad that you so vsyd yourselve toward me, for hys letturys to rede, who hathe so lytyl regard of hys masturys honowre & so lytyl respecte of hys frendys & cuntrey as in your wrytyng you playnly declaryd, I haue lytyl plesure. Wherfor though of late I had determ[yn]yd neuer to wryte you agayne, yet aftur I had rede your boke I was so affectyd, and wyth your ingratytude toward our prynce and cuntre so offendyd, that I could not tempur myselve nor satysfye my mynde wythout some declaratyon therof by wrytyng to you schowyd. And so now euen as you semyd to me illa tua oratione principem et patriam tuo quidem iudicio pereuntem extremis quasi verbis comppellare, so schal I te insanientem mea sententia amicam extrema quasi voce salutari, for thys <sup>1</sup> I purpos schal be the last lettur that euer I schal hereaftur to you wryte donec resipiscas. Wherin I wyl not entur to dyspute the ground of the mater wych requyryth rather a boke then a lettur, but only I schal a lytyl open to you, the grete imprudence & foly, the detestabul vnkyndnes & Iniury schowyd in your sentence bothe toward your prynce frendys & cuntrey. By the reson wherof except you take hede & consydr the mater in tyme wyth bettur iugement, wyth that contempt of your cuntrey & thys arrogant dyspysyng of al the iugementys therin, you schal vturly cast away your selfe. (3) Wherfore, Master Pole, I schal pray you by al such loue as I haue euer borne to you, wych I promyse you ys gretur than euer I bare to any natural brother, to here me a lytyl & wey my wordys indyfferently. And fyrst, Master Pole, how I was affectyd wyth the redyng of youre boke I schal a lytyl touche. At such tyme as your boke was delyueryd to the kyng though you wrote not to me, I, forgettyng not the offyce of a frend, requyryd that your boke myght be commyttyd to the examynacyon of them wych bothe had lernyng to iuge & wold wey the mater indyfferently, the wych I

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been unable to imagine. (2) But after reading of his book he felt glad that Pole had not written, for there could be no pleasure in the letters of one who showed such base ingratitude towards his prince. This, therefore, is to be his last letter to Pole, which (3) he begs him to weigh seriously. When his book arrived he had asked that it should be referred to a committee of learned men, to whom he was joined. So shocked had he felt when it was read, that it seemed to

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 365, back.

promys you was done, and to them I, as your frend was joynyd also ; in the redyng wherof, though we louyd you al intyerly, yet your corrupt judgement in the mater & your detestabul vnkyndnes toward your prynce so offend[yd] vs al, that many tymys our yerys abhorryd the heryng ; and as for me, I promys you at the fyrst redyng I was so amasyd & astonyd wyth the mater that I could not wel juge, I wyst not *with* what spryte hyt was wryten wythal, and euer me thought hyt schold be some dreime, or at the lest no oratyon of *Master Pole*, whome I euer notyd to be the moste addycte to the honowre of hys prynce & the welth of hys cuntre that euer yet I knew. (4) Wherefore I obtaynyd your boke to ouer rede myselte alone, ye aftur yet wyth my lord of *Durham* I rede hyt most dyligently, obseruyng & notyng the hole ordur & processe therof, & when I had redde hyt aftur thys maner I was more astonyd then I was before, for then comparýng the hede to the end & consyderýng the hole cyrcumstance of the mater, playnly to say to you euer as I thynke, therin<sup>1</sup> apperyd to me the most frantyke judgement that euer I rede of any leryd man in my lyfe ; for herin lyth the summe of your boke : bycause we are slyppyd from the obedyence of rome, you juge vs to be separate from the vnyte of the church & to be no membrys of the catholyke body, but to be worse then Turkys or Sarasynys. Wherefore you rayle apon our prynce to bryng hym ad penitentiam more vehemently then euer dyd *Gregory* agayn *Julyan* apostata, or any other agayn such tyrannys as *persecu*[t]yd *Chrystys* doctryne. . . .

(5)<sup>2</sup> I marveyle that you consyduyd not, how the veray chrystyen vnyte stondyth aftur sayn *Poulys* doctryne in the vnyte of fayth, & of spyryt & in a certayn knyttyng togyddur of our hartys by loue & charyte : wch may rest in al kynd of pollycey, for dowteles thys superyoryte of some sprange fyrst of pollycey, as hyt ys euydent by old story, for *Constantyn* was he that gaue therto fyrst authoritye of al such power & superyoryte, wch by other was contynuýd & ineresyd, and so, as hyt began by mannys wyt & instytutyon, I thynke hyt schal end by lyke reson : for in the expresse wyll & word of god hyt hathe no such rote and ground as to you hyt apperyth. . . .<sup>3</sup> And as touchyng the placys of scrypture wherby you confyrme the prymacy, you folow the vulgayre trayn of the latur docturys, wch violently draw them to the setting vp of the see of *Rome*, forgettyng the purpos of the ancyent docturys of our relygyon ; the wch, exalt-

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him some horrible dream. (4) He had, therefore, obtained leave to read it over alone, but could only think it the most "frantyke judgement" he had ever read. (5) The supremacy of the Pope, as being an institution of man, could also be put an end to by man's authority ; that the old doctors, in exalting *sedem romunam et cathedram Petri*, meant thereby the faith which Peter taught at Rome, as is testified

<sup>1</sup> MS., thyerin.

<sup>2</sup> Leaf 366.

<sup>3</sup> Leaf 366, back.

yng *sedem romanam* & *cathedram Petri*, euer ment therby, *fidem quam petrus pre ceteris professus est*, et Rome docuit; and for bycause the fayth of Chryst ther toke most notabul increase & from thens was deryuyd to the west parte of the world, therfore thydur was euer in al dowyty chefe recourse, & that see was most prayseyd & preferryd aboue other, as a place of conseyll & not of hygher powar & authoryte. Thys testyfyth Jerome, Cypriane, wyth al the antyquyte. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Al your scharpe wordys vsyd in thys mater contrary to your *masterys* honowre, declare in you a meruelouse blynd & a corrupt iugement *with wonderful ingratitude* toward your prynce & cuntre. Whereof, *master Pole*, what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd yf I schold here be about to open vnto you, I schold, I thynke, labur in vayne & of you *perauenture* be lytyl beleuyd. . . .

(6) <sup>2</sup> But I trust, *Mayster Pole*, hereaftur the loue of your owne cuntre, and bownden dewty to *your souerayn lord* & *master* schal so *preuayle* in your stomake, that you in tyme retractyng your *sentence* schal to *your grete comfort* inoy the same quiet. For sorowful I schal be to see you *persyste* in any such *sentence* & foly wherby you schold refoose to come to the *presence* of your prynce & perpetually to lake the fruytyon of your natural frendys & cuntrey.

(7) And where as of late I here the *bysch[op]* of Rome hath inuytyd you to *consulte* wyth hym *apon a conseyll general*, I wold aduyse you as one of your most louyng frendys to *consydur* the cause wel before you apply, & loke wel to the offyce wch you owe to your prynce, & suffur not your *conseyence* to be bounde wyth any *supersteyouse knot* conceyuyd by *folyseh scrupulosyte*. For yf you iuge your selfe more to be bounden to that forayn *byschoppe* then to your natural souerayn lord, you schal of al wyse men, I thynke, be jugyd to lake a grete parte of witt & more of vertue & honestye: you schal be jugyd playnly to be blyndyd wyth some grete affectyon & to be an vntrue subyecte vn-to your *mastur* and an open enemy to *your* countrey, whome you say you loue so intyerly. *Consydur* therefore thys mater wyth your selfe <sup>3</sup>ernystly, for ther hangyth more therapon then I feare me you wel conceyue: for thys one thyng I schal say to you, wch I pray fasten in *your brest*, that yf you folow the breues of the pope to you directid & besy *your self* to set forth the *sentence* wch you haue wryten to the kyng, blowyng vp that authoryte wyth such

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by Jerome, Cyprian, and others. (6) But he trusts that Pole's love for his country will induce him to retract his opinion, and (7) warns Pole that his ingratitude to Henry will, if persisted in, be ascribed to some sinister motive, and that if he makes public the book which he has written to the king he will be judged to be as great a traitor and as false to his country as ever any one has been.

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 368, back.

<sup>2</sup> Leaf 369.

<sup>3</sup> Leaf 369, back.

arrogancy, you schalbe notyd in the chrystyan commynwele to be as sedyeyouse a person & mynystur, as grete a breche to chrystyan vnyte, as euer hathe doone<sup>1</sup> any other in our days<sup>1</sup> wyth<sup>2</sup> raslines & temeryte: For as sedyeyouse ys he wych al old custumys & vsagys of the church defendyth ouer obstinatly as he that wythout dyscretyon subvertyth al rashely. . . .

(8) Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas ut cum tuearis hanc pontificis auctoritatem negocium christi te agere putes: ego certe vereor ne dum hec agas christum plane deseras. Quid enim aliud est christum deserere quam optimo principi qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare? Quam dulcissime patrie que te aluit operam tuam denegare: parentibus et clarissimis amicis humani hominis officia non prestare? At dices, et princeps et patria christum deseruere. O Pole, quam insauis, si propter vnum pontificem desertum nos christum deseruisse arbitrare. Ego profecto spero fore vt post hanc a pontifice defectionem, arctius christo hereamus. . . . . Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam leuem causam patriam et parentes et optimum principem deseris; sed ignorancia plane lapsus es, cui ego omnes omnium errores iuxta Platonem tribuere soleo.<sup>3</sup>

§ 14. In spite, however, of all Starkey's exertions, so great was the king's disappointment, and so strong his resentment against Pole, that, as I have said, Starkey soon found that he had lost his position in the king's favour. He seems further to have given cause for a certain

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(8) In upholding the supremacy of the Pope he is not upholding the cause of Christ; rather, in deserting his country and his king, he opposes that cause. Such forgetfulness of the natural duty of man he can only ascribe to ignorance, the source of all errors.

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> *Written over Martyn Luther, erased.*

<sup>2</sup> *hys after wyth erased.*

<sup>3</sup> Of this letter there are two copies amongst the State Papers in the Record Office: one corresponding exactly with the above, the other evidently a first draft, at the end of which Starkey has written the following note:—

“Collens presens cum polo cum scripsit librum confessus est mihi coram morisono se audiuisset sepius ab eo, quod eo tempore cum primum scribere cepit iussus a rege, auctoritatem pontificis pro constitutione humana & pro ἀδιαφόρω habuit, ceterum ubi ad scribendum appulit animus aliud didicit, edoctus diuino spiritu a quo precibus & genibus flexis optinuit certe veritatis cognitionem quam unam tuetur & scriptis defendit.

1537 January 12.

Scripsit librum suum suspicatus gallum quendam suffuratum vnum ex suis quaternionibus, quem tamen postea reperit, iraque motus erat tumulti nostri ex morte regine vt quidam putarunt.”

This, it will be seen, agrees with the account given by Pole himself; see p. xxxii, above.

amount of suspicion, because when preaching against the Pope he had, in the opinion of the court, used too great mildness, and had not spoken against the papal claim of supremacy with sufficient sharpness. For this he appears to have been strongly taken to task, a circumstance which caused him great disquiet and alarm, as we see by the following letter:<sup>1</sup>—

(? July 1536.)

My Lord, your wordys haue goone through my hart, the wych more greuously stroke me *comyng from you*, in whose gudnes I was as much *persuayd* to trust as I was in any manys in erthe; wherfore such wordys as cam *from you* haue more tormentyd my hart, then schold haue doone so many swordys, and yf I were not comfortyd wyth thys, that I thynke surely that the scharpenes of them sprange of a certayn loue borne toward me before tyme (the wych schalbe restoryd, the truthe knowen) I wold haue iugyd them intollerabul, specyally *consyderyng my innocency* in such thyngys wyche you touchyd so scharpely. To the wych I wyl say but thys one word:—proue that I haue dyssemblyd but in one word wyth you or wyth the kyng, & wythout iugement stryke of my heed. And as *concernyng my prechyng* I beseche you let me not be oppressyd *with any wronge informatyon*, but here what other men wyl say wych were also ther *present*, and then accordynly I besech you let the mater be *consyderyd*; for yf I haue not bothe wryten & spoken such thyngys wych wel ponderyd schold bothe set forthe the truthe, & also rather quyat then increse sedyeyon, let me suffur dethe wythout fether delay. And as touchyng the corrupt iugement of the sorowful man, I beseche you impute not to me any *parte of hys foly*, wych hathe alrely more greuyd me, then euer yet hathe doone the dede of any man *lyuyng* apon erthe. And where as you thynke I study a mean doctryne for my owne glory, I know not yet, my lord, what you mean, for I haue studyd to exhort & moue men *from suche extremyte*, wherby they are styrryd to flye theyr obedyence to the kyngys lawys, & to such other thyngys as by the *consent* of our cuntre are set forthe to the *opeannyng* of goddys truthe & hys relygyon. I forge no mean but that wych I fynd wryten in goddys worde, and approuyd by the iugement of our elergy. Trothe hyt ys that I can not frame my iugement to plesse al men, beyng in such varyety of sentence & *controuersye*, for some *perauenture* yet thynke truthe to be treyson, & some *perauenture* that hyt ys here-ysye, betwyx whome I stond, & wyl so long as I schal stond in thys lyfe, *from thys truthe* you schal fynd me my lord to be no sterter, wauerar, nor hengar in the wynd, for thys ys goddys truthe, lying

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers in the Public Record Office, Henry VIII., 1535-7.* This letter bearing no address, it is difficult to say whether it was written to Cromwell, who was now Lord Privy Seal, or to Cranmer, but probably it was to the former.

betwix thes sedycyouse extremytes. But hereof I wyl now speke no more, only thys, besechyng you to be myn indyfferent gud lord, & let not my truthe and innocency be other wyse taken then hyt deseruyth.

This letter, which bears evident signs of having been written in great haste, and in a state of agitation, appears to have produced some effect; for, as we gather from the following letter, both Cromwell and Cranmer seem to have tried to console him, and assure him that he had not forfeited the king's favour. Starkey, however, thought it advisable to enter into a fuller defence of his own conduct, and again writes to Cromwell :<sup>1</sup>—

(24 July, 1536.)

(1) My lord, though as wel by the relatyon of my lord of Canterbury as also by the few wordys wch you spake to me the last day at Stepney I am restoryd to a greate parte of the quyetnes of my mynd, for as much as therby I am persuadyd fully that you toke my purpos & intent euen as hyt was, & that you be my gud lord aftur your wont & custumyd maner, yet throughly quyetyd I nother am, nother yet can be, vntyl I may be assuryd that the kyng, my souerayn lord & mastur, ys by no wrong informatyon, nor contrary suspycyon, otherwyse persuadyd of me then my hart, wyl, & dedys deserue; for albehyt that the testimony of myn owne conseyence be in dede suffeycent to conturvaile agayn al owtward displeure, yet to my wekenes & infyrmyte hyt ys no smal grefe to be in dowte that my lord & mastur otherwyse schold Iuge me then my hart deseruyth; the wch also ys much more grefe to me, bycause that I am wel assuryd, bothe by the kyngys owne wordys, & also by hys deedys, that he was gud lord to me & gracyouse. (2) Wherfore, syns ther ys of my parte no occasyon gyuen to the contrary, but rather cause why hys gudnes schold be increasyd toward me & benevolence, for as much as I haue trauaylyd to put in effect such thyngys as were of hys grace wel approuyd & alowyd, the wch before tyme I by wrytyng only touchyd; that ys to say to indeur my selfe to the inducyng of hys pepul to theyr offyce & dewty concernyng the obedyence of hys lawys, & the conceyuyng of such thyngys as were set forthe for the mayn-

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*Abstract.*

(1) Although his mind had been considerably quieted by the words of Cromwell and Cranmer, yet he cannot feel perfectly easy until he has been satisfied that the king's feelings towards him have not changed; especially since (2) he had given no reason for any such change, but had always laboured earnestly in the king's service.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 370.

tenance of goddys truthe, al the wych consydereyd I can not but sorow & playnly confesse my wekenes & Imbecyllyte vturly to be vnabul to bere & susteyne of my souerayn lord any contrary suspycyon. (3) Wherefore, my lord, I schal besech you, as you be my specyal gud lord, so to declare hyt now at thys tyme, & not to suffur my purpos & desyre, wych I haue long nuryschyd in my hart to *serue* my master *withal* now to be hyndred & drownyd wyth any wrong Informatyon, nor to be blottyd wyth an other manys acte, wherof I neuer mynstryd occasyon, for of your lordschyppe I take wytnes that I neuer studyd nor laburyd *thyng* more ernystely then I dyd to *brynge* that man, for whose faute I now *perceyue* I am blamyd, to hys offyce & dewtye, & to plukke from hym al sturdy obstynacy. And where as *perauenture* hyt may be thought that I was the occasyon of the demandyng of hys *sentence*, you know, my lord, hyt was an occasyon taken, & not apon my behalfe gyuen, for I neuer mouyd the kyng nor yet you to the inserchyng of hys iugement at any tyme; trothe thys ys, that I neuer thought hym to be of so corrupt a iugement & *sentence* in thys *mater* of the *primacy*, & therof I put you in hope & expectatyon, & so I dyd the kyng also, aftur he had *commandyd* me to wryte vn-to hym hys plesure & request, of the wych hope that I am so deceyuyd, he lyuythe not wych ys more sorowful then am I, not hys owne mother wych bare hym, & now *repentyth* of hys <sup>1</sup> bryngyng forthe to lyght, nor yet hys most dere brother, who by hys acte ys depruyd of a grete *comfort* of hys lyfe; therefore, my lord, to blame me for hys deede can not be wythout grete Iniury. (4) And as touchyng my owne iugement of thys *prymacy*, thys I may say truly, that yf ther be any man wythin thys reame, wych ought to want suspycyon of thys *mater*, but sincerely dothe approue hyt *without* dyssymulatyon, I *thynke* I may be of that nombur: for of thys, my lord, I schal assure you (& you schal neuer fynd me faynyd man) that before thys *mater* was mouyd here in our cuntre, I much & oft desyryd hyt to be reformyd, *consyderyng* the *damnabul* abusys *annexyd* therto, in so much that I was then notyd & blamyd of many men wych otherwyse iugyd, and thys I onys declaryd vn-to the kyng, before whome I neuer yet dyssymyllyd, nor neuer schal duryng thys lyfe. And though *perauenture* some such wych know the familyaryte betwyx *Master Pole* & me, (whose amyte & *frenschype* I dyd not a lytyl estyme,<sup>2</sup> so long as he forsoke not the iugement of hys cuntre, the *seruyce* of hys souerayne lord, & loue to hys natural frendys,) haue inducyd you to an iniuryouse suspycyon,

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(3) Hopes that he may not have to suffer for Pole's offence, as the application for Pole's opinion was not made at his suggestion. (4) It is unfair to accuse him, of all men, of opposing the king's supremacy,

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 370, back.

<sup>2</sup> MS. extyme.

yet, my lord, he lyuythe not & lokyth<sup>1</sup> upon the lyght that euer schal iustifye in me toward my lord & mastur any poynt of dyssymulatyon. Wherefore, my lord, yf I schold other wyse be taken, hyt were no smal grefe to me standyng in thys truthe & synceryte. (5) And as *concernyng* my *prechyng* one word I am yet *constraynyd* to speke to you agayne, & I am *constraynyd* by the desyre that I haue to the setting forthe of the truthe, not mouyd by any vayn glory, the word ys thys—that yf myn intent & purpos in my *prechyng* had byn wel taken, & *indyfferently* *consyderyd*, I schold rather haue byn judgyd worthy of thankys, wch I sought not, then of reproche, wch I deseruyd not. For, my lord, you know hyt is not the ryght way of *prechyng* to bryng men therby vn-to the lyght wythe grete reprofys to *condemne* theyr blyndnes sodaynly, but that ys the way rather to exasperate *menys* hartys & so to *confirme* them in theyr fol[ly] more stedfastly. Wherefore, my lord, I haue wyschyd many tymys lately, & for the loue that I bere to the truthe, & to the quyetes of [the] cite, wherin I haue choson my dwelling-place, I doo yet wysch dayly such *precharys* to be electyd, choson & pykyd out, wch wythout *contentyng* & studye of glory schold set forthe the truthe syncerely, & aftur the *conseyll* of sayn Poule in *thyngys* *indyfferent* schold haue *consyderatyon* of the wekenes of men & infyrmyte, wherby they schold *promote* & *avaunce* the truthe with charyte, & not exasperat[e] & styr one parte to the hate of the other by lyght suspycyon & folysch *contentyng* mouyd upon such *thyngys* wch be *indyfferent*, & no *thyng* necessary to manys saluatyon. Such *prechyng*, my lord, as me semyth, were much to be desyryd, & now in thys tyme most speccially, wherin the kyng & you wyth hys other *conseylarys* studye the setting forthe of such *temperyd* doctryne, wherof, as I am *persuayd* al our cuntre ought not a lytyl to reyocee. (6) For the doctryne of our cuntre ys now

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since he had always most strongly laboured for it. (5) As to his preaching, he ought rather to have been commended than blamed for the course he had followed, and if other preachers would follow his example they would more advance the cause of truth and charity. (6) He has devoted himself to preaching solely with a view to helping forward the new doctrine, of the truth of which he is so

<sup>1</sup> Compare *P. Plowman*, B. viii. 58:—

“If I may *lyue and loke* I shal go lerne bettere.”

The phrase is one which Langland frequently uses; see also C. xxi. 29; xxii. 159 and 175; and, as has been pointed out by Warton and Prof. Skeat, is “one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every country;” the former quoting the following parallel expression from Homer, *Iliad*, I. 88:—

Οὔτις, ἐμὲν Ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο,  
Σοὶ κύβλης παρὰ ἰηρσὶ βαρῆϊας χεῖρας ἐπίσει.



so *tempryd* in *truthe*, that *hyt ys bothe purgyd* <sup>1</sup> from the old abusys & *folysche superstycyon* & also *defendyd* from the *errorys* of thys tyme & *from al false relygyon*, the *wych thyng* *hathe causyd* me now so to *apply myself* to *prechyng*, & I *wytnes god* no *gloryouse desyre* of *fame* and *vanyte*; for *yf I were persuadyd* that thys *doctryne*, *aprouyd* in our *cuntre*, were *erroneouse*, I *wold* yet rather *lose my lyfe* *schortly*, then be one of thos *wych schold* set *forthe* the same *openly*. Nor *thynke* you not, my lord, that I am so *bleryd* wyth the *schadowys* of thys *lyfe*, that I *preferre* the *lyfe* among them aboute the *lyght* of the *truthe*, nother yet that I am *neque frigidus neque calidus sed tepidus* <sup>2</sup> in the *settyng* *forthe* therof, as *perauenture* by some *informatyon* you may *conceyue*, for *hyt ys* my *dayly prayer* to *hym* that *ys* the *fountayn* of *lyght* that I may by *hys benefyte* bothe see the *truthe* & also *constanly* to *stond* in the *defence* of the same, wherin I *trust* he *dothe* & *wyl maynteyne* & *strength* me *contynually*, & *gyue* me *hys grace* not to *stond* therin *coldly*. And though, my lord, you *juge* me more to be *traynyd* in *phylosophye* than in the *trade* of *scripture* & in the *wrytarys therapon*, wherin *perauenture* your *lordschype* *jugyth* not much a *mys*, yet thys I *schal* to you, my lord, say, & I *schal* say *hyt* *without* al *arrogancy*, that of the *contynual redyng* of *scripture* *hyt selfe*, wherin *certayn yerys* I *haue accustomyd* *myselfe*, I *haue gedderyd* a *certayn jugement*, wherwyth I *long* *haue examynyd* such *wrytarys* as I *haue rede* *therapon*, *from* the *wych* I *purpos* not to *slyppe duryng* thys *lyfe*, & in case I *fele* the *wrytarys* of thys tyme to *swarue* *from* the same, I *haue them* *suspectyd*, for in the old *authorys* I *fynd* therto a *grete conformyte*. (7) The *summe* of my *jugement* *tendyth* to thes *ij* *poyntys*, *fyrst* to a *contempt* of thys *lyfe* & of the *vayn plesurys* therof, & to a *sure trust* & *confydence* of an other, *lokyng vp* *alway* to thos *thyngys* *wych* are not seen wyth a *clere ye* not *dasyllyd* wyth the *glyteryng* of such *thyngys* as are *present* & *subyecte* to our *syght*: the other *ys*, to a *certayne vnyte* & *concord*, ye & to a *certayn bande* & *knott* of *charyte*, wherby *men* must *knytt them selfys* *togyddur* as *membrys* of one *body*, & *walke* in an *obedyence* to the *ordur* of the *world*, *despysyng* al *thyngys* *wych* other *men* so much *contende* & *stryfe* for, & *beryng* al *trowblus* wyth *patyence* & *humylyte*. To thes *ij* *poyntys* *tendyth* my *jugemente* *geddryd* of *scripture*, the *wych* though they may *perauenture* *appere* *vulgare* & *commyn* & to be but of *smal moment* & *weyght*, yet by *them* I *doo examyn* al the *wrytyngys*, *sayinges*, & *doyngys* of thys tyme, the *wych* not *sauoryng* herof I *doo vtterly condemne*, & *wyl* *doo* *whyle* I *lyue*; for I *abhorre* al such *sedycyouse actes* & *doctryne*,

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firmly convinced. (7) From his earnest study of Scripture he has conceived a contempt for the things of this world, and a sure trust

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 371.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *trepidus*.

wych, vnder the *pretense* & colowre of the truthe, mouythe apon tryfullys such *controuersye*, wherby ys broken the ordur of chrystyan charyte. Wherefore, my lord, I doo not a lytyl reyoyce to see how among <sup>1</sup> vs in our cuntrye by the *commyn consent* of our clergie maynteynyd & confyrmyd al true ecclesiastycal pollycy, & no notabul nor necessary ordur broken nor infryngyd by the plukkyng away of thys *primacy* as many *men* gretly fearyd. In so much, my lord, that yf I may in thys rest of my lyfe be in any *parte* a mynystur to set forthe thys ordur approuyd by the iugement of my cuntrye, wyth *concord* & vnyte, I schal thynke myselve not to be borne vturly in vayne. (8) Wherefore, my lord, I besech you, as you iuge me to be one of thos wych intende to *serue* my mastur & cuntrye faythfully, so to helpe that my hart wyl & mynd may be taken of my souerayn lord, as hyt ys syncerely, wherby I may be the bettur incurragyd to doo that thyng wych *perteynyth* to myn offyce & dewty, to the wych I schal indeuur myselve most dyligently, strenghtyd, as I trust, by hym who *gouernyth* al, to whose *gouernance* I schal now *commytt* your lordschyppe, besechyng you to *pardon* me of thys importunyte, to the wych I am by sorow *constraynyd*.

Wrytyu at London, the 24 of Iuly.

Your lordschypys  
Thomas Starkey.

To the most honorabul &  
my synguler gud lord  
my lord pryuy seale.

Henry's chief fear was lest Pole should publish his book, and he therefore deemed it expedient to conceal his indignation for a time at least. By his orders a message was sent to Pole desiring him to return to England, in order that certain passages in his book which appeared obscure might be explained. Pole, however, declined to trust himself in the lion's den, writing as follows to the king:—

“*Your* grace thatt callyth me hath putt such an impedymente in my waye thatt lettyth me. I can nott passe to *your* grace except temerarioulye I wold caste away my-selfe. This surelye & truelye afore god and man I may saye that beyng yn thatt case I myght go or ronne, *your* grace calling me vnto yowe, there ys no lett yn thys world were able to retayne me from comyng to *your* grace but onely thatt procedyth off *your* selfe.”<sup>2</sup>

*Abstract.*

and confidence in things above. (8) He therefore hopes that he may be allowed to do the duty of his office, and thus to help forward the cause which has been approved by the country.

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 371, back.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., leaf 328.

Pole had asked that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he speaks of as a "sad and learned man," might be allowed to read and report on his book, declaring that it was not so bad as had been represented. To this the king assented, but the bishop, after a perusal of the treatise, could only corroborate the opinions already formed of it, and wrote to that effect to Pole (MS. Cleop., E. VI., leaf 375).

On the 26th July, 1536, the day before Pole received this letter from the bishop, the Pope sent a message to him inviting him to Rome. Pole, who had now committed himself to the papal party, after some little hesitation accepted the invitation, and sent notice to Henry of his intention of doing so. Starkey, as we have seen (p. xxxvii), remonstrated strongly and in no measured terms against such a proceeding, and so did Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's own friend, while Cromwell stormed and threatened:

§ 15. In spite, however, of the remonstrances of Starkey and Tunstall, and the threats of Cromwell, Pole repaired to Rome,<sup>1</sup> and on the 22nd December was created cardinal by Paul III. Previous to his elevation to that dignity becoming officially known in England, Starkey wrote as follows to him, in answer to a letter in which he seems to have complained of the manner in which Starkey had remonstrated with him against accepting the invitation to the Vatican: <sup>2</sup>—

(26 January, 1537.)

(1) Sory I am, *Maystur* Pole, that bothe my *sentence* & scharpenes of wrytyng vsyd to you, heryng of your jorney toward Rome, offendyd your stomake so much & toke so lytyl effect, for albehyt

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(1) Expresses his regret that his plain speaking in a former letter should have given offence, which he assures him sprang only from a sincere love towards him and his family, and a fear lest he should

<sup>1</sup> Strype says he was accompanied by Lupset, but according to Tanner the latter died on December 27th, 1532, at the age of 36, and was buried in the church of St Alphege, Cripplegate. He had been appointed to the living of St Martin's, Ludgate, in 1529, and the last mention of him which I find in the *State Papers* is on 1st August, 1530, on which day he was presented by Wolsey to the Rectory of Cheriton, Hants. Starkey himself, in his Dedication of the *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., printed below, tells us he was dead then.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 363.

that you *peraventure* iugyng me herein otherwyse then my nature requyryth, so knowen vn-to you by long *conuersatyon*, thynke playnly that I am corrupt wyth affectyon & wrote *contrary* to myn owne *conscience*, blyndyd wyth ambycyon, yet thys I schal say vn-to you, & cal hym to wytnes who ys pryuy bothe of your thought & myn, that as the *sentence* where in I stond spryngyth of the only zele of the truthe, & of the desyre of the setting foithe of goddys honowre & glory, so the scharpenes of my wrytyng vsyd toward you cam of the syncere loue wych I bare to you & to your famyly, for I am nother so grosse & base of iugement as to *preferre* any wordly vanyte, aboue that thyng wych apperyth to me truth & veryte, nother yet so vnkynd as to vse such scharpenes to my frend wythout resonabul ground; for at such tyme as *apon* the declaring of your *sentence* to the kyng you tendyd to Rome, I then, *conceyuyng* as wel *apon* the one *parte* the Increase of the seysme styrryd in chrystys church wych myght insew therby, yf you schold ther open your iugement in your wrytyng *comprysyd* abrode to the world, as *apon* the other *parte* the dysplesure of your pryuce wych myght succede the same both toward you & other of your famyly, thought hyt expedient to vse such scharpenes, & that so to doo hyt *perteynyd* to my bounden dewtye, to the wych you may impute hyt, yf hyt so please you. (2) But now, scharpenes set asyde, I schal say vn-to you, *Maystur* Pole, thes ij wordys frendly <sup>1</sup> mouyd by such thyngys wych I lately herd from you: though here be greate rumorys spredde abrode that you be namyd to be a cardynal, & entryd in to that ordur, by the wych the doctryne of chryst thes many yerys hathe byn lytyl promotyd, yet *persuadyd* I am fully, that the loue of your cuntry so stykkythe in your brest, & the desyre of *seruyng* your pryuce so prykkyth your hart, that you wyl neuer accept that dygnyte before you *consydyr* wel the state of Chrystys church now in thys tyme, weying wel the plesure of your mastere & bounden dewty to hys gracyouse gudnes & liberalyte. For to me hyt apperythe that wythout such *consyderatyon* you take not the streyght pathe to that thyng to the wych aboue al other I am sure you dyrecte your laburys & studys, that ys to helpe to plukke out thys seysme of

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make matters worse by publishing his book. (2) It had been rumoured that Pole was named to be a cardinal, but he is fully persuaded that Pole's love for his country and his king is too strong to allow him to accept that dignity at the present time, for by so doing he would only widen the breach already existing. He therefore hopes that Pole will consider the matter earnestly before he accepts that dignity, and that the division in the Church may soon be healed.

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 363, back.

Chrystys church & to restore agayne chrystyan vnyte, but rather hyt semyth the veray hygh way to augment thys dyuysyon, for as much as by such wyttys & eloquence the rootys therof may be much confyrmyd. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, yf you stey yourselfe in thys mater, I thynke you schal hereaftur no thyng repent therof, for though materys of our cuntr[ey] haue byn here lately in greate motyon, the wych you *perauenture* wyl impute to thys defectyon from Rome, ingyng vs therby to be slyppyd from goddys ordur & instytutyon, yet by the hygh prouydence of hym who gouernyth al, & by the greate wysedome & gudnes of our prynce I trust you schal yet here such way to be founde & taken herein, that euen the same thyng, wych you *percas* thynke hathe<sup>1</sup> byn the chefe roote of thys motyon, schalbe so *tempryd* & ordryd wyth equyte that not only the synceryte of Chrystys doctryne schal come to more clere lyght therby, but also the ordur of Chrystys church schalbe restoryd agayn wyth vnyte, accordyng to the fyrst instytutyon, wherof that my hope ys not vayn I trust you schal here more schortly. And glad I wold be to see you a mynystur to god & to your prynce in such purpos, the wych I feare you schal neuer be yf you onys entur in to that ordur at Rome & take apon you that dygnyte. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, my trust ys that you wyl consydur thys mater wyth your selfe ernystely; and yet greate hope I haue that honest iugementys schal onys mete togyddur in such a mean wherby thys odyouse seysme wych now reynyth in Chrystys church schalbe extynct vturly, for the wych I schal not cesse to pray vn-to hym who ys the only author of al godly vnyte, to whose gouernance I schal now commyt vs al.

Wryten at London the 26 of January.

Yourys yet I trust after the  
old maner, Ts. Starkey.

§ 16. It would appear to be about this time that Starkey wrote the following letter to Henry VIII., in which he expresses his fear lest the "corrupt sentence of *Maystur Pole*" should turn to his disgrace and injury. He pleads his own case most earnestly (pp. xlix, l.), declaring his sorrow and disappointment at the unforeseen result and the ingratitude of Pole towards one by whom he had been most liberally and nobly brought up, and defends himself against the accusations or suspicions to which I have already referred. He then (p. li) enters into a general consideration of the king's policy, expressing his pleasure (p. liii) at the suppression of the monasteries, and his earnest hope that Henry would apply the great revenues which would now fall into his hands for the promotion of learning,

<sup>1</sup> Leaf 364.

and not hand them over to a few rich nobles. He draws a sad picture of the state of England at the time (p. lvii), "the rare and smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the commyn deokay & ruyne of the same," and the "grete lake & penury of pepul and inhabitantys in the cytes & townys & hole countrey, the wych lake," he thinks, "may in some part be redressyd & helpyn by thys acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in these monasterys was nuryschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dishonowre of god & let of natural propagatyon," now by the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent scattering abroad of so many marriageable men, he believes that "the nombur of the pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd to godly's honoure & glory." He then refers (p. lviii) to a common report that it was the king's intention to lease the suppressed houses to great lords and rich landed gentry, which he trusts will not be the case, and points out the greater advantages which would arise from leasing the houses and lands to poorer persons (p. lix). Finally (p. lxi), he again expresses his hope that the king will apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the advancement of learning. The letter will be found one deserving of the greatest attention, and will well repay the reader, not only by the interesting though sad picture of the state of England at the time, but still more by the statesmanlike views so clearly and freely declared as to the advantages which would arise from a right use of the enormous revenues of the suppressed monasteries, and of the certain evils which would follow their misuse. How correctly Starkey foresaw the impending danger is only too well proved by such books as Crowley's *Epigrams*, the *Four Supplicacions*,<sup>1</sup> and the extract from Becon printed at the end of this part, p. lxxvi.

To the kyngys hyghnes.<sup>2</sup>

Thought hyt become non of your subyectys, most Nobul prynce, to meddyl in your weyghty causys, concernyng your honowre & state of your reame, except they be by your grace namely callyd & deputyd therto, yet forasmuch as hyt pleysyd your hyghnes, schortly aftur I

<sup>1</sup> E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, 1871 and 1872.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, 1536-7. In the Public Record Office. Paged 457 to 504.

was admyttyd to your gracys *seruyce*, to commytt vn to me the wrytyng of your cummandement & request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame, and consyderyng also that your pleysure was I schold be made pryuy of hys iugement therin by hys wrytyng declaryd, I schal now vse thys boldnes in thys mater to open & declare vn to your hyghnes myn inward affect concernyng the same, and what hope I haue fully conceyuyd to see al your actys succeeding therto to be conuertyd & turnyd to the hygh honowre of god, to the grete comfort of your subyectys, & to the vnyuersal & commyn welthe of your Reame, ye and to mynystur occasyon & to gyue lyght to al other chrystian pryncys to see & folow the tenore of the same. But here in the begynnyng I can not but gretely sorow & greuouously lament the corrupt sentence herin of maystur Pole in hys wrytyng declaryd, by whome I trustyd surely to haue seen such a Iernyd iugement schowyd to the world, that bothe your grace schold haue taken pleysure therof, hys frendys comfort, & al hys cuntrey profytt of the same. for the wyche cause I testyfy god, at such tyme as your highnes gaue me in cummandement to wryte your pleysure to hym therin, I most hyghly reyoicyd, trustyng therby that he wold haue taken occasyon, so happely, as me thought mynystryd to hym, to <sup>1</sup>serue your grace & hys cuntrey, accordyng to hys faythful & bounden dewty. Wherefore what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd in my hart thes days past in redyng of hys boke, perceuyng therby hys corrupt iugement, I can by no wordys to your grace fully expresse, for sorowful I was to see so noughty a cause wyth such scharpenes sett forthe & wyth such eloquence; sorowful I was to see your grace, hys souerayne lord, so to be dyceuyd in hym, of whome you haue so much deseruyd, and whome of your gudnes as hyt apperyd to me you euer much desyryd to haue inducyd to see the trulthe in your weyghty causys: sorowful I was to see al other hys louarys & frendys therby to be depryuyd of al such comfort & expectatyon as they of long tyme haue conceyuyd of hym, and most of al sorowful I was to see thys our cuntrey b[e]reft of such a wytt, to the wych I euer trustyd he wold haue growen to haue byn a grete ornament, & that as he hathe byn by your gudnes & lyberalyte most nobully brought vp, so he schold at the last haue declaryd some nobul *seruyce*, as wel to the comfort of your grace as to the profytt of hys cuntrey; and somewhat also sorowful I was for myn owne pryuate & propur cause, consyderyng the lake wych I fearyd wold succede, wyth the perpetual losse of the conuersatyon of so faythful a frend, wyth whome I haue byn so many yerys brought vp in company & contynual study, not wythout gret hope, that as we had spent togyddur our youthe in study of letturys, so the rest of our lyfys we schold haue consumyd lyke maner in the *seruyce* of your grace & of our cuntrey: for though we swaruyd many tymys in our

<sup>1</sup> Page 458.

jugementes, inserchyng the truthe in phylosopny, yet I neuer thought we schold so haue varyd in such grete materys *pertheynyng* to relygyon and <sup>1</sup>to *commyn* pollycey. I neuer thought hym to be of so base a *jugement* as he hathe by hys wrytyng manifestely schowyd, and though in smal materys many tymys he apperyd to me to erre, and corruptely to iuge, yet because I *perceyuyd* ever in hym such a constant loue & stabyl opynyon of that wych apperyd to hym to sowne to *vertue* & honestye, euer me thought hys errorys were tollerabul, spryngyng rather of weke *iugement* then of any obstynacye: but now sythen that he hathe sett forthe so corrupt a sentence as hyt apperyth to me in your most weyghty cause, & schowyd so sklaunderouse a *iugement* of your gracys actys, though as he takythe god to wytnesse, hyt spryngyth of loue toward your gracys honowre, that he hathe wryten so scharpely, yet thys I wyl say & playnly affyrme, that yf he wold set out the same to the face of the world, as he hathe in hys boke deserybyd wyth hys penne, I wold take hym to be an extreme ennymye bothe to your grace, to your state, & to our hole cuntrey: for what scharpenes of wordys, what vyolence of sentence, what daungerys in pollycey, what peryl of *damnatyon*, he declaryth in hys boke, and propownyth to honge certaynly *ouer* our hedys, hyt ys horrybul to rede, & ineredybyl how he schold conceyue, and wondur hyt ys to me, wych so intyerly haue knowen hym before-tyme, how & by what mean, he ys run in to thys extreme opynyon: but surely as I now *perceyue*, he hath declaryd hymselfe herin to be *ouercome* <sup>2</sup>wyth grete affectyon, for playnly he schowythe, that the dethe of them wych suffryd in the cause hathe so stonge hys hart & oppressyd hym wyth sorow, that he semyth to forget vturly hys dewty to hys cuntrey & to your grace, *without* al humanyte, he semyth to lake powar to wey the nature of the thyng indyfferently. Wherefore what sorow I haue lately *conceyuyd* of thys hys *iugement* I wyl no farther be about to expresse, but *comfort* myselife *with* the truth of the contrary opynyon, and where as he by false report, beyng fer out of hys cuntrey, heryng the forme of your actys & faseyon of pollycey corruptely iugyth wyth desperatyon al thyng to run wyth vs to ruyne & destructyon, I presently seying the state of our cuntrey, & the nature of your actys indyfferently ponderyng, wyl turne to my purpos, breuely to touche the hope wych I haue *conceyuyd* of the *maner* & mean, wherby I trust surely that your grace by your wysedome & pollycey wyl *conuerte* & turne thies your actys not only to the quyetes of your subyeetes now in thys tyme wherin you reyne, but also to the *commyn* comfort of al your posteryte.

And fyrst thys I wyl in the begynnyng playnly *confesse* vn-to your hyghnes, that although sone aftur my fyrst entre in to your *seruyce*, when I *perceyuyd* not only your polytyke wysedome, wherby your grace so ernystely myndyd the quyetes of your subyeetys in thys

<sup>1</sup> Page 459.

<sup>2</sup> Page 460.



eyuyle & wordly lyfe, but also your most chrystyan mynd & iugement, wherby you lokyd vp euer to a nother lyfe, wherof thys ys but a schadow, dyrectyng<sup>1</sup> al your actys & pollycy to the attaynyng therof, I conceyuyd by & by thys hope & trust in my hart, that your hyghnes wold neuer promote nor stablysch anyacte in thys your Reame & cuntrey but such only as schold tend to your gracys honowre & to goddes glory, ye & such as schold not be only to the quyetnes of thys present age, but also of al our posteryte, though thys hope I say I conceyuyd wyth myselve yet hyt was not surely groundyd in my stomake, nor ther fully rotyd tyl now of late when hyt pleasyd god by hys prouydence so to ordeyne for our welthe that your hyghnes by just occasyon myght plukke away the rote & gronde of al contrary suspveyon. for thys I thynke may truly be sayd, that so long as that woman lyuyd, whome hyt plesyd your hyghnes, as I take hyt, mouyd by opynyon of vertue to sett in such hygh dygnyte, few actys coulde procede by the conyecture of wyse men wch myght be durabul wyth our posteryte, but euer lyke as a sore in mamys body, when hyt ys not inwardly & thoroughly healyd, but hathe fayre flesche & coloure vtwardly for the tyme apperyng, at the last brekyth out daungerously, so such actys as apperyd to be byld upon that weke foundatyon, though for a tyme they myght perauenture haue induryd, beyng confirmyd wyth the only obedyence dew vnto your mayesty, yet at the last in processe of tyme they wold haue brought to themselves ruine & destructyon: but now<sup>2</sup> sythen hyt hathe pleasyd the gudnes of god to open thys gate of honowre vn-to your hyghnes, and in tyme to cut vp the rote of al such sedyeyon wch myght not only by the iugement of them wch be your true subyectys, but also of al other vtward natyonys, haue sprong therby other among vs now lyuyng, other among our posteryte, I schal not dowte to conceyue sure hope, ful trust & confydence, that your gracys actys schal both now in our age take profytabul effect and long endure to the setting forth of the truthe & to your immortal glory. For now as touchyng your gracys successyon I trust we in thys tyme schal neuer see occasyon of controuersye; for as much as such frute as hyt schal pleyse god to send your hyghnes to our comfort by thys your last matrimony schal put al thyngys out of dowte & ambyguyte, and yet grete hope I haue that your hygh wysedome & pollycy, consyderyng the mortalityte of man & the vncertaynty of frute, the mean tyme wyl neuer suffer thys your Reame to stond wythout heyre appoyntyd by your powar & authoryte, speecially seyng that to the appoyntment therof are ioynyd such occasyonys so manyfold benefyts, and comunyn groundys of al quyetnes and tranquyllyte, for such a personage to appoynt thervnto your hyghnes hath, as by the consent of al men lyuyth not upon erthe, the floure of al lalys & the verray glas & image of al vertue & noblyte, to whome, though I trust hyr grace schal neuer succede but other frute to take place, yet the mean tyme<sup>3</sup> sure hope I

<sup>1</sup> Page 461.<sup>2</sup> Page 462.<sup>3</sup> Page 463.

haue that your hyghnes & wysedome perceuyng as wel the tranquyllyte of the hartys of your subyeectys here at home therby to be stablyschyd, as the intertenure of amyte wyth vtward pryncys by the same to be confyrmyd, wyl appoynt hyr grace at tyme conuenient to that rome & dygnyte, and so by that occasyon stablysch the fyrst ground, & lay the most sure foundatyon of al the rest of your actys, & of al reformatyon. for of thys dede, though in effect sche neuer succede, what honowre schal ryse to your grace among al other externe natyonys, what quyetnes at home among your owne subyeectys, what amyte & loue wyth vtward pryncys I wyl not be about, nor yf I wold, I coude not, fully expresse, but thys one thyng apperyth to me certayn & sure, that herin lyth a grete ground & stablyte, a grete stey & knott, of al your gracys actys in thys new pollycy. Wherefore I schal neuer dowte that your gracys wysedome & gudnes can pretermytte thys occasyon of hygh honowre & *commyu* quyetnes : and then I schal also much lesse dowte of any daungerouse succese wych by the iugement of some men may folow & succede thys your aett of the plukkyng downe of the prymacy of Rome. For much fearyd hyt ys, & as hyt ys thought not wythout reason, that thys defectyon from Rome, & chaungyng of the old pollycy, schal not only alter the stomakys of al other *chrystian* pryncys from your gracys sure & faythful amyte, for as much as they are thought to iuge to, <sup>1</sup>be plukkyd away therby the foundatyon & ground of al *chrystyan* relygyon, but also mynystur a certayn occasyon of the brech of concord & vnyte here at home in your owne natyon bycause that many of your subyeectys are thought in hart no thyng to fauour thys alteratyon of pollycy & thys defectyon.”

As to this, he says, he is sure that, could the king's supremacy have been established without the necessity of punishing so severely those who refused to acknowledge it, not only would the king himself and all the people been pleased, but it would also have set such an example to other princes that they would all at once have followed the example set them. He yet expresses his hope and confidence that

“precharys, wych haue run somewhat at large now a long tyme schalbe brought to a certayn stey, & not haue lyberty to expowne the darke placys of scrypture aftur theyr owne fantasys, slyppying raschely bothe from the *sentence* of the auneynt *interpretarys* of *Chrystys* doctryne & from the *consent* & custume of the church, vsyd from the begynnyng vn-to thys day, <sup>2</sup>the wych temeraryonse & lyght iugement hathe byn a grete occasyon of the breche of *chrystyan* charyte here among vs your subyeectys, to whome they *prechyd* as vn-to *Infydelys*, blynd & ignorant of al *Chrystys* doctryne and relygyon, the wych as they say tyl now of late that the pope was dryuen away, & tyl hyt

<sup>1</sup> Page 464.

<sup>2</sup> Page 465.

pleasyd god to send lyght to the world opennyd by them vn-to your pepul, was vttruly vnknowen euen as Chryst was vn-to the iuys before hys cumyng," the effect of which preaching was that,—"vnder the colowre of dryuyng away manyns tradycyon & popyschnes, they had almost dryuen away al vertue & holynes,"—so that the people began to lose their belief in any doctrine, "and wyth the despysyng of purgatory, they began lytyl to regard hel, heuyn, or any other felycyte hereaftur to be had in a nother lyfe." Could those who had suffered for their "dysobedyence" have believed that the changes would have stopped there, "yf they had thought that we shold haue slyppyd therby to no ferther error nor pestylent opynyon," they would, he is sure, willingly have given their assent to it; and though some "lyght persons" suspect all who favour "the old & auneynt custumys & be lothe to see them troden vnder fote . . . to desyre in hart the abrogatyon of your acte, & to haue the pope to be restoryd to hys old authoryte," yet he is sure that all with one consent are fully content, and "that they wyeh babyl so much of the popys popyschnes abhorre no more hys vsurpyd powar & domynyon then doo they whome they note yet to be papystys & ful of supersteyon."

He proceeds—

"Albehyt some men consydyryng wyth them selfys certayn of your actys succedylng thys defectyon from Rome, as the acte of fyrst fruytys, of the tenthys,<sup>1</sup> & of the suppressyon of thes monasterys & housys of relygyon, iuge therby playnly that the body of your reame in few yerys schalbe much imponeryschyd, & much mysery among your pepul schal succede the same, yet when I consydur your graces hygh wysedome & prudence wherby your hyghnes most clerly seeth how the welthe of al pryneys hengyth chiefely of the welth of theyr subyectys, & how penury euer bredyth sedytyon, & how the hepyng of tresure wythout lyberalyte, hathe always brought in ruyne & destructyon of euery commynalty, I am then certayn & sure that as you haue not wythout grete prudence & pollyey conceuyd the groundys of thes your actys, stablyng them wyth polytyke reson, so you wyll see & prouyde that they may procede to such end, as by your hygh wysedome they were chiefely dyrectyd vnto. Wherefore consydyryng that thys wordly tresure ys no such thyng<sup>2</sup> wherin any nobul hart can take hys delyte & pleyzure, sure hope I haue that your grace, whome I know so depely can wey the nature of thyngys, wyl most lyberally dyspense thys tresure & dyspose thys ryches, to the ayd succur & comfort of your most louyng & obedyent pore subyectys, and where as before tyme vnder the pretext & colowre of relygyon

<sup>1</sup> The Acts restraining the payment of Annates to Rome were 23 Henry VIII., cap. 20; 25th Henry VIII., cap. 20. See the *Dialogue*, pp. 126, 199, and Mr Cowper's Introduction to this volume, pp. clxx-clxxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Page 469.

thys abundance of ryches was abasyd to the nuryschyng of an idul rowte, mynstryng occasyon to al vyce & vanyte, now I trust by your graecs gudnes to see hyt turnyd to the setting forth & increase of all vertue & honestye, & to the comfort of them wych schalbe profytabul cytyzynys lyuyng in some honest exercyse in thys your commynaltye;<sup>1</sup> for many tymys syth I haue had iugement to consydur the end to the wych man of nature ys borne & brought forth, sore I haue lamentyd to see so many vnder colowre of relyggyon to lyue as burdonys of the erthe, abusing the frutys & benefytys of god to theyr owne destructyoun." Those, he hopes, who before "ran fast to be prestys & relygyouse, more for hope of profyt & easy lyuyng then for loue of vertue & perfayt relyggyon, schal now somewhat stey, & apply themselfys to some other honest fascyon of lyuyng, approuyd by gud & polytyke ordur." Especially he points out that as there are for every state times of war and of peace, so there are<sup>2</sup> "two dyuerse sortys of men mete to be nuryschyd by the lyberalyte of pryncys . . . necessary to the mayntenance of commyn pollycy, that ys to say, men of letturys & lernyng, & men exercysyd in featys of armys & chyualrye, of the wych as the one sorte ys necessary for warre, so the other must nedys be had in tyme of peace;" and therefore he trusts that such "superfluouse ryches, as by our forfatherys was by lytyl & lytyl accumulate & hepyd to the spiriualtye" may be turned to "the nuryschyng of thes sortys of personys wych schalbe profytabul to your cuntrey both in warre & in peace. I trust to see now many a nobul gentlyman releuyd by thes actys, and exercysyng themselfys in al featys of armys made apte & mete to the defence of theyr cuntrey. I trust now to see many a nobul wytt incurragyd to lernyng by your graecs lyberalyte, & made apte to celebrate your fame & glory commenyndng your pryncely vertues to eternal memory. I trust now to see many notabul precharys spryng forth to lyght, and to declare to your pepul the truth of Chrystys doctryne syncerely; and fynally I trust now to see al such superfluouse ryches, wych among them that bare the name of spiriual nuryschyd no thyng but idulness & vyce, to be conuertyd & turnyd by your gracouse<sup>3</sup> gudnes to the increase of al vertue & honestye. . . . Howbehyt in thys acte of suppression of abbays & monasterys, among your pepul ther lythe no smal controuersye, specyally seyng that by the consent of al your lernyd cleryge hyt ys aged that such a place ther ys wherin soulys departed remaynyng may be releuyd by the prayer & almy[s] dede of ther posteryte . . . how I am persuaedyd that your grace wyl conuert thys acte to the welthe of your subyectys now lyuyng, & to

<sup>1</sup> On the great good which *might* have been done with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, see Crowley's *Epigrams*, E. E. T. S., ed. Cowper, p. 7, "Of Abbayes;" the *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*, edited by the same gentleman, 1874; and *The Parish*, by the late Mr Toulmin Smith, 1857, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Page 470.

<sup>3</sup> Page 471.

the comfort also of them wch be departed I schal somewhat more particularly touch. . . .

“ And fyrst herin thys ys certayne that many ther be wyche are mouyd to iuge playnly thys acte of suppressyon of certayn abbays bothe to be agayne the ordur of charyte & iniuryous to them wch be dede bycause the foundarys therof & the soulys departed seme therby to be defrandyd of the benefyte of prayer & almys dede ther appoyntyd to be done for their releiffe by their last wyl & testament; and also the *commyn* wele & polytyke ordur apperyth to be much hyndryd & trowblyd by the same, bycause many pore men<sup>1</sup> therby are lyke to be depruyd of theyr lyuyng & quyetnes, wherin lythe as they thynke no smal inurye: how be hyt as touchyng thes causys *commynly* allegyd, though they seme to be of no smal weyght, yet they are obyected in thys mater by manyfest lake of ingement & *consyderatyon*, for to me a lytyl *consyderyng* wyth my selfe the nature of thys acte, hyt apperyth playnly nother to be viturly agayne the ordur of charyte, nother yet the foundarys wylls to be broken therby wyth any notabul iniurye, for thys ys a sure ground by the ordur of al lawys, & by the consent of al men of lernyng & ingement approuyd, that though grete respecte euer hath byn had of the last wyl of testatorys & much pryuylege grauntyd therto, specyally when hyt perteynyd & tendyd to materys of relygyon, yet thys I trow was neuer thought of any men of wysedome & prudence that al theyr posteryte schold be bounden of hygh necessitye to the sure accomplyschment & ful obseruatyon of theyr wylls prescrybyd in testament & that by no meanys they myght be changyd & ordryd to other purpos, for thys ys a sure truthe that the wyl & dede of euery pryuate man for a *commyn* wele may be alteryd by the supreme authoryte in euery cuntrey & kynd of pollycy, for as much as euery man by the ordur of god ys subyet therto, & hys wyl euer presupposyd to be obedyent to the same in so much that though he be other absent or dede, yet hyt ys alway by reson thought that yf he were present he wold gyue hys consent to al such thyngys as be iugyd by *commyn* authoryte to be expedyent to the publyke wele, to the wch no pryuate wyl may be lawfully repugnant. Wherefore albehyt the last wyl of the testatorys be by thys acte alteryd wyth authoryte, yet hyt ys not broken wyth iniurye, bycause the consent of the testator ys presupposyd to be conteynyd therein. in so much that hyt may surely be thought that yf they were now lyuyng agayne & saw the present state of thys world now in our days, how vnder the pretense of prayer much vyce & idulnes ys nuryschyd in thes monasterys instytute & foundyd of them, and how lytyl lernyng & relygyon ys tought in the same, ye & how lytyl chrystyan hospytalyte ys vsyd therin, they wold peraventure cry out with one voyce, saying aftur thys maner to pryueys of the world—alter thes foundatyonys wch we of long

<sup>1</sup> Page 472.

tyme before dyd instytute, & turne them to some bettur vse & commodyte. We neuer gaue our possessyons to thys end & purpos to the wych by abuse they be now applyd. We thought to stablysch busys of vertue, lernyng & relygyon, the wych now, by the malyce of man in process of tyme we see turnyd to vyce, blyndnes, & superstycyon. We thought to stablysch certayn companys to lyue togyddur in pure and chrystyan charyte, wherin we see now reynyth much hate, rancore & enuye, much slothe, idulnes & glotony, much<sup>1</sup> ignorance, blyndnes & hypocrysye, wherfor we cry, alter thes fundatyons & turne them to bettur vse; proude they may be as commyn scolys to the educatyon of youth in vertue & relygyon, out of the wych you may pyke men apt to be ordaynyd byschoppys & prelatys for their perfectyon: proude they may be some ornament to the commyn wele & not as they be now sklaunderouse & therwyth grete detryment.<sup>2</sup> Thys perauenture they wold say vn-to your hyghnes, requyryng your wysedome to cal thys mater to some lyke consyderatyon, wherby hyt may appere that their wyllys are not vtterly frustrat & broken by your graecys actys.

“And yet many men farther, as hyt apperyth to them not wythout reson, haue requyryd in thys mater much rather a just reformatyon then thys vthur ruynose suppressyon. How be hyt thos men, as I thynke, haue not in dylygent consyderatyon such thyngys as in thys acte are pryncypally to be ponderyd & weyd, for though hyt be so that prayer & almys dede be much to the comfort of them wych be departyd, & though god delyte much in our charytabul myndys therby declaryd, yet to conuerte ouer much possessyon to that end & purpos, & to appoynt ouer many personys to such offyce & exercyse, can not be wythout grete detryment & hurt to the chrystian commynwele, gud ordur & true pollycy . . .<sup>2</sup> & though hyt be a gud thyng & much relygyouse to pray for them wych be departyd out of thys mysery, yet we may not gyue al our possessyons to nuryse idul men in contynual prayer for them, leuyng other destytute of helpe wych be in lyffe, for to the one we are bounden by expresse commaundement, whereas the other cumyth but of mere deuotyon.” It can, therefore, he says, be no fraud on the dead to turn their endowments to the benefit of the living, since the latter will then be bound to pray for their benefactors, and if they fail to do so the fault will lie with them, and not with the dead, “for whether we pray or pray not they schal not be depruyd of theyr reward<sup>3</sup> by goddys gudnes to them appoyntyd, and yet I doo not say but that hyt ys grete comfort & releaffe to them to see theyr posteryte to haue them in charytabul memory, the wych thyng ys to be requyryd of al men of eny sort & degre, & not only of them wych lyue in monasterys.”

The suppression of the monasteries, by reducing the number of those who run to the monastical life, “more monyde by the

<sup>1</sup> Page 474.<sup>2</sup> Page 475.<sup>3</sup> Page 476.

idul quyetnes & vayn plesure therin, then by any desyre of *perfayt vertue & true relygyon*,"<sup>1</sup> will therefore, he believes, tend greatly to the advantage of the country, to the honour and glory of God, and to the increase of good order. "For to me *consydering* the state of our *cuntrey* & nature of the same, & *comparyns* hyt to other, hyt apperyth playnly that though ther be therin *ouer grete nombur* of idul *personys* & yl occupyd, yet,<sup>2</sup> regard had of the fertylte, nature, & largenes of the place ther may appere a grete lake of pepul & inhabytantys of the same, in the *conuenient* multytude of whome I iuge to rest the chefe mater, ground & foundatyon wherapon ys byldyd al cyuyle ordur & polytyke, the wych thyng may be gatheryd & prouyd suffyciently, not only of the grete wast groundys, rude & vntyllyd, & of the forestys, *commynys*, & *parkys* fyllyd wyth wyld bestys, wych myght by *dylygent* culture be *conuertyd* to *profytabel* vse and brought to the *nuryshyng* of man,<sup>3</sup> but also of the rare & smal *nombur* of cytes & townys, & of the *commyn* decay & ruyne of the same throughout al thys your reame & natyon, albehyt here-of many other causys may be notyd, but where as nother warre pestylens nor famyn hathe mynstryd cause to the desolatyon of cytes & townys, hyt must nedys appere that the decay & ruyne therof spryngyth much of the penury of pepul & lake of *inhabytantys*, for of thys desolatyon other grete causys & other chefe groundys I fynd not many: and for thys cause long I haue thought & iugyd thys grete nombur of prestys & relygyouse,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 477.<sup>2</sup> Page 478.<sup>3</sup> Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 70—73.

<sup>4</sup> Complaints of the excessive number of friars and monks are frequent. Wyclif says:—"not two hundrid 3eere agone þer was no frere. . . . And now ben mony þousande of freris in Englonde."—*Works*, ed. Arnold, III. 400. See also the *Dialogue*, p. 149, and *A Supplicacion to our moste soueraigne Lorde, Kyngge Henry the Eyght*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, p. 40; and compare the following:—

"Agayne, what an infinite number of monstures, Monckes, I would haue sayd, and other religiouse parsons, and God wyl, as they desyre to be called, did there arise in this kyngdome? Who thought it not a better dede to put his childe into an Abbay, and there to liue idelly, swinishly and irreligiouly pampred vp with al delicious fare that should prouoke vnto lewdnes, than to lette hym lyue abroade in the wolde, and there to practyse some honest arte and occupacion, that might turne to the commodite and mayntaynance of the common weale? What blindnes had inuaded thys Realme! Did not we thinke it rather our dutye to obeye the proude Bishop of Rome than our own natiue kyng? Did not we esteme hys fantastickl deceres aboute the edictes, lawes, & actes of our own kyng? were we not more ready to folowe his sensuall lustes and beastlyke pleasures, than to obeye the commaundementes of our own kyng & ruler? Into what perylles would not we caste ourselnes to do y<sup>t</sup> rammish Bishop pleasure? Yea would God y<sup>t</sup> certayn of this realme in times past had not rather had a mynd to dye for y<sup>e</sup> maintenauce of y<sup>e</sup> false vsurped power of y<sup>t</sup> Bishop of Rome than to lyne w<sup>th</sup> obedyente and faythfull hartes to oure moste Chrysten kyng" (Becon, *Pathway to Prayer*, *Works*, 1564, Vol. I. fol. xcii).

lyuyng vnmaryd in vnclene lyfe, to be much sklaunderouse to chrystian *commyn* welys & to gyue no smal occasyon to the decay of thys ground, the wych ys dowteles, as the veray foundatyon to al cyuyle ordur chefely to be regardyd. Wherefore now in thes days to my iugement hyt apperyth <sup>1</sup> hyghly expedyent other to mynysch thys nombur of prestys & of relygyouse *personys*, other to alter thys law of bound chastyte, though hyt hathe byn neuer so long receuyd, but wych of thes two thyngys ys now to thys tyme more conuenient I schal leue to your gracys wysedome & iugement; and of thys mater no thyng dowte at al, but that here ys a grete lake & penyry of pepul & inhabytantys in your cytes & townys & hole cuntrey: the wych lake, as hyt apperythe to me, may in some part be redressyd & helpyd by thys your acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in thes monasterys was nuryshyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dyshonowre of god, & let of natural *propagatyon*, grete trust I haue that your hyghnes by your gudnes & wysedome wyl now set & plant therin men lyuyng in lawful matrimony, wherby the nombur of your pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd, to goddys honowre & glory.<sup>2</sup> . . .

<sup>3</sup> “But here ys a thyng wych many wyse men feare & gretely dystrust, & what hyt ys I schal to your hyghnes breuely declare. Hyt ys openly iugyd & *commynly* thought that the ferme & occupyng of thes abbays & monasterys schalbe leysyd & set vn-to grete lordys & *gentylmen* of much possessyonys & to them wych haue therof no grete nede at al, the wych dowteles, yf hyt so be, schal much deface & gretly dymynysch the profyt of your acte & publyke vtlyte, for then schal the grete *commodyte* therof run but to few & to such wych myght lake hyt ryght wei, & your pepul therby schalbe lytyl then increasyd; wheras yf the fermys therof were leysyd by copyhold, & of a mean rent, to yongur bretherne lyuyng in *seruyce* vnprofytably, & to them wych be of lowar state & degre, they schold gretely helpe to set forward chrystyan cyuylte & much increase the nombur of your pepul, specyally yf the ferme of the hole monasterys and demaynys of the same were dyuydyd in-to sundry portyonys & *dyuerse* holdys, & not leysyd to one to turne hyt vn-to a graunge. And thys thyng schold not be vturly wythout reson & gud *consyderatyon*, for pytye hyt were that so much feyre housyng & gully byklyng, wych myght wyth *commodyte* be maynteynyd to the comfort of man schold be let fal to ruyne & decay, wherby our cuntrey myght appere so to be <sup>4</sup> defaeyd as hyt had byn lately ouerrun wyth ennymys in tyme of warre, the wych must nedys ensew yf the hole monastery be leysyd but to one to whome hyt schal not be necessary to maynteyne so much housyng, but a schypppe-cote *perauenture* schalbe to hym suffyeyent.” He suggests that each monastery be divided and leased to several men instead of one, so

<sup>1</sup> Page 479.<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 148 *et seq.*<sup>3</sup> Page 480.<sup>4</sup> Page 481.



that more households and citizens might be produced "apte & mete to the serveyce" of the commonwealth; the "relygyouse" may be removed to the greater monasteries, where they can better observe their rules. "Wherefore grete trust I haue & sure hope that your hyghnes, by your synguler wysedome & grete pollycy, wyl plant in thes housys a nothre cumpany then hathe byn before, wyche haue gretly abusyd the benefytys of god & of gud men to them gyuen, by whome the nombur of your pepul schalbe bettur increasyd & the mayestye of god, as hyt ys to be thought, much bettur pleasyd, ye, & the soulys of them wych be departyd much more comfortyd, of whome hyt may be iugyd conueniently that euer as they delyte & take much comfort of the faythful prayerys & remembrance of theyr posteryte, so of the faynyd babbling of many ful of hypocryse<sup>1</sup> more by custume then wyth deuotyon vsyd, they take lytyl releyffe & consolatyon. Wherefore though such a place be, as hath byn euer affyrmyd of al the antyquyte, where as soulys departyd be retaynyd from the fruytyon of the dyuine mayestye, ther takyng releyffe & comfort of our prayerys made in faythful loue & charyte, yet thys schal not folow of necessaryte that by thys acte of suppressyon they suffur any wrong or iniurye, but rather, as fer as mannys reson may attayne, schal take grete consolatyon to see theyr possessyonys, wych long haue byn abusyd to the nuryschyng of vyce & idulnes,<sup>2</sup> now conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse gudnes & wysedome to the commyn comfort of theyr posteryte & to the setting forth of goddys glory, the wych dowteles ys more schowyd & openyd to the world by the multytude & increse of hys pepul lyuyng togyddur in chrystyan cyuylyte then by a few lyuyng in the monastycal lyfe & solytary."<sup>3</sup>

Starkey then proceeds to treat of the question of the origin and progress of the supremacy of the Pope: two causes, he thinks, may be assigned for the former, "the one for as much as general counseyl of al chystian natyonys was iugyd of wyse men to be expedyent both to redresse al commyn errors and heresys, & also to stablysch a conformyte of manerys & vnyte of chrystys doctryne in the vnyuersal church, hyt was thought<sup>4</sup> also mete & conuenient to determe & appoynt one to be hede & chefe in the same to ordur the counseyl & propowne such thyngys as were decreed wyth authorityte: the other because the word of god & doctryne of Chryst ought to be kept perfayt & hole in al chrystian pollyceys, & ought to be the ground & foundatyon whereapon al chrystian pryneys schold byld al theyr lawys & be the veray end wherevnto they ought to dyrect al theyr actys & delys, to the intent that pryneys schold not swarue from the groundys of scripture nor decre any thyng contrary to the true sense

<sup>1</sup> Page 483.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Dialogue*, p. 131, "idul abbey-lubbarys."

<sup>3</sup> Compare the *Supplicacion of the Poore Commons*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, pp. 79-80.

<sup>4</sup> Page 485.

& integryte therof: hyt was *peraventure* iugyd by reson also to be veray expedient to stablysch such a hede wherby as by a *commyn* stey the hedy affectys of pryneys & vnlawful purposys myght in some *parte* be brydelyd, & conteynyd in ordur."

The principal cause of the continuance and increase of the power of the popes he thinks to be "that aftur the tyme that *Constantyne*, the grete, Emperoure, by the consent of al them wych were vnder hys monarchye, & by hys hygh powar, had stablyschyd thys hede, the enydent<sup>1</sup> vtylyte wherof was felt & playnly perceuyd through the hole chrystyan pollycy, & specyally in thys ocydent *parte* of the world, then men began to draw plaecys of scrypture to the *confirma*-*tion* therof, and in processe of tyme such as sownyd therto wyth a lytyl apparent probabylyte were by the avaucercys of that powar declaryd to the world to proue the thyng of necessitye, for such ys the symplycyte of man that every lytyl apparence, namely in materys of relygyon, inducyth hym by & by to ful *persuasyon*, specyally when ther apperyth any daungerys or *incommodityes* annexyd & succeeding the same."

This power given to the popes might, he says, have continued had they been content with what was originally given to them; but as for reasons of policy they gradually increased it, so he thinks it was a matter of policy to end it, and he declares his conviction that as the Church prospered at first without a head in Rome, it will not injure it now if the Pope is deprived of his supremacy.<sup>2</sup> For though at first necessary, it had grown to such a height that it was essential to the safety of the country "vtturly to pluke out of al chrystyan pollycy such *tyrannyeal iurysdyctyon*," and he hopes that other princes will follow the example set them in England.

Starkey then impresses on the king the necessity to "dyssyfyre and to separat a-sundure, al such as be groundys of scrypture, laudabul custumys,<sup>3</sup> and honest rytys tending to *confirme* true & *perfayt* relygyon frome many tradytyon, folysch abusys & erroneouse, by the wych ys vnder growen al false & vayne *superstycyon*: for to thys dyssyfyng & to thys *maner* of eastyng downe the prymacy schal neuer succede the brech of chrystyan charyte, nor yet the ruine of lernyng, *vertue* or of gud cyuyltye. Wherof many honest hartys & relygyouse haue conceuyd grete feare & suspycyon, dowtyng much that wyth thys defectyon from Rome, we schold haue fallen & slyppyd also from al old rytys & rulyes of our relygyon. But now sythen hyt hathe pleasyd your grace by your authoryte to stablysch the gud & ameyent custumys vsyd in chrystys church from the begyunnyng, and to set forth the indyfferent mean betwyx the old &

<sup>1</sup> Page 486.<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 198-9.<sup>3</sup> Page 489.

blynd supersteycon and thys lyght & arrogant opynyon lately entryng here among vs, I trust surely to see the doctryne of chryst so synceerely to be set forth, & the honoure of God so to be maynteynd in thys new pollycy, that al other chrystian pryneys schal take therof lyght of true iugement. . . . <sup>1</sup> Now I trust to see *vertue* & lernyng so to be estymyd here among vs, and so to be rewardyd by your gracys lyberalyte that al men schalbe much encurrayd therto, and al men schal take therof iuste cause of reyoeyng; for though *vertue* of hytselfe be suffyceyt reward to al them wch wyth clere iugement can behold the bewty therof, yet the *commyn* sort hauyng therof no clere syght, sylldome enteryth the straye pathe ledyng thervnto, except they be encurrayd & inflamyd wyth some hope of vtward reward & benefyte;” and to this use he expresses his hope that the king will turn the immense revenues lately fallen to him. He then again refers <sup>2</sup> to the “vndyscrete prechyng” which of late had nearly brought in “a certayn dyuysyon,” and hopes that in future the people may live in “*perfayt vnyte*, whervnto sylldon and rarer prechyng, made wyth gretar lernyng & dyscretyon . . . schold mynstur no smal cause and occasyon;” for though at first “before Chrystys doctryne was tought to the world hyt was then necessary in euery cuntrey to haue often & much prechyng, to plant in *mennys hartys* the groundys of our relygyon, so now whereas hyt hath byn stablyd so many yerys, and both by educatyon & tradytyon so wel confirmyd, ther ys therof I thynke no such hygh necessity,” and <sup>3</sup> “*Persuadyd* I am that yf so much prechyng had not byn vsyd in thys alteratyon of your pollycy, but yf thyngys had byn set forth only by your pryneely powar & authoryte, ther schold neuer haue byn so much repugnyn nor so much gruge agayne your actys as apperyd openly,” for he says there is nothing “more vneumly in chrystian *commyn* welys then to see euery lewde *person* at lyberty to babyl in pulpyttys of the groundys of serypture and of hygh materys & weyghty concernyng relygyon, the handelyng wherof worthyly *perteynyth* to men of approuyd *vertue* & grete puryte of lyfe, hygh lernyng and depe iugement.”

He again returns to the encouragement of learning, <sup>4</sup> “by the syght wherof men schalbe styrryd & inflamyd lyghtly to folow thys our trade & kynd of pollycy, and thys schal gyue to other chrystian pryneys by your gracys actys clere lyght of iugement; thys schal moue them to loke to your exampul; thys schal make them gladly to schake away the yoke of the tyranny of Rome, and, schortly to say, thys I thynko ys the only way to persuade other pryneys & to induce the world to iuge thys defectyon to be a gud dede and to be wel doone . . . . . <sup>5</sup> and truly to say I thynke no one *thyng* hathe byn a gretar stey to chrystian pryneys to conteyne them in theyr old pollycy then hathe byn the exampul of Germanye, whose dyscorde and dyuysyon wyth so many kyndys of relygyon lately receyuyd hathe made many

<sup>1</sup> Page 490.<sup>2</sup> Page 491.<sup>3</sup> Page 492.<sup>4</sup> Page 493.<sup>5</sup> Page 494.

chrystian hartys, & many wise men much to abhorre al new alteratyon, but as Germanye by rashues and, as I take hyt, by lake of sobur iugement & dyscretyon hathe mynstryd lyght occasyon of ouer much lyberty to theyr pepul, by the reson wherof they slyppyd in-to a pestylent dyuysyon, and so hath much defacyd & spottyd thys kynd of pollycey, so I trust that Englonde, gouernyd & rulyd by your hygh wysedome & iugement, your pepul beyng temperyd wyth soburnes & modestye, schal mynystur such exampul & gyue such lyght therin that al other chrystian pryneys hereaftur schal gladly folow thys alteratyon, & much desyre in theyr commyn welys to see lyke ordur of pollycey . . . . .<sup>1</sup> and though Mastur Pole, in whome my trust surely was fyxyd; that he wold haue subscrybyd to the iugyd truthe herin, hathe lately declaryd by hys wrytyng a contrary sentence vndyscretely, yet I trust he ys not so malycyouse, nor so lytyl studyouse of your gracys honowre, as to set hyt abrode to the face of the world; and yet yf he, forgettyng hym selfe, schold mynd so to doo, mouyd other by the desyre of the auancement of hys sentence, to the wych he iugyth the more parte of the world wythout controuersye dothe agre, other els styrryd by ambyceyon & study of glory, wherwyth he may perauenture be inflamyd gretely, I dowte not but that your gracys subyeectys schal take therof lytyl persuasyon," for, he says, as to the Pope's supremacy, provided no changes be made in the doctrines and rites of the Church, it will soon "be put in oblyuon . . . . for euery man semyth commynly & vtturly to abhorre that vsurpyd and clokyd tyranny."

The whole question he hopes may be brought before a General Council,<sup>2</sup> the result of which he feels sure would be that the example set by Henry would be followed by other princes, for it is monstrous, he says, that "though byschoppys & prestys be the chefe membrys in chrystian commyn welys, hauyng powar of god to releyse men from al syn, as precharys of goddys word & mynysturys of hys doctryne, where vnto al chrystian<sup>3</sup> pollycey must be framyd & as apon the chefe ground bykdyd, yet by the vertue of goddys word to calenge any authoryte as hedys and rularys, and to clayme ouer al chrystian pryneys any superyoryte, I thynke schal appere to goddys word playn contrary." For though secular authorities, as such, are subject and inferior to ecclesiastical authorities, and the law of man to that of God, yet it does not follow that Christian princes, in whom rests all power, should be inferior to any of their subjects, even though the latter be endowed with ecclesiastical authority.

When he looks abroad and sees all the princes bent on war he is almost lost in despair, but he says,<sup>4</sup> "I trust to see a general counseyl

<sup>1</sup> Page 495.

<sup>2</sup> Page 496.

<sup>3</sup> Page 497.

<sup>4</sup> Page 499.

to folow and by your gudnes pryncypally the world restoryd to the old quyetnes, by the wych mean your grace schal not only doo the offyce and dewtye of a veray chrystian prynce and of a true hede of a chrystian congregatyon, but also by the consent of al men your hyghnes schalbe ingyd to be worthy of immortal glorye, and wyth hym to reyne, who ys the veray hede of al churchys eternally.

“Thus I haue declaryd breuely vn-to your hyghnes the hopys wych I haue of thys present state & kynd of pollycy, mouyd by the redyng of Mastur Polys boke, wherin he studyth the abrogatyon of your actys, and the restitutyon of the old prymacy, declaryng hyt to be a necessary ground to the conseruatyon of chrystyan vnyte and playnly schowyng how aftur hys iugement thes your actys repugnyng to goddys law can not long endure in thys present age, & much les wyth your posteryte: but as he corruptly doth iuge your gracys actys, as he apperyth to me, blyndyd wyth affectyon, not weying they materys indyfferently, so I trust & surely hope that your hyghnes, not only by your synguler gudnes, appoyntyng your successyon at tyme conuenient, wel ponderyng the commodytes wych depend therapon, but also by your hygh prudence and pollycy, conteynyng your pepul in ordur and vnyte, wyl so tempor your actys wyth al theyr successe annexyd to the same, and so ordur the present state dyrectyng al thyngys to goddys honowre & glory, that they schal not only be an exampl to al other chrystian pryncys to folow and ensew, mynstryng vn-to them lyght of iugement, but endure also long & many yerys to the grete comfort of vs that in thys tyme, and to the inestymabul quyetnes of <sup>1</sup>al our posteryte. Thes be my hopys, and ofte cogytatyonys & desyrys wherwyth aboue al wordly thyngys I comfort myselfe in thys mortal lyffe. In the declaratyon wherof vn-to your hyghnes, yf I haue erryd or conceyuyd amys, I schal most humbly besech your grace as my souerayne lord & mastur rather to impute of your gudnes myn errour to ignorancy and lake of experyence, then to any lake of wyl and desyre of that thyng wych perteynyth to your pryncely honowre, to the wych I schal serue duryng my lyfe, wyth the same faythfulnes of hart, wherwyth<sup>2</sup> I serue hym, who ys the maker, gouernowre, and rulare of all.”

§ 17. Here we practically take leave of Starkey, for beyond indirect notices of his death in the appointment of his successors in the livings held by him, we have no further mention of his name.

He had been named on the 30th December, 1536, to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi, in connection with the Church of St Laurence, Candlewick Street, London,<sup>3</sup> and was presented to

<sup>1</sup> Page 500.

<sup>2</sup> *MS.* wherwhythe.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Starkey clericus habet litteras Regis patentes de presentacione ad Collegium siue Capellam corporis Christi iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurencij prope Candelywke strete Ciuitatis Londonii London. Dioc. per mortem ultimi

the living on the 26th January following. Hither, doubtless, he betook himself after the failure of the negotiations with Reginald Pole, and here he composed the *Dialogue*, having, as he says, “alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting.”

Of this Chapel Newcourt<sup>1</sup> gives the following account :—

“The Parish Church of S. Laurence stood on the west side of S. Laurence Lane (so call'd of this Church), which runs down from Canon-street to Thames Street, in Candlewick-street Ward, and being near Candlewick (now Canon) Street, was in old time call'd S. Laurence Candlewick-street Church.

“It was in antient time increas'd with a Chapel of Jesus, by Thomas Cole, for a Master and a Chaplain; the which Chapel and Parish-Church was afterwards made a Colledge of Jesus and *Corpus Christi*, for a Master and seven (or rather twelve) Chaplains, by John Poultney, Mayor, and was confirm'd by Edward III. in the 20th of his Reign, having the year before, viz. July 1, 1345, granted Licence to the said John, to give and assign to the Custos of the Chantry founded by him, to the Honour of *Corpus Christi*, and of the Church of S. Laurence, near Candlewick-street, London, and to the twelve Chaplains celebrating there, the Advowsons of the Churches of Napton, West-Tilbury, Chevele, Sheule, and Spelhurst.

“Of this Founder, Sir John Poultney, was this Church afterward call'd S. Laurence Poultney (now commonly Pountney), which Colledge at the Suppression was valu'd at £97 17s. 11d, and surrendered in the Reign of Edward VI.

“This Church (which on the Steeple had a very lofty spire of Timber and Lead, new-leaded in 1631 and 1632) was burnt down in the late dreadful Fire, and after that united to that of S. Mary Abchurch, which is made the Parochial-Church for both Parishes; both which are made of the yearly value of £120 in lieu of Tyths to the Incumbent, and the site of this remains only as a burying-place for the Inhabitants of this Parish.

*Hujus Collegii Magistri.*

Joh. Blackden, A.M., 24 July, 1532, *per resig.* Stevyns.

Tho. Starkey, *pres.* 26 January, 1536, *per mortem* Blackden.

incumbentis eusdem. Et directe littere ille Reuerendo in Cristo patri Johanni Londonii Episcopo. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx die Decembris.

*per breve de priuati Sigillo & de dato &c.*—*Patent Roll*, 28 Hen. VIII. Part 3. mem. (19).

<sup>1</sup> *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1708, Vol. I. pp. 8, 389.

Will. Latymer,<sup>1</sup> *pres.* 22 October, 1538, *per mortem* Starkey.”

The date of the following letter to Sir Geoffry Pole is clear from the reference to Pole's having “[gott]en the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made.” The mention to Throckmorton refers to his having been sent back to Pole with a strong protest from Henry and Cromwell against his accepting the dignity of cardinal.

(1 February 1537.<sup>2</sup>)

I wrote to you but short lately bycause I thought my lord, as he was purposed, had come to you, but now I wyl recompense my shortenes, how be hyt as touchyng newys from Italy your frend hathe certyfyd you truly.<sup>3</sup>

I have expownyd *latine* to you. Master Pole hathe [gott]en<sup>4</sup> the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made wyth su[che t]ryumpe as neuer was man in Rome, and playnly hyt [ys] wryten out of Italy that he shal shortly be pope, *talis est multorum ibi expectatio*, but yet I can skant beleue that he wyl Inyoy that tytill before throgmortonys arryual, wych schalbe shortly, & shortly I trow also retorne, for thereapon heng grete thyngys. The mater ys not wel borne. I wold you were here for ij or iij days at your leysar, & come by my lord montague, yf you here of hys beyng ther at bokmore, for he wylbe also here thys next weke as I here. Our men in the north I trust be wel quyetyd: my lord of Norfolke wyth hys conseyll ys now ther. Beyond the see ther ys grete preparatyon apoual sydys, bothe among chrysten men & turkys, and lately the duke of florence was slayn by hys own Cosyn in the myddyl of hys owne towne, such myschefe ys in the world. Master gostwyke lokyth for you for the kyngys money, & thys Master olyver wylyd me to wryte to you, & I am sure you wyl bryng hyt up wyth you and more to satisfye other credytors, *si qui sint*. I have non other newys, but desyryng you that I may be most humbly recommendyd to my lady, your mother, *vale*. Londini, Calendis februarij,

Th. Starkey.

Here ys a lettur of mastres brownys wythin.

[Addressed]

The Ryght worshypful Sr geoffray pole.

§ 18. Of the exact date of Starkey's death we are ignorant. He

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He it was who complained against Bonner, Bishop of London, for leaving out of his sermon at Paul's Cross the article of the king's authority in his minority, contrary to the king's injunctions, and for some neglects in his pastoral office and duty, for which he was prosecuted and deprived of his bishopric, October 1, 1549.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers. Henry VIII., Public Record Office.* This letter is much worn, some parts being in a very bad state.

<sup>3</sup> Nearly half a line is illegible here.

<sup>4</sup> A hole in the paper here carries off the words supplied in brackets.

was certainly dead before the 1st September, 1538, for on that date Craumer, as appears from the *Registers* in Lambeth Palace Library, presented Hugh Coren to the living of Great Mongeham, *per mortem naturalem* Thome Starkey, S. T. P. *vacantem* (leaf 365, back). If, therefore, the will printed above (p. viii) is really Starkey's, his death must have taken place in the last week of August, 1538. His successor at Corpus Christi was presented, as we have seen, to the living on the 22nd October, 1538, and the Patent appointing him bears date 24th September.

It is very evident that Starkey was far more suited for the life of a student than of a politician. Of a sincere and upright, but readily persuaded disposition, he was completely at the mercy of any more skilled in double dealings, and willing to take advantage of his weakness. His letters after the failure of the negotiations with Pole show at once his earnestness and his want of strength of mind, and it is clear that from the first he was looked upon and used by both parties simply as a tool.

I have omitted all mention of Starkey's work, *An Exhortation to Christian Unity*, because it is quite uncertain when it was written. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that it was composed in 1534, and that it led to his being recommended by Cromwell for the appointment of chaplain to the king. The work, which is fully described by Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. pt. i. pp. 266, 514, begins by stating how "the Pope for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion, had brought in among Christians much false superstition; and for the maintenance of his pride set great divisions among Christian princes; what insolent pride and arrogance it was in the Pope to affirm a superiority among Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the Bishop of Rome he that must be chief judge over all Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with interdicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that the Pope's prerogative could not be shown from any ground of Scripture. That until the time of Pope Sylvester, about the space of four hundred years, there was no mention at all made of this head: that all the ancient and good interpreters of Christ's gospel among the Greeks kept silence concerning this authority, in all their books never making any mention of it: and that if this were true, then should all the Indians these thousand years have run headlong to damnation, who never took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church. The



same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Armenians, who would never own that Bishop for their head."

He concludes as follows :—

"Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God's word in His Scripture granted, nor by the practice thereof by His apostles, inspired with His Spirit, confirmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary; I see no cause why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common policy; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloaked tyranny, which under the pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple, and pure doctrine of Christ."

The following letter appears to be the original draft of Starkey's application to Cromwell for appointment as king's chaplain, already reprinted at p. ix from the more complete copy in MS. Harl. 283: 1—

For as muche that I see you so occupyd in materys of weyght in al such tymys wherin you gyue audyence to such as sue vn to you for your socur & conseyl, I haue thought most conuenient, breuely in wrytyng to schow the cause of my sute now vn to you, beseechynge you at your plesure to rede hyt, at suche tyme, as you are not besyd wyth gretur affayrys; requyryng you also of pardon of thys my importune boldnes, for maruayle you may, that I, beyng to you a straunger & almost vnkowne, schold so boldly requyre your conseyl & ayde, & speeyally in such a cause wych semyth to requyre longur acqyntaunce; but maruayle you not, your gentylnes ys the cause, I assure you. the synguler humanyte schowyd vn to me at your fyrst communcatyon, and the grete gudnes wych you to al men declare in al gud & honest requestys hathe put such confydence in my hart and stomake, that I put no dowte, that you wyl not only gladly here my request, but also put to your conseyl & ayde to the fortherance of the same, and bycause I wyl not trowbul you ouer long, schortly to schow you thys hyt ys. I wyl open my mynd now vn-to you, non other wyse, then hyt ys open to hym who seeth al. I haue spent many yerys in the studye of letturys, occupying my pore wytt wythe such dyligence as I coude, to attayne to some knolege, both of the law of god & of the law of man, and in thys my studys, I haue had hytherto grete plesure and comfort, euer more trustyng to haue some occasyon & tyme wherin I myght apply such lernyng as I attaynyd vn to, at the last to some vse & profyt of my cuntrey; thys hathe

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Public Record Office, Henry VIII.*

byn I testyfy god the end of my studys, thys hathe byn ener before my yees, and to thys now I loke vn to wythe gretur desyre then euer I dyd hytherto to any other thyng in my lyfe: but now In thys case & condycyon I stond, that of myselfe I can not attayne to thys end accordyng to my desyre, the gudnes of our prynce who gouernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true commyn wele, that my mynd now gyuyth me thys, that yf hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto. Wherfor if hyt wold plesse you of your gudnes as my sure trust ys, aftur your prudence to helpe & set forwarde thys my purpos, what you schal deserue of me you can bettur conceyue, then I can wyth wordys expresse. Thys I assure you I schal euer iuge that by you I haue optaynyd a grete parte of my felycyte, and the rest of my lyfe I wyl gladly spend accordyng to your ordur & dysposytyon.

Yours assurydly,  
Thomas Starkey.

The following letter is interesting as exhibiting Starkey in a new light, that of a lover. The date is evidently before 1522, while he was still a young man, and it is written with a curious admixture of Italian, which shows plainly that he had not perfectly mastered the French tongue.<sup>1</sup>

Much as I have often blamed nature because she has not placed windows in the breasts of men, so that their feelings might be understood without words, much more I now blame her, being as I am in a foreign country, so that I cannot in fit terms express my feelings towards you.

But true affection may often be expressed in rude and unpolished language: believe not, therefore, that these are the

*Combien*<sup>2</sup> au temps passe quant je pensoys de les oueres de nature il me sembloyt, che dan la male forme la nature des homes, pur ce che na pas fayt quelch petytes fenestres dauant le cure, affyn che sans parolles on les pouyt cognoystre laffectyon, touteffloys au present Je le troue plus graunt faute che jamais parauant, dautant che je constitue en vn pays estraunge la ou je ne puyt exprimer auec parolles ou termes ce che mon pouer cour panse. neanmoys, quant je me souuyent de vostre graunt humanyte & cure benygne, cela me ha balliva (!) peu de hardyesse pur ourye la buche, en faysant croyre ainsi che vous non regarderay poynt la rudesse de mes parolles, mays tant solement laffectyon du mon cure, le quel se monstra volontyer plus souant en rudes parolles, che en elegantes & bien composees: et affyn che je ne vous donne trop grand fasherye auec mes lettres en peu de parolles je vous

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

<sup>2</sup> Byen souant was written first, then altered to *Combien*.

declaryreray lyntentyon de mon cure,<sup>1</sup> mays au commencement je vous supplie, madame, de vous persuader, che ces parolles ensuytant sont escript non pas avec loueur vyle & commune, mays avec les vyue sprytes de mon coure. Depuys le primer jur che jay veus la beuty synguler & la bonne grace che est en vous, et depuys<sup>2</sup> che jay cogneu & experymente la honte honestete avec les synguler vertues, jay este prynt de vn si synguler affectyon envers vous, che jamays depuys mon pouer cour a este au sa lyberty acustume: il non panse ne juor ne nuyt de altre chose synon de vous, et de telle sorte est rany che me semble che yl est plus verytablement avec vous che avec moy. Yl ha lasse mon corps toute desolee, sans joy & sans pleysyr, comment vous pourays voyr si jammays vous aues prynt gard de cela: et aushi vous voyes laffectyon de mon cure. mays anchore, affyn che vous saches la qualyte de icelle voys moy madame. Il non tende a aultre fyne si non de vous fayre honoure & servyce, et comme de vous vertues lha sa source & fountayne, ausy en icelles, ha son fyne, comme je vous declareray plus largement quant a la vostra bonna grace playre che je parleray a vous de ce purpos. Et puree, madame, je vous supplie par lamor che vous porte al honoure & honestete de bonys gentyllhomys che lamor & laffectyon che je porte envers vous est si honeste che vous playse daccepter de bone cure, affyn che vous me restituer en mon liberty & che de cela. Sè vous aues lu cecy je vous supplie de relier plus dylygement & prenes les lettres escriptes a vous, puree che vous estes la dame a la quele je suys plus subiecte che au dame en ce monde: vous aues mon pouer cour a vostre commandement & puree je vous supplie trete luy gentylment selon.

words of common praise but rather of deep affection of the heart.

From the first day that I beheld your singular beauty and grace,

my heart, as a captive, has been able to think of nothing but you,

of your honour and your service:

as I trust to declare to you in words when it shall please you to speak with me.

When you have read these few words over, read them again and again, since you are the one to whom alone in the world my heart is captive.

Here again we have Starkey in an unexpected character. Apparently he had forgotten himself at a dinner, and under the influence of drink had used language unfitted for a theologian and a philosopher. There is no clue to the date of this letter, which is reprinted from the original in the Record Office.

<sup>1</sup> Mon cure is written over mes lettres erased.

<sup>2</sup> Written in the margin there is here as follows, but without any connection or caret:—le cuer non serrai (?) iamays repos che ha fiance en chose mortalle o che ame plus le choses mortales che immortales, car lamor desordonee est la causa de toutes les maux en ce monde, comme bien ordonee est causa de toute bienus (?).

Well did Pliny say that nothing in this world was more difficult than to judge the life and character of a man,

than whom not even Proteus himself was more changeable.

As philosophers and theologians should of all men be the most quiet and forbearing,

what could be more foolish and unbecoming than for a theologian so to forget himself, as, under the influence of wine, to use scurrilous language, as you did at our friend Wittinton's dinner. Wherefore, my dear Starkey, repent, and show yourself, as before, a pattern of sobriety, modesty, and self-restraint.

Quum multa alia docte atque prudenter Plinius scripserit, tum illud mihi *quam* prudentissime ac sapientissime dixisse videtur vitam hominis multos recessus habere multasque latebras, vt plane nihil sit difficilius *quam* de vita ac moribus hominum iudicare. Nam doctrina si qua est in aliquo, si qua dicendi vis ac eloquentia, facile seipsam prodit atque erumpit. Nec domini latere potest vtque vltro sese plerumque gestiat proferre ac diffundere. At mores hominis difficilius cognoscuntur mutanturque sepius; Vt nihil sit homine fere versipellius nihil mutabilius; Non proteus ille, quouis etiam Chamelionte versutior ac mutabilior, vt multa alia omittam. An non videmus fere mansueto ac miti ingenio homines remissos admodum ac tarde indolis vltra modum excandescere? Nam quemadmodum nihil est his hominibus odiosius qui sese sapientes existimant nihil non sibi, amicis autem parum tribuentes, nusquam non molesti, contumaces, loquaces, refractarii—qualem te minime esse iudico—sic contra nihil his amabilius qui aliis plurimum, sibi autem nihil aut parum arrogantes, de suo etiam iure vbique decedere parati, ne dicam alieno: multum se intra suas vires contrahunt modestaque silent; audientes libenter iudicium suspendunt, aut certe de quocumque iudicare parum tutum esse putant ac plerumque etiam temerarium. Contentio enim pro re parua sicuti mulierum ac sophistarum propria est. Ita virorum est moderata ac tempestiua taciturnitas maxime philosophorum ac theologorum, qui vt nomine ipso patet non de quibuscumque rebus loqui debeant sed de deo ac diuinis, et fratrum amicorumque infirmitates et animi motus quosdam equo animo ferre, secundam illud evangelium, 'ne dicas fratri tuo, raha,' Quid enim, vt probe nosti, fertili theologo stultius aut intolerabilius? Porro quid minus conuenit homini theologo quam scurrilibus ludis ac jocis et, vt domestico vtamur vocabulo, quartes (!) theologieque sessionis gravitatem inflectere cena communis nostri amici Wittinton. Id fecit ac meus vino flagrans continuisque potibus madula non potest non variis tum desideriis tum affectibus estuare. Quare, mi Starke, vtraque manu aut si mauis cum hieronimo lapide pectus contundas et iterum ad sobrietatis, modestie, verecundie, taciturnitatis exemplar mihi ceterisque amicis omnibus imitandum te conuertas. Nemo nunquam sic a sese degenerauit vt non facile rursus mansuescat si modo culture vt Horacius inquit patientem commodet aurem. Vale.

§ 19. The following letter in Starkey's handwriting,<sup>1</sup> and apparently addressed to Cromwell, seems to refer to his *Exhortation*. In it he protests against its being considered a fault in his book that he had inclined neither to the one side nor the other, a feature which he himself considers as the "chefe vertue of the oratyon." Moreover, considering the persons to whom it was addressed, he thinks he had gone into the point quite as much as was necessary. At the close he intimates his intention of publishing "a certayn fantasye," by which he probably means his *Dialogue*.

Syr, I had thought thes days past to haue spoken vn to you concernyng the lytyl oratyon wych lately I wryte & your sentence of the same, but bycause I haue seen you euer so occupyd, I haue not wythout cause hytherto abstaynyd, fearyng I schold trowbel your necessary besynes wyth my *communycatyon*. Wherfor I schal besech you thes few wordys in wrytyng to accept, aftur your custumyd maner, & then to rede at your conuenient leyser. Syr, syth you schowyd me of late what you thought of the boke, I haue perusyd the thyng agayn & weyd hyt wyth my seife somewhat more dylygently, & playnly to confesse vn-to you the truthe, thys I wyl say, that as you haue jugyd of the mater so hyt ys indede; thys mean ys not put out at large wych you requyre, wherin you haue jugyd aftur a-nother sort then some other haue downe to whome you dyd exhylte the thyng to rede, who, the chefe vertue of the oratyon, yf ther be any therin conteynyd, as I vnderstode, haue notyd for a grete faute, & that was bycause I apperyd to be ouer vehement agayn the one extremyte, & to be of nother parte, but betwyx both indyfferent, the cause of the wych judgement I wyl not touch but leue to your prudence. but, syr, to you I schal speke as I thynke, wych ys thys—that, euen lyke as you haue downe in al other thyngys, wherof at any tyme hyt hath plesyd you to talke wyth me, euer touchyd the stryng & knot of the mater, in so much that of your *communycatyon* I haue geddryd more frute of truth then I haue downe of any other man lyuyng syth I cam here to my cuntrey, so you haue downe vndowtydly in thys, for thys mean wych you requyre ys not at length set out in my boke, nor I can not tel whether my wyt be suffycient or abul therto, for this mean in al thyng ys a strange stryng, hard to stryke apon & wysely to touch, for by thys the armony of thys hole world ys conteynyd in hys natural course & bewty: by thys al cyuyle ordur & pollycy ys maynteynyd in cytes & townys wyth gud cyuylte: by thys manys mynd wyth al kynd of vertue garnyschyd ys brought to hys quyetnes & felycyte, and by thys here

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.*

in our purpos al gud & true relygyon wythout *impyety* or *supersteycon* ys stablyschyd to goddys honowre & glory among al chrystyan natyonys. Wherfor to set out thys mean, as hyt ys a thyng most hyely to be desyryd, so my wytt & capacitye hyt for-passyth; & yet the mater I haue some what touchyd, & *perauenture*, as much as ys necessary for them to whom I dyrectyd my *communcatycon*, for as to the pepul thys *partycular* mean fully to *presente* I thynke hyt schold not nede, to whome you know *obedyence* ys more necessary to thyngys decreed by *commyn* authoritye then scrupulose knolege & exacte *dysquysytyon*, the wych thyng *perteynyth* to hyar philosophy. And for thys cause I thynke in the *Conceyl* of nece the *summe* of our fayth was geddryd & brought in to *certain* artycles & so *propownyd in simbolo* to al chrystyan natyonys as a thyng to be had in hart suffyeyent to the pepul wythout ferther *dysquysytyon*, and in the rest euer *gyuyng* meke *obedyence* to the ordur & custume in *euery cuntre* stablyschyd wyth *concord* & *vnyte*: and thys same thyng apperyth suffyeyent to me that the pepul & body of the *commynalty*, euery man dowyng hys offyce & duty as he ys callyd & by goddys *prouysyon* appoyntyd here in thys wordly *polley*, schold haue upon the *commyn* ordur in *euery cuntre* & leyn ther-vnto wyth sure fayth & expectatyon of euer-lasting lyfe, here aftur to be had by the mere *benefyte* & *gudnes* of god, who to vs, so trustyng in hym, hath made such promys of hys *benygyte*. Thys ys the most sure knot aftur my *judgment* of al chrystyan *cyuylyte*, to the wych yf any *pryuate person* repugne *sedycyously*, mouyd by any scrupule of *conseyence* *superstycyously* *conceyuyd*, yf he may nother be brought to knolege by gud *instructycon*, nor yet to *obedyence* wyth *gentyl* *admonytyon*, he ys not worthy to lyue in that *commyn* *polley*, nor to be a *membyr* therof, as one that *abhorryth* from al gud ordur & *cyuylyte*; nor other wyse than he doth upon the other syde, who, by *arrogant* *opynyon* *hyghly* *conceyuyd*, al rytys & *custumys* *ecclesiastical* vturly *despysyth* & *tredyth* *vnderfote*: of the wych ij *sortys* I feare ther ys no small *nombur* here in our natyon, as I haue before more largely *notyd*. But Syr I trust that the *gudnes* of hym who hathe *inspyryd* in-to the hart of our *prynce* thys *alteratyon* of *polley* schal also *gyue* hym *grace* to fynd out the most *conuenyent* mean to set hyt forward wyth a *commyn* *quyetnes*, to hys honowre & glory, for the wych I wyll not cesse to pray, for to other thyng lytyl *seruyth* my power & capacitye; and yet syr thys one thyng I dare *affyrme* & *boldly* say, that, though in my *oratyon* I haue not *presentyd* at length thys mean wherof you spake most *prudently*, yet yf ther were any such *powar* in my *wrytyng* & *probabyl* *persuasyon* wych myght *induce* in-to the hartys of the pepul of the scrupulose sorte such *obedyence* as I haue ther touchyd, *showyng* also the maner how they schold ther-to be *induceyd*, I wold not *dowte*, I say, but that in *concord* & *vnyte* they schold agre wythout scrupule of *conseyence* to al such thyngys as here be decreed by *commyn* authoritye. But thys lyth not in my

powar, wherefor I schal commyt al to the prouydençe of god, reseruyng yet a certayn fantasye herin to my selfe, wych I wyl, yf hyt may so plese you, at conuenyent leysur open vn-to you, the mean tyme besechyng you to pardon me of thys my rudenes in wrytyng, the wych I pray you, yf hyt be your pleasure, when you haue red, commyt to the fyre.<sup>1</sup>

§ 20. I have reserved the following letter<sup>2</sup> for the last, not only as being in my opinion the latest in date, but also inasmuch as it is that in which Starkey dedicates his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., and explains his motives in writing it. It does not help us much in ascertaining the date of that work: we can only see that it was after June 1536, since Pole's book is referred to; and if Strype is correct in stating that Lupset accompanied Pole to Rome (see p. xlv), it must have been after January 1537. The true date I believe to be about June 1538, since it is not at all probable that Starkey would have ventured to dedicate to Henry a book in which Pole was so favourably introduced, or to speak of him so highly in the present dedication, while his bitter language was still fresh in the king's mind.

Long and much at sundry tymis I haue *with* my selfe, most nobull prince, reasonyd and consideryd to what end and porpos *man* by nature schold be creat and brought forth here in to this lyght, for though *man* so lyue *commynly* giuing himselfe to all wordly vanyte as ther were in him nothing *immortall* and heuenly, yet wen I be hold his gudly forme, fasyon, and stature, *with* so much *comly* be-hauour, and then *considur* also his grete wit and pollyci wyth such a meruelouse memory, that all thinges therby he *comprehendith*, I cannot but thinke that he ys formyd and made to a hier end and porpos then any other lyuing creature [on] erthe; I cannot but thinke and playnly iuge that he ys brought forth to the intent that all such giftys as be to him by the *benefyte* of nature and gudnes of god aboue all other mortall creaturys *giuen* he schold *commyn* and aply to the profyt [of] other and setting forthe of goddys glory, to the wych porpos me semyth *euer* he schold dyrect and appoynt all his actys and dedys, *consellys* and thoughtys, as to the chiefe end shortly to say aftur my iugement to the wych he ys borne and of nature brought forth. and so by this *consideratyon* mouid long and many a day most nobull prince much desirouse I haue byne to *serue* your grace and my cuntrey imploing such giftys as of his mere gudnes hit hath plesid him god to *comyn* vnto me must gladly in your *seruyce*

<sup>1</sup> Endorsed in a late hand. "Cranmere, as I suppose. A declaracion of worke w<sup>ch</sup> he had mynded to publishe."

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

to the setting forth of goddys honowre and glory, to the wych I iuge myselfe so to be burden of ryght dewty, that except in some parte occasion serue me to satisfye the same the rest of my lyfe schall appear vnto me both tedyouse and displesant. wherfor seing that nother tyme nor place hath not yet seruid me nor mynistryd occatyon of declaring myn affect and ardent desire concerning the same I haue now alate in leysur and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting wych I trust to your gracys wysdome and iugement schall appear to this tyme nothing dyseconuenyent, after that I haue a lytill at large openid vnto your hig[h]ness the processe of the mater and the cawse wych hath mouid me now at this tyme to the writing of the same. aftur that I had spent parte of my youth in the study of philosophi and therby somewhat perceyuid the dyguite of mannys nature inflamyd I was with a grete desire to take sum experyence of the manerys of other pepull in strange natyon to the intent I myght therby of such thinges wych I had in bokys red, geddur and confyrme a more stabull and sure iugement: wherapon I went streyght in to the cuntre of Italy, as to the place most famyd both with grete lerning and gud and just pollyci, by the reson wherof glad I was ther certayn yiris to be conuersant as dilygently as I cowd obseruing ther lerning ther in hye philosophy as ther manerys and praetyse in commyn pollysi, by the wych obseruatyon I was somewhat better instructe at my return into myn owne cuntrey indyfferently to considur & wey the custumys and manerys of myn owne cuntremen with the pollycy vsid here in our natyon, whereapon I lokyd as a stranger as me thought in no parte corrupt by any affectyon, but indyfferent iugement euery thing examyning: and so well noting the manerys here vsid at home and comparyng them with other vsid in straunge natyon I haue fund grete correetyon with much abuse in law and pollyci wherof by long obseruatyon I haue geddryd a certayne commentary and compylid as hit were a lytill boke of the same. The processe whereof I will bre[ve]ly vnto your grace open and schow now at this tyme, for as much as [1] perceyue your highness now nothing more curith and hath in mynd than the extyrpatyon of all abusys both in custume and law by processe of time grown in here in this your commynwelth, by the reson whereof grete hope I haue onys yet to see that veray and true commyn wel whereof I haue with myselfe fansid here in your reame to haue place and by your high wysdome and pollyci here to be stablyschid and set to the grete comforte of this present age and of all our posteryte. and for as much as my porpos ys in this commentary to tuch the maner and mean of the restytutyon of this true commyn wele and Iuste pollyci I haue deuiding the boke in to iij partys in the fyrst openid as far as my pore wite and sklender lernyn[g] wyll serue what thing hit ys that men so much speke of and call a commynwele or a gud and Iust pollycy, and wherein hit principally stondith and chiefely is grondyd: in the seconde part I haue geddryd as my lytill experyence hath seruyd me



the most *commyn* and notabull abuis, both in manerys *custummys* and all *commyn* lawys wych in prosses of tyme are entryd among vs, wereby we are slippyd from that gud and iuste pollicy: and in the theyrd parte fynally I haue touchid the *maner* and mean how thes abusys both in *custum* and law may be reformyd and the treu *commyn* wele a-mong vs restoryd. and for bycawse the restitutyon hereof lyth chefely in the prouydence of god, and your hie wysdom and pollicy, I haue now vsid this boldness to *present* this rude *commentary* vnto your maiesty trusting therby to put your grace in remembrance and to mynistur some occatyon of the inuentyon of many other more *conuenient* meanys of the restoryng of this *commyn* wele, then other my wyt or capacite [can] *consyue* or attayne, for I dowt not at all, but that the gudnes of him, who hath gyuen your hienes lyght of iugment aboue the rest of princeys now reyning in our days, by the reson whereof you haue vtterly plukkyd vp the rote of all abuse, this vtward powar and intolerabull tyranny of rome, wherwith the christyan natyon long hath byne oppressyd by pretext and colour of relygion, I dowt not, I say, but the same gudnes of god shall inspyre your most nobull harte with such lyght and knolege that to your heynes hit shafl be, aftur so long vse and experyence had in this your reyne to see and perceue the most *conuenient* mean of the vttur extyrpatyon of all other lyke abusyon. this hope and sure trust I haue wych hath so incorragid me that I haue not fayned to exhibyte to your grace this rude *commentary* the wych I haue formyd in a *dyaloge* and a famylyar *commynicatyon* had betwyxt ij of your gracys most true and fayfull *seruantys* and subiectys, of the wych the one ys depertyd to the *seruyce* of him as I trust, to whome afl *christian* hartys relygiously here *serue* in erth, Thomas Lupset of wych, if hit had pleasid god, your grace schold haue had true and fayfull *seruyce*, the other ys yet I trust in lyfe, Maister Raynold Pole, of whose *virtue* and gudnes, yf he coud haue seen that thing by his lernyng wych your most notabull clarkys in your reame and many other hath approuyd, your heynes schold haue had before this *certayn*, and sure experyence, of thee wych thing also yet I dow not vtterly dyspeare, for I trust hit shalnot be long before he shall declare vnto your grace of his wysdome and iugment playne and manyfest arg[ument], and the mean tyme I shall most humbly besech your heynes that hit may plese yow at your *conuenient* leysur to *observe* the *commynicatyon* be twyx his old frend Maister Lupset and him hereaftur *comprysyd*, frome the wych I wyfl no longur<sup>1</sup> let your grace by this rude preface besechyng your hienes what so euer hit be to except hit with your accustomyd *humanyte* much more regardding my wyll then my dede, wych ys and euer shall be to the vttermost of my powar but to *serue* your pryncely mayeste to your honowre and goddlys glory.

<sup>1</sup> The words *frome the wych I wyll no* are repeated by mistake in MS.

§ 21. Extract from the *Jewel of Joy*, by Thomas Becon, referred to above, p. xlviiii.

Trueth it is. For I my selfe know many townes and villages sore decayed, for y<sup>t</sup> where as in times past there wer in some town an hundred houtholdes there remain not now thirty, in some fifty, ther are not now ten, yea (which is more to be lamented) I knowe townes so wholly decayed, that there is neyther sticke nor stone standyng as they vse to say.

Where many men had good lyuinges, and maynteyned hospitality, able at times to helpe the kyng in his warres, and to susteyne other charges, able also to helpe their pore neighbours, & vertuously to bring vp theyr children in Godly letters and good seyences, nowe sheepe and conies deuoure altogether no man inhabiting the afore sayed places. Those beastes which were created of God for the nouryshment of man doe nowe deuoure man. The Scripture sayeth that God made both shepe and oxen wyth all the beastes of the field subiecte vnto man, but now man is subiect vnto them. Where man was wouite to beare rule there they now beare rule. Where man was wouite to haue hys liuing, there they nowe onely lyue. Where man was wouite to inhabyte, ther they now raign and grease. And the cause of all thys wretchednesse and beggery in the common weale are the greedy Gentylnen, whyche are shepemongers and grasarys. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No mervayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage and not those things which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wouite to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wouite to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroyers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y<sup>e</sup> final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who fal to the ground. So they may be enriched, they care not who be empouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him

*Psal. ix.*  
[viii. 6, 7.]

Beastes  
about men.

Gentlemen  
Shepemongers.

*Phillip. ii.* [21]

of worldly possessions. The wyse man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y<sup>t</sup> defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraude the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciablenesse sel al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they greedely gripe. And yet where the cloysters kept hospitality let out their fermes at a reasonable pryce, noryshed scholes, brought vp youth in good letters, they did none of all these thinges. They lyghtlye esteme, and in a maner contemne Priestes, parsons, vicares, Prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embrace and niggardly retain. So that nowe they are become in effect although not in name, verye Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Priestes, Persons, Vicares, Prebendaries and at the last what not? and yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not? The state of England was neuer so miserable, as it is at this present. Good Lorde haue mercy upon vs and put in the hartes of the king and of his counsell to redres these intolerable pestilences of the common weale, or els make hast to dissolue this wretched world by thy gloryous comming vnto the iudgement: where thou shalt render to euery man accordyng to hys dedes, least if we longe remayne in this to much wretchednesse, we be compelled through the pouerty to attempt vnrighteous thinges, and forswear the name of our Lord God. (Becon, *Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.)

*Gene. iii.*  
*Eccle. xxxiii.*  
[21.]

Bread what it  
signifieth.

*Marke well.*

*Rom. ii.*

*Pro. xxx.*



## APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE

### Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise,

COMPOSED OF LATE IN MEATRE ROYALL

BY THE SYMPLE AND VNLEARNED

SIR WILLIAM FORREST, PREEISTE.

MS. REG. 17 D 3.

OF William Forrest, the author of the work from which the following extract is taken, we know but little. He tells us himself, in the Prologue to his *History of Joseph*, that he was "sometyme chapylayne to the noble Queene Marye." It is evident, as Warton says, that he "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers;" for although he is believed to have been a retainer of Cardinal Wolsey, he did not hesitate, after the fall of the latter, to speak of him in terms hardly less strong than those of Skelton. During the reign of Edward VI. he wrote and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset a metrical translation of the Psalms, as well as the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, and in the last year of Mary's reign he dedicated to her his *History of Grisild the Second*, which he says himself he had written twenty years previously, but which he had judiciously suppressed during the reign of Edward VI.

Besides the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, Forrest was the author of the following works:—

*A Life of the Blessed Virgin*, and numerous short poems, preserved in MS. Harl. 1703.

*A Metrical Version of the Psalms*, referred to above, dated 1551 MS. Reg. 17 A xxi.

"A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entituled the second Gresiell, practised

not long out of this time in much part tragedious as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyric on Katharine of Arragon, whom the author compares to patient Grisild, and her husband to Earl Walter. The original MS. is in the Bodleian, being No. 2 of Ant. à Wood's MSS., and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1875 by the Rev. W. D. Macray.

*The History of Joseph*, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, and finished 11th April 1569. MS. Reg. 18 C xiii., and Univ. Coll., Oxford, No. 88.

A full account of these works, as well as all the particulars of Forrest's life known to us, will be found in the Introduction to Mr Macray's *History of Grisild the Second*.

The *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelye Practise* professes to be a translation from a work composed by Aristotle for the use of his pupil Alexander the Great:—

"This symple booke whiche yee in hande nowe haue,  
I haue comprised in sorte as yee see,  
firste deuised by **Aristotele** graue  
Vnto kinge **Alexandres** maiestee" [*lf. 3, back*].

In reality the work is a version of the treatise written by Ægidius Romanus towards the close of the 13th century, with the title *De Regimine Principum*, which itself is a translation or rather paraphrase of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a spurious compilation attributed to Aristotle. (See *Warton*, ed. *Hazlitt*, III. pp. 19, 20.)

The book opens with a "prologue vnto the kinges maiestie **Elwa de** the Sexthe, deseriuinge partelic y<sup>e</sup> fruite of this notable warke whiche heere dothe ensue." The second chapter is a "notable description what a kinge is, And what signification in his regales, as Anoyntinge, Swoorde, bawle, scepture, crowne, and Throne dothe reste." This is succeeded by several chapters on the duty of a king towards God, and at leaf 28 the author treats of "the maner and solacynge moste conuenient for a kyng, bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to Recreat his spyrytis:" thus he recommends—

"Dyner onys ended rise not vpp lightelye,  
haue then some noyse of musycall sownde,  
as harpe, vyall, lute or some symphonie ;  
Virgynalls, rybeeke, withe Taberlet rownde,  
Semblyblye handeled in their monochorde" [*lf. 29, bk.*].

or else—

“Att tables, chesse, or cardis awhile *your selfe* repose.”

Chapter 13 shows “howe a kynge ought too marrye, what wise and circumspecte weyes hee shall vse yn chusyng his Ladye, and soueraigne spowes: And howe hee shall in moste amyable wyse chearische, looue, and make of her.”

“**A kynge** godde forbeade too bee nuefanglede,  
his wief texchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce;  
thearefore make searche if shee bee entanglede.”

“Too marye for looue” he thinks “more decent” than “too matche for riches or Realms domynon.”

“A younge Damoyzell her mynde too let fall  
Vpon an olde jaade, that is his luste paste;  
Or a fresche youngelinge vppon an olde wiche,  
too herke thearunto, it makethe my backe iche” [*f.* 40].

Directions for the proper treatment of ambassadors, the administration of justice, the education of the king's children, and a strict inquiry into the misery of the poor follow, and are succeeded by the passage here reprinted.

Chapter 22 shows “Howe a kyng owght too bee muche desyrowse too knowe thopynion of his commons towardis hym by the exploration of some secreat seruant whome hee doithe beste credite,”—a suggestion in fact for the establishment of political spies.

“Vayne clatteringe ofte risethe men emonge,  
And owte of doubte their tunges shall walke and chatt,”

and therefore

“**Some** secreat Seruaunte let hym owte espye,  
that hath Discretion and prenaunte wytt:  
to walke abroade in sorte moste secreatlye,  
in Commone companyes to tawlke and sytt:  
And what he heeareth for to commende ytt,  
other dispryse, to this ende and effecte  
that hee maye so walke withoute all suspecte” [*f.* 74].

Although we cannot say much for the poetry of the book, yet it is noticeable for some of the suggestions made in it—suggestions which have since been carried into effect, and become part of our system of domestic government. Such, for instance, are the author's proposals for compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the

requisite fees ; and for the appointment of an "overseer or controller," corresponding to our School-Board officer. Again, we have his suggestion for a general valuation of all land by government commissioners, such valuation to form the basis on which rents, rates, &c. should be calculated.

Passing by the author's complaints of the oppression of the poor, I would point out his appeal for true and just dealing on the part of cloth manufacturers, which comes home to us with especial force at the present time, when we hear so many complaints as to the "dressing," the "shoddy," and other adulterations practised in England.

The Royal MS. 17 D 3 is a small folio parchment volume of 78 leaves, besides several which are blank, the work being, as shown by the index, incomplete. In the "table conteynynge the title of all and singulare the Chapiters in this present booke," which begins on leaf 4, 37 chapters are designated, and we are further told that "at the ende of this warke shall ensue certaine narrations / exemplifinge sundry of the maters of the aforesaide tytles, to be fownde by the figures at thende of the saide titles / or their chapiters."

There are, however, only 24 chapters in the MS., nor does it appear that ever there existed any more.

The book is presented in the first instance to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, in order that it may have his approval previous to its being offered to the king. The dedication is as follows :—

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edwarde, Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicounte Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vncle vnto oure moste dreade soueraigne lord, kinge Edwarde the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royall person, Realmes and Dominions, bee honour, healte, and Hyghe prosperite, Withe (after this lief) aeternaH foelicite, So wisshethe his daylie Oratour sir William forreste, preeiste" [*leaf 2* ].

Following this is a short address of 16 stanzas to the duke.

On leaf 7, back, is a drawing representing the author presenting his work to Edward VI., who is seated, crowned, on his throne. For est himself is represented as a young man in a priest's gown, and with long flowing hair not tonsured.



On leaf 8 follow the title and dedication of the book as under :—

HERE ensuith A notable warke / called the pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise composed of late in meatre royall by the symple and vnlearned / *sir* William forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A booke entiteled The gouernaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele / wrote too his discypule Alexandre / the great and mightie Conqueroure.

1548.

To the moste mightie and puisaunte Prynce Edwarde the Sixthe, kynge of Engelande / Fraunce / and Irelande, Defendour of the faithe And heere in earthe (vndren christe) the supreme heade of bothe Churches / Engelande / and Irelande, bee regne in state moste fortunate : *with* thuppren hande ouer his enemies alweyes / thorowe his ayde / by whome all kynges heere dothe governe.

William Forrest.

#### SUMMARY OF THE EXTRACT.

After a short disquisition on the origin of civilization and monarchies, he (lxxxvii/14)<sup>1</sup> refers to the means adopted by the rich to keep up prices, viz., by buying up grain of all sorts, and only allowing it to find its way into the market by driblets ; he (lxxxviii/16) reminds the king that the great support of the throne is the “more some,” and protests (lxxxviii/18) against foreigners becoming rich at the expense of Englishmen, and concludes the chapter (lxxxix/21) by complaints as to the ruinous fines inflicted by landlords on their tenants.

The next chapter opens with a protest against idleness, the “patrones of all maner myschief” (xci/5) ; he suggests (xci/8) the issuing of a proclamation appointing the stocks or flogging as the punishment of idlers, and those who “at ale howse sitt, at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that cards men call.” Children he thinks should be sent to school at the age of *four* (xcii/12), and as a labouring man may not be able to pay for his children’s schooling, he would have free schools in every town (xcii/13) ; and an overseer to look up idlers and children (xciii/17), who is to have £3 or £4 a year, and must be an honest townsman (xciii/19), and be appointed for one year on probation (xciii/19). Leaving this subject, he turns to wool,

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in brackets refer to the pages and stanzas ; thus lxxxvii/14 means p. lxxxvii stanza 14.

that great commodity for which come many "suetours" (xciv/21), and for which Englishmen have to pay sixfold price through allowing it to be exported in the raw state by "Foryners and Turks" (xciv/22). After telling us the rate of wages, 1*d.* to 2*d.* a day (xcv/26), he complains of the great rise in prices (xcv/27), in rents (xcv/29) and in meat (xcv/30). Englishmen, he says, can't live on roots and herbs, or "such beggerye baggage;" they must have meat, "after their olde vsage" (xcv\*/33).

In the next chapter he reverts to wool, which should not be exported raw (xcvi/4), but made up in England; the cloth to be well shrunk and dressed (xcvi\*/6); all faulty cloth to be retained for use at home, lest foreigners should "fynde vs amyse;" for, as he says, "what the Salysman is the ware ofte dothe teache" (xcvi\*/6). No wool to be sold at less than ten nor at more than fifteen shillings a tod (xcvii/11).

Leaving wool, he returns to the "raging rentis," which should be restored to their former rate by commissioners, who should fix the valuation of each farm (xcvii/14); reminds the king that the yeomen are the backbone and glory of England (xcvii\*/16); declares that bad landlords go straight to hell (xcvii\*/19), for they show favour (xcvii\*/21), and take away the closes attached to cottages, and yet charge the same rent (xcviii/22). He then complains of the large holdings and sheep-farms (xcviii/25), and of the nobles meddling in trade, "chopping and changing as merket men dothe" (xcviii\*/30), and calls on the king to devise some improvement in the condition of the labouring classes, who would be encouraged to work more if their wages were higher (xcix\*/39), and who at the lowest should have six or eight pence a day (xcix\*/40); they would then be able to marry, and by so doing repeople the towns now deserted and ruined.

¶ Howe a kynge speciallye ought tattende and prouyde  
for a Commone Wealthe, and too his powre: too  
abolische vttrelye all kynde of meanys that work-  
ethe anye annoyaunce or hynderaunce vnto the same,  
Caput *decimum octauum*,

leaf 54.

[1]

[I]f men shoulde gather and *perpende* in mynde,  
why kinges and rulers firste ordeyned weare:  
sithe wee are all come of wone stirpe or kynde:  
this hathe heeretofore ben scanned many wheare. 4  
As scarcitee of things causethe dearthe tappeare,  
so, in fewe, at this worldis erection  
things weare not brought too their due *perfection*. 7

leaf 54, back.  
Monarchies and  
offices did not  
exist in the earli-  
est times,

[2]

By proces as the same can springe and growe,  
and men of experiance gathered the fruyte:  
Wone then labored another touerthrowe:  
thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 11  
As suche prospered in their saide pursuYTE  
at laste it fell by wyse perswasyon  
men too beare rule and haue domynation. 14

but grew up by  
degrees.

[3]

Whoe, by wisedome and magnanymytee,  
ordered their weyes so wondrefull too tell,  
vndre the forme of highe nobyltyee:  
vntoo the peoples contentation so well: 18  
that they them heelde as woorthieste of the bell,  
in peace and warr afore them too take place:  
and they tassiste them in all maner case. 21

At first the Rulers  
were the woorthiest  
in the state,

[4]

When thus (too rule) men had the State in hande,  
and had woone people at their *commaundement*:  
they caste all meanys in State suche Still too Stande:  
as bettre too rule then be obeydent, 25  
aduoydinge althings of daungres immynent.  
by suche behauour of highe woorthynes.  
that more and more their fauour dyd eneres. 28

[5]

In all their Studye and wise compasyng,  
their priuate wealthe they dyd postponerate:  
the Commune commoditie firste preferryng,  
of those that they had too them made subiugate, 32

leaf 55,  
and looked after  
the public good  
rather than their  
own advantage.

vndre higheste weies of looue affectionate :  
 as if thynges Stoode in indiffereneye  
 their ayde inclyned too the more partye. 35

[6]

**Of** wone that thus can fashion his affaires,  
 as fame the same in due kynde can dylate :  
 another tooke light too bee of his heires :  
 in suyng the Steppes of suche men approbate, 39  
 too whome then was geuen the brute of estate :  
 as woorshippe, honour and highe nobylitee :  
 thus woorthye woorkinge sett men firste in degree. 42

[7]

Laws and Political Institutions were introduced,

**As** ferdre in reigne grue their contynuaunce,  
 theye caste and purueyed for the weale publyke :  
 by moste honeste meanys of lawes ordynaunce :  
 sought owte wondreslye by witt polytike, 46  
 In Europe, Asya, and also Affryke.  
 the barbarouse behauour beastelye and nought :  
 too Cyuyle maners at the firste was thus brought. 49

[8]

**Sythen** contynnyng in wondrefull wise,  
 withe muche furtheraunce too many a Region :  
 wheare noble princis moste excellent precise  
 hathe on them weytinge many a legion, 53  
 As yee (of the highest) accomptyd for wone,  
 whois wise endeuer attendethe noles  
 in semblable sorte too doo your busynes. 56

[9]

leaf 55, back.  
 The duty of  
 Princes is to put  
 down all Vice

**Not** (as too saye) of free liberalitee.  
 too chuse in the same whither yee will or not :  
 but bownden by Office of Principalitee :  
 nothinge shoulde els more a princis honour blot, 60  
 what knyttethe too the contrarye too loose the knot.  
 and what goethe loose in hynderinge the same  
 too see a restreynte : els are yee too blame. 63

[10]

by severe punish-  
 ment, and to  
 promote Virtue.

**Off** meanys too speake concernyng the saide case.  
 firste, is too bee had in consyderation :  
 (by Streyte punysehinge vice in euerye place :)  
 that Vertue maye bee hadde in digne estymation. 67  
 when synne so is hadde in detestation,  
 that whiche seemed (by custome) afore light  
 shalbee scene odyouse in euerye mannys sight. 70

[11]

<b>Vertue</b> thus mayntenyd and Vice depressed :		In this way will the people best be advantaged.
then are the people like the Gardeyne plot,		
that is depured, leauelyd, and dressed :		
too sove or sett theare what thowner will allot,	74	
As your wisdome and Counseile dothe well wote,		
for the Commune wealthes beste preseruacion :		
nowe maye yee put in exercitation.	77	

[12]

<b>See,</b> and well pondre in all your dooinges,		Private advantage must not operate against the public weal,
whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude :		
that wone pryuate persone in vse of thinges :		
dothe not annoye or harme a multytude,	81	
wone, withe the lyuynge of fyue too bee endude :		
of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye,		
the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye,	84	

[13]

<b>Or</b> if yee schall of affabylytee		leaf 56.
vnto some wone suche Libertie graunte		either in inclosing of commons or in trade.
tenparke or enclose for his Commoditee :		
that, the hynderaunce of moe myght waraunte ;	88	
or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte :		
by byinge or selynge too others hynderaunce :		
no suche thinge suffrethe a Cyuyle ordynaunce.	91	

[14]

<b>In</b> tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker <sup>1</sup>		The rich should not be allowed to hoard up grain, &c in order to raise prices—
Corne, Grayne, or Chafre hopinge vppon dearthe :		
for his pryuate wealthc so daylye too hucker : <sup>2</sup>	93	
this criethe for vengeaunce too heauyn from the earthe :		
Leste it shoulde happen it many wone fearthe,		
ffor suche solayne snydges <sup>3</sup> caste reformation		
by forfeiture too the poores sustentation.	98	

[15]

<b>The</b> poore for neade is dreeuyn too make sale.		a cause of great distress.
the Riche reseruethe and muckerthe vpp more :		
by whiche risethe this commune Prouerbe tale :		
Some muste bee Sauers, Store is no sore ;	102	
so is it indeade if the Riche therfore		
wolde woорke after this neighbourlye deuysc :		
too helpe the poore for a resonable pryce.	105	

<sup>1</sup> Heape up.      <sup>2</sup> Higgle, trade.      <sup>3</sup> Miserly persons.

[16]

A kingdom is not supported by a few, but by the many,

**A** kyngis honour, disertlye too aduerte,  
 is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortified  
 by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer *parte* :  
 but by the more some it hathe euer bene tried. 109  
 Then ought a kyng for his Commons prouyed,  
 that wone clubbed cobbe<sup>1</sup> shoulde not so encroche 111  
 an hundred *mennys* lyuynges : it weare greate reproche.

[17]

leaf 56, back.  
 and therefore the few must not be benefited at the expense of the many :

**Your** realmys Commoditye (in what it dothe consiste,) for twoe or thre too haue the specciall trade, the publike weale is sore in that place myste, and goethe too decaye, as flowres doth fall and fade. 116  
 In this eache Potentate by witt muste wade,  
 bothe by hym selfe and his wise Counseile :  
 that pryuate commoditee not so maye preueile. 119

[18]

nor foreigners enriched to the loss of Englishmen.

**If** merchauntes that be too yow but Straungers, (althoughe your Custome by them bee copiose) shoulde bee enriched and made great geyners : your owne hynderyd, and made indigeouse : 123  
 this weare a mattier (in maner) litigiouse,  
 too make them murmure and their hartes withdrawe from the due obseruation of the Lawe. 126

[19]

Our own countrymen should be looked after before strangers.

**C**rieflye your owne yee ought too respecte : for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde : wheare Straungers passethe not *your* fauour to reiecte, or in your right title will oughtes withe yow holde. 130  
 Custome vneumlye : is too bee controlde.  
 wheare pryuate woorkinge shall shewe euydent : too a Commontie too doo detryment. 133

[20]

Tenants should have security of tenure,

**Heere** too wryte all too this mattier meanyng  
 I cannot compace or caste thuttermuste :  
 but ferdre I shall yeat tuche this wone thinge :  
 as shalbee pleasinge too your grace I truste. 137  
 Let not of yours wone another owte thruste  
 furthe of his lyuyng, his Lease, or his holde :  
**Res publica** thearat her harte wexithe colde. 140

<sup>1</sup> Wealthy, miserly person.

[21]

**A** pooreman whiche hathe bothe children & wief,  
 whoe (with his parentes) vppon a poore Cotte  
 hathe theare manured <sup>1</sup> manye a mannys Lief,  
 and trulye payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte : 144  
 A Couetous Lorde whoe Conscience hathe notte,  
 by rent enhauncynge or for more large fyne,  
 suche wone too caste owte : it goethe oute of lynce. 147

leaf 57.  
 and not be liable  
 to pay heavy fines  
 for their leases.

[22]

**This** too bee seene too : the Publike weale criethe :  
 of reformation it sittethe your Office :  
 manye iniuries too the poore pliethe,  
 done by the bygger without all Justice. 151  
 As the great fowle the small dothe suppress,  
 deuour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone :  
 so farethe the riche if they bee let alone. 154

A king should see  
 that the weak are  
 not oppressed by  
 the strong,

[23]

**That** Kynge (bee sure) can neuer bee poore :  
 wheare as his Commons lyuethe welthelye.  
 if they bee not able to keepe open doore ;  
 it muste withe hym then but small multyplye ; 158  
 ffor kynge's of their Commons sumtyme muste ayde trye.  
 The more therfore the publike weale dothe afflowe ; 160  
 the more is their wealthe : this reason prouethe nowe.

for where the  
 people are rich  
 a king can never  
 be poor :

[24]

**And** true it is, the hight Opificer  
 sendethe not his giftes too wone pertycularlye :  
 but that a multytude wone withe other,  
 the same shoulde particypate mutuallye. 165  
 Sithe hee althinges heere dothe make too multyplye  
 too thende aforesaide, O kynge, of God electe,  
 see then the same stonde in her full effecte. 168

neither did God  
 send His gifts for a  
 few, but for all.

<sup>1</sup> Laboured with his hands, cultivated.

leaf 57, back.

Howe a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes the moother of  
all myschief and too ordayne meyns too haue his  
subiectis euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to  
the maytenaunce of theire owne lyuynge and  
furtheraunce of the common weale, that the ydle  
shall not denour that which y<sup>e</sup> diligent doth truly  
get by the labour of their sweate. *Caput. 19.*

## [1]

Of Idleness, that  
hideous serpent,

**[L]**ESTE kinges & gouernoures that heere dothe rule  
myght this neglecte, whiche is expedyent,  
wee shall make remembraunce in this schedule  
of **ydlenes**, that hydeouse serpent, 172  
whoe, loighteringe like a peasaut pestilent,  
Lurkethe in corners vnoccupied :  
too doo anye goode : lothe too bee espiede. 175

## [2]

which deuours the  
fruit of honest  
labour :

**This** beastelye bodye, this mawltische<sup>1</sup> matrone,  
deuowres of the true laborers frute :  
of nature desirethe too bee let alone : 179  
as too contynue in her maners brute.  
Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute,  
and what els longeth too Lustis dalyaunce,  
she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce. 182

## [3]

turning day into  
night and night  
into day.

**The** daye in too the nyght shee can conuerte :  
the nyght into daye for dalyaunce sake.  
too pleye is shee preste, woorke is a deserte :  
too hier therof tawlke herr harte will not wake. 186  
Whoe, too herr compenye shee maye onys take,  
for seaun yearys after I dare the truthe mooue ;  
the woorser husbonde hee shall surelye prooue. 189

## [4]

leaf 58.  
Where Idleness  
exists there can be  
no profit.

**Or** bee it woman, in like maner wise,  
no profite risethe wheare shee dothe frequent :  
but propagation of vice owte of vice : 193  
the prooife shall shewe practice moste euident,  
Let loyterers lyue as they are content  
and they shall plucke too their societee  
feloshippe that neuer will after goode bee. 196

<sup>1</sup> Gluttonous.



[5]

<b>Yowthe</b> , brought vpp ydleye in games and pastyme. not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes :		Young persons brought up in idleness will never apply themselves to honest labour.
As vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme :		
so farethe withe all that loouethe ydlenes ;	200	
of all maner myschief shee is Patrones. againste whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclaime :		
by plage too punysche this ydlenes by name.	203	

[6]

<b>What</b> kynge is hee in this worlde so greate, or Potentate els fewe or manye :		Kings and all in authority have no time for idleness ; ✓
what Clarke also in his studyous seate :		
or whoe that hathe too gouernaunce anye,	207	
but moste their tyme liste not too dallye withe ydlenes heere mentioned ?		
then of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped.	210	

[7]

<b>Kynges</b> can no les but compace searche and caste ; how too prouyde for the publike weale ; the same too contynue in State Stedfaste :		then why should lazy vagabonds be allowed ?
as too eache partie true Justice too deale.	214	
Oother Magistrates hauynge like zeale. vnto their Offices dwe admynstration :		
shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion ?	217	

[8]

<b>Ffor</b> reformation of suche nowghtye packes bee it proclamed vnto their earys all :		leaf 58, back. ✓
that whoe endeourethe any suche knackes :		Frequenting of ale-houses and gambling should be severely punished,
at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that Cardis men call.	221	
or what oother game owte of season dwe :		
let them bee punysched without all rescue.	224	

[9]

<b>Owte</b> of season in this sorte too bee take, when dayes of labour are presently come :		for man's lot is to labour.
eache man too his Arte his voyage too take withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome, <sup>1</sup>	228	
It is Cyuyle iustice and no thraldome. for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too flee :		
so is man too woorke olde writings tellethe mee.	231	

<sup>1</sup> Sulk or look gloomy.

## [10]

Kings should exert themselves to abolish idleness, which only ends in poverty.

**Trulye** I wolde in all that mee liethe,  
wright all I cowlde this vice tabolische,  
for ydlenes all vertue despisethe,  
where honeste exercise the lief dothe polische 235  
therefor all kynges I doo admonysche  
heereunto too geeue goode aduertence :  
for noughtes it breedithe but wretched indigence. 238

## [11]

The young should all be taught some handicraft.

**As** in honeste Artis wee wolde haue occupied :  
eaueryman after his Vocation :  
so wolde wee haue Youthe too Vertue applied,  
that are not readye for occupation, 242  
of hande crafte too use thadmynistration ;  
infantes I mean Vndre Eight yearis of age :  
their tyme I wolde thus too bee put in Vsage, 245

## [12]

leaf 59.

Children should be put to school at four years of age.

**At** fowre yearis olde let suche too scoole bee sett,  
too gather and lerne some literature :  
bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett  
too hym that is Authour of eache creature, 249  
bye readinge (in booke) his will and pleasure ;  
for whoe so listethe to remembraunce call,  
too worke in that age their powre is but small. 252

## [13]

Schools to be free to any who cannot pay the fees.

**Leste** some, perhaps, at this myght thus obiecte,  
The pooreman his childe cannot so prefer :  
bycawse hee hathe not substannce in effecte  
for so longe season to fynde his scoler, 256  
as (for his scoolinge) too paye his Maister ;  
to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee :  
in eauerye towne the Scoole too go free. 259

## [14]

The lergy to teach in the schools,

**Suche** townes whiche hathe a Curate to bee ment  
duties too persolue that bee spirituall :  
whome, too bee ydle weare inconuenient,  
beyonde all oother, euen the wurste of all, 263  
therefore, to teache it dothe their office fall,  
and bringe vpp yowthe to saye, to singe, or write :  
that God too serue, they after maye delite. 266

## [15]

and to receive suitable salary for so doing.

**Suche** honeste Stipende towardis hym to remayne,  
that for his paynes hee nothingscholde expecte :

for so longe tyme as afore dothe contayne.  
mee thynkethe this sowndethe too goode effecte, 270  
If, vnto Office they after bee electe,  
when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,  
their Princis pleasure they maye bettre followe. 273

## [16]

**When** they hathe knowledge indifferentlye so,  
too oother Artis then maye theye bee preferde :  
and not loyteringe ydleye too go :  
thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde :<sup>1</sup> 277  
Thearfore, this lesson I wolde to bee herde,  
in Townes, (goode ordre too schyne and florische :)  
this obseruation I wolde gladlye wische. 280

leaf 59, back.  
Children, after  
they have left  
school, not to be  
allowed to idle  
about,

## [17]

**An** Ouerseer, **Controwler** to bee calde,  
to see vnoccupied none to remayne :  
vnles they bee withe sicknessies appalde,  
or by debilitie of Age ouerlayne. 284  
If case theare bee too punysche them by payne  
of *Stockes* or *sowrginges* whiche suche maye compell  
to earne their foode els to haue no morsell. 287

on pain of being  
placed in the  
stocks. ✓

## [18]

**And** the saide Officer to haue by ffee  
owte of the towne Coafer thre or fowre pownde :  
that for suche Stipende the rather maye hee  
to thexecution thearof bee bownde. 291  
If in Thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,  
to bee de pryued withe reproache and shame :  
and neauer againe too entren the same. 294

An officer to be  
appointed to look  
after young  
persons,

## [19]

**In** thelection of suche Ouerseer,  
this owght (and muste) firste consydrede bee :  
that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beer,  
and hathe a zeale too Cyuile equitye, 298  
Too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see :  
but wone yeares space let hym thearin endure  
excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 301

who must be a  
townsman of good  
character.

## [20]

**True** it is no luyunge man this daye  
can presentlie for the publike weale frame  
so syncerelie the vitremuste too saye,  
that maye bee breache or staye too the same, 305

leaf 60.  
Fresh regulations  
to be made as  
occasion may  
require,

<sup>1</sup> Marred, damaged.

inviolable too byde withoute blame :  
 but, as tyme wearithe (mannys maners vued)  
 so muste Custome and lawe bee renewed. 308

[21]

and as may best  
 suit the condition  
 of the people.

**The** soyle and people consydered also,  
 That will not serue heere that seruithe elswhaere :  
 some hathe Commoditeis, some lesse, some mo ; 311  
 which dothe the Chargis of the publike weale beare,  
 bye Merchaundise conueyde heere and theare,  
 As, heere in **Englande** wone special haue wee : 314  
**Woolle**, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

[22]

Foreigners reap  
 all the profit from  
 wool,

**Off** whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade,  
 (the Judgementis of better not offendyd)  
 I wolde it weare duelic consyderede :  
 howe **fforyners** by **Woolle** are Assendyd, 319  
 and owre weale publike little amendyd,  
 for, by owre **Woolle** of Christians and Turke 321  
 thowsandis thowsandis hathe daylie handye wurke.

[23]

while Englishmen  
 have to buy it  
 back at sixfold  
 price.

**And** wee the same of them agayne to bye,  
 sixefolde doble price moare then of them had wee :  
 Oh ! some witt politike shewe reason whye  
 myght not the same heere so perfected bee, 326  
 wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditee ?  
 If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied :  
 how sholde owre **Commons** then bee occu[p]yed ? 329

[24]

leaf 60, back.  
 The sight of so  
 many beggars and  
 vagrants

So manye **Beggars** sholde not reigne as reigne ;  
 so manye **Headye** sholde not for conforte crye ;  
 so manye **Rouers** sholde not vse the pleyne ;  
 so manye sholde not then lyue **ydlelye**, 333  
 A few to profyte, to hynderaunce of manye ;  
 As **Thowsandis** to lacke and **Twentie** to abownde,  
 Oh, howe it geauethe a myserable sownde ! 336

[25]

ought to induce  
 the rich to try to  
 improve the  
 condition of the  
 poor.

**Moste** worthie it is A kyng to excell,  
 in honowre, richesse, and glorye decorate :  
**Lordys** (in degre) in woorthynes to dwell,  
 withe **Gentylys** also as sittethe their estate : 340  
 and they to the meane to communycate,  
 that they maye lyue bothe Childrene and wife :  
 and them not to streyne by meanys excessife. 343

## [26]

**The Pooreman** to toyle for twoe pence the Daye,  
 some while thre haulfe pence, or els a peny: :  
 hauynge wief childrene and howse rent to paye :  
 meate clothe and fewell withe the same to bye, 347  
 and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye,  
 withe manye a hungrye meale susteynyng: :  
 Alas ! makethe not this a doolefull compleynyng ? 350

How can a poor  
 man keep his  
 family and pay  
 his rent on two-  
 pence a day ?

## [27]

**The worlde** is chaunged from that it hathe beene,  
 not to the bettre but to the warsse farre :  
 more for a peny wee haue before seene  
 then nowe for fowre pence, whoe liste to compare. 354  
 This sucthe the game called makinge or marre. ✓  
 Vnto the **Riche** it makethe a great deale,  
 but muche it marrethe to the *Commune* weale. 357

And now prices  
 have risen four-  
 fold,

## [28]

**Too** reyse his Rent alas it neadethe not,  
 or fyne texacte for teanure of the same  
 fowrefolde dooble, it is a shrewde blot :  
 to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name, 361  
 I knowe this to bee true els weare I to blame,  
 to mooue this mateir in this present booke :  
 at whiche **Respublica** lookethe a-crooke. 364

leaf 61.  
 and landlords  
 demand fourfold  
 rents and fines

## [29]

**A** Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,  
 of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither :  
 ffynyng for the same vnreasonablye,  
 sixe tymes the Rent ; adde this together, 368  
 muste not the same great Dearth bringe hither ?  
 for if the ffermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent,  
 he muste his ware neadys sell after that stent. 371

so that the farmer  
 has to raise his  
 prices in propor-  
 tion.

## [30]

**So** for that **Oxe**, whiche hathe beene the like solde  
 for **ffortie shealingis**, nowe takethe hee **fyue pownde** :  
 yea, **seaun** is more, I haue herde it so tolde.  
 hee cannot els lyue so deare as his grownde, 375  
**Sheepe**, though they neauer so plentie abownde,  
 suche price they beare, whiche shame is to here tell,  
 that scace the pooreman can bye a morsell.<sup>1</sup> 378

Beef and mutton  
 too are so dear  
 that a poor man  
 cannot afford a  
 morsell.

<sup>1</sup> "Howe ioyne they Lordeshyp to Lordeshyppe, manner to maner, ferme to ferme, land to lande, pasture to pasture, house to house, and house for a vantage? Howe do the ryeh

## [31]

The smallest bit  
of beef or mutton  
now costs four-  
pence.

**Twoe** pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,  
other in **Mutton**, the price is so hye :  
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerned :  
so goethe hee and his to bedde hungrelye, 382  
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie ;  
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white english skyn,  
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn. 385

## [32]

leaf 61, back.  
Want of animal  
food weakens  
Englishmen,

**Wheare** they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy, & stowte,  
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate,  
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte, 389  
as hitherto manlye they holde the chief seate ;  
if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,  
I wisse, O kynge, they in penurye thus pende  
shall not bee able thye Royallme to defende. 392.

## [33]

who can't live on  
roots or any such  
beggarly rubbish.

**Owre** Engliche nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,  
by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage,  
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :  
geene Engliche men meate after their olde vsage, 396  
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;  
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :  
they shall defende this owre noble Englande. 399

men, and specially suche as be shepemon-  
gers. Shepe mongers. oppresse the kynges lyege people by deuourynge  
theyr commune pastures wyth theyr shepe, so that the poore  
people, are not able to kepe a cowe for the comforte of them  
and of theyr poore famylye, but are lyke to starue and perysye  
for hunger, yf there be not prouisyon made shortly ? What  
shepe ground scapeth these caterpyllers of the commune weale ?  
Howe swarme they wyth aboundaunce of flockes of shepe ? and  
yet when was wool euer so dere, or mutton of so great price ?  
If these shepemongers go forthe as they begyn, the people shall  
both miserablye dye for colde, and wretchedly perysye for  
hunger. For these gredy woulues and comberous comerauntes,  
wyll eyther sell theyr woll and theyr shepe at theyr owne pryce  
or els they wyll sell none.

“ Oh what a diuersytye is thys in the sale of wolles, a stone  
of woll somtyme to be solde at viii grots and now for viii S !  
And so lykewyse of the shepe. God haue mercy on vs. If  
the kynge hys maiesty, wyth hys most honourable counsell  
do not prouyde for the redresse of these thynges, God hymselfe

wyll surely se a remedye, as he sayeth by the  
*Psal.* xii. [5]. Psalmographe ‘ for the wretchednes of the nedye  
and the bewaylynge of the pore euen nowe wyll I ryse, sayeth  
the Lorde.’ — Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, 154— ;  
*Works*, ed. 1564, Vol. II. fol. xv.

[A space left here for a heading to the chapter.]

[1]

**T**he Tytle heere nowe whearon wee entreate,  
 bicawse it dothe suche weightynes contayne :  
**A** publike Weale, whiche is a matter greate :  
 Wee shall deuyde it into lessons twayne, 403  
 declaringe as serueth my synple brayne,  
 howe, thorowe God and yowe his Mynyster,  
 thinges owte of frame maye bee brought in order. 406

How things out of  
 frame may be  
 remedied.

[2]

**I**ff that I heere speake bee to no purpose,  
 perdon I haue askte for my symplenes :  
 If it maye serue withoute coment or glose :  
 moste happelie then seruith this busynes, 410  
 Eache mannys writingis dothe not althinges redresse,  
 accordinge as his trauelinge dothe tell :  
 thoughe this like so : yeat wolde I althinges well. 413

leaf 62.

[3]

**T**oo saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,  
 and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,  
 somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd :  
 for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame. 417  
**Woolle** is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,  
 thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistence : 419  
 yeat **Woolle** (for this tyme) shall haue preamynence.

Wool is the chief  
 support of  
 Englishmen.

[4]

**T**he Woolle that Staplelers dothe gather and packe,  
 owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne :  
 bee it reuoked and steyed abacke,  
 that owre **Cloathiers** the same maye retayne, 424  
 all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,  
 vppon the same to exercise their feate :  
 by tuckyng, cardinge, spynnyng, and to beate. 427

It should not be  
 allowed to be  
 exported raw, ✓

[5]

**W**eaunyng, fullinge, withe Dyinge (if theye liste)  
 and what sorte els to Cloathing dothe belonge :  
 by suche true handelinge that nothinge bee myste, 430  
 whiche myght chalenge their woorkinge to bee wronge ;  
 that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,  
 thorowe Christendome or heathenes grownde : 433  
 no fawte theree bee in the Woorkemanshippe fownde.

but worked up in  
 England. ✓

## [6]

leaf 62, back.  
There should be  
no false dealing in  
manufacture of  
cloth.

**Shrynked** befoare and perfected at full,  
Gaged and sealed iustelye as it is :  
if it bee fawtie in woorkinge or in wooll,  
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to this, 438  
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amysse,  
for owre false dealinge owre Cowntrey tappeache :  
what the Salys-man is the ware ofte dothe teache. 441

## [7]

Every town and  
village should  
have its cloth  
factory.

**No** Towne in Englande, Village, or Burrowe,  
but thus withe Cloathinge to bee occupied :  
thoughe not in eache place cloathinge cleane throwe :  
but as the Towne is, their parte so applied ; 445  
Heere **Spynners**, heere **weyuers**, theare cloathes to be  
**died**,  
withe **fullers** and **shearers** as bee thought beste :  
as the Cloathier maye haue his Cloathe dreste. 448

## [8]

The cloth to be  
sold to English  
dealers.

**When** they haue groaced vnto a some,  
of searayes or hundredis as they appoynte shall :  
owre Engliche Merchauntes by custome to come,  
and them receaue to ouer withe all ; 452  
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,  
by forayne Merchauntes as they haue agreeede :  
Moneye receaued ; god geue them goode speede. 455

## [9]

A fair export duty  
to be leuied on  
cloth.

**Heere** is not meaned the kinges maiestee  
his Custome to loase or thearof wone Joate  
that heeretofore accustomed hathe bee :  
but hee to haue still the vtremuste groate ; 459  
Befoare they hense passe by Shippinge a-floate.  
the Cloathes knowne what of a Packe dothe come ;  
and thearto accordinge to paye Custome. 462

## [10]

leaf 63.

**Withe** all other dueties in eauerye place,  
both vnto his grace and oother also :  
as of conuenyence sittithe the case :  
wee will by no meyns theare againste go. 466  
but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,  
whiche withe Conscience is muche agreeable,  
That **Woolle** maye bee at a price reasonable. 469

## [11]

Wool to be sold  
at from ten to

**The** leaste price to bee (the **Todde** accowntinge)  
not vndre **Ten shelinges** (beeing no reffuse) :



The beste **ffyuetene shealinges** not surmowntinge : fifteen shillings  
 betwene these pricis Conuention to vse. 473 a tod.  
 These pricis to lymyte let noman muse,  
 it hathe beene so seene att within twentie yearis : 475  
 and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

## [12]

**But** heere liethe a mateir muche Difficulte, Rents must be  
 whiche greatlie I feare neuer to take force, lowered,  
 though I with manye sholde thearin consulte,  
 and crye there vppon eaunyn till wee weare horse. 480  
**Pryuate Commoditye** withe **Commone** wealth to scorse :<sup>1</sup>  
 as **Rentis** to come downe from owterage so hie  
 too **Price** indifferent to helpe manye bye. 483

## [13]

**Theis** raginge **Rentis** muste bee loked vppon, and fixed at what  
 and brought vnto **tholde accustomed Rente**, they were 40 years  
 as they weare let att **ffortie yearis** agone : before.  
 then shalbe **plentie** and moste men content, 487  
 thoughe greate **Possessioners** liste not tassent :  
 Yeate, bettre it weare their **Rentis** to bringe vndre, 489  
 then **Thowsandis Thowsandis** to perische for **hungre**.

## [14]

**In** whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take, leaf 63, back.  
 discret men of youre counsell too assigne Commissioners to  
 that wilbee corrupted for no manmys sake : be appointed to  
 and theye withe helpe their endeuer tenclyne, value all farms,  
 ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne. 494  
**Growndis** and **ffermys** to peruse and surueye :  
**Rentis** to reforme that bee owte of the weye. 497

## [15]

**And** as their **Wisdoms** (withe **Conscience**) shall see and to fix the  
 (the soyle consydered, barrayne or fertyle) rents.  
 the **Owners** (by them) ordered too bee  
 their **Rentis** tabate, enhaunced so longe while. 501  
**Pryuate Commoditye** to put to exile,  
 ratynge the same indifferentlie so :  
 the **ffermers** to lyue and by them oother moe. 504

## [16]

**Not** in thraldome and pynchinge penurye, The English  
 to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis ; yeomanry to be  
 but as yeomen becomethe honestlye, supported,  
 and of Goddys lawe **conuenyatethe** the conchordis. 508  
 at too muche bondage **Englische hartis** remordis.

<sup>1</sup> Bargain, exchange.

for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye,  
hee muste then make of **Englande Yeomanrye.** 511

[17]

since they are the  
chief stay of the  
country.

**Ffor** they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,  
whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo  
speciallye withe moste intentife harte :  
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo, 515  
the myndis of whome they can no better woo,  
(to lyue and dye in furderynge their enquestis)  
then to see mayntened their olde enterestis. 518

[18]

leaf 64.  
Exaction of fines  
for leases to be  
stopped.

**Suche** poore luynges as their fathers dyd enioye,  
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue.  
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye :  
when hee for a luyng shall eauermore sue, 522  
and withe *non* assuraunce hym-selfe can indue,  
**Custom** nor **Copie** can keepe hym In scace :<sup>1</sup>  
if **fawnyng** **fyne** attemptethe his lordis grace. 525

[19]

Oppressive land-  
lords will all go  
to the devil, ↓

**Thoughe** he bee dyuyllische that byddeth for it so,  
more diuyllische is hee that thearto dothe graunte :  
And for their dooinges shall too the Dyuyll go .  
els false vnto vs is Goddis couenaunte ; 529  
for hee them cursethe and byddithe auaunte,  
that so procurethe his Neighbours lyvinge.  
to see heereunto sittethe thoffice of A kinge. 532

[20]

since for lucre's  
sake they force  
poor farmers to go  
a-begging,

**Ffor** what is it in **fferme** or **Coppe holde**,  
or oother semblable habitation,  
owte of the same to bee bought and solde  
for lucre's sake to the lordis contentation ? 536  
the sealye **Pooreman** by suche euasion  
withe wief and children so forced to go begge  
so they maye profite they passe not an egge. 559

[21]

and take away  
from him his  
little plot of  
ground.

**Anoother** disordre of oppression,  
aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous.  
A lorde geayn to pryuate affection,  
lettinge the pooareman an olde rotten howse, 543  
which hathe (to the same) profyttes commodious  
As **Cloase**, and **Common**, with **Lande** in the feelde :  
but noate well heere howe the pooareman is peckle. 546

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely, hardly.

[22]

**The** howse shall hee haue and A gardeyne plott,  
 but stonde hee muste to the reperation :  
**Close, Comon, or Londe** fallithe none to his lott ;  
 that beste myght helpe to his sustentation. 550  
 the whoale Rente payethe hee for his habitation,  
 as thoughe hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.  
 suche soare oppression neadethe speadye redresse. 553

leaf 64, back.  
 Commons are enclosed, but the rent is the same;

[23]

**Thoughe** some will obiecte hee is the more Asse  
 so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome :  
 hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe :  
 els muste hee paye largelie for his Income. 557  
 To settle hym selfe place muste hee haue some ;  
 his wief and childrene in like maner wise,  
 Whoe for pure penurye, ofte waterethe their iyse. 560

for how can a poor man help himself?

[24]

**Thus** thorowe Rentes reysinge and pillinge the poore,  
 Pouertie regnethe and is induced muche :  
 compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore :  
 as (tyll owre tyme) hathe not beene herde of suche. 564  
 Your highnes, O prince, this case dothe sore tuche,  
 for chieflie youre Crowne to this intent yee weare,  
 wronge to reforme that **Equite** may rule beare. 567

This is a matter for the king to see into.

[25]

**No** right it is the pooare to bee so vsed,  
 and some to the Dyuyll thoroughhe Richesse to flytt,  
 Christian Charite of them refused :  
 which drowned **Dyues** in the deepe hell pytt, 571  
 More occasion to treat on this as yeitt,  
 is wheare some wone the lynynges dothe possesse  
 of twoe thowsandis well knowne to bee nolesse. 574

One should not be allowed to hold the "livings" of two thousand.

[26]

**Firste** in goode Rentes a thowsande powndis or more  
 in ffermys and Abbeys coequall to the same ;  
 Reuenues by sheepe thowsandis by tayle score,  
 Oxon, and Neate, greate multytude to name. 578  
 Personages of profites wondrefull in fame,  
 And yeat is as greadye more to procure :  
 as hym to mayntayne this weare but small sure. 581

leaf 65.  
 While the rich hold farms and abbey-lands worth thousands of pounds,

[27]

**And** what hee onys into his clampis catche maye,  
 the pooreman thearof no peece shall come bye ;

the poor man has not even a plot on

which to graze a horse.

**Cowe Leayse, Horse grasse,** or one loade of **Haye,** though hee before had theare for his monye, 585  
his chargis (hee saithe) are so passinge hie,  
that for hym selfe all is little ynowghe :  
yeat on his whoale growndis hee keapeth not one  
plowghe. 588

[28]

But yet he dare not open his lips.

**To** speake or repyne againste his fell factes,  
Alas ! theare dare none their lippes to open ;  
the like togethers hathe dryuen suche compactes  
that truthe into an whoale is nowe copen, 592  
and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken :  
the more is the pite, Conscience knowithe.  
goode kinge, thearfore searche wheare suche **Darnell**<sup>1</sup>  
growithe. 595

[29]

Lords should try to gain the love of the poor,

**And** set an ordre of reformation  
that eache maye lyue to his gree accordinge ;  
**Dukes** and **Lordis** of highe domynation  
ouer the people to haue thorderinge, 599  
that the meane sorte abowte them borderinge  
maye lyue by them and their neighbours become  
by Christian loue, and not holde in thraldome. 602

leaf 65, back.

[30]

and not give themselves to trade,

**For** lordys and men of highe nobilitee,  
or oother indude withe possessions greate,  
to vse thoffice of thinferior degree,  
to choppe and change, aduantagies to geate, 606  
as Merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate :  
or ffermys tenceroche whiche oother myght releene ; 608  
suche doinges, (nodowbte,) dothe many hartes greue.

[31]

thus causing poverty in the country.

**I** will not saye all that neadethe to be saide,  
to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye :  
but by suche meanys **Common Wealthe** is decaide,  
and hathe (heere of late) cawsed great owte crye 613  
by muche disordre moste sclauderouslye ;  
cheif to them selves to woorke so withoute witt,  
and next to those that weare cawfers of itt. 616

[32]

If their expenses are great, let them reduce them.

**If** great bee their charges, the wiseman ought  
them to rebate accordinge to his stent<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coarse grass, weeds.

<sup>2</sup> Standing.

To keepe a porte, in hatrede to bee brought  
 thorowe meanys whiche are inconuenient : 620  
 holde whoe thearewithe will I will not assent.  
 better is meane estate hauynge frindys manye  
 then highlie to ruffle<sup>1</sup> seace to fynde anye. 623

[33]

**Moste** merieste it is in eache Cowntrey  
 When euery degre obseruethe his dwe,  
 dame Justicis lawe trulie to obeye : Justice above all  
 preserves peace.  
 theare muste then neadys great quietnes ensue. 627  
**And** wheare **Diuisiōn** by grudge dothe renue  
 it breadethe nowght els but desolation  
 from all quyet Wealthe to dissipation. 630 leaf 66.

[34]

**And** all this makethe the goodis of the worlde,  
 for that will men toyle for that will men scrache ;  
 for that olde frendeshippe shalbe all to-chorlde ;<sup>2</sup>  
 the wone brother readye thother to dispache, 634  
 the soone withe the father also to mache,  
 by vttere diffiaunce his deathe to exopte, 636  
 thoughē thousandis for the like hathe into hell dropte.

[35]

**The** highest of all that regnethe in estate  
 hathe (in this worlde) but meate drinke and vesture :  
 then what dothe mennys myndis so intoxicate  
 inordynatlye to toyle for treasure ; 641  
 purchacing thearbye so muche displeasure  
 bothe of God and their neighbours heere neadinge, 643  
 whiche hungrthe ofte soare through their fatt feadinge.

[36]

**Off** this this tyme I will nomore entreate,  
 by wone woorde the wise perceaue can the whoale ;  
 I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate :  
 the disposition, partelye and soale, 648  
 O noble kynge, belongethe to youre doale,<sup>3</sup>  
 as to perceaue the Commonwealthes noyaunce  
 and for the same to deuise ordynaunce. 651

[37]

**So** that the Pooare bee eauer scene vntoe,  
 the Riche hym selfe will sure saue harmelesse.  
 A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vmlōe  
 and can no remedye againste distresse 655

<sup>1</sup> Show off.    <sup>2</sup> Utterly broken.    <sup>3</sup> Share, portion.

but still susteyne the all busynesse,  
 Thoughe Drudges muste bee yeat Christian loue wolde  
 that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde. 658

leaf 66, back.

[38]

To thresh all day  
 for three-half-  
 pence is a poor  
 fee.

**T**oo Thresche alldaye for peanye haulfe-peanye,  
 and Delue in diches upp to the harde kneeis  
 for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye?  
 God wote it risethe but to a small ffeis, 662  
 with that he laiethe vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,  
 and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall: 664  
 for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

[39]

A labourer should  
 be paid fairly for  
 his work,

**A** laborer trulie doinge his duetye,  
 (aswell the woman, I meane, as the man)  
 let them haue for their traueile worthelye :  
 so shall they delyte to doo what they can, 669  
 els will they loighter euernowe and than,  
 comptinge as goode to bee ydle vnwrought  
 as soare to traueile and profite right nowght. 672

[40]

sevenpence or  
 eightpence a day,  
 according to the  
 season.

**S**o ordre that eache doinge their labour  
 iustelie and trulie withe moste diligence,  
 may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,  
 fyndinge them selves on shorteste daies sexpense, 676  
 And oother lengre, as the Soone takethe ascense,  
 seayn or eight pence; so shall they bee able  
 meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their Cradle. 679

[41]

Sheep-farms  
 should be abol-  
 ished and built  
 on;

**A**nd Townes let downe to grase Sheape vppon  
 withe dwellinge howses as fermys and Abbeyes.  
 reduced agayne to habitation,  
 for lack of which mucche Iyuynges nowe decayes 683  
 and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.  
 Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde  
 if they had holdinges to coauer their hedde. 686

leaf 67.

[42]

then there would  
 be room enough  
 for all.

**O**ff Journeyemen and Seruyngemen also,  
 withe oother dyuerse of oure owne nation  
 that nowe a roaynge in oothers growndis go,  
 to this Royalmys great depopulation; 690  
 At whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation,  
 burdeynnge your grace by othe that yee haue take  
 of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make. 693

ENGLAND

IN THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

BY

THOMAS STARKEY.

---

PART II.

THE DIALOGUE.





## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN the Report for last year it was announced that this volume would appear with an Introduction by Professor Brewer. Various circumstances have delayed the completion of the work, and now it appears without the promised Introduction. This will prove an advantage to the Members of the E. E. T. S., as Professor Brewer has found fresh materials in the Record Office for a Life and Letters of Starkey. They will take some time to work into shape, and therefore the present volume is sent out as Part II. The "Life and Letters" will form the Introduction, and will be issued in a separate cover as Part I. next year.

J. M. C.

1 *Jan.*, 1871.



# 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.**

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## P R E F A C E.

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### § 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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> we do not wonder that Mr Froude should consider calculations based upon such an assertion as "of the most random kind."<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Froude, Hist. i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 Wyeomb, Guildford, Estredforde (?), Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, Berwick, Shafton, Sberborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymton, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Liskeard, Lowestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, Helston, Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerson, Ilchester, Maldon, and Warwick.

<sup>1</sup> Utopia, p. 41.



because they will not beg some of them do steal, and then they be hanged. And thus the realm doth decay."<sup>1</sup>

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,<sup>2</sup> and thousands of poor were driven to beg. The Ballads<sup>3</sup> 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 lays<sup>4</sup> ;  
Great men maketh now-a-days  
A sheepcot of the church.

“The places that we right holy call,  
Ordnained 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 guise<sup>5</sup>.”

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.

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Lays, grass lands,

<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> Eighteen years later, and the shadows of this picture seem deeper.

<sup>1</sup> 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.’

<sup>2</sup> Utopia, p. 41; B. Gilpin, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> 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."<sup>1</sup>

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."<sup>2</sup> 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."<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Sermons, p. 40.      <sup>4</sup> Latimer's Sermons p. 41.      <sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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,<sup>3</sup> but the failure is not to be attributed to the “ foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed.”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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

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

<sup>4</sup> Froude, Hist. v. 68.      <sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.”<sup>2</sup>

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.”<sup>3</sup> The “little finger” of the earlier days had grown into

<sup>1</sup> Utopia, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The Supplication of the Poore Commons, 1546.

<sup>3</sup> 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 inmodest and the wanton became "Sisters of the Bank,"<sup>1</sup> finally lying and dying in the streets, full of plagues and full of penury.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

### § 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*.

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 reference<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> but too few in goodness; that they were selfish, and cared only for the wool of the flock; that they were ignorant,<sup>3</sup> 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 died; thus following the example of the highest in the realm in practices which descended to the meanest.

<sup>1</sup> p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> 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, &c.*, 1544.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.”<sup>2</sup>

The custom of pluralities was another source of complaint against the clergy. In 1529 an Act<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.”

*Corper : Table Talk*, li. 94—101.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

#### § 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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> The judges were

<sup>1</sup> Utopia, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Lives of the J. 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> They meddled with pitch, and were defiled with it. As pitch pollutes the hand that touches it, so bribes bring perversion of justice.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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;<sup>6</sup> and another that they who delayed a suit should pay the costs of both parties;<sup>7</sup> but, while a sense of honour was un-

<sup>1</sup> Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, etc., 1545.

<sup>2</sup> Sermons, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Sermons, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Sermons, p. 173.

<sup>6</sup> Mors' Complaint, chap. ix.

<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> Among other works

<sup>1</sup> *Reformatio Angliæ*, etc.

proposed, a translation of the New Testament was ordered.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Hook, Archbishops, iii. 302, *note*, N.S.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke’s History of the Popes, p. 22, ed. 1859.      <sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

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-

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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?"<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Hook, *Archbishops*, iii. p. 73, 90, N.S.

<sup>2</sup> *Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> 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,  
*Darlington 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 *illness*. 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 *illness* (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 ; *tarvans* 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 chanches 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 *mole 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 custom'd 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 lowmen 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, coying, logating, or any other unlawful game out of Christmas, under the pain of xx<sup>s</sup>, 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<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>.'"—*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 Archbishopries and Bishopries, the sum of 800,000 dueats, 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' Compluynt" 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 bishopries, 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 "Tenths 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 Leyland's Laborious Journey*, ed. 1549, ff. 39.

"What commessacyon, 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 Sor. 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 eapons, 24.	Pears, 3000.
Kentish eapons, 67.	Apples, 1300.
Coarse eapons, 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, elxiii.

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, erevisses, great eels, and *four puncheons of wine*.—*Ib.* Pref. elxvi.

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 Otho (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).—*Minshew*.

*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 Melanethon 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. 19, 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 Christianam philosophiam 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 decedes.—Theyr diligent vse in provision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good cheape, theyr common graner (whiche is a myghtie greate house) is in maner alwayes furnished. 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 deuotion, as one of sainete Marke, an other of sainete Rooke, one of this sainet, an other of that, which (beyng for the most part substanciall men) doe releuee a number of the poore after this sorte.—They geue them ones a yere a course linary, 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 they 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 certaine 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 appoincted for them till the infection ceasse, that they may retourne.—Finally, for prisoners, they haue this order: Twise a yeere, at Christmas and Easter, the *Auditore* dooe visite all the prisoners 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 prisoners 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. <sup>1</sup> **Lupset.**—Much [tyme] past, *Master Pole*,<sup>2</sup> [I] 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* increasyd *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 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 auncecurys 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 leysur 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 begynnyng, some grete 19  
mater *and* weyghty.

P. asks, "What is the matter?"

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

<sup>2</sup> 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

After so much  
study you must

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* cuntrey  
myght now at the last receyue *and* take some frute

apply yourself  
to the  
commonwealth,

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* cyuylte; 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,  
Lyeurgus, nor of Solon, by whose wysdome *and* pollycey

as Plato, Lyeur-  
gus, and Solon  
did,

45 dyuerse cytes, cuntreys *and* natyonys 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

[\* Page 28.]

50 *and* rulys 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* pollycey, he dowth  
manifest wrong to hys cuntrey *and* frendys, *and* ys  
playn vniust *and* ful of iniquyte; as he that regardyih

or you wrong  
your country,  
and neglect  
your duty.

56 not hys offyce *and* duty, to the wych, aboue all, he ys

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,<sup>1</sup> 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 vturly, 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 souldiar." I  
 thynke hyt veray *conuenient*, befor I begyn to meddyl but before we  
 can rule others,  
 we must learn  
 to rule  
 ourselves.

<sup>1</sup> "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,

98 then, *perauentur*, I wyl not refuse the causys of my coun-  
trei *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,

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.

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 hie *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

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  
eyuyle *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

When he has  
had experience  
he will do his  
best,

either in active  
or contemplative  
life.

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

and thought  
philosophy best:

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

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 aunceyent 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

*Arystoty*l, schold no thyng dowte therin at al ; in so  
much as he techyth *and* scho[w]yth most manyfestely  
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 admynystraty on 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

[\* Page 51.]

perfectyon. To thys euery honest man, medelyng in the  
*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 awaylyth vertue  
that ys not publyschyd abroad to the profyt of other ;  
lytyl awaylyth tresore closyd in coffurys, wych neuer ys 160  
*communyd* 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* capacyte.
- 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 suffyeyent, 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 exense your selfe, most  
 avoydyd *and* vniustely fled, ouer much delytyng in  
 theyr owne pryuate studys. How be hyt, I wyl not yet
- 183 say *and* playnly affyrme that therein they dyd vturly  
 nought, so absteynyng *from* the *commyn* wele; the  
 wych, *perauentur*, they \*dyd, other bycause they found  
 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 hie *perfectyon* of manny  
 mynd *and* nature, yet yf you sundurly compare hyt  
 wyth justyce *and* pollycey, 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

and this the  
 philosophers  
 did not do.

[\* Page 32.]

Knowledge is  
 not to be  
 compared to  
 justice;

wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study *and* for who would  
 labour, know al the secretys of nature, leue al that not help his  
 asyde, *and* apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole cuntry rather  
 cuntry by prudence *and* pollycy, non other wyse then than know the  
 he wold dow wych lakkyth fode necessary to hys body, secrets of nature?  
 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 *persuayd*; 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 hie phylo-  
 sophy; *and* yet phylosophy of hyt selfe, as al men know, But philosophy  
 ys fer to be preferryd aboue al wordly ryches. *And* so, 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 and the good of  
 more necessary, *and* euer rather *and* fyrst to be chosen, the common-  
 wealth to all  
 other things,  
 as the pryncypal mean wherby we may attayne to the 221  
 other. For hyther *tendy*th al prudence *and* pollycy, to  
 bryng the hole cuntry to quyetnes *and* cyuylite, 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 *perfoy*t in hys nature  
 when hyt hath powar to *gendur* a nother lyke therunto, 231  
 so ys the mynd then most *perfoy*t when hyt *communy*th  
*and* *spre*dyth hys vertues abrode, to the instructyon of  
 Man's mind is  
 most perfect

- 234 other ; then hyt ys most lyke vnto the nature of God,  
 whose *infynyte* vertue ys therin most *perceyuyd*, 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 *pretermyttyd 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 applicatyon of hyt to any vse or *profyt* of other ;
- 249 but the veray *perfectyon* of mannys mynd restyth in  
 the vse *and* exercyse of al vertues *and* honesty, *and*  
 chefely in the chefe vertue, where vnto tend al the  
 other, wych ys dowteles the *communyng* 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  
 ancenynt 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
- 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  
 satysfyd me in my dowte, I can not deny ; but yet (in
- 264 so much as your *communyecatyon* ys groundyd on that  
 wych semyth dowtful) therwyth you haue brought me  
 into a nother gretur 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
- 269 semyth elene contrary. For yf you cal thys cyuylyte *and*

when it  
endeavours to  
communicate that  
which is good to  
others ;

not in obtaining  
knowledge  
without  
application.  
[\* Page 34.]

So the ancient  
philosophers  
must not be  
followed.

P. says one  
doubt is  
removed,

but a greater  
is left.



- 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 272
- as much as man at the begynnyng lyuyd many yerys *aurea etas*<sup>1</sup> wyt[h]out any such pollycy; 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 277
- 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. *and* men out of cities live better than those in them.
- 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. [\* Page 35.] 282
- You se what aduilty, murdur, *and* vyce; what vsury, craft, *and* dyseepte; what glotony *and* al plesur of body, ys had in cytes *and* townys, by the reson of thys soeyety *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. Therfore 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 287
- in the wyld forest, ther more folowyng the study of vertue, as hyt ys sayd men dyd in the golden age, where *and* so he thinks it better to live in a forest *and* study vertue, in man lyuyd accordyng to hys natural dygnyte. 293
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. 299
- 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 304
- Civil life is the living together in virtue,

<sup>1</sup> 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 soeyety *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
- 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 prouydyd 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 vturly \*to be cast away, nor to be taken from the vse of man. And so
- 324 the soeyety *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-
- 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 cauyllytonys, me semyth, hyt schold be best for you to apply your mynd to be of the
- 336 nombur of them wych study to restor thys cyuyle ordur, *and* maynteyn thys vertuose lyfe, in cytes *and* townys to the commyn vtylyte.

and if men do not so live, the fault is in them, not in cities.

Man abuses almost every-thing,

[\* Page 36.]

and those who avoid office are to blame for it ;

and so it would be well for you to do what you can."

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

wych I cal resonyn *and* dowtyng for the cleryng of the truth, of the wych sort I wyl not yet cesse to make more when so euer your *communyca*tyon ys not to me clere; therfor, wyth *pardon*, you must patyently here me dowl a lytyl ferther, mouyd of your wordys. You sayd ryght now *that* thys cyuyle lyfe was a polytyke ordur, *and*, as hyt were, a *conspyracy* in honesty *and* vertue, stablyse[h]yd 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 *consent* togydur in al vertue *and* honesty. The Sarasyn contrary, apou hys behalfe, wyl defend hys pollycey, 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 *immedyatyly*. *And* the Chrystun man most surely 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 *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 cyuylite, *and* wold bryng al to *confusyon* *and* tyranny, saying ther ys no dyfference betwyx vyece *and* vertue but strong opynyon, *and* that al such thyngys hang of the folyseh 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 folyseh 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;

347

all now seems  
confusion;

352

all nations say  
they live in  
virtue and  
honesty—  
Turks,  
Saracens,  
Jews, and  
Christians.

358

[\* Page 37.]

363

L. sees the force  
of this doubt,  
and proceeds  
to show,

369

First, That vertue  
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 *immedyatyly*.  
Wherfor he was of the old phylosopharys callyd a erthely  
god, *and*, as hyt wer, lord of al other bestys *and* creaturys,  
appling them al vnto hys vse, for al be vnto hym sub-  
iecte, 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 *per-*  
*ceyuyd* 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 *commodityte*, 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* dyuynne nature, seyng that by memory *and*  
wytte also he *conceyuyth* the nature of al thyng. For ther  
ys no thyng here in thys world, nother in heuyn abone,

The old philoso-  
phers 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 diuine  
nature.

nor in erth byneth, but he by hys reson comprehendyth 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 con- [\* Page 59.]  
 uenient 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 equitye *and* justyce  
 among al natyonys *and* pepul, wherby they are inclynyd  
 one to dow gud to a nother, one to be bunfyctal to a  
 nothur, lyuyng togydder in a cumpynabul lyfe. *And*, 428  
 lyke wyse, ther ys a certayn temperance of the plesurys Temperance and  
 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 enery place *and* cuntrey, wherby he ys in-  
 clynyd to lyue in cyule 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- Man's reverence  
 to God  
 universal.  
 ence to God, wherby they honowre hym as *gouernour*  
*and* rular \*of al thys world. For yet ther was neuer na- [\* Page 40.]  
 tyon so rude or blynd but fortheys cause they relygously

- 449 *worschyppe* and *honowryd* the name of God. These  
 vertues, and other lyke, wherby man, of nature meke,  
*genty*, and ful of *humanyte*, ys *inclynyd* and *sterryd*  
 to *cyuyle ordur* and *louyng cumpany*, wyth *honeste be-*  
*hauour* 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 conceyud*. And thought hyt be  
 so that amongys al *natyons* 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-*  
*seyence* inwardly. For they haue *rotyd* in theyr hartys
- 464 a certayn rule, euer *repugnyn*g 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 *natyons* 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  
 hys *maiesty*, or yf they wold say that he nother *gou-*  
*ernyth* nor *rulyth* thys world, yet theyr *opynyon* *makyth*  
 no les hys hys *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

These and other  
 virtues are  
 planted in man's  
 heart by nature ;

but many live as  
 though they had  
 forgotten their  
 natural dignity,  
 and fall from its  
 excellency.

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. 486

but by the power  
of nature.

(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 vnperfayt of  
themselfe, as the sedys *and* frutys of the grounde, wych  
sche wyl neuer bryng to perfectyon, yf man wythhold  
hys dylygence *and* labur ; so in thes vertues *and* law  
of nature, sche requyryth the ayd *and* dylygence of man, 494

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

wych els wyl soone be oppressyd *and* corrupt. \*Ther be  
in mannys lyfe so many occasyonys of destroyng these  
sedys *and* vertues, plantys *and* lawys, that excepte ther  
be joynyd some gud prouysyon for theyr spryngyng vp  
*and* gud culture, they schal neuer bryng forth theyr  
frute, they schal neuer bryng man to hys perfectyon. 499

[\* Page 42 ]

Dangers to  
virtue.

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  
*and* approuyd ; other lawys wryten *and* deuysyd by the 504

All nations have  
certain customs  
and manners,

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- 509

called civil law,

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

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

- 520 nature ys euer one, in al cuntreys fyrme *and* stabul, and  
 The law of nature  
 is unvariable,  
 neuer for the tyme varyth ; hyt ys neuer chaungeabul ;  
 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  
 are euer referryd to theyr pryncypullys. For cyuyle  
 and is aided by  
 the civil law.  
 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.
- (9.) *And* thus now I thynke, *Master Pole*, we may  
 se that al vertue *and* honestye restyth not in the strong  
 opynyon of man, but that, lyke as ther ys a certayn law  
 541 by nature ordeynyd to induce *and* bryng man to a lyfe  
 conuenient *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 authoritye. 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
- Thus we see that  
 virtue and  
 honesty do not  
 rest in opinion  
 only, but also in  
 nature ;
- [\* Page 44.]  
 and are joined to  
 civil and natural  
 law.



hyt be so that, to be obedyent to the lawys cyuyle, so 556  
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 re- Civil laws only  
ceyue them, *and* be vnder the domynyon of them, wych binding on those  
haue authoryte of making therof. As to absteyn from 561  
flesch apou 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 566  
other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, *and* Sarasyns, hyt ys  
no thyng so. *And* thus in infynyte other hyt ys euydent  
to se, how that to be obedyent to the lawys in euery  
cuntrye hyt ys a certayn vertue, but of that sort wych To be obcdient  
hath hys strength *and* powar holly of the opynyon 571  
*and* consent of man. *And* so thys ys truth as now you  
may see, that vertue *and* honesty partely stonddyth by  
nature *and* partely by the opynyon of man ; wherby So you see virtue  
now you may perceyue the pestylent persuasyon of them stands by nature  
wych say *and* affyrme betwyx vyce *and* vertue \*no and opinion.  
dyfference to be, but only strong opynyon *and* fancy ; [\* Page 4:.] 577  
they wold bryng al to confusyon, *and* leue no ordur by  
nature certayn. But the veray cause of theyr error ys He proceeds to  
arrogant blyndnes ; they thynke themselfe to be of such show,  
hye pollycy that no man may see so fer as they, *and* in- 581  
dede they see les then other. Such haue only a lytyl  
smateryng in gud lernyng *and* hye phylosophye ; they secondly, the  
comprehend not the hole ordur of nature ; they conceyue cause of their  
not the excellent dygnyte of man ; the[y] depely consydur error who say  
not the maner of lyuyng accordyng to the same, by the 586  
reson wherof they can not dyscerne the powar of thys  
natural law ; they can not see thys hye vertue *and* hon- there is no  
esty couplyd therto. But bycause man, yf he be brough[t] difference, except  
vp in corrupt opynyon, hath no perceyueance of thys opinion, between  
natural law, but suffryth hyt by necligence to be op- 591  
virtue and vice.

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 jnge al vyce *and* vertue  
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

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

602 actys mesuryng hys dygnyte, affyrme playnly, that seyng  
\*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

[\* Page 46.]

They say by  
nature there is  
no vertue,

607 *conspyre* to say ther were no God, that theyr folysch consent  
by *and* by schold take away the nature of God. Wherin  
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 *consydyr* not the fraylty of

because most  
men follow vice :

614 man, wych seyng the best folowyth the worst, ouer  
*comme* by sensual plesure ; they *consydyr* not the nec-  
lygence of man, wych suffryth hys sedys, by nature in-  
stincte, by wordly occasyonys to be ouer run ; they *con-*  
*sydyr* not the blyndenes of man, wych by yl educatyon  
grouth in hym ; but of the effecte folyschely they jnge  
al to stond in the opynyon of man ; *and* thys ys the  
cause of theyr folysch erreure. And so now of thys to

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

Hence these  
errors.

622 make answeare 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 pollycey, 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 aboute al to be honowryd as governour *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 lernyng, 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, inseywth 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 dammyd.

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

[\* Page 48.]

655

660

shall not be damned.

- 664 Thys I haue hard the opynyon of grete wyse men, wel pondering 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* ordynanceys 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 *per*fayt fayth *and* sure trust to the promys of God in them to vs made. Thys to vs faythful *and* Chrystun
- 669 *men* ys no dowte. Therfor how other sectys schal dow, to what *per*fectyon so euer theyr lawys schal bryng them, let the secret wysdome of God therof be iuge, and let vs be assuryd that our lawys, by Chryst the Sone of God, *and* by hys Holy Spryte ineresyd *and* *con*fyrmyd, schal bryng \* vs to such *per*fectyon as accordyth to the
- [\* Page 49.]
- 680 dygnyte of the nature of *man*. Of thys thyng we are by fayth *con*fyrmyd, more sure, more certayne, then of thos thyngys wych we se, fele, or her, or by any sens may *per*ceyue. Wherfor, Mastur Pole, let thys *dy*uersyte of sectys *and* lawys no thyng trowbul vs at al, wych, *per*auentur of necessity, folowyth the nature of *man*, non other wyse then the *dy*uersyte 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 *part*ycular 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 *part*ycular mean by
- 692 cyuyle ordynance decreed they are nother bounden nor borne. Therfor, notwythstondyng thys *dy*uersyte of sectys *and* lawys, we may yet ryght wel affyrme the *dy*f-fynytyon of the cyuyle lyfe before sayd to be ryght gud *and* resonabul, wych ys a polytyke ordur of a multytude *con*spyring 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 dowytyd 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 Lypset, 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 phylosophyca  
 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 communi-  
 catyth hys gudnes to al other. Therfor, *Master Lypset*, 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 *consydeyrd*, 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-  
 tain place hyt ys not to be *temptyd* of wyse men, wych  
 ryght wel *perceyne* theyr labur 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 *conseyl* 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 *ever* absteynyd, in such tyme *and*  
 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 their *cuntrey*; some put in  
 746 pryson *and* *myserably* handlyd; *and* some to cruel *and*  
 schameful 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.  
 753 Yf Tully had not chauncyd in the tyme of the cyule  
 warre betwyx Cesar *and* Pompey, the cyte of Roine  
 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  
 760 vertue at al tymys *can* not schow hys lyght, no more  
 then the sone at al tymys *can* sprede abrode hys beamys.  
 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* wylling  
 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 their felowys. So they wych, wythout

In such cases  
 wise men suffer  
 for their pains.

Plato and Tully,  
 and Seneca,  
 would have  
 succeeded better

[\* Page 52.]

if they had  
 lived under  
 better princes.

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

regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys *and* con- 772  
 seyl of pryneys, 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 *Lxpset*,<sup>1</sup> that [\* Page 53.]  
 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.

11. *Lxpset*.<sup>1</sup>—Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng the  
 respecte both of tyme *and* of place, I thynke hyt ys  
 some thyng to be consyderyd ; *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 *ambyeyouse* affectyon set apert,  
 only procure the true commyn wele ; *and*, as Plato 798  
 sayth, thos cuntries be also happy wych haue such  
*gouernurs* 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,

<sup>1</sup> 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* vtturnly to perysch; hyt hath causyd in many placys much tyranny, wych myght
- 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
- 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 thie admynstratyon of justyce *and* setting forth of equyte *and* ryght then dothe he; aftur he ys therof informyd *and* surely instructe by hys wyse conseylers *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
- 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
- 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

and so have allowed their country to perish.

[\* Page 54.]

It is certain that now is our time, while we have so noble a Prince,

and it is our duty to embrace it,

or it may be lost for ever.



you are borne; loke to that wych, aboue 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  
*indeur* myselfe to the mayntennance *and* settyng for-  
ward 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 sted-  
fastely 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* 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 *conseyl*, for the reformatyon of thys hys  
*commyn* wele.

and he will talk over the matter at once.

13. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Syr, thys purpos ys maruelus 864  
gud, *and* veray mete *and* conuenyent for the tyme;  
*and* glad I am that I put you in remembrance herof. L. is glad of this.  
Therfor I pray you now exerceyse your selfe therin,  
that you may be more redy to schow your mynd openly  
*and* in such place where as I trust heraftur 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 conseyllys*, 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 *conseylls* 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* faultys *and* mys-  
ordurys of the same. Thyrdly, we wyl deuise 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 *communcatyon*.

L. agrees with  
this,

15. *Lvpset*.<sup>1</sup>—Syr, thys processe lyklyth me wel ;  
but here of one thyng, I pray you, take hede, that in  
thys your deuise of your *communcatyon* you folow  
not the exampl 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 dreme

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 attributyd 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 deuise herafter, 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 *communcatyon* 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.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Le.

## [CHAPTER II.]

1. \* [*Pole.*].—Seying that we be now here mete, [\* Page 57.]  
*Master Lupset*, accordyng to our promys, to deuise 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 P. asks Lupset  
 dowte as you haue occasyonys—for dowtyng, you know, to express his  
 bryngyth the truth to lyght. And though hyt be so doubts on any  
 that the mater be hard *and* requyryth grete labour to matter,  
 the enserchyng of the truthe *conteynyd* in the same, 11 for doubting  
 yet the grete frute *and* profyte wych may ryse *and* brings the truth  
 yssue of the same may somewhat encorage vs *and* gyue to light.  
 vs stomake. For thys I juge to be of sure truth, that yf  
 men knew certainly what ys the true *commyn* wele, If men knew  
 they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as the[y] dow; they what is the true  
 wold not so neelete hyt *and* despyse hyt as *commynly* commonwealth,  
 they dow. For now as *every* man spekyth of hyt *and* they would not  
 hath hyt oft in hys mouth, so few ther be that extyme so often neglect  
 19 hyt *and* haue hyt fyxyd in theyr hartys; wych playnly it.  
*commyn*th 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 [\* Page 58.]  
 selfe therwyth also hurt, surely they wold mor extyme  
 hyt then they dow, wych thyng I trust to make  
 euidently to be seen heraftur.

2. *Lupset.*<sup>1</sup>—Syr, thys thyng of Socrates semyth L. doubts  
 to me somewhat straunge, to say that al spryngyth whether this  
 of ignorance, as of the ground of al vyce. Therfor, arises from  
 ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> 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 attribyte al  
 fautys, 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 *communyecatyon*  
 stondyth in dowte.
3. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master* Lvpset, thys thyng wych  
 you now bryng in questyon, mouyd of the begynnyng of  
 52 our *communyecatyonys*, semyth to be a *controuersy* not  
 only betwyx the *commyn* sort *and* lernyd, but also  
 betwyx *Arystotyl*<sup>1</sup> *and* *Plato*, the chefe phylosopharys.  
 How be hyt, betwyx 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 pycтуры *and* image. So mannys  
 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 opynyon and sure *persuasyon* of gud

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

Faults should be  
 attributed to  
 malice rather  
 than to ignorance.

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,

<sup>1</sup> MS. arystotylyl

*and* of yl growyth in by experyence *and* lernyng, so which receives impressions afterwards.

euer the wyl conformyth *and* framyth hymselfe to the

knolege before gotten, in so much that yf hyt be per- 69

suadyd that gud ys yl, *and* yl gud, then euer 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 If the opinion be strong, it follows the good:

ryght judgement, then sche folowyth euer that wych ys 75

gud; lyke as, *contrary*, when the opynyon ys waueryng

*and* not groundly set, then sche, ouercome *and* blyndyd if weak the ill.

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 euer ys framyd accordyng to the 80

knolege. Wherfor Socrates euer was wont to say, yf

the mynd of man were instructe \* wyth sure knolege

*and* stabul opynyon, hyt schold neuer erre nor declyne [\* Page 60.]

from the streyght lyne of vertuose luyng; but when Socrates says virtue depends on instruction.

ther was therein no thyng but waueryng opynyons, 85

wych wyth euery lyght *contrary* persuasyon wold

vanysch away, then the mynd schold be lyghtly ouer-

come *and* schortly blyndyd wyth the vayne colour of

truth. Thys waueryng opynyon in mannys mynd, *and*

thys blyndenes wyth inordynat affectys, he callyd in 90

dede ignorance, the wych he euer notyd to be the

fountayn of al yl *and* vycyouse affect reynyng in mannys

mynd. Arystotyl, more conformyng hymselfe to the

commune judgement 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 98

nough[t], felyth a gruge in conseyence *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- Plato calls waver- ing knowledge ignorance.

- 103 suasyon, certayn blyndnes *and* playn ignorance, inso-  
 much as hyt ys but vayne *and* lyght opynyon, *and* some  
 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  
 [\* Page 61.] them wych know the gud *and* folow the yl. \*They  
 haue repugnance *and* dyuersyte of opynyons, but the  
 113 one ouercumyth the other, *and* that wych ouercommyth  
 ener he folowyth. But yf man had certayn *and* sure  
 knolege 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, drunken aftur such sorte that they *con-*  
*sydur* not what ys gud or what ys yl; but, as hyt were,  
 by the vayn shadow therof, they are deceeyyd, and yet,  
 thys notwythstondyng, they haue frewyl *and* lyberty  
 123 therof; for as muche as they be not of necessity by  
 thys *persuasyon* compellyd nor drawn to folow the  
 same. For albehyt the wyl of man ener *commynly*  
 folowyth that to the wych opynyon of *perseuyng* the  
 gud or voydyng of the yl ledyth hyt, yet hyt ys not of  
 128 any necessity, 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 vturly take away  
 the lyberty of wyl, *and* say that ener hyt ys compellyd,  
 by strong opynyon, to folow thys or that, accordyng to  
 the *persuasyon*. But vndowtydly dylygent instructyon

If man had sure  
 knowledge of  
 good,  
 he would never  
 leave it.

Man can perceive  
 the good  
 and avoid the ill,

but it is very  
 difficult;

and so some men  
 deny the liberty  
 of the will,

and wyse conseyl may at the lest in long tyme restore  
the wyl out of such captuyte, and \* bryng hyt agayne  
to the old<sup>1</sup> 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 per-  
suasyon, out of the wych, as I sayd, as out of a foun-  
tayn, spryngyth al vyce, al myschefe, and yl ; yet by  
dylygence hyt may be restoryd and brought to consy-  
dur 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 de-  
structyoun of al commyn welys, when euery man,  
blyndyd other by plesure or profyte, consyduyryth not  
the perfectyoun of man nor the excellency of hys owne  
nature, but wyth ignorance blyndyd and by corrupt  
jugement, 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  
mysery, 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 punnyschyd 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 igno-  
rance excusyth not errorys in mannys lyfe, nor makyth  
hym not to be wythout faut ; but, contrary, makyth hym  
more worthy of punmyschement and blame, accordyng  
to our commune proverbe, “he that kyllyth a man drunk,  
sobur schalbe hangyd ;” in so much as he hym selfe of  
thys ignora[n]ce ys the cause, by hys owne neelygence.

P. denies this :

170

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

<sup>1</sup> MS. wold.

174 For yf he wold other here counseyl of wyse *and* prudent men, or suffur not by necligence the sedys of nature plantyd in hys mynd to be oppressyd wyth vayn opynyon, 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. *Lvpset.*—Wel, then, let vs now, I pray you, torne to our purpos, that we may the bettur (*and* ether<sup>1</sup> also, avoyd thys ignorance,—the fountayn of al yl)

L. 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 of al true *commyn* welys, *and* so, *consequently*, the destructyon 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 mynd of the antyent *and* most wyse phylosophar Arys-

192 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

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

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 *partycular* man, we schal then *consequently* fynd out also

What is this thing?

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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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

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

215

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 conuenyent 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, 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. 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 enen lyke as ouermuch regard of *partycular* wele destroyth the *commyn*, so conuenyent and mean regard therof maynteynyth and settyth 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 because

220

P. says if every man would cure one,

we should haue a true commonwealth.

225

230

If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed.

235

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  
 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  
 thos thyngys to hym lytyl dow profyt, of them he  
 takyth lytyl plesure, no thyng ertlyly 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  
 desyre to dye then to lyue; so trowblus he ys bothe to  
 hym selfe *and* to hys frendys. He lyth then vnprofyta-  
 bul to hys cuntrey, *and* can to no man dow gud, for he  
 ys therby excludyd also from the vse *and* vtward exer-  
 cyse 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 vttruly ex-  
 cludyd 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 vt-  
 \*ward dedys *and* exereyse of vertue undowtydly makyth  
 hyt more commendabul, plesaunt, *and* profytabul, 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 *commuinyth* hys  
 vertue to the profyt of other. Wherfor hyt apperyth  
 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 necessitye, strength *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* vnstabil; therfor strength must be joynyd, *and* beuty also. For yf the body haue neuer so gud helth, *and* conuenient powar *and* strength for the 285  
 mayntenance of the same, yet yf hyt be deformyd, yf the partys be not proporey[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 290  
 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 297  
 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. [\* Page 67.]

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 303  
 schow my mynd. l. says,  
I won't interrupt  
you now.

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 mayntenance of euery mannys state, accordyng 308  
 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 315  
If he haue not  
these he shall  
suffer many cares.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

- 316 and vanyesch 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 abundaunce of thes wordly goodys be not requyryd necessarily 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 couenyent abundaunce of the same, yf they be wel vsyd, ys the occasyon of puttyng in exereyse 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 couenyent abundaunce are not wythout cause, in the second place, requyryd to the wele of enery partyeular man, as such thyngys
- 338 wythout whome no man can haue hys most prosperouse state.

Children and friends are also necessary.

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 remeinyth, 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
- 340 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 chiefly 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 myschefs that commynly happunnyth in mannys lyfe. For what awaylyth to haue helth, beuty, and strength of body, to hym wych can not vse them to the end by nature and reson appoyntyd? What awaylyth 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, authoritye, 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 comueniently vse al honest and vertuese exercyse of the mynd, both to the commoditye of yourselfe and also of your frendys and cuntrye. 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 satysfy hys owne necessarye, 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 referringg 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  
the destructyon of man. For vertue only hyt ys that  
schowyth vs the ryght vse *and* strenght, both of helth,  
strenght, *and* beuty, of ryches, *and* of al other wordly

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

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 delying 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, strenght, *and* beuty ; ye, *and* yf he had  
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-

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.

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 profyete. So that thys ys now  
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

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

421

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 partyeular 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*.<sup>1</sup>—Syr, you say wel. How be hyt, bycause thys ys the ground, as me semyth, of the rest of our *communcatyon*, 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 partyeular 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—be he neuer so vertuse, honest, *and* gud ; be he as perfayt 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

L. says, You say well,

440

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

then but few have it.

447

[\* Page 72.]

452

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

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Le.*

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 com-  
 fortyng hymselfe wyth vertuse purposys ; so long, I say,

463 hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele *and* fely-

and to this agrees  
 the doctrine of  
 Christ.

cyte. To thys, me semyth, agreth al the doctryne of our  
 Master Chryst, wch callyth them blessyd wch be euer  
 in wordly aduersyte, patyently suffrynge<sup>1</sup> hyt for Hys  
 sake ; *and*, contrary, thos wch be in wordly prosperyte,

468 he notyth to be myserabul *and* wrechyd. Of thys al  
 Srypture ys ful. Hyt nedyth not to bryng in any par-

tycular place for the testymony therof, seyng that al  
 sownyth therto. Al Chrystys dyseypullys *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 hie felycyte.

[\* Page 73.]

Wherefore these  
 three points are  
 not required.

Wherfor hyt apperyth that your iij poyntys couplyd to-  
 gyddur are not requyryd of necessity to the wele of  
 euery partycular man ; speecyally consyderyng that, by

478 that mean, the most parte of mankynd schold be ex-  
 cludyd from theyr wele *and* felycyte, wch can not at-  
 tayne to wordly ryches *and* hie phylosophy.

13. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lypset, you euer bryng in  
 some regyd knottys in *communycatyon*. But yet by-  
 cause they be somewhat to our purpos, we schal not let  
 them slype vturly vnexamynyd. 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

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

hys felycyte *and* wele. Some sayd that man was  
 no thyng els but hys resonabul soule, for as much as

Some have said  
 the *soul* is man :

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

<sup>1</sup> 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* coniunetyon 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 pros-  
 perouse state of the same ; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys  
 veray truth, yf we loke to the most *perfayt* 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 *perfayt* 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 reioyeyth, *and* hath more wele, when frely, wyth-  
 out any impedymnt, other of body or iniury of fortune,  
 hyt exereysyth vertues actys, *and* spredyth hyr beamys  
 to the lyght *and* comfort of many other. Wherfor,  
 though *vertus* purpos *and* honest intent be suffyeyent, 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 *perfayt*  
 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 71.]

others, that soul  
and body united  
make man ;and this,  
Pole think<sup>s</sup>,  
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-  
 firmyd wyth *per*fatyt *and* sure hope, may ryght wel  
 attayne, in the lyfe to come, to the most hye felyceyte,  
 though he be here trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte,  
 wherof by foly *and* neelygence he hymselfe ys not the  
 cause ; but yf he patyently suffur hyt for the loue of
- 537 God, hyt ys as a mean to the attaynyng therof. And  
 lyke wyse wordly felyceyte *and* prosperouse state in thys  
 lyfe present, excludyth not man from the most hye fely-  
 ceyte 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  
 neelygent 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-  
 eyently to suffur *and* bere al wordly aduersyte. For the  
 wych cause \*I thynke our Mastur Chryst chose, for the
- 552 most parte, hys dyseypullys 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 fyxed in the loue of ryches of  
 thys world nother they wych haue theyr myndys  
 559 drownyd in the vayn plesurys of thys lyfe, may attayne  
 to the plesure *and* felyceyte of the kyngdome of heuyn  
*and* lyfe to come. But yet, as I sayd, he excludyth not  
 them wych euer bere theyr myndys vpryght in the  
 streyght vse of the same. *And*, forbycause the thyng ys  
 of so grete hardnes *and* dyffyeulty, few you sehal fynd  
 565 in al Holy Scripture, wych wel dyd vse thys wordly

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.

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 76.]

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 Some retire from  
themselfe in relygyouse housys, ther quyetly to *serue* the world,  
God *and* kepe theyr myndys vpryght wyth les jopardy.  
Wych thyng surely ys not amys downe of them wych and it is not  
perceyue theyr owne *imbecyllyte and* wekenes, prone amiss of them;  
*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- but they are  
ful schypmen, wych, for drede of stormys *and* trowblus like sailors,  
sees, kepe themselfe in the hauen, *and* dare not commyt who, for dread  
themselfys to the daungerouse tempestys of the same. of storms,  
But, lyke as he that, in \*gret tempest *and* trowblus tyme, never leave the  
gouernyth wel hys schype *and* comueyth hyt at the hauen. havan.  
last to the hauen *and* place appoyntyd of hys course, [\* Page 77.] 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 He who does his  
*prosperyte*, so ful of so many oecasyonys of errorys *and* duty in all  
dowyng amys, gouernyth hys mynd wel, *and* kepyth perils, is a wise  
hyt vpryght, ys justely to be callyd most *perfayt and* man, 587  
wyse man; ye, *and* much more deseruyth *and* of more  
prayse ys worthy then he wych, for fere of the same and better than  
daungerys, runnyth in to a relygyouse house, ther as in he who hides  
a hauyn quyetly to rest, wythout so much trowbul *and* himself in a  
dysquyetnes. Thys I say, bycause you schal not thynke religious house. 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 manys 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 heauen,  
wyth al wordly aduersyte, may vndowtydly, by patyent yet, as riches do  
not exclude him, 601

- 602 suffrance of the same, in the lyfe hereaftur attayne to the most hye felicyte, 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 comenyent 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 vtterly to be taken away, nor vtterly to be denyd from the nature of man. Suffyceent hyt ys that no man by nature ys excludyd from felicyte, though al men can not attayne to the hiest degre therof. And so, yf we haue regard of the soule only, calling 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 felicyte. 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 felicyte 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 \*the thyngys wherof they dyspute makyth to appere betwyx them controuersy.
- [\* Page 79.]
- L. thinks this is true.
- 637 14. *Master Lvpset*.—Syr, therin I thynke you say truth, for dyuerse consyderatyon hathe euer made dyuerse opynyon, and I am glad that both we say truth.

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

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 hie felicyte; 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 felicyte admyttyth degres; *and* some haue more wele, *and* some les; *and* he, as I sayd, hath most *prosperouse* state *and* hiest felicyte, wych hath wyth *vertue* couplyd al wordly *prosperyte*; *and* thys ys, wythout fayle, most *comuenient* to the nature of man. So that now I thynke hyt ys clere wherin stondyth the felicyte *and* wele of euery *partyeular* man, by the wych now, as a ground *and* foundatyon leyd, we schal procede to the rest of our *communyatyon*.

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* felicyte of man; so lyke wyse ther ys [in] euery *commynalty*, cyty, *and* cuntrey, 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

But can there be degrees of felicity?

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.

[\* Page 80.]

In this is man's happiness.

P. compares the State to a man.

The people are the body,

- 674 *nombur* of *cytyzys*, 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 receuyth 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.*

P. says the good of every country arises from three things.

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 cuntrey, cyte, or towne, semblably rysyth of other iij thyngys proporeyonabul and lyke to the same, in thie wych al other partycular thyngys are comprehendyd. And the fyrst of them, schortly to say, stondyth in helth,*

I. 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,

*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 rych, fertyl, and plentyful of al thyngys necessary and plesant 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*

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*

Multitude of pepul.<sup>1</sup>

*where as ther be other to many pepul in the cuntrey, in so much that the cuntrey by no dyligence nor labur*

708 *of man may be suffyeyent to nurysch them and mynys-*

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

tur them fode, ther wythout dowte can be no *commyn* 709  
 wele, but euer myserabul\* penury *and* wrechyd pou- [\* Page 82.]  
 erty. Lyke as yf ther be of pepul ouerfew, insomuch but euer miser-  
 that the cuntrey may not be wel tylyd *and* occupyd, wretched penury and  
 nor craftys wel *and* dylygently exercysyd, ther schal wretched poverty.  
 also sprynge therof grete penury *and* seasenes of al 714  
 thyngys necessary for mannys lyfe ; *and* so then eyuyle  
 lyfe *and* true *commyn* wele can in no ease be ther  
 maynteynyd. Wherfor a conuenient multytude mete There must be a  
 for the place, in euery cuntre *and* *commynalty*, as the population suited  
 mater *and* ground of the *commyn* wele, ys fyrst to be to the place.  
 requyryd of necessity. 719

(19.) Ferther, also, though the nombur of pepul Helth of the  
 were neuer so mete to the place, cyty, or towne, yet pepul.  
 yf they floryschyd not in bodyly helth, but *commynly* Further, if the  
 were vexyd wyth greuus syknes *and* contagyouse dys- number are  
 ease, by the reson wherof the pepul schold be lack health, and are  
 consumyd, no man could say ther to be any *commyn* wele. sickness, there  
 cannot be  
 prosperity.  
 But lyke as euery partycular man in bodyly sykenes, 727  
*and* in such specyally wherof he hymselfe ys cause,  
 lakkyth the most prosperouse state, so dothe euery  
 cuntrey, cyty, *and* towne, lyke wyse affecte *and* dys-  
 posyd, want much of hys perfayt *commyn* wele. Ther-  
 for, to thys multytude of pepul *and* polytyke body, 732  
 fyrst, as ground *and* fundatyon of the rest of hys wele,  
 ys requyryd a certayn helthe, wch also by strength  
 must be \*maynteynyd. For lyke as the body, yf hyt  
 be not strong, sone by vtward occasyonys, as by in- [\* Page 83.]  
 temperance of ayr, labur, *and* trauayle, ys oppressyd They are like the  
*and* ouerthrowne, *and* so losythe hys helth ; so dothe the body, which, if  
 it be not healthy  
*and* strong, is soon  
 oppressed and  
 overthrown.  
 the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne,  
 sone, by warrys *and* iniury of ennemys, wythout 740  
 strength, lose hys welth *and* sone ys oppressyd *and*  
 brought in to mysery *and* wrechyd captuyte. Wher- The body politic  
 for to thys polytyke body strenght ys also requyryd, must have  
 strength as well

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

as heulth, or it  
must of necessity  
decay.

Strenght of the  
pepul.<sup>1</sup>

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.

[\* Page 84.]

The *partys* of the  
polytyk body.<sup>1</sup>

The heart of a  
commonwealth  
is the king or  
ruler.

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

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

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

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

748 promptly *and* redyly may dow that thyng wych ys re-

quyryd to the helthe of the hole. Lyke as we say, then  
enery mannys body to be strong, when enery 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  
to hold *and* rech; \*and so lyke wyse of the rest. Aftur

such maner the strenght of thys polytyke body stondyth  
760 in enery parte beyng abul to dow hys offyce *and* duty;

for thys body hath hys *partys*, wych resembly also the  
*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-

767 tyke state; for some be gouernyd by a prynce alone,

some by a conseyll of certayn wyse men, *and* some by  
the hole pepul togyddur, as here aftur, when occasyon

requyryth, more playnly I wyl schow. But now to our  
purpos. He or they wych haue authoryte upon the hole

772 state rygh[t] wel may be resemblyd to the hart. For lyke

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

pryneys *and* rularys of the state commyth al lawys, ordur  
*and* pollycey, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 wch 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 *partys* of thys polytyke body, wch may justely be resemblyd aftur the maner declaryd to thos chefe *partys* in manys body. Now, as I sayd, the strength of thes *partys* altogyddur ys of necessity requyryd, wythout the wch the helth of the hole can not long be maynteynyd.

(19.) And fethermore, 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 *partys* togyddur, so that one *parte* euer be agreabul to a nother in forme *and* faseyon, quante *and* nombur; as craftysmen *and* plowmen in dew nombur *and* *proportyon* wyth other *partys*, 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 *partys*. Wherfor 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*, wch, as you now se, iustely may be resemblyd to the body of euery partyeular man. *And* yet fether to procede in thys symylytud. Lyke as the wele of the body, wythout ryches *and* conuenyent abundance of thyngys necessary, can not con-

[\* Page 85.]

craftysmen and warriors are the hands;

784

ploughmen the fect.

788

793

Beuty of the polytyk body.†

(† 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

815 *Vegetalia et annona.*<sup>1</sup>  
 2. There must be abundance of necessaries and friends;  
 tinue nor be maynteynyd, so thys multytude wych we cal the polytyke body, wythout lyke abundaunce of al thyngys necessary, can not florysche in most *perfoynt* state. Wherfor thes exteryor thyngys—frendys, ryches, *and* abundaunce of necessarys—are iustely, in the second place, to be requyryd to the

821  
 for if a country be ever so well replenished with people, yet if it lack necessarys, it cannot prosper.  
 Poverty is the mother of envy and malice, dissension and debate.  
 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 theyr<sup>2</sup> be lake of necessarys, 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 envy *and* malyce, dyssensyon *and* debate, *and* many other myschefys ensuyng the same. Wherfor, wythout necessarys no cuntrey can

830  
 florysch; ye, *and* yf ther be no lake of necessarys for the sustenance of the pepul, but grete abundaunce 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 innyronnyd *and* compassyd 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 cuntryes ys no les re-

If the country lack the friendship of those living near, *Amici socij recip[roci]*?<sup>1</sup> but is surrounded by foes, it cannot flourish.

[\* Page 87.]

839  
 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*.

Laws and polytyk ordur.<sup>1</sup>  
 3. Good order and good laws are required, for without these all other advantages are useless.

(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 wiche the hole body, as by reson, ys gouernyd *and*

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> 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 oppressyd.

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 euident *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 mamys lyfe, 863 where as the pepul, rude, wythout polyty, can not vse that same to theyr owne commodyte? 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, eyty, *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 yt they lake gud ordur *and* pollytyke rule, they schal abuse al such commodytes 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 ferther in your communycaiyon,—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 commuueatyon.

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

[\* Page 89.]

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]jeryd 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* inordynate<sup>2</sup> affectys, *and* so long contynuyd, *and* many yerys, tyl at the last certayn men of gret wytt *and* pollycy, wyth *per*fayte eloquence *and* hye phylo[so]phy,—*consy*dering the excellent nature *and* dygnyte of

There was a time when men had no cities, no towns, no religion,

Polytyke lyfe,<sup>1</sup>

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

900 man, *and* perceyuyng ryght wel that he was borne *and* of nature brought forth to hyar perfectyon then he applyd hymselfe vnto,—began to persuade the rest of the pepul to forsake that rudnes *and* vncomly lyfe, *and* so to folow some ordur *and* cyuylyte. *And* fyrst of al to byld them certayn cytes *and* townys, wherto they myght assembl to theyr *commyn* ayde, *succur*, *and* *commodyte*, avoydyng the daunger *and* peryl of the wyld bestys, by whome they were oft before deuouryd *and* destroyd.

persuaded him to forsake his rude life and build cities.

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

Then came ordinances and laws, but

911 lyfe conuenient to theyr nature *and* dygnyte. Thes lawys *and* ordynance, at the fy[r]st begynnyng also, were vnperfayt *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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> 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 increasyd, 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
- 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* pollycey, 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 quyetyly. 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 pollycey. 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
- These things were a work of time, but by eloquence *and* philosophy men were brought by little *and* little to civility. 922
- 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 particuler 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 hie 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 prynee 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 luyng, 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

[\* Page 92.]

haue hard also how dyuerse hyt ys, for hyt may be other vnder a pry[n]ce, commyn conseyl of certayn, or vnder the hole multytude ; *and* as to dyspute wych of

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 comuenient 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 commodityte. Yf al the partys of the cyty wyth loue be not knyt 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* hie felycyte, wher as in a gud body al the affectys wyth reson dow agre, so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys *per*fayt 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 *perteynyng* wyth al *dylygence* he besyly fulfyl, *and* wythout enuy or malyce to other *accomplysch* the same. As, by *exampl*, 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* nuryshyd wyth the *spiritual* fode of hys celestyal word, euer dyrectyd therto by al gud pollycy; so that *consequently* they may also quyetyly labour, both wythout vtward *impedymment* *and* hurt of ennemys, *and* also wythout inward iniury among themselfe, one oppressing another wyth wrongys *and* iniury, but *dylygently* to labour, 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 admynstratyon of justyce to the hole *commynalty*. For the wych purpos they are thys maynteynyd in pompe *and* plesure, *and* in quyatylyfe, wythout al traouayle *and* bodyly labour, as you see; in al placyes *commynly* euer maynteynyd by the labour *and* traouayle of the pore *commynalty*, to the intent, that they, a the other syde, supportyd by theyr prudence *and* pollycy, may *dylygently*, wyth *commyn* quyetynes, 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; gvyng also reuerently to theyr pryneys *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 paisy-  
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 pollycey, that thyng wych  
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 *partyeular man*. For lyke as  
a man ys then welthy, *and* bath 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 behayour  
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* polytyke body ys helthy,  
beutyful, *and* strong, abul to defend themselfys from  
vtward iniurys ; *and* then plentuously nurysehyd wyth  
abundance of al thyngys necessary *and* plesant for the  
sustentatyon *and* quyetnes of manys 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  
pollycey *and* wysdom, may be stablyschyd *and* set. To  
the ayd *and* setting forward wherof, euery man for hys

all may attain a  
higher felicity  
suited to the  
dignity of man.  
Then shall there  
be a true  
commonwealth,

A *commyn wele*,<sup>1</sup>  
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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 begynnyng of our *communcatyon*, 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 *profyt*. Euery thyng that he doth in thys lyfe referring to thys end, wych ys the only poynt *and* marke, of al *conseyllys* assemblyd in any *commynalty*, to be lokyd vnto ; *non* other wyse then to gud physyeyonys the helth of theyr patyentys, or to gud marynerys the hauen *and* porte to the wych \*they sayle 1069

*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 wherof, *consequently*, the schype arryuyth at the hauen purposyd *and* *intendyd* ; so a cuntry, 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 sub[i]ectys, 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 stondyth not in the helth of one *partycular parte* thereof, 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* sepatat from other, but in euery *parte* couplyd togyddur, vnyte *and* 1081

As the health of a man's body stands not in the health of one particular member, but in all the members together, 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 *determiny*th no *partycular* \**complexyon*, but in euery one of the *iiij* by *physycyonys* *determiny*d, as in sanguyn, melancolyk, *phlegmatyk*,<sup>1</sup>

1100 *and* coleryke, may be found *perfayt*; so thys *commyn* wele *determiny*th 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 *physycyonys* the sanguyn *complexyon* ys gугyd 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* *prynceypal* *jugyd* of wyse *men* for the *mayntenance* *and* long *contynuan*ce of thys *commyn* wele *and* polytyke rule in any

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

1113 *commynalty*. Wherfor hyt *determiny*th no *certayn* *staté*, 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 see *and* playnly to *juge* when thys *commyn* wele most floryschyth, hyt ys no thyng hard, but esy to *perceyue*.

1117 For when al thes *partys*, thys *complyd* *togyddur*, exereyse wyth *dylygence* theyr offyce *and* duty, as the *plowmen* *and* *laburarys* of the ground *dylygently* tyl the same, for the gettingyng of fode *and* necessary *sustenance* to the rest of the \*body; *and* *craftysmen* worke al thyngys mete

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

[\* Page 98.]

1124 for *mayntenance* of the same; ye, and they hedys *and* *ruларыs* by just *pollycey* *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* *conuenient*

that common-wealth must needs flourish.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *phlegmatyk*.

abundaunce of al thyngys necessary ; ther you schal see  
 cytes *and* townys so garnyschyd wyth pepul, that hyt  
 schalbe necessary in plaecys deserte, to byld mo cytes,  
 castellys, *and* townys for the mynyschyng of such a  
 multytude, wych ys a sure argumete *and* certayn token  
 of the floryschyng of thys polytyke body. So that of  
 thys you may be sure : where so euer you se any coun-  
 trey wel garnyschyd *and* set wyth cytes *and* townys,  
 wel replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al thyngys neces-  
 sary *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 Lypset, schortly to  
 conclude, aftur my mynd you haue hard rudely de-  
 scribyd, what ys the thyng that I cal the commyn wele  
*and* iust pollycey, wherin hyt stondyth, *and* when hyt  
 most \*floryschyth.

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.]

22. Lypset.—*Sir*, though you haue therein 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 wele *and* just pollycey, *and* that hyt hath  
 byn [the] most perfayt *and* floryschyng that myght be  
 conuenyent 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 *communyecatyon*, hyt  
 wantyth many thyngys requyryd to the most perfayt  
 state aftur your descryptyon ; *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 pollycey, ye, *and* ys now in other statys of poly-

L. expresses  
 himself as  
 satisfied with  
 Pole's explana-  
 tion,  
 but regrets it  
 because there is  
 no common-  
 wealth so  
 perfect as that  
 described.

1157

1162

1166 tyke pepul. Wherfor, by thys mean hyt apperyth many-  
 festely that the *commyn wele* and the floryschyng of  
 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.

He thinks much  
 hangs upon  
 fortune.

P. says though  
 the state of  
 [\* Page 100.]  
 Christendom is  
 not flourishing  
 and is yet  
 imperfect ;  
 it is the best  
 which has ever  
 been established,  
 and tends towards  
 the attainment  
 of everlasting  
 life.

1171 23. *Pole.*—Wel, *Master Lypset*, as to thys, I schal  
 shortly schow you my *sentence* and mynd. Fyrst, thys  
 ys certayn, though the state of *Chrystundome* be not  
 [the] most *perfayt* \*and most floryschyng that myght be  
 (for as much as hyt lakkyth, as you say truly, much  
 wordly *prosperyte*) yet hyt ys of al other that euer hath  
 byn yet stablyschyd among men, or euer, I thynk,  
 schalbe, most *perfayt* and sure, and most conuenient to  
 the nature of man ; forasmuch as the rule and ordur  
 therof tendyth to euerlastyng lyfe and felycyte, and  
 forbycause the plesurys of thys lyfe and wordly *pros-*

1182 *peryte* so blyndyd man before *Chryst commynly*, that  
 he nothyng regardyd the lyfe to come. Therfor, to  
 pluke thys blyndnes out of mannys mynd, the Author  
 and Stablyshear of our *Chrystyn pollycey*, tought vs,  
 by *contempt* of thys vayn *prosperyte*, to take the

1187 streyght way to euerlastyng felycyte. For, seyng hyt  
 was so, that man coul not as a passenger only vse to  
 the ryght purpos thys *prosperyte*, but drownyd ther-  
 wyth lokyd no ferther then thys pollycey, necessary  
 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 *poverty* and

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

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 every partycular man, sonderly by hymselfe,  
 yf he lake helth or necessarys, though he be most ver-

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

tuse, ys not most *perfoy*t, as you haue hard before ; \*so  
 the state of any *cuntrey*, *cyty*, or *towne*, ys not [the] most  
*perfoy*t 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 *cuntrey* from most *perfoy*t pol-  
 lycy, ordur, *and* rule, but rather much settyth forward  
 the same. And as touchyng that you sayd, that the *com-*  
*myn* wele schold by thys mean hang much of fortune,  
 thys, I thynke, be truth, spekyng of the most *perfoy*t  
 state wych may be, to the wych of necessity ys requyryd  
 thys wordly *prosperyte*. To thys agre bothe *Arystotyl*  
*and* *Theophraste*, they grete *and* auneyent *phylosopharys*,  
 wych, though the[y] were of the *Stoyke* secte, therefore  
 reprovyd. 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 thyngys  
*and* wordly, both in the pryuate *and* publyke state of  
 euery man. For who ys he that doth not dayly in ex-  
 peryence se how ryches *and* helth, *authoryte* *and* *dygnyte*,  
 ye, *and* al other callyd wordly *prosperyte*, by fortune  
*and* chaunce, be now mynyschyd, now incresyd, now  
 set aloft, now troden vnder fote, now floryschyng, now  
 in dekey ; non other wyse then the trowblus *and* tem-  
 pestuus 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 *cuntrey*, *cyty*,  
 or *towne*, or *felycyte* of any *partyeular 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 *cun-*  
*trey* hys true *commyn* wele *and* just pollycy. How be  
 hyt, except to thys vertue be also couplyd wordly *pros-*  
*peryte*, 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  
 foot.

[\* 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 *perfoynt* state that he may be in; nor leuyth not in the cuntrey, cyty, or towne,

1241 the hiest wele that may come therto, *and* be stablyschyd therin, by prudent pollycy. For [who] dowtyth of

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

thys, but that such a man hath more *perfoynt* 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

1247 hys vertuse purpos *and* honest intent? And so, lykewyse,

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

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 *perfoynt* state, then that cuntrey where ys grete pouerty *and* lake of al thyngys necessary,

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

1254 though ther be besyde neuer so gud ordur *and* *perfoynt* cyuylyte. For thys ys truth, *Master Lvpset*, as me

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

\*semyth, that I haue oft sayd, thys wordly prosperyte; yf hyt be wel vsyd, some thyng incresyth manny's felycyte; nor no thyng hyt ys to be maruelyd that *perfoynt* felycyte *and* hiest *commyn* wele hang some thyng

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 *perfoynt* in hys nature, so hyt requyryth euer no 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 *perfoynt*, therfor he requyryth to hym al perfectyon. Wherfor, nother to manny's felycyte in the most *perfoynt* degre, nor to the *commyn* wele of any cuntrey in the most *perfoynt* 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 hiest  
 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. [\* Page 104.]

25. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*,<sup>1</sup> 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 exerceyse *and* vse, to the commyn profyt of other  
*and* commodyte. But so long as hyt happunyth not 1294  
 by mannys neelygence, but by vtward 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-  
 ednes *and* mysery. How be hyt, the most hie felycyte,  
 after myn opynyon, he hath not, except therto be  
 joynyd wordly prosperyte.

1294  
 1303

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

you spake of befor; for yf they iniuryes of fortune to vertue *and*<sup>1</sup> \*felycyte be but as cloudys to the sone, how schold they let man from hys hyst perfectyon? Me semyth no more then the cloudys let the sone from hys perfectyon, wch 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.

[\* Page 105.]

How can fortune keep man from felicity?

1313

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

1317

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

But in that thyng they be not al lyke; for the sone *communyth* hys perfectyon at al tymys to thes inferyore thyngys accordyng to theyr nature *and* capacitye, 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 hyst poynt of felycyte; *and* so, *in* lyke wyse, the *commyn* wele of every cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wch, wythout ryches *and* other wordly prosperyte, can neuer florysch in the hyst degre.

1330

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

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

1336

[\* 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 because 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, wch juge hyt more hard vpryghtly to here aduersyte then wel to vse prosperyte. But I thynke they

<sup>1</sup> MS. *and and*



consydur not they manyfold occasyonys of ruyn, *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 some 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 *per*teyne to the mayntenance therof, with al gud  
 cyuylite, to the intent that we here, wel vsyng thye  
 wordly prosperyte, may, at the last, attayne to suche  
 end *and* *per*fectyon 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 destructyon.  
 For thys ys sure (as now you playnly see *and* clerly  
*per*ceyue) that ouermuch regard of pryuate wele,  
 plesure *and* profyt, ys the manyfest destructyon 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 neelygence run apon some roke, to  
 the hole destructyon bothe of themselfe *and* of al other  
 earyd 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 197.]

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, ruine, *and* destructyon ; *and* so at the last, *perceuyng* theyr owne foly, then, when

1384 *hyt ys* to late, they begyn to lament. Wherfor, vndowt-

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.

ydly, *thys ys* a *certayn and* sure *truthe*, that *men commonly* are so blyndyd wyth *syngular profyt and vayne plesure*, that they *neuer consydr* *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 ruine. For *thys ys* a sure ground, that no man *wyttyng and* *wylling* wyl hurt hymselfe, nor desyre *hys owne destructyon*. But euer, by the colour of *gud and* shadow of truth, man *ys* blyndyd, *dyseceuyd, and* into ignoraunce lad, *and* so by corrupt judgement, 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 *prywat and* *publyke* ; the *wyche thyng*, when *hyt ouerrunnyth* hole *natyonys and* *pepul*, viturly destroyth al *cyuyle lyfe and* *polytyke rule*. For *ther can* rayne no *gud pollycy* wher the judgement of the *pepul ys* corrupt by false *opynyon* ; wherby they *juge* that *euery man* doth wel when he only regardyth *hys*

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

1406 *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 neelygently loke

1411 *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

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* dyligence, 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 cytyzynes<sup>1</sup> in any cuntrey, eyte, or towne, when they, by prudent pollycy, maynteyn cyuyle ordur *and* gud rule, ener setting forward the veray *and* true commyn wele, dow not only saue other wych be vnder the same gouernaunce *and* state, but also themselfe. For, as you see

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.

*and* haue hard by many exampullys, in dyuerse cuntreys, cytes, *and* townys, when, by sedycyon *and* necligence

1425

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 enyoy plesure or quyetnes, where the hole ys dysturbyd *and* put out of ordur. Therfor

1430

thys ys as euydent as the schynyng of the sone, that in the regard ener of the true *and* commyn wele ys conteynyd also the regard of the pryuate. Wherfor now, Master Lypset, seyng that we haue somewhat \*declaryd what ys the veray true commyn wele, wherin hyt stondyth, *and* when hyt most floryschyth, let vs go forth to the rest of our communcatyon, purposyd at the begynnyng, as you thynke best.

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

1438

30. Lypset.—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, consydyr *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 cyuylte 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 Englund as you

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

<sup>1</sup> Not crossed out; but the word "rularys" written above.

1451 haue before descrybyd ; al thynghys be here so fer out of  
ordur, so fer out of forme.

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

1456 schold so be ; for nother the place here of our cuntrey  
nor pepul themselfe be so rude of nature but they may

[\* Page III.]

31. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*,<sup>1</sup> 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  
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 descrybyd ; for many *and* grete  
fantys ther be reynyng among vs here in our cuntrey

1462 *and* commynalty, wych now remayne in the second  
place to be sought *and* tryed out. Wberin now, also,

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.

*Master Lvpset*, you must put to your dylygence, that  
we may togyddur bettur spye out the *commyn* fantys  
*and* mysordurys therin ; that so at the last we may,  
*peraventure*, fynd some mean to restore our cuntrey to  
hyr *commyn* wele agayne, *and*, as nere as may be,  
reformyng hyt to the *exampul* that we haue *prescrybyd*

1470 before, wych schalbe to vs euer as a rule to examyn the  
rest of our *communycatyon* by.

In this *Lvpset*  
will help all he  
can.

32. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, to thys gud purpos that you now  
haue conceynyed, 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.

They adjourn  
till to-morrow.

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

<sup>1</sup> MS. le.

## [CHAPTER III.]

1. [*Pole.*] Now, aftur that we haue somewhat declaryd what ys a veray *commyn wele* in euery cuntry conuenient to the nature of man, lyuyng 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 cuntry) 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 occasyons that hyt can not prosper *and* florysch, but rather fal into ruyne *and* dekey. For lyke as to physycyons 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* scolastyca<sup>1</sup>l *consyderatyon* of a veray *and* true *commyn wele* lytyl schal profyte *and* lytyl schal avayle, except we also truly serch out al *commyn fautys and* general *mysordurys, wych, as* syknes *and* dysseassys, be manyfest *impedymentys, and* vtterly repugne to the mayntenance of the same. Let vs therfor now, *Master Lypset,* to thys purpos now, in the second place, wyth al *dylygence ernystely* apply our myndys.

2. *Lypset.*—*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

<sup>1</sup> "phylosophycal" is written over this word.

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.

- 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 haue so manyfestely descrybyd ;—hyt ys so open to euery manys 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 upon our cytes, castellys, and townys, of late days ruynate and fallen downe, wyth such pore *inhabytans* dwellyng therin ; or when he lokyth upon the ground, so rude and so wast, wych, by dylygence of pepul, hath byn before tyme occupyd and tylyd, and<sup>1</sup> 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 cyuylte, 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 dylygence 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 unfilled,  
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  
deceivd.

3. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master* Lypset, thys mater ys not al on't so clere as you make hyt, nor requyryth not so lytyl dylygence 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 cyuylte wych in dede ys rudenes and rustycyte. Wherfor, of thys we must chesely beware, and dylygently take hede, lest therby
- 59
- 64 we dyseeue not<sup>2</sup> our selfe.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word has been crossed out in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> This word is not marked through in MS.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence stood originally as follows :—"of thys we must beware, and dyseeue 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 L. promises not  
 to be unjust,  
 our \* owne cuntrey, to admyt any such thyngys for [\* Page 114.]  
 fautys *and* mysordurys wch in dede be non at al. For  
 the escheuyng of thys I wylbe dylygent, *and* suffur and will give all  
 a fair examina-  
 tion.  
 few thyngys to passe vnexamynyd wherever schal  
 appere any dowte vnto me. 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 cuntrey,  
 wch you schal peraventure 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 and then goes on  
 to say he will not  
 speak of particu-  
 lar faults,  
 because that  
 would be endless ;  
 mater ; wherin, fyrst, you schal vnderstond that I wyl  
 not speke of euery partycular faute *and* mysordur in  
 euery mannys lyfe here in our cuntrey,—for that were  
 a mater infynyte, *and* nothyng mete for our purpos 84  
 intendyd ; but I wyl speke only of the general fautys  
*and* mysordurys *and* vnyuersal dekeys of thys commyn  
 wele, wch by commyn counseyle *and* gud pollycey  
 may be redressyd, reformyd, *and* brought to gud  
 cyuylyte. 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."  
 same body ; thyrddly, I schal touch such fautys *and*  
 mysordurys as I schal fynd \* in the polytyke ordur, 93  
 rule, *and* gouernance of thys body, growen in by abuse  
*and* lake of gud pollycey. Thys schalbe the ordur [\* Page 117.]  
*and* processe of our communycatyon thys day to be had. methodus futu-  
 rorum.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

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

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 every cuntrey, eyte, 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, slyppying from al gud cyuylyte ;

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

tabes in corpore.<sup>1</sup>  
δλιγανθρωπία.<sup>1</sup>  
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.

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

114 the experyence wherof we see in late days now in our cuntrey, the wych chiefly I attrbyute to the lake of inhabytans. And to thys, as me scmyth, 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 pepul then they be now ; for many housys ther you schal se playn ruynat and dekeyd, and many yet stondyng wythout any tenantys and inhabytantys of the same. Wherby playnly ys perceuyd, after myn opynyon, 121 the grete lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. And, 125 ferther, \*yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nombur vtually dekeyd ; and ther, wher as befor tyme hath byn nuryschyd much gud and Chrystyan pepul, now you schal fynd no thyng maynteynyd 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 schyppetys 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

such decay arises from lack of people.

Besyd this, the dekey of craftys in cytes *and* townys (wych we se manyfestely in euery place) schowyth also,

Crafts also have decayed in cities and in towns.

as me semyth, a plain lake of pepul. Moreouer, the

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ground wych lyth in thys reame vntyllyd *and* brought to no profyt nor vse of man, but lyth as barren, or to the nuryshyng of wyld bestys, me thynkyth coud not

The waste lands show a scarceness of people ;

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* oldys<sup>1</sup>) 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,

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

as many men thynke, by nature so barren, but that, yf

150

hyt were dyligently laburyd, hyt wold bryng forth frute for the nuryshyng of man ; wych ys by experyence in many plaecs prouyd, here of late days, where as

[\* Page 117.]

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

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

by dekey of facultes, lernyng, *and* craftys, may playnly

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be perceuyd. Wherfor I thynke we may surely allyrme thys faute *and* sykenes playnly to rayne in our polytyke body.

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

10. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, as touchyng thys matter, I pray

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you suffur me to say my mynd therin ; for your argumentys dow not suffyeyently persuade me.

The body politic is sick.

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

L. doubts this,

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<sup>1</sup> This word has "playnys" written over it.

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

and thinks all this ruin and decay prove idleness only.  
[\* Page 118.]

12. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, me semyth thys ruynes of cytes and townys, thys dekey of craftys in euery place, thys rudenes and barrennes of the ground, arguth no \*thyng

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

177 the skarsenes of pepul, but rather the neelygent idulnes of the same. For yf a cuntrey were neuer so populos and replenyschyd wyth pepul, yet yf they were euer neelygent and idul in the same, neuer intending to profytabul exerceyse, ther schold be no les dekey of

182 artys and craftys, wyth no les ruynes 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; speecyally 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 suffyeyent for them can skant here be found, but for lake therof many perysch and dye, or at the lest lyue veray wrechydly. Wher-

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

191 for, lyke as we say comonly, a pastur ys ouerlayd wyth catel, when therein be mo then may be conueniently 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, attribute to the neelygence of the same.

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

200 13. *Pole.*—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, you say wel. I perceyue by you that you wyl not let the materys pas vturly vnexamynyd. 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

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

206 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 w<sup>th</sup> 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  
*Lypset*, 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 ruine 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 w<sup>th</sup> 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 comuenient to  
 the nature of the place. Thys ys certayn *and* sure, that  
 yf our *cuntrey* were \*wel occupyd *and* tylyd, hyt wold  
 nurysch suffyciently 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,

249 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.

259 of pepl, *and* confesse thys dysease to be in our polytyke body, wych may wel, as me semyth, be comparyd to a consumptyon, or grete sklen-  
 durnes of mannys body. For lyke as in a consumptyon, when the body ys brought to a gret sklendurnes, ther ys lake of powar *and* strength to maynteyne the helth of the same; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wher ther ys lake of pepl, 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 replenysechyd wyth pepl *and* wel inhabytyd in old tyme; as Egypt, Asia, *and* Greece, wych, destroyd by warrys, now, for lake of pepl, be desolate *and* deserte, fallen into ruyn *and* commyn dekey. So that thys lake of pepl, 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 auneynt state here of the same.

[\* Page 121.]

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 pepl here in our cuntrey then ther ys now. Wherfor, wythout ferther cauyllyatyon, agreyng upon thys, let vs go forward.

15. *Pole.*—Wel, then, let vs *consydu* *and* behold how that, besyde thys lake of pepl, 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 pepl wych we haue here in our cuntrey, ys other ydul or yl occupyd, *and* a smal nombur of them  
 277 exereysyth themselfe in dowyng theyr offyce *and* duty perteynyng to the mayntenance of the commyn wele; by the reson wherof thys body ys replenysechyd *and* over-

fulfyllyd wyth many yl humorys, wych I cal idul *and* πλεθωρία.<sup>1</sup>  
 vnprofytabel 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 dystribut among them wych  
 were oppressyd wyth pouerty *and* necessaryte. Loke, ferther-  
 more, to prestys, monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys, wyth al  
 theyr adherentys *and* idul trayn, *and* you schal fynd  
 also among them no smal *nombur* idul *and* vnprofytabel,  
 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, 300  
 the thryd parte of our pepul lyuyng in idulnes, as per-  
 sonys to the commyn wele vturly vnprofytabel; *and* to  
 al gud cyuylyte, much lyke vnto the drowne bees in  
 a hyue, wych dow no thyng els but consume *and* de-  
 noure al such thyng as the besy *and* gud be, wyth dyly- 305  
 gence *and* labour, gedduryth togeddur.

16. *Lvpset.*—*Master Pole*, me semyth you examyn  
 thys mater somewhat to schortely, as though you wold  
 haue al men to labour, to go to the plowgh, *and* exerceyse  
 some craft, wych ys not necessary. For our mother the  
 ground ys so plentuous *and* bountiful by the gudnes of  
 God *and* of nature gyuen to hyr, that wyth lytyl labour  
*and* tyllage sche wyl suffyeyently 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  
 illeness, 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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

315 fowlys, wych are brede *and* brought vp apon hyr; to  
 [\* Page 123.] 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 suffeyent; the rest may lyue in try-  
 umphe, at lyberty, *and* ease, fre from al bodyly labour  
 321 *and* payn.

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

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

to be a governor,  
 ruler, and tiller  
 of the earth;  
 some by labour  
 of body to pro-  
 cure food;  
 some by wisdom  
 and policy to keep  
 the rest in order;  
 none are born  
 to idleness and  
 vanity, but to  
 exerceise them-  
 selves in some  
 manner suitable  
 to the dignity of  
 man.  
 It is not neces-  
 sary that all  
 should be tillers  
 of the ground;  
 there must be  
 priests,  
 governors, and  
 servants, but all  
 [\* Page 124.]  
 in due proportion.

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* applyng therto.  
 But, *Sir*, hyt ys no thyng so; but, *contrary*, he ys borne  
 to labour *and* trauayle, aftur the opynyon of the wyse  
 327 <sup>1</sup>*and* auneyent antyquyte,<sup>1</sup> 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 *governour*, rular, *and* dylygent  
 tyllar *and* inhabytant of thys erthe; as some, by labour  
 of body, to procure thyngys necessary for the mayn-  
 tenance of mannys lyfe; some, by wysdome *and* pollyey,  
 to kepe the rest of the multytude in gud ordur *and*  
 eynylyte. 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 exerceise themselfe in some  
 faseyon of lyue comuenient 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  
 345 *propertyon* to the other partys of the body, ys super-  
 fluous in any *commynalty*. Hyt ys not to be dowtyd  
 but that here in our cuntrey of thos sortys be ouer-  
 many, *and* speecyally 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.

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> “phylosopharys,” was originally written here.

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

18. *Lypset*.—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.

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19. *Pole*.—O, *Master Lypset*, 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  
 exereysyd 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 exereysyd 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 suffred ;  
 but they are not,  
 and in time of  
 war plowmen and  
 labourers are  
 needed to fight,  
 or we should  
 soon lose  
 Englund.

[\*Page 125.]

Wherfor dowte you no more but of them (lyke as of  
 other that I haue spoke of before,—as of prestys, frerys,  
 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  
 be comparyd to a dropey in manns body. For lyke as  
 in a dropey the body ys vnweldy, vnlusty, and slo, no  
 thyng quyke to moue, nother apte nor mete to any  
 maner of exereyse, but, solne wyth yl humorys, lyth  
 idul and vnprofytabul to al vtward labur ; so ys a com-  
 mynalty, replenyschyd wyth neelygent and idul pepul,  
 vnlusty and vnweldy, nothyng quyke in the exereyse  
 of artys and craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayn-  
 tenyng and supportyd ; but, solne wyth such yl humorys,

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dropey.<sup>1</sup>  
 He compares the  
 idle people to a  
 dropsy in the  
 body, which  
 makes it un-  
 weldy 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

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

overruns with  
vice.

This is the  
mother of many  
diseases.

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

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  
gretyst destructyon of the *commyn* wele therin that  
may be deuysyd.

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

[\* Page 126.]

they are such as  
occupy them-  
selves with the  
newest fashions;  
in procuryng  
ornaments of  
dress;

tremor partium.<sup>3</sup>

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in providyng new  
and diverse kinds  
of meats and  
drinks;

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

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 deuysel. [How  
be hyt, thys dysease semyth to repugne to the<sup>1</sup> other,  
for one schowyth to few, *and* the other to many.<sup>2</sup>]

21. **Pole.**—[Nay, not but schortly, on schoweth to  
few of well occupyd, *and* the other to many idul.<sup>2</sup>]  
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  
make *and* procure manyfold *and* dyuerse new kyndys  
of metys *and* drynkys, *and* euer be occupyd in curyouse  
deuysel 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 eary out thyngys necessary to the vse  
of our pepul, *and* bryng in agayn vayn tryfullys *and* con-  
ceytys, only for the folyseh pastyme *and* plesure of man.

<sup>1</sup> MS. to the to other.

<sup>2-2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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, **L.** thinks Pole  
 you are a iuge 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 *per*teynyth to the  
 ornamentys of the commyn wele in euery cuntrey.

23. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, you take me amys; for  
 I wold not bryng man to lyue wyth such thyng only  
 wych ys necessary, \*takyng away al plesure *and* veray  
 ornamentys from the commyn wele admyttyd by gud 432  
 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 stonldyth nother in the gay apparele of  
 the cytyzyns, nother yet in delycate metys *and* drynkys  
 nurseyhyng the same, nor in non other thyng: in  
 one word to say, *per*teynyng 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 *per*teynyth 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 441

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.

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

[\* Page 127.]

432

but he would  
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.

441

True ornamentys  
of a cuntrey be as  
in euery par-  
ticuler man.

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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

- 452 ys also greunusly dyseasyd, *and* much lyke to mammys  
 body trowblyd as hyt were wyth a palsy. For lyke as  
 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.<sup>1</sup>  
 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 *com-*  
*mynalty*, 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 greunus dysease.
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.
25. *Pole*.—Syr, yet ther ys a nother dysease remen-  
 yng 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 physyeyonys say) the body *and*  
*mynd* are so knyrt 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 *spirit-*  
*nalty*, the *commyns* agayne the nobullys, *and* subyeectys  
 agayn they rularys; one hath enuy at a nother, one  
 beryth malyee agayn another, one *complaynyth* of a  
 481 nother. They *partys* of thys body be not knyrt 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 manyfest hyt nedyth no  
 profe, for sure *argumentys* therof are dayly amonge vs,  
 486 both seen *and* hard in euery place. Wherfor of thys

It is true, says  
 L.; go o. l.

P. Another dis-  
 ease

is want of  
 agreement.

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

there is no  
 unity.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

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

26. **Lvpset.**—Thys cannot be denyd ; but what dys-  
ease wyl you lykkuu thys vnto reynnyng in mannys  
body, gud *Master Pole* ?

L. says it can't  
be denied; but  
what disease is  
it like ?

27. **Pole.**—*Sir*, me semyth hyt may wel be lykkyu-  
nyd to a pestylence ; for lyke as a pestylens, where so  
euer hyt reynyth, lyghtly, *and* for the most parte, de-  
stroyth a \*grete nombur of the pepul wythout regard of  
any person had, or degre, so doth thys dyscord *and*  
debate in a commynalty, where so euer hyt reynyth,  
schortly destroyth al gud ordur *and* cyuylte, *and* vt-  
turly takyth away al helth from thys polytyke body  
*and* tranquyllyte.

Pestylens.<sup>1</sup>

A pestilence,  
answers Pole,  
which regards  
no man.  
[\* Page 129.]

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500

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

L. owns this has  
been so from the  
beginning of the  
world.

505

29. **Pole.**—Wel, thes, *Master Lvpset*, wych I haue  
now notyd are the most commyn dyseasys, touchyng, as  
hyt were, the helth of thys polytyke body, wherof to  
speke we fyrst purposyd. Other ther be yet concernyng  
the beuty *and* strength of the same, to the wych now  
we wyl dyrect our communyeytyon. Ther ys a grete  
mysordur as touchyng the beuty of thys same body,  
wych fyrst you schal see. The partys of thys body be not

P. says he will  
now speak of the  
diseases which  
concern the  
beauty and  
strength of the  
body politic.

There is a want  
of proportion ;

513

proporeyonabul one to a nother : one parte ys to grete,  
a nother to lytyl ; one parte hath in hyt ouermany  
pepul, another ouerfew. As, prestys are to many, *and*  
yet gud clerkys to few ; monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys  
are to many ; *and* yet gud relygyouse men to few.  
*Prokturys and* brokarys of both lawys, wych rather  
trowbul mennys causys then fynysch them justely,  
are to many ; *and* yet gud mynystrys of justyce are to

priests are too  
many, and good  
clerks too few ;

deformyte in the  
body.<sup>1</sup>

proctors and  
lawyers are too  
many, and good  
judges too few ;

<sup>1</sup> 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 artyfyceerys be to few; and oe-  
 cuppyarys *and* tyllarys of the ground are to few. Aftur  
 thys maner the partyys in proportyon 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 eydent then may be  
 denyd. Wherfor, procede, I pray you, in your com-  
 534 munity[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 hyn 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 hyn  
 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 exereysyd in dedys *and* featys of armys, in  
 whome chefely stondyth the strength of euery cuntrey.  
 Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl *consydu*r 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 hyn in old tyme.

32. *Lvpset*.<sup>2</sup>—*Sir*, as touchyng thys, when I re-  
 membyr the nobul actys of our aunecturyys, by whose

[\* 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.<sup>1</sup>

L. says this is  
 quite evident.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Lc.

powar hath byn subduyd both Skotland *and* Fraunce, I 557  
 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 necessity. 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 wch 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

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

thes *partys* in manys 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 coun-  
 trey hyt ys no thyng hard; for thys ys general almost

to them al—both *prynces*, lordys, *byschoppys and* pre-  
 latys—that euery one of them lokyth chiefely to theyr  
 owne profyte, plesure, *and* commoditye, *and* few ther be  
 wch regard the welth of the *commynalty*; but, vnder  
 the pretense *and* colure therof, euery \*one of them

procueryth the pryuate *and* the syngular wele. *Prynces*  
*and* lordys sylton loke to the gud ordur *and* welth of  
 theyr subiectys; only they loke to the receyuyng of  
 theyr rentys *and* reuenuys of theyr landys, wyth grete

study of enhaunsyng therof, to the fether maynteynyng  
 of theyr pompos state; so that yf theyr subiectys dow  
 theyr duty therin, justely paying theyr *rentys* at tyme  
 appoyntyd, for the rest they care not (as hyt ys *com-*  
*myndly* 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  
 schype, but let them wandur in wyld forestys, in daunger 591

P. says he will  
 now speak of  
 particuler faults.

Fautys in the  
*partys* sundry.<sup>1</sup>

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

[\* Page 132.]

Princes and lords  
 seek only their  
 rents;

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

Prelates care only  
 for the wool of  
 the flock.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

Judges seek  
bribes.

of wolfys dayly to be denouryd. 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 fynysehyd accordyng to hys desyre. Thys fantys you may see in offycerys *and* rularys both *spirituall and* temporal ; wherby you may most playnly perceyue how lytyl they regard theyr \*offyce *and* duty, by

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

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

[\* Page 133.]

603 the reson wherof in the hede of thys *commynal*ty ther ys reynyng a grete dysease, the wych, as me semyth, may wel be *comparyd* to a frenesy. For lyke as in a frenesy man *consyderyth* not hymselfe, nor *can* not tel what ys gud, nother for hymselfe, nor yet for other,  
608 but every thyng doth that *eumyth* 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 *porteynyth* 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.

Frenesy.<sup>1</sup>

and the state is as a man in a frenzy.

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

It is the same in the feet and hands :

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* laburarys of the ground, wyth craftys men *and* artyfyceerys, in procuryng of thyngys necessary) are neelygent *and* slo to the exercise therof wych *porteynyth* to theyr offyce *and* duty.

Plowmen and craftsmen are negligent,

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

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

for the bryngyng forth of frutys \*necessary for the fode [\* Page 134.]  
*and* sustenance of man; craftys men also, *and* al arty- 628  
 fycerys, schow no les necligence in the vse of theyr  
 craftys: by the reson wherof here ys in our cuntrey  
 much dardth therof *and* penury.

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 636

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* dardth 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 dyligence. For thys ys sure—yf our  
 plowmen here were as dyligent as they be in other  
 partys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not  
 haue so much wast ground, voyd *and* vntylyd, as ther  
 ys now; *and* yf our artyfycerys applyd themselfe to la-  
 bur as dyligently 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 *commydly*. For 641

look at the waste  
 grounds, and the  
 lack of food.

thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englonde ys  
 more gyuen to idul glotony then any pepul of the world;  
 wych ys, to al them that haue experience of the man-  
 cerys 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 exerceyse 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

If plowmen and  
 artificers were as  
 diligent as they  
 are in other  
 parts, there  
 would be less  
 waste land, and  
 less scarcity of  
 manufactures.

Our people are  
 given to idle  
 gluttony.

[\* Page 135.]

655

Goute,<sup>1</sup>  
 This illeness of  
 the hands and  
 feet is like the  
 gout,

Chiragra  
 posagra.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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 reynnyng 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

which renders  
hands and feet  
useless.

669 *and* natural exereyse.

(37.) And thus now, *Master Lypset*, 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* commodouse 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-

*Pemria rerum  
communium* (P) 1

[\* Page 136.]  
Every man with  
eyes can see the  
poverty of the  
realm.

681 ouse to the maynteynyng of a true commyn wele.

L. marvels how  
he can say so,  
considering the  
wealth of the  
country.

38. *Lypset*.—*Sir*, in thys behalfe I can not agre  
wyth you,<sup>2</sup> 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  
*Lypset* speaks  
like a man of the  
old world, and  
compares the  
past with the  
present.

39. *Pole*.—*Master Lypset*, 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 consydyr hyt wel, *and*

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. you in.



examyn the state therof as hyt ys now, *comparing* 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 abundaunce 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  
 this lake *and* skarsenes \*of pepul. For this ys sure,  
 that in no cuntrey of Chrystundome, for the nombur of  
 pepul, you schal fynd so many beggarys as be here in 707  
 Englonde, *and* mo now then haue byn before tyme; wych  
 argath playn grete pouerty. Then, ferther, yf you  
 herken to the complaynt of al statys *and* degrees, you  
 schal dowte of this mater no thyng at al. The plow-  
 man, the artyfyceer, the marchant, the gentyلمان,—ye,  
 lordys *and* pryneys, byschoppys *and* prelatys,—al wyth  
 one voyce cry they lake money, *and* that they be no 714  
 thyng so welthy *and* ryche as they haue byn in tyme  
 past. This ys the consent of al statys, non except, al  
 in this 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 dardth of come,  
 catayle, vytayle, *and* of al other thyngys necessary, a  
 commyn dardth arguth grete lake? Yf ther were abund-  
 aunce *and* plenty, hyt coude not be long so dere; for 724  
 abundaunce euer makyth euery thyng gud chepe.  
 Wherfor, now, in this dardth of al thyngys, we must  
 nedys confesse grete lake, penury, *and* skarsnes \*of  
 thyngys necessary to the mayntenance of our commyn  
 wele.

40. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, [as]<sup>1</sup> me semyth, this ys not wel  
 prouyd: for, fyrst, as touchyng [the]<sup>1</sup> multytude of beg-

<sup>1</sup> MS. torn off.

Look at the  
 beggars.  
 [\* Page 127.]

All ranks, from  
 the plowman to  
 the prelate, com-  
 plain of the lack  
 of money.

Look also at the  
 dearth of corn  
 and cattle and  
 necessaries.

[\* Page 135.]

L. says beggary  
 argues not  
 poverty, but  
 idleness;

- 732 garys, hyt arguth no pouerty, but rather mu[*ch*] idulnes  
*and* yl pollycy ; for hyt ys theyr owne cause *and* necly-  
*gence* that they so begge ;—ther ys suffyeyent 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  
 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*  
 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 darth *and* lake of thyngys necessary,  
 hyt ys wyth vs as hyt ys in al other placys. When the  
 prouysyon of God sendyth vs sesonabul weddur for the  
 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. Where-  
 for, me semyth, you nede not to lay to vs here in our  
 cuntrey thys grete pouerty, nor yet thys gret lake of  
 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 Lypset*, I haue spyd by you that  
 you are loth to graunt your cuntrey to be pore, speecially  
 when you compare hyt wyth other where you see grettur  
 pouerty then wyth vs. But, *Master Lypset*, 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 Englund. But therin I wyl wyth you agre, *Master*  
*Lypset*, bycause we haue before our yes a true *commyn*  
*wele*, as we haue descrybyd before, wych 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, wych may be any *impedimentys*  
 therto. *And* so, although *perauenture* 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 stond wyth a  
 veray true *and* floryschyng *commyn* *wele*; for thys ys 779  
 sure,—that thys multytude of beggarys here in our *cun-*  
*trey* 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 *dysembyl* *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 *dyssymylyng*, some  
 state schold be content, *and* no thyng *complayn*. But,  
*Master Lypset*,<sup>1</sup> thys ys *certayn* *and* sure,—the corne of  
 thys reame ys in few yerys maruelusly spent, wych 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 Englund. 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* stond. 796  
*And* so ther ys, lyke wyse, such lake of thyngys neces-  
 sary, wych *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.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 1e.

- 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 iuste pollycey.
- 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 pollycey ; 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 byklyng *and* elene keypyng 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* traunayld 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 elene kept ; of the wych ther ys in euery place so grete cure
- 837 *and* regard, that euery towne semyd to me to stryue

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

wyth other, as hyt had byn for a vycetory, wych schold  
 be more beutyful *and* strong, bettur byld *and* clenmur  
 kept; such dylygens they put al to that purpos. *And*,  
 contrary, here wyth vs they pepul seme to study to fynd  
 meyns how they may quyklyst let fal into ruyn *and*  
 dekey al theyr cytes, castelys, *and* townys. *Euery*  
*gentylman* 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  
 eyuyle ordur almost, nor rule. 838

Here every gentleman flies to the country to live.

846

45. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys veray wel sayd  
 of you. Befor I had much to dow to make you to *con-*  
*fesse* such fautyts as we spake of; but now me thynke  
 you wyl begyn to *conferme* them, *and* to fulfyl your  
 promys also, made at the begynnyng of our *communi-*  
*cacyon*: that was, to put me in remembraunce of such  
 mysordurys as you also yourselfe, by long experyence,  
 had notyd; and I pray you, *Master Lvpset*, so to dow. 852

P. thinks this very well said,

and asks him to go on.

852

46. *Lvpset*.—Wel, *sir*, seyng that you wyl haue me  
 to take that *parte* apon me now, certayn thyngys wych  
 I haue notyd as grete detrymentys *and* hurtys to our  
 commyn \* wele, and, namely, concernyng the vtward  
 thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of thys polytyke  
 body that you speke so much of, I wyl schow you. 857  
*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  
*connehauns* 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

[\* Page 143.]

ἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἔξαγωγὴ.<sup>1</sup>

He complains that the country exports cattle, corn, wool, tin, lead: for which we receive wines, fine cloths, silks, beads, knives, and such trifles:

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS. Read *ἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἔξαγωγὴ*.

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* knyfyys, *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 clothying.<sup>1</sup>

*And* in thys behalfe, me semyth, hyt ys a grete hurte to the clotharys of Englund, 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

The wines also impoverish the nobles  
[\* Page 144.]

abundaunce of wyne ys a grete *impoueryschyng* to \*many *gentylmen*, wych nowadays can kepe no house wythout theyr sellarys ful of dyuerse kyndys of wyne. Before

Bryngyng in of wyne.<sup>1</sup>

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, drawn 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, by-cause 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

inresyd 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.<sup>1</sup>  
and says,  
and silks for the nobility;

*And* so, lykewyse, of sylkys *and* says, *commenyent* hyt ys that some we haue for the apparayle of the noblyte; but yet therein I note a nother grete mysordur, in the

<sup>1</sup> 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 every 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.

but all will have says, fustians and silks from over the sea;

Holand & Normandy,<sup>1</sup> and this ruius home crafts. [<sup>1</sup> Page 145.]

915

49. **Pole.**—Thys wych you say I trow every man seth. No man can deny them, who delytyth not in obstynacy.

P. says none can deny it.

921

50. **Lvpsset.**—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 speecyally in mean memys housys. Now

L. Another fault is excess of diet.

Excesse in dyat.<sup>1</sup>

927

every mean gentyman for the most parte wyl fare as wel as before tyme were wont pryneys 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 nuryshyng 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 glottonys make vytayle dere.”

Now “a mean gentleman will fare as well as princes used to fare;”

and this they take as an honour.

935

51. **Pole.**—Thys mysordur ys also manyfest. Hyt may not be wyth reson denyd.

“Many idle gluttons make victuals dear.”

942

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

Excesse in  
byldyng.<sup>1</sup>  
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, *gentylmen 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 *comuenyent* to hys state *and* condyeyon.

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* degre, that myght be sparyd ryght wel.

954

L. The result of  
this over-building  
is decay from  
want of means  
to keep it in  
repair.

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 *comuenyently* abyld to maynteyn *and* repayre. *And* so such housys as by some are byldyd to theyr grete costys *and* charge, by other are let downe, *and* sufferyd to fal into ruyn *and* dekey, bycause they were byldyd aboute theyr state, condyeyon, *and* degre.

963

P. The greatest  
fault lies in  
gilding the posts  
and walls.

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 apou postys *and* wallys; for then hyt neuer *commyth* aftur to other vse 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*.

970

[\* Page 147.]

Lake of tyllage.<sup>1</sup>

L. complains of  
the enclosing of  
arable lands.

56. **Lvpset.**—They are no smal fautys bothe to-gyddur, nor can not be excusyd by any gud reson. And farther, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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  
 day; but yf the mater be wel examynyd, *per*aurenture  
 hyt ys not so grete as hyt apperyth, *and* so ys jugyd of  
 the *commyn* sorte. For seyng hyt ys so that our fode 984

*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-  
 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* speecyally for schepe, by 996

whose profytc the welth *\*and* plesure here of thys reame  
 ys much maynteynyd. For yf your plenty *and* abund-  
 aunce 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-*  
*modityte.* 1002

58. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, as touchyng that, I remembry what  
 you sayd before:—yf we had fewar thyngys brough[t]  
 in *from* other *partys*, *and* les caryd out, we schold haue  
 n.ore *commodityte 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 148.]

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 closyd 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 inrese 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, *peraventure*, rysyth a *parte* of thys grete darthe both of vytayl *and* come, as I thynke here aftur, in hys place, you wyl more largely shew *and* declare. Now here hyt ys suffyeyent for me
- 1031 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* speyally 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
- 1036
- 1041

To much cure of schype, *and* lytyl of other bestys, horses, oxen.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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 *rentys*.<sup>1</sup>  
 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 yourselve  
 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 exerecysyd, wych you in few wordys haue  
 suffeycently downe. Wherfor now, Mastur Lypset, aftur  
 that we haue notyd the most general fautys *and* mys- P. says it remains  
 ordurys that we can fynd now at thys tyme, bothe in now to touch of  
 the polytyke body *and* also in the vtwarde thyngys of the "misorders"  
 necessity requyryd to the welthy state *and* veray com- in the govern-  
 myn wele here of our cuntrey, thys remeynyth (accord- ment of the  
 yng to the *proces* of our *communycatyon* at the begyn- state.  
 nyng appoyntyd) to note also, *and*, aftur the maner  
 begun, schortly to touch the mysordurys *and* yl *gouernance* 1067  
*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 gnyyth 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 Lypset*, aboue al, we must be dylygent, for  
 as much as hyt ys more hard \*to spy the fautys therein, Fautys in the  
 then such as we haue notyd before. For lyke as hyt ys policy.<sup>1</sup>  
 much easyar also to spy the sykenes in mannys body It is more  
 then the syknes of mynd wych many men *perceyue* no- [\* Page 151.]  
 out these faults  
 than it has been  
 with these  
 already noted;

<sup>1</sup> 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  
 and we have many disorders which are unfelt. 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 are<sup>1</sup>, by long custume *and* law in processe of tyme, so  
 1090 growne among vs, so *confyrmyd* 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,  
 L. will be careful to avoid granting too much. I schal beware, as nere as I *can*, that you schal not make me to graunt such thyngys to be mysordurys *and* fautys  
 1099 wych in dede are *non* at al.
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.

## [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 net vnknown to you, *Master Lvpset*, that our cuntrey hathe byn gouernyd *and* rulyd thes many yerys vnder the state of prynceys, wych by theyr regal powar *and* pryncely authorityte, haue jugyd  
 6 \*al thyngys *perteyning* to the state of our reame to 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

<sup>1</sup> MS. are so.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

man *and* subyeete ; or els, by *and* by, they hane 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 apou 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 destructyoun 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 *consydr* 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 pollycey where al  
 ys rulyd by the wyl of one, not chosen by electyoun, but  
*commyth* to hyt by natural successyoun ; for \*syldon  
 seen hyt ys that they wych by successyoun *comme* to  
 kyngdomys *and* reamys are worthy of such hys au-  
 thoryte. 30

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, beyng 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*. 40

L. implores Pole  
 to beware of  
 treason.

He thinks a king  
 is above all laws.

3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys one of the thyngs  
 that I spake of at the begynnynge, 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 therein that we may wel cal hyt the rote of many  
 other. For thys ys sure—lyke as hyt ys most *perfayt*  
*and* excellent state of pollycey *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  
 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* pernyceouse 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  
 56 *and* *perfayte* 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 pryneys 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  
 62 expedyent to *commyt* to them any such authoryte *and*  
 pryncely powar, wych ys to syngular vertue *and* most  
*perfayt* wysdome only due *and* conuenyent. For  
 though hyt be so that some one may chaunce by succes-  
 syon 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* as-  
 semblyd here in our cuntrey. For such prerogatyfe in  
 powar grauntyd to pryneys ys the destructyon of al  
 74 lawys *and* pollycey. 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 dyspensatyons haue dow in the Popys law, wych  
 80 hathe byn the destructyon of the law of the church.

It is all very well if the prince is worthy, but very pestilent if he is unworthy:

[\* Page 154.]

as, for one worthy there are many unworthy.

It is better to rule by a parliament.

Prerogatyfe.<sup>1</sup>

[\* Page 155.]

Licence from the king, like dispensations from the Pope, do harm.

<sup>1</sup> 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 mysordurs 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* pernyceouse. *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 *consydr* the eyrcum-  
 staneyes 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, [\* Page 156.]  
 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 com-  
 myn lawys *and* wyth the transgressorys *and* brekarys of  
 the same ; to dystribute al grete promoeyonys *and*  
 offyce ; to make *and* breke legys *and* peace wyth other  
 natyonyes *and* pryneys about ;—to leue, I say, al such 107  
 thyngys to the fre wyl *and* lyberty of one, ys the open  
 gate to al tyranny. Thys ys the grounde of the de-  
 structyon of al cyuylte, thys enteryth *and* turnyth vp so  
 downe al polytyke ordur *and* rule. For thys ys sure—  
 the wyt of one *commydly* can not compass so much as  
 the wyt of many in materys of pollycey ; for hyt ys  
*commydly* sayd “many yes see bettur then one.” Wher-  
 for, to be schort, *and* so to conclude, to attri)ute so  
 much to the wyl *and* plesure of one, can not be wythout

A prince would not then be in worse case than his lords.

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.

the grete ruyn *and* destructyon of the *commyn* wele,  
*and* of al gud *and* iust pollycy.

4. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, I maruayle much at your *communy-*  
*cation* ; for me semyth you alow 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 *commyns*, he may  
moderat al thyng accordyng to hys plesure *and* wyl ; or  
els hyt schold be necessary to cal veray off the *commyn*  
*conseyl* of *parlyament*, and so oft as any grete causys  
incydent requyryd the same, wych *perteyne* to the hole  
body of the \*reame ; wych were no smal trowbul to the  
*commyns* of thys reame. Therfor I can not see but yf  
131 you wyl haue a kyng, you must also gyue hym the  
powar *perteynyng* to the maiesty of the same.

[\* Page 157.]

P. says if they  
were chosen for  
their virtues,

5. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, yf kyngys *and* *prynceys* 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

they might have  
authority,

to the *commyn* wele such authoryte, other vsurpyd or  
by prerogatyue gyuen therto, ys *pernyceouse 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 *perceyuyd* by our for-fatherys  
days, at dyuerse *and* manytymys, *and* schold be also now,

but usurped  
authority, or  
authority by  
prerogative,  
is pernicious ;  
and though we  
have a wise  
prince now,  
still it is a fault,

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 fantys in the pollycy *and*

[\* Page 158.]



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 as he may abuse  
 yf he wyl, *and* no restreynt ys had therof by the ordur his authority if  
 of our law; but rather, by law such prerogatyue ys he will.  
 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 greuous bycause we are bend  
 to the defence of the same, *and* skant perceyue thys  
 grefe in our pollycy.

6. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, thys I can not deny, but that a L. asks how the  
 faut ther ys, as me semyth, therin; but how hyt schold fault can be  
 be redressyd *and* reformyd agayne, I can not yet se, but redressed?  
 by much more inconuenyence insuyng the same. 166

7. *Pole*.—Wel, as for that, we schal see when tyme P. replies,  
*and* place hyt schal requyre. Now let vs bo[1]dly We'll see about  
 affyrme thys to be a grete mysordur in the polytyke that another  
 rule here of our cuntrey, seyng the kyngys here are taken by time.  
 successyon of blode, *and* not by fre electyon, wych ys successyon of  
 in our pollycy a nother grete faute *and* mysordur also, blode.)  
*and* of vs now speccially to be notyd, seyng that we haue 173  
 purposyd before, euer as a marke to schote vnto, the  
 veray *and* true commyn wele, wych can not long stond  
 in such state whereas prynceys are euer had by successyon  
 of blode; \*speccially yf we wyl gyue vnto hym suche Kings by suc-  
 regal *and* prynceely powar as we dow in our cuntrey; for cession are a  
 though some tyme hyt may fortune such a prynce to be [\* Page 159.]  
 borne wych wyl not abuse such powar, yet, for the great fault, as  
 most parte, the contrary wyl haue place. Wherfor we they generally  
 now, wych seke the best ordur, must nedys confesse thys abuse their power.  
 thyng to be a faute in pollycy; for in al lawys *and* po- 180  
 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*?

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

L. hardly knows what to say; while Pole's reasons seem probable, experience seems to be against them.

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 consydur the manerys, custome, *and* nature here of our cuntrey,<sup>1</sup> 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*nyceouse, then cyuyle warre, sedyeyon, *and* dyscordys among the *partys* of the polytyke body. Thys ys the thyng that hathe \* destroyd al *commyn* wellys, as to you hyt ys bettur knowen then to me. Werfor 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 partys*, wyth grete ambyeyon *and* enuy; *and* so, also, at the end, euer sedyeyon *and* cyuyle warre.
- 212 For our pepul be of that nature that, yf they had such lyberty, surely they wold abuse hyt to theyr 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.

Nothing more hurtful than civil war, and

[\* Page 160.]

if we chose our king by election, civil war would surely arise.

P. says though Lvpset's reasons seem to be good, they are easily answered.

9. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, nothwystondyng that by gud reson you seme to defend thys custume long vsyd in our reame *and* natyon, yet, yf we remembyr our purpos wel *and* ordur of resonnyng, hyt schal be no thyng hard to take away your reson at al. Thys you
- 222 know ys our purpos,—to fynd out the best ordur that,

<sup>1</sup> "pepul" written above.

by prudent pollycey, may be stablyschyd in our \*reame [\* Page 161.]  
*and euntrey, and* to fynd al fautys wych repugne to the  
 same, of the wych thys I notyd to be one pryncypal 225  
*and chefe.* For what ys more repugnant to nature,  
 then a hole natyon to be gouernyd by the wyl of a  
 prynee, wych euer folowyth hys frayle *fantasy and* un-  
 rulyd affectys? What ys more contrary to reson then al 229  
 the hole pepul to be rulyd by hym wych *commynly*  
 lakkyth al reson. Loke to the Romaynys, whose *com-*  
*myu* wele may be exampl to al other, wych, lyke as  
 theyr consullys, so lykewyse theyr kyngys, chose euer  
 of the best *and* most excellent in *vertue.* I oke, also, 234  
 vnto Lacedemonia, *and* in al other nobul euntreys of  
 Grece, where the pepul were rulyd by a prynee, *and* you  
 schal fynd that he was euer chosen by fre electyon.  
 Thys successyon of pryneys by inherytaunce *and* blode  
 was brought in by *tyrannys and* barbarus pryneys,  
 wych, as I sayd, ys contrary to nature *and* al ryght  
 reson; wych you may se, also, more euydently, by suc-  
 cessyon in *priuat* famyls, 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 244  
 ys gud pollycey, but hath *lyberty* to chose hym anoother  
 where as he thynkyth *comuenyent and* best. Much  
 more hyt ys to be admyttyd in a reame, that yf the  
 prynee be not mete to succede hys father, that then a  
 nother ys to be \*chosen by the fre electyon of the cyty-  
 zyns in the *coutre.* Wherfor we may thys surely *con-*  
*clude,* that best hyt ys for the *conseruatyon* of polytyke 251  
 ordur *and* iust pollycey, a prynee 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, of 258

The Romans and  
Greeks always  
elected their  
prince.

Succession by  
inheritance was  
brought in by  
tyrants.

[\* Page 162.]

Still he thinks  
it best in our  
country to take  
our prince by  
succession.

- 259 ij thyngys wych both be y<sup>l</sup>, 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, y<sup>l</sup> hyt ys to take our prynce by succes-  
 syon, *and* much wors by fre electyon; and yet yf we  
 wyl stablysch a true commyn wel 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  
 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* hys pre-  
 rogatyfe, *and* also to haue hym by successyon of blode,  
 280 ys a grete faute in our pollycey *and* much dystant from  
 al cyuyle ordur.

He maintains  
 that both their  
 opinions are  
 true.

[\* Page 163.]

L. can see it is  
 better as we are,  
 to haue our king  
 by succession,

but if we would  
 live in true  
 liberty, we should  
 elect him.

10. *Lypset*.<sup>1</sup>—*Sir*, you haue 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  
 liberty *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  
 288 examyn some other mysordurys in our pollytyke rule  
*and* ordur of lyfe.

P. A like fault is  
 the law of  
 primogeniture.

In priuat  
 succession.<sup>2</sup>

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 succeedyth, ex-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Lc.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

cludyng al the other from any parte of inherytaunce. 294

This ys a thyng, as me semyth, fer out of ordur, vturly 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 vturly requyryth that they chyldur, wych be as partys of the father *and* mother, schold also be admyttyd to partys of the patrymony, that, enen lyke as \*they haue brought them forth in to the lyght, so they godys myght maynteyn *and* succur them aftur in theyr lyfe.

Reason and nature require that children of the same parents should share the patrimony. [<sup>+</sup> Page 164.]

302

Wherfor, vturly 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 bretherne<sup>1</sup> 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 although 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 vturly 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 insynte *and* grete foly, but only to note such thyngys as in general repugne to the comyn wele

P. says to try to treat of all faults were folly.

328

<sup>1</sup> "brother *and* brother," written aboue.

- 329 before descrybyd, *and* such as, for the most parte, are taken for no fautyts at al; \*of the nombur of whome ys thys wych we speke of now, *and* other peraventure 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,
- L. says laws were made for the people, not the people for the laws:
- 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 *consyderyd* of them wych fyrst instytute thys law of inherytaunce. They wel *consyderyd* 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* therfor 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 authorityte, dygnyte, *and* powar, schold bettur conteyne
- Englishmen are rude, and must have heads or governours; and these heads are preserved by this law of inheritance.
- 350 the rudenes of the pepul. For thys ys both certayn *and* sure—that yf the landys in euery grete famyly were dystributyd 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 wych then, by theyr rudenes *and* foly, wold schortly dysturbe thys quyat lyfe *and* gud pollycey, wych by many agys they haue lade here in our cuntry: such schold be the dyssensyon *and* dyscorde one wyth another.
- If lands of great families were divided between brothers, the families would decay.
- 360 *And* so, me semyth, the mayntenance of thes helys \*ys
- [\* 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 ruine of  
 al nobylte *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  
 betwix the one *and* the other. Thys apperyth to me, 375  
 except, *Master Pole*, you can answeare to thes resonys,  
 wych some playnly to conclude 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 euer 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-  
 tenaunce of gud pollycey, the wych repugnynth, 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 Lypset*, notwythstondyng  
 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 fruth  
 mynglyd with al; for surely aftur, as you say, the  
 rudenes of our pepul requyryth hedys *and* governourys  
 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 395  
 be hyt, some prouyson 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  
 conuenyent to theyr nobylyte. But yf you wold suffyr  
 thys addyceon *and* moderatyon to be yoynyd therto,  
 your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys  
 (as pryneys, dukys, erlys, *and* baronnys) such maner of  
 successyon to be alowyd as conuenyent. But now, a  
 the other parte, to admytt the same *commynly* among  
 al gentylmen 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 exampul of the auneyent Romaynys, whose lawys,  
 me semyth, be drawen 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 inhery-  
 tance 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 nobyllys con-  
 uenyent 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, every Jake wold be a gentylman, *and* every
- 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, wch 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 cuny-  
 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 poreyon of  
 intaylyd land ; and so, by thys assurans, they gyue  
 themselfe to al vanyte *and* plesure, wythout respecte. 461  
 The wch, I thynke, they wold not dow yf they were  
 in dowte of such possessyonys, and the hole inherytaunce  
 to hang upon theyr behauyour *and* beryng.

17. **Pole.**—As for that, *Master Lvpsset*, the law doth  
 command no such intaylyng, but *permyttyth* hyt only. 466

18. **Lvpsset.**—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 *conuenyent*, for as much as hyt

and instances  
 France and Italy,  
 where the other  
 sons are provided  
 for.

[\* Page 169.]

He speaks of the  
 fault of entailing  
 lands, especially  
 in base families.  
 Intaylyng of  
 landys.<sup>1</sup>

It might be  
 suffered in noble  
 families.

[\* Page 170.]

<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

when the heir, being left under age, is subject to those who are not related to him.

[\* Page 171.]

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 touchyng thes heyrys in our cuntrey, no lesse, aftur my mynd, to be reprovyl, 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, tutyon, *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 alye, by the reson wherof he hath lytyl regard of hys bryngyng vp in lemyng *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 apon 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 *consydr* lightly *and* iuge them euenly, may appere much *contrary* to reson *and* gud pollycy ; but they same, a lytyl bettur *consyderyd, and* depelyar weyd, schal seme not only to be tollerabyll enough, but also iust *and* resonabul, of the wych nombur I thynke thys to be one wherof we now speke. For yf 506 you *consydr* the ground *and* the ordynance of the law

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

at the fyrst begynnyng, I suppose you wyl not so much 507  
 reprove the mater as you dow. For thys we fynd in  
 storys *and* in the fyrst instytutyon of our comyn law, and refers to the  
 that at such tyme as Wyllyam the Conquerour subduyd origin of the  
 our cuntrey *and* stablyschyd our lawys, certayn landys custom.  
 were gyuen out of grete famylys to inferyor persons 512  
 for theyr *seruyce* downe to them before, vnder such *con-*  
*dyceyon* that when so euer they decessyd, leuyng their  
 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 He ought to have  
 best *and* most conuenient; how be hyt, no thyng com- power to marry  
 pellingyng hym therin at al, but only by *gentyl and* gud as he may choose  
 exhortatyon mouyng hym therto, for hys profyt *and*  
 synguler *comfort*: the wych, me semyth, much resonabul, 522  
 consyderyng \*they bunfytyes come al from hym by the [\* Page 172.]  
 the wych the hole famyly schold be maynteynyd. *And* as  
 for 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 vndersuch *condyceyon*,  
 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 Lvpset*, set what face you P. cannot be  
 wyl apon thys mater, you can not *persuade* me thys ordur persuaded that  
 to be gud, speccially when I loke to the *perfoynt commyn* the custom is  
 wele wych I wold myght be stablyschyd here in our good, 534  
 cuntrey. 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 conuenient;  
 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, instyute  
 by that tyranne when he subduyd our cuntrey *and* but owns that  
 natyon. I can not deny but, as you say, they wych they who gave

the land had power to make conditions;

<sup>1</sup> MS. so such.

[\* Page 173.]

gaue theyr landys to theyr *seruantys* myght put such<sup>1</sup> *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 *consydr* the tyme of the tyranne. But we must loke a lytyl \*hyar, 548 *and* *consydr* 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*, 552 *set*, let vs no more dowte of thys mater.

and L., acknowledging that it "smells of tyranny;" gives it up.

22. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you euer stoppe my mouth wyth thys *consyderatyon* of the *perfat* 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* *equyte*, 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 *communcyatyon*.

P. thinks he does well, as it will save time.

23. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, therin you dow wel; for yf you schold tary our *communcyatyon* 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 mannys 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* *equyte*; for you know \*wel that dowtyng *and* laying somewhat agayne the truth makyth hyt oftynys 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 remouyng by wrytte.  
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 partys, made by affectyon *and* powar, materys are so borne *and* bolsteryd that justyce can not haue place wyth indyfferency, hath ordeynyed that by wryte \*the cause myght be remouyd to London to indyfferent judgement, where as the partys 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 malyceously vexyth the hys aduersary, yet the law therby 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 partys 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

614

<sup>1</sup> 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, 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
- 620 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.] 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.
- 632 29. *Pole*.—Ther ys also a grete faute wych apperyth concernyng the processe in sutys of causys. I see many meynys materys heng in sute ii, iij, or iiij yere *and* more, *and* can not be fynysehyd; 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 aduocatys *and* cormorantys of the court study much to delay causys for theyr luere *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*

Faute in long sutys.<sup>1</sup>

P. has another complaint: suits take sometimes four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

couetouse *sergeant*, *proktor*, or *attorney*. 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  
 thynke, that yf they *mynystres* were *gud*, I suppose ther  
 \*wold be no grete *fante* found in the *processe* of the  
 law nor *ordur* of the same ; for the *couetouse and* *gredy*  
*myndys* of them *destroyth* al law *and* *gud pollycy*,  
 wych ys a *maruelouse thyng*e, to see them wych were 659  
 fyrst *instytute* for the *mayntenance and* *settyng forward*  
 of true *justyce and* *equyte*, now to be the *destruetyon*  
 of the same wyth al *iniury*.

L. says it is  
 wonderful to see  
 things which  
 were instituted  
 [\* Page 177.]  
 for good, made  
 ill.

31. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys ys no *dowte*,  
 the *mynysters* be the *gretyst* cause of al such *mysor-* 664  
*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* therfore, 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* *cyuylte*.  
 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*, *speecyally* when they *steyle*  
 for *necessyte*, wyt[h]out *murdur* or *manslaughter* *com-* 682  
*myttyd* therin.

Punnyschment of  
 theft.<sup>1</sup>

P. says for every  
 little theft men  
 are hanged with-  
 out mercy.

34. *Lvpset*.—Syr, I can not tel why you *schold* cal 682  
 L. says the  
 punishment can-

<sup>1</sup> 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, suffycient to make \*felonys to be ware one  
by another. I thynke yf we coud deuuse a punnysch-  
ment more strayttur then deth, hyt were necessary to be  
ordenyd *and* receyuyd among vs; for you know the  
690 gretenes of the offence ys such agayne the *commyn* wel,  
wych dysturbyth al quyet 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 necessaryte, *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 seucryte. When

To harg him is  
ouer severe.

701 hyt ys downe wythout respect, specyally *consydering*  
that hyt avaylyth not also to the repressyng of the  
faute, as, by long tyme *and* many yerys, we haue had  
proue suffycient.

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.<sup>1</sup>  
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 seucryte I  
fynd in the punnyschment of treson, wherby, you know,  
not only the heyre *and* al the stoke losyth hys landys,

<sup>1</sup> 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  
 the gretnesse of thys faute, wych of al other ys the not ponder the  
 most haynouse. Wherfor the traytour ys not only to greatness of the  
 be punnyseyhd 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 prinee may  
 vturly presumyd to be truth ; *and* in case be that they pardon.  
 be not gylyt at al, the prynce, yf he wyl, may pardon 733  
 such punmyschment.

43. **Pole.**—That ys trothe ; but thys hangyth only A weak thread  
 apou the wyl of the prynce—a veray weke thred in such that,  
 a case. Wherfor, as I sayd, an excepeyon were to be  
 requyrd by the ordur of the law, wych apperyth ouer- 738  
 strayte in that punmyschment, lyke as in the other be-  
 fore rehersyd.

44. **Lvpset.**—Syr, al be hyt here may \*be much [\* Page 180.]  
 spoken in thys mater agayne your sentence, yet by cause and this L.  
 hyt leynyth to equyte *and* consyence, aftur my mynd grants.  
 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  
 ther ys, me semyth, ouer-grete lyberty ; for wyth vs, yf treson.<sup>1</sup>  
 a man accuse a nother of treson, though he proue hyt P. says there is  
 not, yet he ys not punmyschyd, but frely pardonyd by too much liberty  
 the custume here vsyd, wych ys playn agayn al gud in accusing of  
 reson. 751  
 treson.

46. **Lvpset.**—Syr, in that I can not wel agre wyth In this L. cannot  
 you ; for in so much as they cryme ys so grete, only agree.

<sup>1</sup> 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 probably conceuyd;  
 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 thynghys 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.**<sup>1</sup>—Syr, you schal dow well, for me  
 semyth you haue sayd metely in thys behalfe. How be  
 hyt, I maruayle that one thying 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 thying 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.<sup>2</sup>  
 The common law  
 is written in  
 French,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Le.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

wel, ys also ignomyouse *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 subiection 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 constreynyd to lerne the Latyn tong, wych ys necessary to them wych wyl lyue togyddur in gud cyuylyte, bycause al the lyberal artys are conteynyd therein.

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 spryuality, 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,<sup>2</sup> “ 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 thinke you, *Master* Lvpset,<sup>3</sup> ys hyt not thys ?

809  
P. notes the Pope's power and his dispensations,

Authoryte of the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

817

[\* Page 183.]  
which are intolerable.

54. **Lvpset.**<sup>4</sup>—Yes, truly abuse ther ys therein ; but

823

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. mater.

<sup>3</sup> MS. le.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Larpset*,<sup>1</sup> 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

P. says Peter's authority was not like that which popes usurp.

840 absoluyd from the faute therof, *and* that hyt schold be no more *imputyd* to them. *And* as for the dyspensatyon 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 wyslome

The power to dispense with laws was given to the pope and cardinals by man.

[\* Page 154.]

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*.

The power given by God extends to absolution of sin only.

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 storsy *conferme*, yf I thought ther were any dowte therin. But now, as I sayd,

<sup>1</sup> MS. le.

therfor I thynke I may affyrme grete mysordur to be in 859  
the vsurpyng of thys authorityte.

56. *Lvpset.*—Syr, as touchyng the dyspensatyon, In this L. agrees.  
wythout dowte grete faute ther ys ; *and* surely that he  
hath no authorityte 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 pryuce. 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.<sup>1</sup>  
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 873  
our reame ther were nother wysdome nor justyce to ex-  
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  
authorityte. 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 [\* Page 186.]  
long in vse.

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

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

P. What think  
you of first fruits  
to Rome?  
Law of *Ænnatys*.<sup>1</sup>

61. *Pole*.—Then let vs go forward. What thinke 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 pryneys, 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* magnyfyccence 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 thinke thes causys that you lay now haue no place. For, fyrst, as for the magnyfyccence *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 pryneys: wherfor to pyl theyr euntreys for thys purpos, ys not just nor resonabul; *and* thys schortly I thinke 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 thinke you wyl tem-  
925 pur. Therfor now, bycause I wyl not be obstynate *and* offend agayn my gost, denyng the playn *and* manyfest truth, I wyl no more repugne in thes causys.

65. *Pole*.—The same mysordur that ys in appella-

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

tyons *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.<sup>1</sup>  
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 spoyld of the rauynys *and* pollyng offycerys? 941

Prerogatyf of Cantorbury.<sup>1</sup>  
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.<sup>1</sup>

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 vauyte. 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 iuge to be borne in the habyte, they are so lytyl *and* yong admyttyd therto? 959

Yong frerys.<sup>1</sup>

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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

964 what relygyon menyth? Thys ys vndowtydly a grete  
erroure in al ordur of relygyon.

Celibacy should  
be abolished.  
Prestys maryage.

73. *Pole.*—*And* what thynke you by the law wych  
byndyth prestys to chastyte? Ys not thys, of al other,  
most vnresonabul, specyally 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 *con-*  
scyence, I wyl say as Pope Pius dyd, that grete reson  
in the begynnyng 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  
that<sup>2</sup> . . . . .<sup>2</sup>

[\* Page 189.]

75. \**Pole.*—*Master Lvpset*, you are veray esy in  
the admyssyon of thes fautyys in the *spiritualty*. 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. *Lvpset.*—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 examynyd 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 re-  
membrance 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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> 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 nobylite, whome we see custummabyly brought vp in huntyng *and* haukyng, dysyng *and* carlyng, etyng *and* drynkyng, *and*, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, *and* vanyte. *And* that only ys thought to perteyne to a gentyلمان, enen 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. 1002

The evil education of the nobility.

Educatyon of nobylite.<sup>1</sup>

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 necessitye?

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 stablysychd here in our cuntre; for of thys poynt hangyth a grete parte of the veray welth of the hole commynalty. 1014

P. will tell him soon.

[\* 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 nobylls ther ys, that euery one of them wyl kepe a court lyke a prynce; euery one wyl haue a grete idul route to wayte upon hym, to kepe hym cumpany *and* pastyme, as he that hath in hymselfe no comferte at al, nor wythin hys mynde, hart, *and* brest, no cause of inward reyoeyng, but hangyth only of vtward vanyte. 1027

P. gives another bad custom: every noble keeps a prince-like court,

Keptyng of ouer-grete housys.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> 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 England, as we sayd before; speccially yf you consydr what custume ther ys among them wyth al, both in theyr dyat and theyr appayrayl. For yf the nobyllys, 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.<sup>1</sup>

[\* Page 191.]

1048 How thynke you, *Master Lypset*, ys hyt not thys?

which L. can't deny.

86. *Lypset*.—Truly thes thyngys I can not deny, *and* speccially 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 England 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. *Lypset*.—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-

<sup>1</sup> 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 on 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 lubbers  
 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 euident 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,<sup>1</sup> byschoppys *and*  
 wych are made other by the prynce or some other grete priorys.<sup>1</sup>  
 mannys authoryte? May thys be alowyd as a gud cus- P. touches on  
 tome in our cuntre? the election of  
 prelates,

1091  
 92. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, yf the ordur of the law were ob-  
 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 confirmyd *and* receuyd commynly.

94. **Lvpset.**—Thys custume vndowtydly ys vnreson- which is  
 abyl, *and* grete destructyon of the gud ordur in the in reasonable;

<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>1</sup>

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 *conuenient* 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 *commynly* they are most ignorant themselfe; for *commynly* you schal fynd that they *can* no thyng dow but pattur vp theyr matyns *and* mas, numblyng vp a certayn *nombur* of wordys no thyng vnderstonde.
- 1109
- 1115

96. *Lvpset*.<sup>2</sup>—*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 *exampul* 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 much that they are *exampul* of al vyeouse lyfe to the lay pepul. How say [you], *Master Lvpset*, ys not thys also a playn *truthe and* manyfest?
- 1124

98. *Lvpset*.<sup>2</sup>—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 luyng that may dowte of thys.

99. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, you are in thys materys veray esy to *persuade*. You make no obiectionys, 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 *prestys and* *prelatys* therin.
- 1131
- 1136

100. *Lvpset*.—Syr, feare you no thyng [in] that

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> 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-  
ouse lyfe of the clergy, no man can hyt deny but he  
that, *peruerting* the ordur of al thyngys, wyl take  
vyce for vertue, *and* vertue for vyce. *And* thought  
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

P. says the people  
live much after  
the same  
manner.

He adds that  
priests are non-  
Resydence upon  
bunfyces.<sup>1</sup>  
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 fautyys 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 pryneys 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 yl<sup>1</sup> 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, 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 fasyon more conuenyent to mynstrellys then to deuoute mynystyrys of the dyuyne *seruyce* ; for playnly, as hyt ys vsyd, thys ys truthe, speecially consyderyng the wordys be so straunge *and* so dyuersely descantyd, 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 ?
- 1190
- 1194
- 1200
- 1205

He goes on to notice the evil of having divine service in Latin.

Saying of *seruyce* in straunge tong.<sup>2</sup>

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 ;

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 vnderstond<sup>3</sup> to haue chaungyd thys fasyon long vsyd in the Church. They haue theyr *seruyce*, such as hyt ys, al in 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 schold see as many errorys among vs here in England,

<sup>1</sup> MS. a nyl.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>3</sup> "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 faseyon both in our dyuyne *seruyce and* rather things re-  
 in keypyng the law in a straunge tonge, then by such main as they are.
- in relygyon. 1211
105. *Pole*.—*Master Lypset*, I se wel in thys you  
 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.
- fallen into many errorys *and gret confusyon* by thys 1216  
 mean, as you thynke, *and new alteratyon*. But here,  
*Master Lypset*, fyrst you schal be sure of thys. I wyl  
 not folow the steppys of Luther, whose jugement I  
 estyme veray lytyl; *and yet he and hys dyseypullys* 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  
 edyfyng 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 luyng *and doctryne*  
 of our *Master Chryst*, Hys apostyllys *and dyseypullys*,  
 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 prouyd some mean that al the pepul may vnderstond the Latyn *conueniently*; 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] tought *and* dysputyd. But now, *Master Lupset*, seeyng

1250 that thys ys not *conuenient 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 *conuerted*, 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 justyee

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 *conuerted* 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* instruetarys therin. Wherfor, that thyng wych *commynth* partely by the malyee of man, *and* partely for lake of gud pollyey,\* ys in no ease to be attriбуtyd 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 reynng, ys no thyng to be attri-  
 bute to the *commynng* 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 reprovud 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 *dyscantyng 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 deuotyoun<sup>1</sup> 1299  
 \**and* loue of celestyal thyngys, but rather to ster wanton  
 myndys to vayn plesure *and* wordly pastyme wyth  
 vanyte. Of thys, *Master Lrpset*,<sup>2</sup> aftur my mynd, ther  
 ys no more dowte; how thynke you now? [<sup>\*</sup> Page 200.]  
 that it is more fitted to please than to profit.
106. *Lvpset*.—Sir, your *communcyatyon* hathe 1304  
 brough[t] me to a depe *consyderatyon*, wherby, truly, I  
*perceyue* wel, that many thyngys here in *mannys* 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  
 L. speaks of the difficulty

<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of this page of the MS. the following words are written :—Prouysyon to stoppe folysh wrytarys *and* lyght bokys of the gospel.

<sup>2</sup> MS. le.

and danger of changes.

1313 *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-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 customyd 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 one erroneous.

1322 *and vturly destroyd ; such ys theyr blyndnes and foly only by long tyme rotyd in hart. Notwithstondyng, 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*

But he agrees with Pole that the service should be in English.

1328 *our mother tong conuertyd, and al dyuynne seruyce both to be sayd and song in the same in euery church commynly.*

[\* Page 201.]

And \*so, consequently, I am agreed wyth you to take thys as an yl<sup>1</sup> custume, repugnyng to our purpos, to haue al cloyd in thys straunge tong of the old Romanys, or rather of other barbarus pepul wych succedyd them.

The privileges of the clergy ought not to be allowed.

Exemtyon of prestys and relygyouse.<sup>2</sup>

1333 107. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset, you say wel. But how say [you] by the pryuylegys wych, partely by lawys and partely by long prescriptyon of tyme and custume, are gyuen to the Church and ecclesiastycal personys ? Thynke you that thys ys conuenyent, that prestys schold neuer for no offence be callyd before a secular juge and punnyschyd temporally, yf they<sup>3</sup> offend in such fautys as requyre temporal punnysehment ; as robbery, murdar, and theft, and such other lyke easys ?*

L. would yield something to their dignity.

1341 108. **Lvpset.**—*Sir, I wold some thyng schold be gyuen to the dygnyte of presthode, and that they*

<sup>1</sup> MS. a nyl.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>3</sup> MS. he.

schold not be punnyschyd wyth so grete seueryte as 1345  
other be.

109. **Pole.**—I wot not what you mean by your gyuung 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 be compellyd,\* at the lest by feare of punnyschement, wheras by loue they can not be indueyd, 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 honowryd, *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 them wyth theyr laburys *and* trauayle, in grete quyetnes *and* tranquyllyte; *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 vtterly dekeyd; for-as-much as by the reson of such priuylege grauntyd of pryncys to the dygnyte of them, enery 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 rayn lustys *and* vanyte, wythout punnyschement or reprene of any degre: such ys theyr priuylege *and* exemptyon. How say [you], *Master Lvpset*, ys hyt not thys?

P. thinks if they do amiss they should be more severely punished than others.

1353

[\* Page 202.]

Priests should be honoured for their virtues.

1361

They must not be allowed to transgress all laws.

1367

The evil consequences of their privileges.

1372

110. **Lvpset.**—Sir, I can not wel tel what I schal say, your resonys are so probabyl; speepecially consyderyng 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 faultys *and* crymys of them commytted,  
wch yf they had, yet me thynke hyt schold be more  
conuenyent that theyr causys schold be intretyd before  
theyr owne jugys. But now, seyng they are ouer-fauer-  
abyll therin, I *can* not but *confesse* thys priuylege to  
1386 be pernyceouse, speecially in such a multytud of ryb-  
baudyys as be now-a-days in the ordur of presthode.  
Such pryuylege, at the fyrst begynnyng of the Church,  
when prestys were *perfayt 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?  
Exemption from  
byschoppys.<sup>2</sup>

111. [Pole.]—*And* what thynk<sup>1</sup> you by exemptyon  
of relygyouse housys *and* collegys from theyr byschoppys  
to the See of Rome. Ys thys resonabyll?

112. *Lvpset*.—Syr, yf they byschoppys dyd no  
1396 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  
reproynd; 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.

L. does not  
"mislike" this.

1402 113. *Pole*.—Thys ys enough that you grant both to  
be nought.

114. *Lvpset*.<sup>3</sup>—That *can* not be denyd.

The privilege of  
sanctuary seems  
a mischief to  
Pole, as it may  
encourage man  
to crime.

115. *Pole*.—*And* what thynke you by priuylegys  
grandyd to churchys *and* al say[n]tuarys? *Can* you iuge  
them to be conuenyent? Thynke you that hyt ys wel,  
a man when he hath commytted 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 quyetyly, 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 sauuyd by the pryuylege of sayntuary?

<sup>1</sup> MS. thyng.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Le.

116. *Lvpset.*<sup>1</sup>—Syr, to defend thys me thynde ther ys no reson. How be hyt, for the saueguard of mannys lyfe, I thynde 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 mysorduris as come to my remembrance 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. 1434

P. proposes to adjourn.

120. *Lvpset.*—Syr, I thynde you haue notyd the most general \*fantys 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 resonabyll custume. The thyng ys thys, the grete custume payd by marchauntys for bryngyng in of commodityes to our reame. They pay ouer-much, by the reson wherof, they haue les wyl to trauallye for the commoditye 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.<sup>2</sup>

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 spake of the lake of thyngys to be brought in by our 1450

P. says it was noted before.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Lc.

<sup>2</sup> 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. *Lrpsct.*<sup>1</sup>—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 haue<sup>2</sup> \*to-morow,<sup>3</sup> when  
we schal speke of the restoryng of thes fautys rehersyd  
before.

They adjourn.

123. *Pole.*—Nay, Mastur *Lrpsct.*<sup>1</sup> bycause thys  
*mater* ys grete, let vs dyffer hyt ij or iij days,<sup>3</sup> that  
we come somewhat the bettur instructe to such a grete  
cause.

1464 124. *Lrpsct.*<sup>1</sup>—Syr, you say wel, *and* so let hyt be.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Le.*

<sup>2</sup> The following words are written at the bottom of this  
page of the MS.:—Abuse in *pryntyng* of al bokys wyth  
*pryuylege*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare “yesturday’s *communycatyon*” in line 17 on  
next page.

## [P A R T II.]

## [CHAPTER I.]

1. [Pole.]—\**Master Lvpset*,<sup>1</sup> to schow you in the  
 begynnynge the dyffyculty 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- 4  
 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 *manny's* 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 *conuenient* remedys  
 prudently to be applyd to such sorys *and* dyseasys  
 in our polytyke body before notyd in yesturday's *com-* 17  
*munycatyon*. Therefore, *Master Lvpset*, me thynke we  
 schal dow wel yf, in our fyrst begynnynge, we cal to  
 Hym who, by Hys *incomparabul* gudnes *and* *incompre-*  
*hensybyl* wisdom, 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, to<sup>2</sup> 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.]

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Lep.*<sup>2</sup> MS. *so to.*

26 that we may see the *conuenient* mean of restoryng to our polytyke body hys *perfayt* state *and* *commyn* welth, of vs before descrybyd ; 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 descrybyng of storys *and* 33 other they 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, 38 surely to trust of succur *and* ayd ; specyally *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.

remembering the  
promise of God.

[\* Page 3.]

44 3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, that ys wel admonyschyd of you. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, 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 declare 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  
opnyon, al obscurete *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* dyuine nature of the soule—a sparkyl of the godly 72  
*and* eternal reson. So, fyrst, we wyl—receuyng 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 pertynyth to the polytyke govern- 77  
ance of the same body ;—thys general rule of exper-  
te physycyonys, 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  
appling of remedys lytyl awaylyth. 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 enen  
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 Lupset, then, let vs proceede.  
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-  
Consumptyon.<sup>1</sup>

P. recapitulates  
a part of what  
has been said,

<sup>1</sup> 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 rokkyss 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 suffyce, mul-  
 tityly, *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?

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.

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  
 deuynse the mean for the remouyng of such *impedymentys*  
*and* lettys as be to thys cause, *and* so to allure *man* to thys  
 124 natural procreatyon, aftur a cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke  
 facyon. For though nature hath gyuen to *man*, as to al  
 other bestys, natural inelynatyon to hys increse; yet, by-  
 cause *man* ys only borne to cunylyte *and* polytyke rule,  
 therefore he may not, wythout ordur or respecte, study to  
 the satsfacyon 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 lauful

matrymony, *and* so therby multiply *and* increse. So that 132  
 thys remenyth, *Master Lvpset*, in thys mater, now spee-  
 ally to vs, hauyng the lyght of Chrystys Gospel, to de-  
 uyse \*some waye to intyse man to thys lauful maryage  
*and* couplyng togydur. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*,<sup>1</sup> thys  
 you schal vnderstand *and* take as a ground for the rest  
 of al our *communyca*tyon 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 cyuyll *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

[\* Page 6.]

138

If man would but follow reason, faults could be remedied ;

Plato igitur in sua 'Republica' nullas telit leges.<sup>2</sup>

144

but he cannot be brought to perfection by instruction ;

150

only the fear of punishment can compel him to do right,

156

which is the end of all law.

161

166

<sup>1</sup> MS. le.<sup>2</sup> 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 *consydu*r the imbecyllyte of them *and* wekenes of mynd, *and* apply our remedye accordyng therto, [\* Page 7.] \*folowyng the *exampul* of *experte* physycyonys, wych
- 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 *communy-*catyon ; euer studying some meane to allure the grosse *and* rude pepul to the folowyng of that wych we schal
- 179 juge necessary to be downe for the *conseruatyon* of gud cyuylyte. 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 *pruylege and* payne induce men therto, *and* study to take away al obstaculys *and* lettys wych
- 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-
- 196 aftur ; as al secular prestys, monkys, frerys, channonys, *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

In this communi-  
cation we must  
consider man's  
weakness of  
mind,

and try to dis-  
cover some  
means to allure  
him to do as he  
ought ;

that is, to marry.

L. refers to the  
law of chastity  
in the Church  
as a chief  
hindrance to the  
increase of  
population,

be veray conuenyent somethyng to relese the band of  
 thys law ; speecyally *consyderyng* 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 speecal 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 notwythstondyng  
 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 sehow you myn opynyoun, 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 begynyng of the Church *and* setting forth of  
 Chrystys relygyon, was for that tyme veray expedyent  
*and* necessary, so, for thys tyme, al *circumstance* con-  
 syderyd, hyt ys no lesse conuenyent the rygoure of the  
 same somewhat to relese ; for thys ys the nature of al  
 mannys ordynance *and* eyuyle 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  
 tempur thys law, *and*, at the lest, to gyue *and* admyt al  
 secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberty, *consydryng*  
 now the grete multytude *and* nowmbur of them. But  
 as touchyng monkys, chanonnys, frerys, *and* nunnys, I  
 hold for a thying veray conuenyent *and* mete, in al wel-  
 ordeynynd commyn welys, to haue certayn monasterys  
*and* abbeys ; to the wych al such as, aftur lauful proue 221

and, as laws may  
 be changed,

228

he would allow  
 secular priests to  
 marry. 233

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 wythdraw<sup>1</sup> themselfe, holly gyuyng theyr myndys to prayar, study, *and* hye contemplayon. Thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from Chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete

242 comfort to many febul *and* very soulys, wych haue byn oppressyd wyth wordly vanyte. But as touchyng the secular prestys, I vttruly 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

The remedy :—do not allow the nobility to keep more than they can set forward in matrimony.

thynke, an ordynance that no gentylmen, nor other of the nobylite, take to hys *seruyce* grettur nombur of men then he ys abul to promote *and* set forward to some honest facyon of lyuyng *and* lawful matrymony ;

[\* Page 9.]

*and* so by thys mean the multytude of them \*schold be

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

demanding only a nominal rent.

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

271 incesyde in nombur, but also the waste groundys wel

<sup>1</sup> 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, speccially 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 increasyd the pepul wyth v. chyl- five children.  
dur, that they schold pay nother taske nor talage, 278  
except 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  
pownde xij *d.*, wych yerely cumyth in, other by fe, pound,  
wagys, or land ; *and* euery man that ys worth in 294  
mouabul godys aboue iiiij *li.*, of euery pound, iij *d.* ; the  
wych some schold euer be reseruyd in a *commyn* place  
to be dystrybutyd *partely* to them wych haue more  
chyldur then \*they be wel abul to nurysch, *and* *parte-*  
ly to the dote of pore damosellys *and* vyrgynys. *And* and the money  
yf case be that they wych thys abstayne vturly from to be given to  
maryage dye in that maner, they schold be *constraynyd*, [\* Page 10.]  
by ordur of law, to leue the one halfe of al theyr gudys those who have  
to be dystrybutyd aftur the maner before prescrybyd ; many children,  
*and* prestys the hole : euer *prouysyon* made that no- and to virgins.  
thyng schold be alyenat 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 iuge 307 .

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 nobylte, 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 hath 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 nobylte must be cut away by the law befor reheryd, that no man schold nurysch gretter nombur then he ys abul to nurysch wel, and fynd to  
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,<sup>2</sup> that who so euer were in

Dropecy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. expedyent, also.



any science or craft, nobul *and* excellent, he schold by the lyberalyte of the prynce be rewardyd therfor, accordyng to the excellency *and* dygnyte of hys craft; the wych \*thyng vndowtydly wold incorage basse stomakys to endeuer themselfys dylygently 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 humny, that he schold be bannyschyd *and* dryuen out of the cyte, as a person vnprofytabel to al gud cyuylte. 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 chefely 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 dylygence *and* care, as a thyng wych ys the ground of al the hole commyn wele. For lytyl awaylyth hyt to increse the nombur of pepul, except prouysyon be made to take away thys idulnes *and* grete dropey. How say you, *Master Lypset*, thynke you not thys?

Premium to craftsmen according to the excellency of their crafts.

[\* Page 11.]

348

Idle persons to be banished, as was the custom in Athens.

355

360

It is useless to increase numbers if idleness is allowed.

16. *Lypset*.—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?

369

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.

376

- 379 remede. Bnt 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  
 such wych occupyd themselfys about vayn plesury *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  
 wherof in general hangyth much of the remedy of the  
 dysease before last reheryd, 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  
 togydur. For who doth not see thys, that al thes  
 merchantys *and* artyfycerys of vanyte schold vtterly  
 perysch wyth theyr craftys, yf they were not mayn-  
 teynyd by thys idul sorte, wych be they hauntarys of  
 thes vayn plesury *and* tryfelyng thyngys? Wherfor  
 yf men were so brought vp in youthe, so instructyd  
*and* formyd in tendur age, that they schold not delyte  
 but in honest plesury 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 grounde  
 of the remedyng al other dyseasys in thys our polytyke  
 body, euen lyke as in the cure of the bodyly dyseasys,  
 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.<sup>1</sup>

[\* Page 12.]

In providing  
amusements.

To remedy this,  
children must  
be brought up  
without idleness.

A good training  
of youth is the  
only cure.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

out the wych al other medycyns lytyl schal awaye. 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

New laws are required to regulate the importing of such things as wine, [\* Page 13.]

such thyng as schal allure our pepul to vayn plesure 425

*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 euydent then nedyth to be schowyd. Wherfor among the marchauntys an ordynance schold be had to bryng in only a certayn 430

[quantytye] for the plesure of nobul men *and* them wych be of powar ; *and* so in thys poynt, shortly 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 436

and exporting such things as we have in abundance.

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 ferther, for the takyng away of thes yl-occupyd 444

Officers to be appointed to see how people are employed.

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* vnprofytabal 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, 449

Duties of these officers.

450 to ouerse the educatyon of vthe. To theyr cure schal  
 be commytted 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.

L. 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-  
 yng 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 knyted togedur, but dysseucryd 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 ruynes of  
 pollycy, wherof the cuntre of Ytaly ys in our days most  
 manyfest exampl, 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 Lypset*, 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 resemblyd 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 *per fayt*  
 cure ; but rather, to say the troth, the cure therof ys  
 sparklyd in the cure of al other. How be hyt, some  
 peculyar\* thyngys *per teyne* therto, as we schal *partely*  
 schow now *and* *partely* hereaftur.

Pestylens.<sup>1</sup>

489

and goes on to  
another disease  
of the body  
politic.

495

500

That which was  
called a  
pestilence.

506

[\* Page 15.]

(19.) And, fyrst, for thys place, seyng the cause of  
 thys dyscasse 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 cytyzys,—  
 therfor, aboue al thyng, regard must be had of the pryue  
*and* of them wych be in offyce *and* authorityte, chefely  
 to see that al such thyng may be dystrybute *with* a cer-  
 tayn equalitye ; but how thys schalbe downe hereaftur  
 we schal *per auenture* somewhat schow. But now, to  
 kepe thys body knyted togedur in vnyte, prouysyon wold  
 be made by commyn law *and* authorityte, that *euery parte*

It arises from a  
lack of justice  
and equity.

512

517

To remedy this,  
every man is to  
mind his own<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

craft, and not  
intermeddle with  
another's.

- may exerce 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 meddlyth 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 ryche 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 ruine *and* destructyon  
 to al gud *and* iust pollycy. Moreouer, to al sedycyouse  
 personys that openly despysse 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 dystributyng to  
 544 euery man, accordyng to hys vertue *and* dygnyte, such  
 thyngys as be to be dyuydyd among the cytyzynes wyth  
 equyte, schal conserue much thys body in vnyte *and*  
 concord; *and*, I thynke, by proesse of tyme, vtturly 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 ruine of al cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule. Ther-  
 for, *Master 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.<sup>1</sup>  
 portyoun of the *partys*, some bying to grete *and* some to  
 lytyl. As, by *exampul*, the thyng to declare, ther be The scarcity of  
 among vs to few plowmen *and* tyllarys of the ground, husbandmen  
*and* to many courtiarys *and* idul *seruantys*; to few ar- and the plenty of  
 tysanyys of gud occupatyoun *and* to many prestys *and* courtiers and  
 relygyouse, ful of vayn *supersteycon*; *and* thys of many servants;  
 other ordurys we myght say. But the cause of thys, to few artisans,  
 touch now to the purpos, aftur my mynd, ys thys, that but many priests.  
 every man naturally ys gyuen to folow plesure, quiet- The cause of this  
 nes, *and* ease, by the reson wherof the most parte fly deformitye.  
 to the most esy craft, *and* to such wherof ys most hope 567  
 speecyally 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* seyence, some to appoynt, expert choosing fit men  
 in the same, to admyt youth to the exereyse therof; for certain  
 not suffryng every man wythout respecte to apply them- offices,  
 selve 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* felyeyte. 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 therunto. *And* so lyke 585  
 of other. *And* then you schold see how by dylygent  
 ouersyght, also, that every man schold apply hym selve  
 to hys mystere *and* craft, or els by the offycerys to be  
 excludyd *and* appoyntyd to other; and so schortly  
 then every man  
 would apply  
 himself to his  
 own business.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

590 schold grow a maruelouse beuty in thys polytyk body,  
*and* thys deformyte *and* yl propertyon of party's 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, seyence, *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 *profy*te, more then I  
 can now expresse.

P. goes on to  
 discuss the  
 Weaknes.<sup>1</sup>  
 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,  
 chefeldy 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 necessity, thys gret  
 weaknes 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* authorityte,  
 fyrst, from al such vnprofytabul gamys *and* idul exer-  
 cysse to be occupyd *commynly*, *and* the noblyte must  
 be *constraynyd*, by lawful punnyshement, to exercyse  
 themselfys in al such thyngys *and* featys of armys as  
 schal be for the defence of our reame necessary; the

To cure this,  
 they must exer-  
 cise themselves in  
 feats of arms,

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,

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.



in euery cyte *and* gud towne, to haue a *commyn* place 625  
 appoyntyd to the exerceyse of vthe, wherin they myght  
 at voyd tymys exerceyse 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 Swyceys; 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 exerceyse also wold  
 not be forgot; but how, in what mean, *and* in what  
 exerceyse, 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 exereysyd therin. 636  
 To vs hyt ys suffycyent 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 pepul  
 be not now valyant in featys of armys as they haue  
 byn in tyme past, but, gyuen \*to plesure, lettyth the The people now  
 are not valiant,  
 but are too much  
 given to pleasure.  
 [\*Page 18.]  
 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 cuntrey  
 wythout thys prouysyon. Therfor, aboue al, we  
 must study to restore thys polytyke body to hys old  
 powar *and* strength, *and* by such exerceyse remoue thys  
 imbecylyte *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  
 be well applied,  
 the parts will  
 soon be cured.  
 certayn remedys for the most *commyn* dyseasys in thys  
 polytyke body before notyd, wych, yf they be wel ap-  
 plyd, schal meruelously dyspose the partys also to 656  
 receyue cure *and* remedy of the partycular dyseasys  
 reynyng therin, wych euer spryng out of the *general*,  
 as you schal perceyue in our *communcyatyon* hereaftur,  
 when ouer-more the ground of the cure schalbe drawn 660

661 out of thes, of the wych now we haue spoken. For  
euen lyke as the sykens of the partys for the most  
sprynghy<sup>1</sup> 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* facyon 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 *proseoute euery* thyng at large  
682 *perteynyng* to thes materys, we schold not fynyseh 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  
after 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 frency, the  
wych dysease yf we coude fynd the mean to cure, al  
695 the mysordurys in the rest of the party schold easely

<sup>1</sup> MS. sprynghyth.

be helyd ; for al hange upon thys. Therfor the wyse 696  
 phylosophar Plato in al hys *commyn* welth chiefly  
 laburyd to see gud offycerys, hedys, *and* rularys, the Good rulers are  
 very necessary.  
 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, But how to get  
 them ?  
*Master Lvpset*, in our *commyn* wele *and* cuntre ?  
 Thynke you hyt were possybul ?

26. *Lvpset*.—I thynke by no mannys wyt. *And* L. thinks by no  
 man's wit, and  
 that Plato only  
 dreamed.  
 therfor Plato imagynyd only *and* dremyd upon 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.

27. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, here you must P. does not look  
 for such as Plato  
 described,  
 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 eyuyle *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 but such as prefer  
 the common  
 good to all other  
 things ;  
 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 sufficyent for vs. [\* Page 20.]

28. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, I thynke we were happy yf we  
 myght such fynd.

29. *Pole*.—Wel, let vs *consy*dur then, *and* procede. 731

732 Fyrst, thys ys certayn in our *commyn* wel, as hyt ys  
instytute : a grete *parte* of thys *mater* hangyth apon  
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,  
speecyally 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 prynee to *gouerne and*  
rule. Thys ys the ground of al felyeyte in the cyuyle  
lyfe. Thys ys [the] fundatyon of al gud pollycy in  
such a kynd of state as ys in our cuntrey. The prynee

742 instytutyth *and* makyth almost al vnder offycerys. He  
hathe authoryte *and* rule of al. Therfor, yf we coud  
fynd a mean to haue a gud prynee *commynly*, thys  
schold be a *commyn* remedy, almost, as I sayd, for al  
the rest of the mysordurys 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 Lvpset*, 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 felyeyte. The

753 prouydence of God hath thys ordeynyd, that *man* schal  
not haue any thyng *perfayte*, nor attayne to hys *per-*  
*fectyon*, 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.

L. asks what Pole means? 32. **Lvpset.**—What mean you by this? Wold you  
that *man* schold prouyde hym a prynee, *and* forme hym  
aftur hys owne faseyon, as hyt were in mannys powar  
that to dow, *and* by dylygence to gyue hym wysdome  
763 *and* gudnes?

33. **Pole.**—Nay, *Master Lvpset*,<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> MS. le.

- But, *Master Lypset*, to see what I mean somewhat more  
 clere, let vs *consyður* 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 eyuyle lyfe *and* gud pollycey,  
 accordyng to hys excellent \*nature *and* dygnyte. But  
 wyth thys same sparkyl of reson, thys to man gyuen,  
 are joynyd by nature so many affectys *and* vyeuose  
 desyrys, by the reson of thys erthly body, that (except  
 man wyth cure, dylygence, *and* labur, resy[s]te to the  
 same) they ouer-run reson, thys lytyl sparkyl, *and* so  
 bryng man, consequently, from hys natural felicyte, *and*  
 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 aboute man, *and* made hym as  
 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*  
 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. Notwithstandyng, thys ys true, that  
 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.
- 767
- P. answers:  
 God made man,  
 and gave him  
 reason to govern  
 himself;
- 773
- [\* Page 21.]  
 but with reason  
 He joined affec-  
 tions and vicious  
 desires, which,  
 without care,  
 overrun reason  
 and make man  
 a brute.
- 780
- If He had given  
 him more reason,  
 he would have  
 been as an angel,
- 788
- and so lacked the  
 nature of man.  
 But God would  
 not suffer this.
- 793
- 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 thèn another ; ye, *and* one natyon

805 more prudent *and* polytyke then another. Howbehyt,

All may subdue  
the affections by  
reason ; when  
men do so, they  
are governed by  
God's providence ;

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*  
ordeynynd of God ; the wych ordur when *man* wyth

811 reson folowyth, he ys then gouernyd by the prouydence  
of God. Lyke as, *contrary*, when he, by neelygence,  
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 ydence, *and* ys lad by hys owne ignorance. He ys  
then subiecte to thys world *and* to the kyngdome of the  
deuyl ; 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 *confirme*, both by the  
*sentence* of old phylosophy *and* holy Scrypture ; but,  
bycause I see here ys not the place now to dyspute,  
823 but to take *and* admytt the truthe tryd by ancyent  
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 eyuyle ordur, instytute *and* gouernyd  
by resonabul pollycey, are then gouernyd by the pro-  
uydence of God, *and* be vnder Hys tuytyon. As, *con-*

but without good  
order, by tyrants.

*contrary*, when they [are] wythout gud ordur *and* polytyke  
rule, they are rulyd by the violence of tyrannyy ; they  
835 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  
tyrannyeal powar ; so that of thys ys 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 Lypset*. 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 Lypset*, thys I may truly say, to the wych al thys reson- yng now tendyth,—that yf we wyl correcte thys freney 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 freney. Yf we can fynd a way to amend thys, we schal not gretely labour to cure the rest; for as to say, as many men dow, that the prouydence of God ordeynyth tyrannys for the punnyschment 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

Freney,<sup>1</sup>  
[\* 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

<sup>1</sup> 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, attri- but 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 attri- but thys tyranny partely to the malyce of man (who by nature ys ambyeyouse *and* of al plesure most desyrouse) *and* partely to neclygence of the pepul, wych suffer themselfys to be oppresyd therwyth. Wherfor, *Master*

To cure this frenzy, the tyranny must be taken away.

*Lupset*, yf we wyl cure thys pernyceyouse freneey, we must begyn to take away thys pestylent tyranny, the wych to dow ys no thyng hard for to deuyse.

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* justely 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 syl dome 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* faseyon, that we schal leue to partycular consyderatyon, and \*take thys for a sure ground *and* foundatyon to delyuer vs from al confusyon; for truly

909 thys ys the fyrst way wych wel *and* justely 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 succede,  
 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 *commyn* 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* repressse 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*  
 authorityte of *parliament* schold rest in thes personys:—

but P. would  
 only have the  
 Great Parliament  
 called at the  
 election of a  
 Prince.

fyrst, in iiij of the gretyst *and* aneyent lordys of the tem-  
 poralty; ij byschoppys, as of London *and* Cantorbury; 945  
 iiij of the chefe jugys; *and* iiij of the most wyse cytyzys  
 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-

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 mynystryd by the kyng *and* hys *conseyl*. But thys, 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

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.

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*, the ground of thys frency taken away; for, by the *counseyl* of thos appoyntyd to the kyng, al byschoprykys *and* grete offycys schold be dystributyd *and* gyuen; *and* al grete fautys *and* enemytes openly commyttyd schold

967 be, by theyr prudence, justely punmyschyd. Al other inferyor lordys, knyghtys, *and* gentylmen, wch dyd not theyr offyce *and* duty in admystrytyon 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.

By their advice all patronage to be bestowed, and all faults corrected,

even down to the feet of the body politic.

(35.) Thys bande of rekenyng before the *conseyl* of hyar authoryte schold make the vnder offycerys to be ware *and* dilygent to dow theyr duty; wch yf they dyd,

977 by *and* by schold folow the correctyon of the other particular fautys wch we notyd to be in the *partys* to the fetys *and* handys of the commyn wele resemblyd; the wch fautys were no thyng els but other necligence of

Goute.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

the pepul, or els, at the lest, spryngyng<sup>1</sup> 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 neelygence of the pepul or vayn occupatyon. Wherfor, yf such neelygence, *perceyuyd and* prouyd at courtys openly in euery vyllage *and* towne, bothe of plowmen *and* artysanys, were by the offycerys punnyshyd by certayn payn fortytyd, *preserybyng* the same, you schold haue bothe craftys bettur occupyd, *and* also the ground more dilygently tyllyd; speccially 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 neelygence *and* grete lake in the applyng 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.

The ground lies untilld through negligence of the people.

If this were punished, people would be better occupied, and ground better tilled;

989

especially if the statute of enclosure were put in force.

996

[\* Page 26.]

(35.) Thys goute, bothe in the fete *and* handys, schold be much therby easyd, speccially 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* punnyshyd. Of the wych thyngys the offycerys schold haue as much regard as of robberyng *and* adultery, the wych spryng vudowtydly out of thes fountayns 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 *commyunly*. 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 mysery *and* myschefe, as they dow the dowarys therof,

1001

P. would also have all drunkards and gamblers punished.

Such offences to be carefully observed by the officers appointed.

1009

1014

- 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 remoung 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 neelygence of the pepul? Vndowtdly thys ys the chefe cause therof *commynly*. Wherfor, fyndyng mean that they pepul may be *compellyd* to dylygent \*exereyse of theyr offyce *and* duty, therto
- Penury.<sup>1</sup>  
Poverty the result of negligence.
- [\* Page 27.]
- 1036 folowyth forth wythal abundance of thyngys necessary; speccially yf to that were joynyd a nother ordynance<sup>2</sup> (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 apou any parte, wythout equitye. And, concernyng thys mater, thys ys the chefe poynte: that the marchauntys eary 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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.<sup>2</sup> MS. *nordynance*.

Thys thyng, put in vse *and* in executyon, schold be a grete ground of al abundaunce *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 England ; though hyt be profytabul both to the prynee *and* to the marchant also. For by thys mean the clothynge of England ys in vtur dekey—the gretyst destructyoun that euer cam to our reame, *and* the gretyst ruyne of many craftys wych long to the same. Wherfor, yf thys stapul were broken or otherwyse redressyd, *and* clothynge set vp in England agayne, thys ys sure :—the com-  
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 prynee wold study therto, in whose powar hyt lyth chefely such thyngys to helpe. Ther be marchant *men* that, by the helpe of the \*prynee, wyl vndertake in few yerys to bryng clothynge to as grete *perfectyoun* as hyt ys in other *partys*, wych, yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the gretyst *buzyte* to inrese the ryches of England 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  
cloths, too, made at home Clothynge.<sup>1</sup>

1055

1061

would not at first be so good,

1066

but in a few years would [\* Page 28.] be as well made as the foreign cloths.

1074

Marchantys,<sup>1</sup> Lead and tin are now carried out and brought back manufactured.

1082

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

1084 marchaunt must be prohybytyd to bryng in any such thyngys wych may be made by the dyligence of our owne men. Wyne, ueluettyes, *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

Wines, velvets, and silks, may be brought in.

Common taverns to be forbidden. They cause much misery.

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 *consy*deryd. Hyt ys to be reseruyd. But thes offycerys must be appoyntyd wyse *and* expert men in euery grete

1098 eyte, hauen, *and* port.

(35.) And here a nother poynt for to ayd the abundance cumyth to my remembrance—I thynke [it] gud

Customs' dues to be abated. Custume.<sup>1</sup>

*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 ordeyneyd that our owne marchauntys schold cary out *and* bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, *and* not vse the

English vessels should be employed.

1111 straungerys schyppys as they now dow ; by the reson wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. \*A nother grete thyng ther 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 dyligent in reryng of al maner of bestys *and* catayl ; for by theyr neclygence vndowtydly rysyth a grete parte of the dARTH of al such thyngys as for fode

Farmers to be constrained to rear more cattle.

[\* Page 29.]

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

- ys necessary : for the lake of such thyngys, causyd by such neclygence, ys one chefe cause<sup>1</sup> 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 sayd before ; for yf they fermerys pay much *rent*, and more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of neces- syte : for he that byth dere may sel dere also iustely. 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 Englonde floryschyd ; for now they are brough[t] almost to the mysery of Fraunce, by the yl governance of late days, and auaryce of the hedys and rularys of them. Thys ground must be take away, 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, wych commyth al out of the cuntrey. And, consequently, when vytayl ys dere, then they craftysman must nede sel hys ware aftur the same rate ; for hyt costyth hym more in nurychyng hys famyly and artyfycerys therof 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 dyligence and labur of the pepul.
- (35.) Wherfor we may surely conclude, that yf thys thyngys were rémedyd aftur thys maner, both concernyng marchantys, laburarys of the ground, and fermerys therof, we schold in few yerys haue abundance of al thyng aftur the old maner ; we schold haue thys miser- abul pouerty taken away. For, as for beggarys lusty and strong, ye, and thefys also, schold be but few or non at al of that sorte as they be now. For yf thys multytude of seruyng men were \*plukkyd away aftur the maner as I schowyd you before, the rote of al that sorte schold
- 1119
- Rents are raised ; this is another evil.
- 1125
- England is brought almost to the misery of France.
- 1132
- All kinds of victuals are dearer than they were.
- 1139
- If these ills were remedied, there would be plenty instead of dearth ;
- 1147
- thieves would be but few,
- [\* Page 30.]
- 1153

<sup>1</sup> MS. chause.

- 1154 vturly perysch. *And* as for thos the wych nature hath  
 and impotent  
 people easily  
 nourished,  
 brought[t] forth *impotent*, or by syknes are fallen therto,  
 they schold be but few, *and* easely schold be nuryschyd,  
 as they are in  
 now in Flanders.  
 aftur a maner lately deuysyd by the wyselome of the  
 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  
 exercesyth wel the pytuose myndys of them wych haue  
 enough, *and* puttyth them in remembrance of the *im-*  
 1165 becyllite 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*  
 Abundance.<sup>1</sup>  
 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*  
 L. asks about the  
 ornaments of the  
 commonwealthe.  
 welth also, yf we wyl make the *perfayt* state before  
 1177 descrybyd.

37. *Pole*.—Thes ornamentys, *Master Lupset*, of *com-*  
 myn welys, as gudly cytes, castellys, *and* townys, wyl sone  
 Bewty.<sup>1</sup>  
 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 thervnto; for wher as ys ryches *and* abundance,  
 1183 ther wyth a lytyl dylygence wyl sone 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.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.



- reforming of al such *commyn* plaecs 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 elennes 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, helping euer to set al such thyng  
 forward as *perteynyth* to the ornamentys of the cyte. **1201**  
 They may not *contynnally* 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  
 sparkyld 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  
 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  
 theyr housys, *and* sometymys ther to be resydent. The  
 gret lordys *and* gentylnen wych for theyr plesure folow  
 the court, wythout offyce or dygnyte, must be causyd  
 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  
 dylygence 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 conuenient 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,
- 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 requyrd to thys *commyn* wel, the
- 1236 wych we haue before descrybyd. Wherfor, *Master Lupset*, we may now, consequently, procede to correcte the fantys 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
- 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.

as well as all ornaments suitable to our country.

[\* Page 32.]

We may now correct the faults in the policy, and administration of the commonwealth.

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[CHAPTER II.]

- I. *Lvpset*.—Syr, for as much as I remembyr the knot betwyx the body *and* the soule, *and* the *commynon* betwyx them also to be of that sorte that they
- 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 shew more at large how thys body schold be kept *and*

L. thinks Pole might go on

to show how this

*conseruyd* continually in helth, *and* in thys *prosperouse* state wych you haue deserybyd.

body may be kept in health.

2. *Pole.*—Why, *Master Lvpset*, dow you not perceyue how that schal folow of necessitye 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 ys in mannys body, to the wych I oft resembyl the same, wherin you see the *conseruatyon* therof? In helth *and* *prosperouse* state muche hangyth upon the *temperance* *and* soburnes of the mynd, in so much that you 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 manifest *and* playn; as ouer much or lytyl exereyse, or abydyng in some pestylent *and* corrupt ayre, *and* \*such other lyke. Euen so hyt ys in this polytyke body, be you assuryd, yf we may fynd the mean now, in thys our *communcatyon* folowyng, to correcte the fautys in our 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 the gud ordur *and* pollycy that therein ys vsyd, hath contynuyd aboue a thousand yerys in one ordur *and* 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. Therefore, *Master Lupset*, by statute made *and* *commynly* receyuyd concernyng our dyat, we must be *compellyd* at the fyrst to folow thys *men* in soburnes *and* *temperance*; *and* then you schold neuer haue any occasyon to dowte therof nor feare the stabylete of our *prosperouse* state *and* gud pollycy. Speecyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur *and* rule, that they schal rest no faute thereyn; for that ys the sure ground of the *conseruatyon* of the *commyn* wele in the polytyke

P. answers, health must of necessity follow cure.

15

In health, much depends on temperance.

Sober men are healthy and wealthy.

22

[\* Page 83.]

And so it is in the body politic,

28

of which Venice is an evidence,

34

and we by statute made, must follow her example. We must be compellyd to practise soberness and temperance.

41

45

Causes of ruin of countries.

body. For, as you see manifestly dayly, the ruyn of countreys, cytes, *and* townys, rysyth cuer of thys ground commynly, that ys to say, other of some tyranny, or  
49 sedyeyon made by the reson of some mysordur in the polytyke gouernance *and* rule.

L. 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 sedyeyon, *and* ruyn of al cyuylte, therfor we must aboue al pro-  
58 uydre that to hyt in our countrey 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* vnruylid affectys gouerne *and* reyne in hys ordur of lyfe; ye, *and* the bettur  
[\* Page 31.] helth of body *and* more abundance \*of ryches that he

An oppressed country must be wretched.

64 hath *and* of wordly prosperyte, the more myserabul he ys, *and* ful of wrechydnes; so ys a countrey, cyte, or towne, when hyt ys oppressyd wyth tyranny—though hyt be neuer so wel replenyschyd wyth pepul helthy *and* welthy, *and* ormate 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 readmys runnyth in at thys hole (that ys to say, by

we must, to avoyd tyranny, take care that he

† 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 princely state, as we haue prouyd before, ys most comenyent 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 lyberty *and* wyl. For thys cause the most wyse men, *consydering* 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 comenyent 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 nedelyth, 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 frency therof; *and* the rest now we schal joyne in hys place. Our old aunceturys, the instytutarys of our lawys *and* ordur of our reame, *consydering* 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 Englund, to *conturpayse* the  
authoryte of the prynee *and tempur* the same; gyuyng  
hym authoryte to cal a parlyament in such case as the  
prynee wold run into any tyranny of hys owne heddy  
jugement. But forbycause thys offyce semyd to the

122 prynee 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 pryneys of our tyme  
haue thys offyce vturly suppressyd; therfor, for the  
avoydng of al such occasyon of any dangerouse sedy-

but now the  
office is sup-  
pressed,

127 cyon betwyx the pryneys of our reame *and* hys  
nobylyte, me semyth much more conuenyent, as I haue  
showyd before, to gyue thys authoryte vnto dyuerse,  
*and* not to one; euen lyke as the authoryte of the  
prynee may not rest in hym alone, but in hym, as the  
hede, joynyd to hys counsel, as to the body. Aftur the  
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 poynt

it would be better  
to give the  
authority to  
several than to  
one,

allowing the  
Constable to be  
the chief.

[\* Page 36.1]

137 chely: —that ys to say, to see vnto the lyberty of the  
hole body of the reame, *and* to resyst al tyranny wych  
by any maner may grow apou 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 Englund, 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 prynee 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-

<sup>1</sup> 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 prynee 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 prynee, *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 eyuyle, *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 eyuyle *and* another of the *commyn law*—*and* iiij of the nobylte, 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 plesse hym. *And* so by thys counseyl the chefe mater *and* cause of al *sedyeyon* 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 *sedyeyon* 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 *sedyeyon* schalbe take away *vnlowtydly*. Thys conseyl, therfor, schold be a grete *and* a wondrous 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Matters of peace and war debated in the king's council must be confirmed by this council of the parliament.

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* proprur of the *prynce*, schold euer be *confyrmyd* by them *and* authorysyd by theyr *consent*. Al other thyngys *perteynnyng* to the

Thus we should avoid tyranny and sedition.

196 kyng *and* *prynce*ly powar, as I sayd befor, to heng only upon 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 suc-

202 cessyon 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 reheryd, somewhat to be tem-

207 pryd *and* brought in ordur.

[\* Page 37.]  
L. would have the prince chosen by the old families.

5. *Lvpset*.—Yes, *Sir*, that I must nede graunt, except I wold admyt playn *tyranny*, wych wyl not agre wyth our *communcatyon* 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 *confusyon*.

P. says there is no great ambition in Venice, nor would there be with us if our king's power were restrained.

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 *ambyceyouse* 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-  
 scribyd. Wheras now *euery man* desyryth hyt by-  
 cause he may make hymselfe *and* al hys frendys for Now every man  
desires the office  
for selfish ends.  
*euery ryeh*; he may subdue hys enemys at hys plesure;  
 al ys at hys *commandement and* wyl. *And* thys hathe  
 mouyd *euyle war* in tyme past, notwythstondyng thys 228  
*ordynance of successyon*. But we wyl not entur no  
 ferther in dysputacyon now, for as much as I remembyr  
 we haue resonnyd upon thys mater before, *and* playnly  
 concludyd the best way, yf men wold lyfe in euyle  
 lyfe togyddur, to haue a pryuce 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.

7. *Lypset*.—Thys ys vudowtydly troth. The powar In all this L.  
coneurs, and  
says if this re-  
straint were  
established, all  
disorders would  
be cured.  
 of the pryuce wold, aftur such faseyon, be restreynyd  
*and* brought to ordur; *and*, aftur my mynd, hyt ys the  
 chefe grounde *and* pryucepall 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* easly insue.

8. *Pole*.—That ys troth, Master *Lypset*, wythout P. says, True;  
physicians say,  
when they haue  
removed the  
cause of the  
malady,  
 fayle, as we schal see in our processe more playn. For  
 as physyeyonys say, when they haue remouyd the chefe  
 cause of the malady *and* dyscease 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-  
 [\* Page 38.]  
 Nature cures the  
 patient.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

- 257 fore spoken of, wych was *and* ys the cause of many other, onys *per*faytly curyd, schal mynystur vnto vs the most *com*uenient 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 nobylyte, wych, for the most *parte*, are nuryschyd wyt[h]out cure, bothe of theyr parentys being alyfe, *and* much wers of them in whose ward *comm*ynly 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* man knowyth, succede infynyte myserys *and* mysorduryes of lyfe. Wherfore thys thyng must be remedyd, yf we wyl procede to our end *and* purpos. *And*, fyrst, as *con*cernyng the wardys ; of thys we must begyn al our old barbarouse custumys vtterly to abrogate, wythout respecte of the begynnynge in therof, though they appere *neuer* so gud. And *eu*er they wych haue the nobylyte in ward must be bounden to make a rekenyng *and* count before a iuge 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 *eu*er yet I knew, a gret lake *and* neelygence of them wych rule in *comm*yn pollycy ; *and* that ys thys :—that in no cuntre ther ys any regard of the bryngyng vp of vtle in *com*myn dysepylyne *and* publyke exercyse. But *euery* man pryuatly in hys owne house hathe hys mastur to instructe hys chyldur in letturys, wythout any respecte of other exercyse in other featys *per*teynyng to nobylyte no les then lernyng *and* letturys, as in al featys of chyualry. Therfor ther wold be some ordynance denysyd for the joynyng of thes bothe \*togyddur, wych mygh[t] be

Another fault is in the bringing up of the nobility.

Wardys.<sup>1</sup>  
Our customs relating to wards must be abrogated, and those who have care of wards must be made to render accounts,

Educatyon.<sup>1</sup>

and to bring up their wards not only exercised in letters, but in feats of arms.

[\* Page 39.]

<sup>1</sup> 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, Public schools should be established, and the nobles compelled to send their children to them,  
 certayn placys appoyntyd for the bryngyng vp togyddur  
 of the noblyte, 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 company I wold haue appoyntyd 301  
 rularys certayn of the most vertuse and wyse men of the  
 reame, the wych schold instruct thys vthe towhomeschold  
 come the gouernance aftur of thys our commyn wele.<sup>1</sup>

Here they schold be instructe, not only in vertue and lern- to be instructed in learning and feats of war.  
 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

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 deuise wyl lytyl awayle. I thynk hyt wyl neuer 313  
 be possybul to instytute our commyn wele wythout thys  
 ordynance brough[t] to passe and put in effect.<sup>2</sup> Our  
 old fatherys haue byn lyberal in byldyng grete abbeys

and monasterys for the exereyse of a monastycal lyfe Abbeys have done much good;  
 among relygyouse men, wych hath downe much gud to 318

the vertuese luyng of Chrystyan myndys; whose ex- change some of these to institutions for the sons of nobles.  
 ampul I wold that we schold now folow in byldyng  
 placys for the instytutyon of the noblyte, or els in  
 chaungyng \*some of thies to that vse, because ther be [\* Page 10.]

<sup>1</sup> To thys vse turne both Westmester and Saynt Albony, and many other.

<sup>2</sup> Prebendys schold be premia to yong gentylmen, maryd and lernyd in scripture; by thys mean scripture schold be more communyed 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, exereyse a *certayn* monastycal dyscopylyne *and* lyfe, so they nobyllys, beyng brought vp togyddur, schold lerne ther the dyscopylyne 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 anceturyrs haue prouydyd for them, in theyr vayne plesuryrs *and* pastymys. They neuer loke to other end

332 and purpos. But here I wold haue them in thys dyscopylyne, 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

Here they should learn all which pertains to their office,

the same. Here they schold lerne how and aftur what maner they myght be abul *and* mete to dow *and* put in exereyse that thyng wych perteynyth

339 to theyr offyce *and* authoryte ; *and* so playnly *and* fully to be instructe in the admynystratyon of justyce both publyke *and* pryuate. *And*, as I sayd, at voyd tymys also conuenyent to the same, they schold vse to exereyse themselfys in featys of the body *and* chyualry, no lesse

344 expedyent for tyme of warr then the other exereyses be for tyme of peace. *And* thys they schold be worthy of the name wych we now vnworthylygyue vnto them *com-*

and become nobles indeed, and the people would be glad to be governed by them.

*myonly* ; then they schold be nobullys in dede ; then they schold be true lordys *and* masturyrs ; then they pepul wold be glad to be gouernyd by them, when they perceuyd so playnly that they regardyd the wele of them

351 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. 362

[\* Page 41.]  
and hopes we  
may live to see it.

They should be  
instructed in  
Christ's Gospel.

10. *Pole*.—Yes, Mastur *Lypset*,<sup>1</sup> 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. 369

P. says that is  
understood, and  
is the head dis-  
cipline of all;

it would do more  
than the monkish  
life which has  
been the cause of  
much supersti-  
tion.

11. *Lypset*.—Vndowtydly suchaninstytutyon schold wel remedy thys mater of the wardys, *and* bryng in a *contrary* fame into our *countrey*. 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 nobylyte, wych ys in al placys, as you sayd, more neelete then of the nobyllys theyr haukys *and* theyr houndys, of whose educatyon they haue grete cure. 375

375

L. This care of  
wards would  
bring us great  
praise;

12. *Pole*.—Syr, you say truth; *and* speecyally wyth vs, wher *gentylmen* 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 oocasyon of *tyranny* *and* ordeynyng of gud hedys, *and* now thys gud educatyon of the nobylyte—had place *and* effecte, that the remedys of al other mysorduryys schold, as I haue oft 380

380

as for the nobles,  
they think much  
of their hawks  
and hounds.

385

True, says P.;  
they study more  
to bring up good  
hounds than  
wise heirs.

389

393

<sup>1</sup> MS. *le*.

- 394 sayd, shortly be found *and* put in effect, as al other  
 mysordurys of our lawys before notyd. As, fyrst, \*re-  
 mounyng 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 fether payne or  
 punnyshment appoyntyd therto, yf the nobylte *and*  
 gentylnen of eueryschyre wold consydur theyr offyce *and*  
 duty therin ; wych ys chiefly to see justyce among theyr  
 405 *seruantys and* subiectys, *and* to kepe them in vnyte *and*  
*concorde*. Wherfor thys must be ordeynyd :—that no  
 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 upon  
 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 condemnid by  
 the authoryte of the hys 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  
 \*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

[\* Page 42.]  
 Appeal to London  
 must be  
 abolished,  
 Appellatyon.<sup>1</sup>

The duty of the  
 nobility is chiefly  
 to see justice  
 done, and to keep  
 men in unity.

No cause must  
 be removed to  
 London, except  
 such as the  
 gentlemen of the  
 shire cannot  
 determine.

The party con-  
 demned must  
 pay costs.

[\* Page 43.]

Thus contro-  
 versies would  
 easily be set at  
 rest,

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

quyetnes much ineresyd ; the wych, *Master Lvpset*, now  
 ys much trowblyd by *contentyous myndys and* froward  
 wyttys, not only of the *partys* themselfys, but also,  
 much more, by the *auaryeyouse myndys and* couetouse  
 of the *proktorys and* attorneys, wych *commynly* regard  
 more theyr owne lucr then the justyce of theyr clyentys  
 cause. Wherfor the same othe that ys mynystryd to  
 the clyent hymselfe schold be *gyuen* also to hys proktor  
 or aduocate, and also *punyschement*, not only of *per-*  
*jury*, but also of promotyng vniuste causys, wold be  
 joynyd therto. The *punyschement* schold be aftur thys  
 sort : bycause he for hys lucr deludyth bothe *partys*  
*and* *prolongyth* the *controuersy* by hys crafty wytt, when  
 so euer hyt myght be manyfestely prouyd, *and* hys  
 conetouse 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-  
 fraudyd 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 attorneys *and* prokturys to refrayne from theyr  
 crafty *imentyonys* ; 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 upon them before *pre-*  
*serybyd* ; 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 lerynyng 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,  
Advocatus.<sup>1</sup>

460

and he would only  
admit the virtuous  
and honest to  
practise ;

<sup>1</sup> 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, suffyeyently 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 rehersyd) 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-  
 nysyd. The suttlyty 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  
 authorityte. The jugys are not bounden, as I vnderstond,  
 to folow them as a rule, but aftur theyr owne lyberty,  
 they haue authorityte to iuge, accordyng as they are \* in-  
 structyd by the sergeantys, *and* as the cyrcumstance of  
 the cause doth them moue. *And* thys makyth iuge-  
 494 mentys *and* proesse of our law to be wythout end *and*  
 infynyte ; thys causyth sutys to be long in decysyon.  
 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 Romaynys, to bryng  
 499 thys infynyte *proesse* to certayn endys, to cut away
- the subtlety of  
 one overthrows  
 the judgment of  
 many.
- Judges are not  
 bound to follow  
 the laws.
- [\* Page 45.]
- To remedy this,  
 we should follow  
 the example of  
 Justinian,



thys long lawys, *and*, by the wysdome of some poly-  
 tyke *and* wyse men, instytute a few *and* bettur lawys  
*and* ordynanceys. The statutys of kyngys, also, be ouer-  
 many, euen as the *constytutyonys* of the emperorys  
 were. Werfor 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  
 also afturward lerne many thyngys to helpe thys pro-  
 fessyon. Thys ys one thyng necessary to the educatyon  
 of the nobylte, 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  
 schold see al causys *and* controuersys decydyd by rulys  
 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 *Lypset*, ys a grete  
 blote in our pollycey, to see al our law *and* commyn  
 dyseplyne wryten in thys barbarouse langage, wych,  
 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* tyrannycal,  
 as you haue before hard. Werfor, yf we wyl  
 euer bryng in true cyuylte into our cuntrey by gud  
 pollycey, 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  
 pryneys housys *and* lordys conuenient that the eldyest  
 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 famylys *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

who instituted  
 but few laws and  
 ordinance.

The statutes of  
 kings also are too  
 many.

The laws want  
 to be made few  
 in number, and  
 written in Eng-  
 lish or Latin,

508

513

not in this bar-  
 barous tongue,  
 Old French.

519

Besides which,  
 many of the laws  
 are barbarous and  
 tyrannical,

524

and must be  
 abrogated.

[\* Page 46.]

Primogeniture  
 conuenient for  
 the few.

535

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
- 540 almost of al Chrystyan natyons. The wych thyng vndowtydly schold be occasyon of infynyte gudnes in the ordur of our reame, the wych I coud schow you manyfestely, but the thyng hyt selfe ys so open *and* playn, that hyt nedyth no declaratyon at al ; for who ys so
- 545 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 consydeyryth 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 aunceyent *and* nobyl monument of the Romaynys prudence *and* pollycey, the wych be so wryte wyth such graunte, that yf Nature schold hyrselfe prescrybe partycular meanys wherby mankynd schold obserue hyr lawys, I thynke sche wold admyt
- 558 the same ; speecyally, 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 noblyte 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*, peraventure, much bettur also. For though thes lawys wych I haue so prayssyd be *commyn*
- 566 among them, yet, bycause the noblyte 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 ruine of al
- 571 gud ordur *and* cyuylte. Wherfor, *Master Lypsel*, 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 eyuyle law of the Romaynys to be the commyn law here of Englonde *with vs*; *and*, secondary, that the nobylite in theyr youth schold study *commynly* therein—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 now, 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. And as touchyng the intaylyng of landys, surely thys band wold be broke, wych now puttyth the heyrys out

P. answers, a good prince would soon bring it about,

590

it only requires authority.

He proceeds to discuss the succession to, and entailment of, lands.

[\* Page 48.]

598

Younger sons should have a portion of the inheritance.

604

The entailment 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 dysheryte hys chyld.

and the father  
 have liberty to  
 disinherit the son  
 for just cause.

L. answers that  
 this was a Roman  
 ordinance.

17. **Lepset.**<sup>1</sup>—*Sir*, thys was the ordynance of the  
 Romany, 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 quykly, 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* *prinate* successyon, intaylyng of landys  
 629 *and* long sutys of the law, you haue sayd metely wel.

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[CHAPTER III.]

L. asks what of  
 theft and  
 treason ?

P. Remove the  
 cause, and you'll  
 [\* Page 49.]  
 soon find the  
 remedy.  
 Theft.<sup>2</sup>

1. [**Lupset.**]—But now for theft *and* treson, what  
 wyl you say ?

2. **Pole.**—Fyrst (as in the other spoken of before)  
 remone the cause, *and* schortly \*you schal fynd remedy.  
 The cause of theft, chefe *and* pryneypal, 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-

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Lep*.

<sup>2</sup> In margin of MS.

mouyd; notwystondyng, yf the frailty of man fal 9  
 thervnto, *and* speecyally to prey theft, as pykyng *and* If a man fall to  
 stealyng seerety, I wold thynke hyt gud that the picking and  
 felon schold be take *and* put in some commyn worke, stealing,  
 as to labour in byldyng the wallys of eytes *and* townys, take him and put  
 or els in some other magnyfyeal work of the prynee of 14 him to work ;  
 the reame, wych payne schold be more greuse to them this would be  
 then deth ys reputyd; *and* so by theyr lyfe yet the more grievous  
 the commyn welth schold take some profyt. For, as we than death,  
 resonyd before, dethe ys ouer-strayte punnyschment which is a  
 for al such theft pryuely commyttyd; but robbery by severe for such  
 the hye ways, wyth murdur *and* mansloughtur, wold theft; but high-  
 be, as hyt ys, justely wyth most eruel deth punnyschyd. way robbers and  
 And in lyke maner treson, wych ys the gretyst faute murderers must  
 that may be agayn the ordur of the commyn wele. suffer death;  
 How be hyt, thys semyth ouer-hard to punnysch the and so must  
 chyld for the fatherys offence, being nothyng prey nor treason be  
 consentyng therto. Wherfor, in such case reyson punished.  
 requyryth a poreyon of hys godys to remayne to hys Treson.<sup>1</sup>  
 hayre. And lyke wyse he that bryngyth not probabul 24  
 argument *and* grete lykelyhood, wyche takyth upon But even then a  
 hym the accusatyon in treson, schold be punnyschyd portion of the  
 wyth the same punnyschement; for hyt ys no smal goods should go  
 mater to accuse a man of. But yf tyranny were taken to the heir.  
 away, as we haue declaryd before, you schold neuer 29  
 haue occasyon of treson; for tyranny ys the mother of 34  
 treson. Therfor surely thys ys a gospel word:—take Take away  
 away tyranny, *and* you schal haue lytyl occasyon of tyranny, and you  
 treson. shall have little  
 treason.

3. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, as you sayd, dowtles the correct- L. thinks most  
 yng of that faute amendyth, *consequently*, *infynye* faults may be  
 \*other. I thynke ther be but few fantys in our com- attributed to that,  
 myn wele but they may be resoluyd to that pryncypal, or to the ill educa-  
 or els to the yl educatyon *and* instructyon of the tion of the  
 noblyte. nobility.

43

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

Plato in his Commonwealth laboured to instruct his governors,

4. *Pole*.—Hyt ys not for nought be you assumyd that the most wyse phylosopher Plato, in hys *commyn* wel that he deuyth, 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 spottyd 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 cyule lyfe schold some be redressyd *and* brought to gud ordur ; of the wych I thynke now, *Master Lypsset*, we haue here suffyciently 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.

because good rulers are "lively laws,"

and a good prince will soon remedy all things ;

wythout one, all counsel is void.

Let us now go to the correction of the faults of the spirituality.

Pope.<sup>1</sup>

(4.) For as the prynce by prerogatyne *and* pryuylege brekyth the ordur of the lawys *and* the knot of al cyuylyte, so doth the Pope *and* hede of the Church, vsurpyng authoryte of dyspensatyon apou al \*the lawys by general counseyl decreed, wythout *communying* wyth hys counseyl  
72 of Cardynallys wych are appoyntyd, 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 authoryte of the

[\* Page 51.]

Cardinals ought to be elected, not made by money.

<sup>1</sup> In margin of MS.

general conseyll, accordyng to the law redresse such *con-* 79  
*trouersys, and* by equitye *and* ryght defyne the same.

Wheras, as now, *contrary* to the instytutyon *and* fyrst  
 ordur, the Pope, by hys *propur* authoryte, vsurpyng a  
*certayn* clokyd tyranny vnder the pretext of relygyon,  
 defynyth al, *and* dyspensyth wyth al at his owne  
 lyberty. Wherfor I wold wysch in no case that we 85

The Pope usurps  
 authority,  
 under the pretext  
 of religion.

schold hang upon 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 counseyll; 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  
 must be had, that ther be no cause sewyd out of the  
 reame, except causys of seysme in the fayth wych per-  
 teyn to the dyssolutyon of the vnyon of the Catholyke  
*and* Chrystyan fayth. Such causys we schold reserve 95

An ordinance  
 must be had that  
 no cause be sued  
 out of the realm,  
 except schism.

to hym as hed appoyntyd by *commyn* authoryte; *and*  
 as for al other *controuersys*, I wold they schold be de-  
 fynyd 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

This has been a  
 great ruin to  
 England,

hath byn one of the gretyst ruynys that euer hath come  
 to the reame of Englund, as I coul, by many storys,  
 both old *and* of late days, playnly declare. But thys  
 ys to no \*man vnknowen. I wyl therof cesse. Wher-  
 for I wold that we schold in no case medyl wyth that

[\* Page 52.]  
 as is well known.

authoryte, but only in such case as I sayd before, wych 106  
 tend to open heresy. *And* so for the recognyssance of  
 thys superyoryte, I wold that our reame schold pay

Our realm should  
 pay its Peter  
 pence.

thys Peter pens, releysyng thes annatys, wych ys  
 euer chargebul to our reame, except of the Archebys-  
 choppys, whome I wold schold be instytute by the  
 Pope, but electyd at home, *and* of them haue a certayne;  
 but al other byschoppys schold be instytute by the  
 Archbyeschoppys here in our owne cuntre, *and* schold

Archbishops  
 instituted by the  
 Pope, but elected  
 at home;

but bishops  
 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, gyuyng to hym that wych schold be dystributyd 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 hubburys seruyng to the

127

same purpos in our owne natyon ?

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

P. goes on to note a fault in bishops and abbots.

133

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 conuenyent to hys dygnyte. Other prouysyon then thys

Bishops ought to diuide their possessions into 4 parts :

1. To build churches ;
2. to maintain poor youths in study ;
3. to maintain poor maids ;
4. to support themselves.

[\* Page 53.]

145

They should be resident. Abbots and priors should be chosen every 3 years ;

nedyth not at al, sayyng that I wold haue them to be resydent apou theyr sees, except such as were necessary aboute the prynce. And as touchyng abbotys *and* priorys in our cuntrey, I wold non other but only the ordur of the monkys of Italy ; that ys to say, that euery iij yere

150

to chose theyr abbotys *and* priorys, *and* ther to gyue



rekenyng of theyr offyces *commynly*, *and* to lyue among  
 hys bretherne, *and* not to tryumph in theyr chamburys  
 as they dow; wch causyth al the eny in the cloysturys, and should live  
among their  
brethren.

*and* ys the occasyon of the grete spens of the intrat of  
 the monastery; for to hys tabul resortyth the idul  
*company* 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  
 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. 153

(6.) Aftur thys maner, *Master Lypset*, *consyderyng*  
 that they wch haue grete possessyons 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 There should be  
some power to  
regulate the  
expenses of those  
who have great  
possessions.

of the same, hyt ys then mete that the mater schold be  
 had in *consyderatyon* of them wch bere rule in *com-*  
*my*n authority. Wherfor the old Romanys made a law  
 agayn prodygalyte, *constraynyng* men to frugalyte, wch  
 ys to a *commyn* wele the ground of al other vertues. 169

Therfor, lyke ordynance as ys *determyd* to byschoppys,  
 wold be *proporecyonably* 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 The Romans con-

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 wch are *parsonys* *and* curatys schold  
 be bounden to dystribut that wch they haue *superfluose*  
 among the pouerty of theyr *parreysch*; *and* so they schold  
 also be *constreynyd* to be resydent apon theyr *burfyces*,  
 ther to preche *and* tech the Gospel of Chryste, *and* see  
 the dystributyon of theyr godys themselfys; except 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,

the dystributyon of theyr godys themselfys; except 186

except a few in  
eathedral  
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

None ought to be  
admitted priests  
under 30 years  
of age,

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

and after proof  
of virtue.  
[\* Page 55.]

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 wythout 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 Lypset, in euery

207 place. Of thys fountayn spryngyth al the sklandur of the Church by mysbehayour. Wherfor, yf thys hole were stoppyd, surely the gretyst cause of al faultys in the Church of Chryst schold be taken away wythal, the wych remedyd, schold be a grete occasion of the remedy

Thus the greatest  
cause of faults  
would be re-  
moved.

212 of the hole body ; for as much as they *commyn* pepul loke chefely to the lyfe of prelatys *and* prestys, takyng theyr exampl of the ordur of theyr lyfe. Wherfor,

Master Lypset, as we dyd schow a general mean of the bryngyng vp of nobilyte wych schold be in the *temporalty*, rularys, *and* hedys, so now a lytyl we must touch

218 the bryngyng vp of the vthe determyd to the *spiritualty* *and* exerceyse therin. *And*, breuely to say, for as much as the Latyn tong *and* the Greke be the ground of lernyng, in the study wherof they must spend theyr vthe, ther must be certayn *and* gud scolys instytute wyth

He would have  
schools instituted,

- prudent masters *and* wel lernyd to instructe thys cum- 223  
pany. Hyt were no thyng amys to put ij or iij of thes  
smal scolys of x<sup>li</sup> 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] 228  
vp in lernyng a wyle, such as he schold juge mete  
wyttys, wyth other lernyng men appoyntyd to the juge-  
ment 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. 233
- (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 238  
the other. \*For the lernyng wythout vertue ys perny-  
cyouse *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 246  
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  
nobylyte, 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 254  
haue wryte in the same mater, whose counseyl I wold  
to God we myght fulfyl. Among thes, of late days the  
Byschope of Carpenteras, one of the wysyst men of our  
tyme, hath put forth a boke. Hyt schalbe now our
- and thinks it  
would be better  
to put several  
small schools to-  
gether to make  
one good one.
- From such  
schools those who  
were found meet  
should go to the  
universities.
- [\* Page 56.]  
Learning without  
virtue is per-  
nicious.
- Virtue in the  
universities and  
grammar schools  
is neglected.
- The order of  
study in the  
universities  
wants amending,  
but the subject  
is too long to  
discuss.
- The Bishop of  
Carpenteras has  
written an ex-  
cellent book, and  
our prince should

put his counsell  
into effect.

duty only to *persuade* our prynce to put thys same hys  
*conseyl* 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 deuysyd.

[\* Page 61.]

\* And thys, *Master Lypset*, I thynke we haue schowyd  
in *general* the mean to correct the errorys before of vs  
*observyd and* notyd, except you remembyr any other.

266 7. *Lypset*.<sup>2</sup>—*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.

L. asks about  
certain officers  
which we lack in  
this country.

8. *Pole*.—*Master Lypset*,<sup>2</sup> 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  
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.

P. would have  
in every great  
city an officer to  
see that all other  
officers did their  
duty.

9. *Lypset*.—You say veray wel. Thys offyce was  
the thyng that chiefely *conseruyd* the state of Rome,  
*and* was among the Romaynys of hys 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

L. says this  
censor conserved  
Rome, and was of  
high authority.

He would have  
another to see  
[\* Page 62.]  
after the orna-

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Le.

pertheynth to the ornamentys of the cyte, *and* to the helth of the same, wych as in Rome were callyd Ediles, as you wold say, gouernowrys of *templys and* housys, so wyth vs they schold be callyd ouersearys of the cyte. 297

Of thes ij offyceys we haue grete lake: one to se to the pollycey pryneypally, *and* another to ouer-se such thyngys as *pertheyne* to the helth, welth, *and* ornamentys of the cytes *and* townys; vnder whose authoryte *and* jurysdycyon al other vnder offycerys schold be, wych haue *partycular* cure of certayn thyngys *pertheynyng* to the same. I wold haue no offyceer of cyte nor towne to be exempt from theyr authoryte, but as they mygh[t], apou lawful profys of neclygence of euery one, put them out of theyr offyce *and* dygnyte; the wych thyng schold cause al vnder offycerys, *partely* for feare *and* *partely* for schame, to regard such thyng wyth cure *and* dylygence as *pertheynyth* to them; *and* so, by thys mean, our polytyke body schold be kept in ordur *and* rule, aftur the maner wych we haue before deuysyed. 307

10. [Pole.]—So that, *Master Lvpset*, now apou thys poynt let vs *conclude and* make an end of our *communitatyon*, that yf we myght now fynd the meane to \*correct thes *general* errorys, wych we haue notyd, and speecyally by thys gud *educatyon* of the nobylite *and* of clerkys, of whome we schold aftur haue they hedys *and* rularys, ther ys no dowte but that we schold other haue a veray true *commyn* wele before describyd, or els, at the lest, one that schold most nere of al other *approch* thervnto. For 312

by thys mean we schold haue a multytud of pepul *conuenyent* to the place, floryschyng wyth al *abundance* of exteryor thyngys requyryd to the bodyly welth of man; the wych, lyuyng *togyddur* in cyuyle lyfe, *gouernyd* by polytyke ordur *and* rule, schold *conspyre* *togyddur* in annyte *and* loue, euery one glad to helpe a nother to hys powar, to the intent that the hole myght attayn to that *perfectyon* wych ys *determyd* to the dygnyte of manys 321

[\* Page 57.]  
By good *educatyon* of our nobles and elergy, we should have a true *commonwealt*, or a near *approch* to it:—  
a multitude of people; abundance of necessaries;  
love one to another;  
and perfection.

330 nature, by the gudnes of God ; the wych ys the end of  
al lawys *and* ordur, for wych<sup>1</sup> 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 cation, 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  
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

but doubts the  
ability of the law  
to bring man to  
this perfect con-  
dition.

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 punyschement, 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  
wherby man may come to thys hys *perfectyon*, al our  
communycation, me thynke, ys voyd, *and* al law wyth-  
out effecte.

[\* Page 58.]

Except we  
find some other  
means, all this  
communication  
is void.

355 12. **Pole.**—Mastur Lvpset, you entur now into a  
grete mater, the wych, yf you remembyr, we touchyd  
before. Bat 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 vttylly 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.

<sup>1</sup> MS. thys wych.

of Chryst; that ys to say, hyt preparyth manns mynd 365  
to the receyving of *vertue* by profyt *and* plesure, payne  
*and* punnyshement; hyt dysposyth man some thyng to  
the way of *vertue*; ye, *and* as man ys of nature formyd  
rude *and* wythout *perfayt* knolege, hyt ys necessary to  
haue the instytutyon therof, wythout the wych al eyuyle  
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 suffycient to bryng  
man to his *perfectyon*, but to that ys requyrd a nother  
more celestyal remedy, the wych our *Master* Chryste  
*cam* to set *and* stablyseh in the hartys of Hys electe 376  
pepul. He *cam* to make *perfayt* man, *and* supply the de-  
fecte of the law, by Hys \*celestyal *and* dyuyne doctryne;  
*and* thys ys the thyng, *Mastur* *Lvpset*, that I *perceyue*  
you requyre. Thys ys the thyng wythout the wych al  
our *communyca*tyon ys voyd *and* of lytyl or no effect.  
Wherfor now remaynyth, aftur that we haue schowyd 382  
somewhat how by manns *prudence* certayn fantys *and*  
*mysorduris* in the eyuyle 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 stablyseh thys celestyal doctryne, wych our 387  
*Master* Cryste hath left here to conducte al Chrystyan  
myndys to theyr *perfectyon*.

13. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys the thyng that I dyd re-  
quyre in veray dede; but to bryng thys to passe, to  
stablyseh 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 manns labur 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  
have nothing per-

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.

fect without  
labour.

nothyng *perfayt*, wythout hys owne labour, dylygence,  
*and* cure—

403

*Virtutem posuere dii labore parandam.*

No man can  
attain honours  
without diligence.

Thys you may see in al thyngys wych *per*teyne 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

409

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 neelygent 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-

419

mysyd to al them wych, al wordly thyngys set apart,  
desyre *continually* 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

427

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  
stablysch 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 eyuyle

it comes from  
God, and is never  
given to idle  
minds.

It is proper to  
show how man  
may make him-  
self worthy of  
this doctrine.

436

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 *exampul* of our *Master Chryst*, the Christ used two  
 means to estab-  
 lish His law,—  
 wych by no *compulsyon* instytute Hys law, nor by any 1 MS. ij.  
 drede or fear of anythyng. Two<sup>1</sup> meanys I note He vsyd  
 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:  
*exampul* of lyfe *and* *exhortatyon*. By thes ij meanys Example of life  
 and exhortation ;  
 Hys *dyseypullys* dyd stablysch Hys *doctryne*, as hyt ys  
 manyfest in the Gospel of Chryst *and* story of the Church.  
 Wherfor, as the *restoryng* of the *cyuyle lyfe* stondyth 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  
 be established  
 thys *celestyal doctryne* stondyth chefely in the *offy-  
 cerys* therof; that ys to say, in the *precharys*, in the in the godly  
 living and doc-  
 trine of preachers.  
 godly *lyuyng and* *doctryne* of them. We must, therfor,  
 haue *ordynance* made, that such only may be *admyttyd*  
 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, ratlher then *teeche* hyt, by  
 their *contrary lyfe*.

15. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say *truthe*. No dowte gud No doubt, says  
 L., but how shall  
 we make them ?  
*precharys* schold help to set thys forward wondurfully.  
 But how schold we make \*them? Thys ys the *handy-  
 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 cannot do it.  
*man* alone can not in *dede* *bryng* thys *thyng* to *passe*;  
 but *man* may make *ordynance* that such only as God hath  
 made met to *prech* Hys *doctryne* schold haue *authoritye* to  
*exereyse* the same. Thys *man* may *dow*, *and* not only 472

473 thys, but ordeyn mean how man schal be brough[t] vp  
 in conuenient 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 dyuynne Erasmus, whose conseyll 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, schortly \* 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 making  
 thes precharys. Wherfor thes must be redressyd, wych  
 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,  
 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 descrybyth, *and* other wyse men of  
 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 exampl of lyfe *and* by gud

Erasmus's advice  
 to be followed in  
 the instruction of  
 preachers.

[\* Page 65.]

The universities  
 are out of order ;

of them Erasmus  
 has written  
 largely.

Heds of colleges  
 to see the young  
 brought up after  
 plans described  
 by Erasmus and  
 others.

- exhortatyon of the precharys, thys doctryne must \*be  
 taught so apou the *parte* of the pepul ther may be cer- [\* Page 66.]  
 tayne 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,  
 louyngly 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, hathe declaryd in hys boke, wych ys callyd the  
 Instructyon of a Chrystun Man. Wherfor, as *concern*-  
 yng thes *partycular*tytes, I schal referre yon 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.
- (16.) \**And* as for publyke ordynance touchyng thys [\* Page 67.]  
 thyng, I haue thys only to say, that for as much as thys  
 doctryne of Chryst ys the end *and* perfatynes of al law, 537  
*and* the veray lyfe of manys 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 *comprehende* the  
 mysterys therof prechyd *and* openyd by the precharys  
 of hyt. For thys thyng apperyth meruelouse straunge— 544
- The 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.
- 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  
 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  
 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* *com-*  
*my*nly in churchys for the pepul reheryd, to be made  
 in the vulgare tong, *and* al dyuyne *seruyce*; the wych  
 566 thyng schold cause dowteles the pepul bothe wyth  
 more effecte themselfe to pray, *and* wyth more dyly-  
 gence 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 now, as touchyng the  
 profyt of the word, betwyx a deffe man *and* hym that  
 578 vnderstandyth nothyng at al.

(16.) Wherfor, *Master Lypset*, breuely to conclude thys

[\* Page 69.]

mater, thys I thynke, that [if] \*they *precharys* were in

It is thought this  
 would be the  
 destruction of all  
 religion.

[\* Page 68.]

All public and  
 private prayers  
 should be in the  
 vulgare tongue.

To have service  
 in a strange  
 tongue is like  
 telling a tale to  
 a deaf man.

vnyuersytes wel brough[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 *comuertyd* wel *and* faythfully into our mother tong, *and* al dyuyne seruyce celebrate in the same; then, I thynke, shortly you schold see more frute of the Gospel then we haue. You schold see wythin few yers *men* wyth loue dow such thyng as now they cannot be brought to by no manys law; you schold se then both reson *and* vertue in manys lyfe to haue place; they schold then be the rularys of manys lyfe, al vayn affectys troden vnder fotte. And so, by thys mean, man, fyrst inducyd by fere of punnyshement *and* payne, *and* by desyre of honest plesure *and* profyt by law prescrybd, 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 perfayt concord *and* cyuylyte, schold attayne to the euerlastyng lyfe due to the nature of man, ordeynyd to hym by the prouydence of God *in* immortalyte. And thys, *Master Lypset*, 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 cuntry, *and* how *and* by what mean, wyth gud prudence *\*and* pollycy, they myght be correctyd *and* amendyd, as much as may be by manys powar redressyd, *and* eyuylye ordynance. For, as we haue oftymys before sayd, the chefe poynt therin lyth in God *and* in a gud prynce. Wherfor, *Master Lypset*, let vs thys make an end, bycause hyt ys late, except you haue any [thyng] in thys mater further to say.

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

This man would be gradually led towards perfection.

595

600

This 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

17. *Lypset*.—*Sir*, I haue no thyng to say but only thys. Seyng that al men, as you sayd in the begynnynge of the fyrst day's *communycatyon*, are bounden as much as they can to ferdur *and* set forward thys same true

- 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 *dylygence and* cure, apply your mynd to the redressyng of the same, seyng that we
- 622 haue now such a *prynce* as ys to be desyryd; wych nothyng els desyryth, day nor nyght, but to stablysche thys *commyn wele* among hys subiectys in thys our natyon. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, I wold in no case you schold let thys occasyon slype; lest, as I sayd at the begynnyng of our *communyeyatyon*, men justely schold accuse you
- 628 as ingrate to your owne cuntrey.

and exhorts P. not to let this occasion slip, lest men call him an ingrate.

[\* Page 71.]

P. says he shall be ready when his Prince calls him—till then he "tarrys his time."

18. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, as touchyng thys, be you assuryd, for my *partè*, 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* without the wych I wot not why I schold lyue. But in thys, *Master Lvpset*, I must tary my tyme.

- 636 19. *Lvpset*.—Thys taryng of tyme, *Master Pole*, ys the destructyon 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 ambyeyon? Nay, I wyl not dow so, but, as I sayd, I wyl tary my tyme.

Nay, says P., I will tarry.

L. urges that it is virtue, not ambition, to desire office that one may do good.

21. *Lvpset*.—Nay, but in thys me thynke you are deceuyd, to cal thys affect ambyeyon, 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 descryhyd, 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*

618

Sluggish minds live in corners,

content themselfys wyth pryuate lyfe. Wheras veray 653  
nobl hartys euer desyre to gouerne *and* rule, to the  
*commyn* wele of the hole multytude.

noble hearts  
desire to govern.

22. *Pole*.—Wel, Master Lypset, I perceyne 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 nobylte,  
the wych you say so mouyth man to set forward al gud  
*and* iust pollycey; the wych thyng at another tyme I wyl  
not refuse. But now, bycause hyt ys late, *and* perteynyth  
not greteley to our purpos, I wyl dyffer hyt tyl more  
conuenient lesur; *and* the mean tyme, of thys be you  
assuryd, in me you schal fynd no faut nor neelygence;  
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  
tyme he will give  
his mind  
whether a man  
ought to tarry till  
he be called, and  
what is true  
nobility.

661

It is late now,  
and not much to  
our purpose,

666

but I shall ever  
be ready to do  
service for my  
Prince.

671

[FINIS.]

[Note to p. 201. 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 han þet  
     him dede *a þe rode*.  
     *Ayenbite*, p. 114.  
 A, 70/55, of, or on.  
     þeos seulde *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. II. III.*  
     ii. 4.  
     I utterly *abhor*, yea, from my soul  
     Refuse you for my judge.  
 Adherentys, 77/296, adherents.  
 Annates, 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, *relustas*. *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 *auncilours* had. *L. S.* p. 71.
- Avanuce, 3/61, advance. *He . . . aunuced* hymself ryghte inheritor 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. *Besyly* with beveryne lokkes. *M. A.* 3631.
- Besyunes, 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 synnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and *bolster* vp other men in their naughtines. *L. S.* p. 155.
- Botte, 4/95, boat.
- Brene, 126/911, brief.
- Broderly, 109/311, brotherly.
- Brokarys, 83/519, brokers.
- Brokys, 16/533, brooks.
- Bunfyceal, 13/427, beneficial.
- Bunfyceys, 133/1155, benefices.
- Bunfyte, 14/481, benefit.
- Butful, 98/1023, fruitful. Halliwell says *butful*, meaning fruitful, is used by Drayton. Cp. *batten*, to fatten.
- Bylldyd, 9/280, builded.
- Byth, 175/1125, buyeth.
- Canteryng, 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. 316. Ouer night they *carded* for our english mens coates. *Percy*, B. ed. *Furnivall*, i. 125.
- Cayllatyonys, 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, ff. 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 dissemble 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.
- Commynnyng, 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.
- Comchauns, 93/865, conveyance.
- Comuehyth, 43/580, conveyeth.
- Conuersant, 23/780, conversant.
- Cormorants, 118/644, cormorants (used figuratively).
- On couctous and vnsatiabie *cor-maraunte* and very plage of his natyue contrey may compass aboute and inclose many thousand akers. *Utopia*, p. 41.
- Cornarys, 189/376, corners.
- Could, 73/144, could.
- Count, 186/276, account.
- Couplyd, 45/656, joined.
- Cumpyuable, 13/428, companionable; sociable, friendly.  
Companyable, or felawble, or felawly. *Socialis. P. P.*
- Cure, 92/825, care.
- Curyouse, 80/412, curious; nice, fastidious, dandified.
- Custommably, 30/132, by custom, habitually.  
Customably, *Consucte. solite. P. P.*
- Customyd, 138/1319, accustomed.
- Darth, 87/631, dearth.
- Debylyte, 72/103, debility.
- Defynynd, 118/641, defined, finished.  
Defyne, *definire. L.* 139.
- Descanteryys, 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 *dress* him thereto. *Maundeville*, 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 vnder-  
stonde. *Misticus. P. P.*
- Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
- Dyseeyne, 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. II.*,  
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. *ēð*,  
easy.  
Sifen 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 eleþe?  
As hos sciþ, 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 *existimatio*. *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 fangyle. B. B. p. 341.*  
Straunge, 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 kynrede 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.
- Foulyls, 78/315, fowls.
- Frank, 53/936, free.
- Frate, 172/1040, freight.  
Freythe of caryage (freycyt, 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.
- Fustyanys, 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.*
- Gardlyng, 80/406. Gard. A facing or trimming. *II.*
- 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 seyc 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. *Hedyc, effrenis. 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 *cured* nor sown. *Deut. xxi. 4.*
- Hethys, 73/148, heaths.
- Heyrys, 169/915, heirs.
- Hole, 2/22, whole, entire.  
Preche . . . . .  
Twyes or pryces in þe zere  
To þy pareth hole and fere.  
*Myrc's Instructions, p. 13.*
- Holly, 137/1292, holy.
- Holly, 150/238, wholly.
- Ile, 88/695, isle.
- Imbecyllyte, 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.*  
Whosoever for anye offense be *infamed*, by their cares hange rynges of golde. *Utopia, p. 100.*
- Ingrate, 214/628, ungrateful.
- Inhabitans, 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.
- Inyoj, 79/368, enjoy.
- Jaggyng, 80/406, cut, or slashed (applied to garments). *Iag, lucin-*

- 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. *II.*
- 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. *Leyser*, *opportunitas. 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.
- Lykkum, 83/490, } liken, to  
Lykkymyd, 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.* xlv. 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.
- Lvnelv, 63/1291, living.  
Lyvely, or qwyk, or fulle of lyyf. *Vicar. P. P.*  
Stif contemnars of gods *lyuelie* wound.  
*Lauder's Minor Poems*, 4/39.
- Magnyfycal, 176/1185, magnificent, splendid.
- Melancolyk, 58/1099, melancholic.  
Melancholy . . . a disease which proceeds from the overflowing of black choler. *P.*
- Met, 6/186, meet, worthy.  
*Met*, or fyt, or euene. *Equus. P. P.*
- Metely, 122/783, meetly, worthily.
- Mo, 59/1132, }  
Mow, 191/580, } more.
- 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.
- Neelecte, 27/17, neglect.
- Neelygence, 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, *nocuus. 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* couctous and vnsatiabie coramaraunte . . . 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.
- Ouereomyn, 43/574, overcome.
- Ouer-hye, 182/122, over high.
- Ouerlayd, 74/191, overlaid, overstocked. Oyr leydn̄, or oppressyū.  
*Opprimo. P. P.*
- Ouerse, 156/450, oversee.
- Parreysch, 201/183, parish.
- Partyes, 2/29, parts, regions.
- Passage, 134/1174. A passage, *critus. 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. fare es *peyschelle* ioy ay lastand. *Pricke of Conscience*, 7833.
- Pedagoge, 206/364, pedagogue.
- Peraurentur, 19/660, peradventure.
- Percase, 146/111, perehance.  
Percase, *forlè. 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 pecunie*, 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 *Plucards* 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 onlyc by open wronges, by *pollinge* and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie. *Utopia*, p. 62.
- Populos, 74/178, populous.
- Pretense, 67/1445, pretence.
- Pretermyt, 8/244, neglect; to leave undone.
- Proportyonabul, 79/351, proportionable.
- Pykyng, 197/10, picking; pilfering.

- 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.*
- Pyll*ed and impouershed. *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-zeuennesse, *relaxacio. P. P.*
- Reproue, 139/1374, reproof.
- Repugnyng, 11/464, "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.
- Reuenewys, 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 rotynge, *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.* 175/558.
- Now haue y shewyd yow, my son, somewhat of dyuerse Iestis  
 þat ar remembrid in lordes courte/  
 þere as all *rialte* restis.
- Rustyeyte, 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.*
- Sane, 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.*
- Seaseness, 47/714, scarceness.
- Cp.* More's *Utopia*: At the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with clothes, they esteme her *seascly* be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face). p. 124.
- Schrode, 79/357, shrewd.
- Shrewd, *prauus, malignus. L.* 49.
- Schypeotys, 72/133, sheep coats.
- Schypmen, 43/576, sailors.
- Seolastyca, 69/17, scholastical.
- Scyre, 190/408, shire. Hu he sette *sciren. Iayamon*, iii. 287.

- Seysme, 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<sup>e</sup> seab of sheepe, *mentigo*. *L. 1.*  
 Skant, 74/189, scant, scarce.  
 Skase, 87/650, scarce.  
 Sklender, 27/6, slender.  
 You shal haue but *scleuder* fare, one dish and that is al. *L. S.* p. 89.  
 Sklendurnes, 76/248, slenderness, leanness.  
 Sklendorly, 90/738, slenderly.  
 Slo, 79/377, slow.  
 Slomcryng, 5/135, slumbering.  
 And fore slewthe of *slomoure* 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.  
 Sparkylyd, 177/1205, sprinkled, scattered.  
 The chyldys clothys, ryche and gode,  
 He had *sparkylde* with that blode. *II.*  
 Spens, 201/154, expense.  
 Spot, 214/642, to spotte, *maculare*. *L.* 176.  
 He yat medleth wyth piteh is like to be *spotted* with it. *L. S.* p. 151.  
 Spottyd, 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 dangers, or risks.  
 Stablyd, 42/534, stablished.  
 Stabul, 67/1449, stable, stablish.  
 And *stables* the hert thare it restes. *H.*  
 Stabullys, 72/133, stables.  
 Stabyll, 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*, *II.*, 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 vehone *sunderlyng*  
He zaf 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, *taralio. L.* 35.  
Tasek, 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 *Hin.* 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, *translatynge*, 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. *II.*  
*Tucker*, a fuller of cloth. *P.*  
Oterey water is deuidid . . . to serve Grist and *Tukking* Milles. *Leland, H.*, iii. 55.
- Tyllarys, 49/785, tillers.
- Tyranne, 115/541, tyrant.
- Vneomly, 52/903, uncomely, uncivilized.
- Vnlusty, 79/377, unlusty, weak, powerless.
- Vnsure, 39/440, uncertain. *Vn-*sure, *incertus. L.* 83.
- Vnweldy, 79/377, unwieldy
- Vnyte, 54/983, unity.
- Vnyte, 57/1094, united.
- Vp so downe, 67/1427, upside down. *hai* 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 some doth *vade. II.*
- 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. *Wof[l]dly* matters, *Utopia*, p. 15, and *Worlleliche* þinges in *Ayenbite of Inryt*, p. 164.
- Wornyth, 76/256, wasteth, weareth. *For-weornian*, to grow old, wear away. *Weran*, to wear. *Bosworth*.
- Worstyd-makys, 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 knawyng. *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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