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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.

AND
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF THOMAS STARKEY,
EDITED BY
SIDNEY J. HERRTAGE, B.A.
(WHICH FORMS PART I. NO. XXXII, 1878.)

PART II.
LONDON:
PUBLISHT FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.,
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING-CROSS ROAD.
1871.
[Reprinted, 1898.]
Price Twelve Shillings.
Early English Text Society.

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

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

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

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

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

The Subscription to the Society, which constitutes membership, is £1 1s. a year [and £1 1s. additional for the EXTRA SERIES], due in advance on the 1st of January, and should be paid either to the Society's Account at the Head Office of the Union Bank of London, Princes Street, London, E.C., or by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N., and cross 'Union Bank of London.' (United-States Subscribers must pay for postage 1s. 4d. a year extra for the Original Series, and 1s. a year for the Extra Series.) The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists; but Members can get back-Texts at one-third less than the List-prices by sending the cash for them in advance to the Hon. Secretary.
April 1898. For this year the Original-Series Texts were issued in 1896. Those for 1899 are now ready. The texts of several other works are now printed. **Members are asked to send their two- or three-years' subscriptions for both Series at once in advance.**

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

For 1898, the Extra-Series Texts are LXXI, *The Towneley Plays*, re-edited from the unique MS. by Mr. George England, with sidenotes and Introduction by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A.; LXXII, *Hoccleve's Regement of Princes*, A.D. 1411-12, with 14 *Minor Poems*, now first assigned to Hoccleve, from the De Guilleville MS. Egerton 615, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. Furnivall; the latter forms Part III of Hoccleve's Works; LXXIII, Part II of Hoccleve's Works is Hoccleve's *Minor Poems II*, from the Yates Thompson (late Ashburnham) MS., edited by Mr. Israel Gollancz, M.A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Original-Series Texts for 1901 and 1902 will be chosen from books already at press: Part II of the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall; Mr. Gollancz's re-edited *Exeter-Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part II; Dr. Bruce's *Introduction to The English Conquest of Ireland*, Part II; Dr. Furnivall's edition of the *Lichfield Gildes*, which is all printed, and waits only for the introduction, that Prof. E. C. K. Gonner has kindly undertaken to write for the book. Dr. G. Herzfeld's re-edit of the Anglo-Saxon Martyrology is all in type. Part II of Dr. Holt- hausen's *Vices and Virtues* needs only its Glossary.
The Texts for the Extra Series in 1901 and 1902 will be chosen from The Three Kings' Sons, Part II, the Introduction &c. by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of The Chester Plays, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; the Parallel-Text of the only two MSS. of the Owl and Nightingale, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes (at press); Robert of Brunne's Handlying Synne, edited by Dr. Furnivall; Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, in English verse by Lydgate. (For the three prose versions—two English, one French—an editor is wanted.) Mr. Steele has also in type the earliest Treatise on Arithmetic, englisht from Johannes de Sacro Bosco. Some of these Texts will be ready in 1899. **Members are therefore asked to send Advance Subscriptions for 1899 and 1900.** in order that the 1899-1900 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finisht. The Society's experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furthers of the Society's purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation's thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year's work will then be ready for issue on New Year's Day. Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

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

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

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

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1 He was born about 1295. See Abbé Gourier's Bibliothèque française, Vol. IX, p. 734.—P. M.
2 These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.
3 Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.
4 According to Lord Aldenham's MS.
5 These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.
6 15th cent., containing only the Vie humaine.
22,937¹ and 25,594² are all of the First Version. Lydgate's text is in the press for the Society, edited by Dr. Furnivall.

Besides his first *Pelerinage de l'homme* in its two versions, Dugdale wrote a second, "de l'ame separée du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Jesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soole* (with poems by Hoccleve), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,³ at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Calv), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1488. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortening too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier Englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Soole* will be edited for the Society by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner after that of the *Man* is finisht, and will have Gallop's French opposite it, from Lord Aldenham's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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¹ 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.
² 14th cent., containing the *Pie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, de l'Ame: both incomplete.
³ Ab. 1430, 100 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damnd souls, fres, angels &c.
⁴ Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercell Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi,
The Original Series of the "Early English Text Society."

In case more Texts are ready at any time than can be paid for by the current year's income, they will be dated the next year, and issued in advance to such Members as will pay advance subscriptions. The 1866-7 delay in getting out Texts must not occur again, if it can possibly be avoided. The Director has in hand for future volunteer Editors, copies of 2 or 3 MSS.

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

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

ORIGINAL SERIES.

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

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

1. Early English Alliterative Poems, ab. 1380 A.D., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 16s. 1864
2. Arthur, ab. 1440, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. 1865
3. Lauder on the Dewtie of Kyngis, &c., 1556, ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. 1865
4. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, ab. 1360, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 1865
5. Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab 1617, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865
6. Lancelot of the Laik, ab. 1500, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 8s. 1865
7. Genesis & Exodus, ab. 1350, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 8s. 1866
8. Morte Arthure, ab. 1440, ed. E. Brock. 7s. 1866
9. Thynne on Speght's ed. of Chaucer, A.D. 1559, ed. Dr. G. Kingsley and Dr. F. J. Furnivall. 10s. 1866
10. Merlin, ed. 1440, Part I., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 2s. 6d. 1866
11. Lyndsey's Monarchie, &c., 1552, Part I., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. 1866
12. Wright's Chaste Wife, ab. 1462, ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 1s. 1866
13. Seinte Maerherste, 1200-1320, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne; to be re-edited by Prof. Herford, M.A., Ph.D. 1866
16. The Book of Quinte Essence, ab. 1460-70, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. [In print.]
17. Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers the Plowman, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 1s. [In print.]
18. Halie Menedden, ab. 1200, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. 1s. [In print.]
19. Lyndsey's Monarchie, &c., Part II., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. 6d. [In print.]
21. Merlin, Part II., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. [In print.]
22. Partenay or Lusignan, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 1s. [In print.]
23. Dan Michael's Avenbite of Lawyty, 1340, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d. [In print.]
24. Hymns to the Virgin and Christ; the Parliament of Devils, &c., ab. 1430, ed. F. J. Furnivall. [At Press. 1867]
25. The Stacions of Rome, the Pilgrims' Sea-voyage, with Clene Maydenhed, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. [In print.]
27. Levins's Manipule Vocabulum, a running Dictionary, 1570, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 12s. [In print.]
29. Old English Homilies (ab. 1290-30 A.D.). Part I. Edited by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 7s. 1868
30. Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 2s. 1868
31. Myre's Duties of a Parish Priest, in Verse, ab. 1420 A.D., ed. E. Peacock. 4s. 1868
32. Early English Meals and Manners: the Boke of Nourture of John Russell, the Bokes of Keruyng, Curtasey, and Demeanon, the Babees Book, Urbanitisit, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall. 12s. 1868
33. The Knight de la Tour Landry, ab. 1440 A.D. A Book for Daughters, ed. T. Wright, M.A. 8s. 1868
34. Old English Homilies (before 1300 A.D.). Part II., ed. R. Morris, LL.D. 8s. [In print.]
35. Lyndsey's Works, Part III.: The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. 2s. [In print.]
The Original Series of the "Early English Text Society."  

Sir David Lyndsay's Works, Part IV, Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis. Ed. F. Hall, D.C.L. 4s. 1870
William's Vision of Piers the Plowman, Part II. Text B. Ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. 10s. 6d. 1870
English Gilds, their Statutes and Customs, 1359 A.D. Ed. Toulin Smith and Lucy T. Smith, with an Essay on Gilds and Trades-Unions, by Dr. L. Brentano. 21s. 1870
William Lauder's Minor Poems. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. 3s. 1870
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More members (to bring money) and Editors (to bring brains) are wanted by the Society.
England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

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

By

Thomas Starkey,
Chaplain to the King.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY,

BY

J. M. COWPER.

[Reprinted 1898.]
## CONTENTS OF PREFACE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ 1. GENERAL TRUTHFULNESS OF THE BOOK</td>
<td>ciii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 2. DECAY OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES</td>
<td>cv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 3. SHEEP-FARMS AND ENCLOSURES</td>
<td>cviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 4. POVERTY AND CRIME</td>
<td>cx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5. THE CLERGY</td>
<td>cxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 6. THE LAWYERS</td>
<td>cxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 7. LEARNING</td>
<td>cxviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 8. CARDINAL POLE</td>
<td>cxx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 9. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>cxxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 10. ABSTRACT</td>
<td>cxxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>clxix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE.

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

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

§ 2.

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

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

¹ There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households.—Supplication of Beggars. Fox, iv. 659. Townsend's ed.
² Froude, Hist. i. 3.
³ See 4 Hen. VII. c. 16; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 18, 19.
⁴ The names are York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester,
The cause of this decay is generally attributed to sheep-farming and the enclosure of lands. Wherever the finest wool was grown, there noblemen and Abbots enclosed all the land for pasture. They levelled houses and towns, and left nothing standing except the church, which they converted into a sheep-house. They turned all dwelling-places and all glebelands into a wilderness. 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 Wyecombe, Guildford, Estreford (?), Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, Berwick, Shafton, Sherborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymton, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Liskeard, Lowestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, Helston, Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerson, Ilchester, Maldon, and Warwick.

1 Utopia, p. 41.
because they will not beg some of them do steal, and then they be hanged. And thus the realm doth decay."

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, and thousands of poor were driven to beg. The Ballads 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;
Great men maketh now-a-days
A sheepcot of the church.

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

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.

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1 See a dateless Tract, entitled Certayne causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, etc., Lambeth Library.
2 Latimer's Sermons, p. 33, ed. 1869; B. Gilpin's Sermon before Ed. VI. p. 33, ed. 1630.
3 Now-a-days, Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i., edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., 1868.
4 Lays, grass lands.
5 Guise, fashion.
§ 3.

Sheep-farms, untilled lands, and enclosures are terms which are met with everywhere in connection with these times. In the preceding section something has been said upon these topics, as they are so closely allied that these are generally adduced as the causes of decay and depopulation. The fineness of the English wool soon attracted buyers, and, as a natural result, its price went up in the markets. Landowners and land-holders were not slow to perceive the advantages to be gained by converting arable lands into pasture. A ready market, and high prices for wool; little or no attention required; one shepherd to be kept in place of the many men required to grow corn—no wonder that it became the rage to enclose lands on all sides—that men who were compared to Nimrods, cormorants, and plagues, found means to enclose thousands of acres within a single fence—that husbandmen, by trickery or by fraud, 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.  

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.  

Eighteen years later, and the shadows of this picture seem deeper.

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

2 Utopia, p. 41; B. Gilpin, p. 33.

3 Preamble, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
Again it is “the lands are put to pasture, and not to tillage, towns and churches are pulled down, old rents are enhanced, or brought to fines so excessive that no poor man can meddle therewith. The prices of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, poultry, eggs, are almost doubled, and a marvellous number are unable to provide meat, drink, and clothes, and are so discouraged that they fall daily to theft, or pitifully die of hunger and cold.¹

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

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

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. 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.

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, but the failure is not to be attributed to the "foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed." 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. 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

1 The Way to Wealth, etc. 2 Froude, Hist. v. 191. 3 Utopia, p. 51. 4 Froude, Hist. v. 68. 5 Utopia, p. 38.
heir was unable or unwilling to keep so great a retinue as his predecessor, and then the servants were cast upon the country—some in their prime, some past it. Unable or unwilling to work, they either starved manfully or played the thieves.¹

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

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

¹ Utopia, p. 38. ² The Supplication of the Poore Commons, 1546. ³ Supplication, etc. Henry seems to have been no exception to the premature ravages which time made upon men at this period. “In that age life wasted and waned apace. Men were old and worn out at 60. Lewis XII. did not live to complete his 54th year, and was a wreck, not merely by the
the "loins" of the later, and the "whips" had changed into "scorpions." Honest households were made followers of less honest men's tables. Honest matrons were brought to the needy distaff to gain their bread. Men children of good hope in the liberal sciences were driven out as day labourers, to support their parents' decrepit age and abject poverty. Forward and stubborn children shook off the yoke of obedience, and, after a brief life of wickedness, died the death of felons. Modest, chaste, and womanly virgins were compelled to single servitude, or to marry perpetual miserable poverty—while the immodest and the wanton became "Sisters of the Bank," finally lying and dying in the streets, full of plagues and full of penury.  

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.  

§ 5.

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

1 Bankside, infamous for its stews. See Latimer's Sermons, p. 81, and Ballads from Manuscripts, i. p. 25, note.  
2 Crowley's Informacion.  
3 Utopia, pp. 37, 48. For further information see Ballads from MSS., vol. i. passim; and for the means employed by the Protector Somerset, and the rings which the slaves of private persons were to wear on their necks, arms, or legs, see the same vol. pp. 121—123. See also Froude, Hist. v. pp. 68, 69.
failings are pointed out, there is but one reference\(^1\) 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 DIÁLOGUE must be held as a sufficient excuse for its being only hinted at here. Those who are anxious to know more may consult Mr Furnivall's Introduction to Ballads from Manuscripts, where they will find a mass of evidence collected in support of the charge.

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

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

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1. p. 200.
2. Your realm is overcharged through the great multitude of chantry priests, soul priests, canons residentiaries in Cathedral churches, prebendaries, monk pensioners, morrow-mass priests, unlearned curates, priests of guilds and fraternities, or brotherhoods, riding chaplains, and such other idle persons, [who] are wasters, spoilers, and robbers.—A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord, etc., 1544.
3. Many . . . having neither learning nor other godly qualities, apt, meet, or convenient to be in spiritual pastors, be now admitted to have cure of souls. And some such that did never know what is a soul, nor yet be able to have care over one soul, be now admitted to have charge over a hundred and many more, to the increase of all ignorance, and all popish blindness.—A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord.
Their neglect of preaching was a natural result of their lordly living, and their employment in duties which were the proper work of laymen. If a person were admitted to view hell, and the devil were to show him the unpreaching prelates who had there found their home, he would see as many as would reach to Calais—he would see nothing but unpreaching prelates. 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."

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

1 Sermons, p. 114. Compare
Quevedo, as he tells his sober tale,
Ask'd, when in Hell, to see the royal jail:
Approved their method in all other things,
"But where, good sir, do you confine your kings?"
"There," said his guide—"the group is full in view."
"Indeed!" replied the Don—"there are but few."
His black interpreter the charge disdain'd—
"Few, fellow?—there are all that ever reign'd."

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

3 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
entitled to retain two benefices; and so on, until we wonder why the Act was passed at all. The clergy were to preach in their parishes at least four times a year, but when the chaplains had availed themselves of their privileges and the graduates of the Universities had claimed the immunities due to them, nonresidence and neglect of preaching were still the rule, 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.

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.

§ 6.

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

1 Supplication of the Poor Commons. 2 Letters and Papers, &c., ii. No. 3943. 3 A Supplication of the Poor Commons.
PREVALENCE OF BRIBERY

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

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

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

¹ Utopia, p. 128.
² Lives of the L. Chancellors, i. 506 (2nd ed.). Wolsey intended to found an institution to encourage the systematic study of all branches of the law. Had his fall and death been delayed, the "twins of learning" would most likely have been increased.
³ Mors' Complaint, chap. xi.
acused 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.

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

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1 Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, etc., 1545.
2 Sermons, p. 72.
3 Sermons, p. 113.
4 Sermons, p. 151. Bernard Gilpin says: And being thus tormented, and put from their right at home, they (the poor) come to London a great number, as to a place where justice should be had, and there they can have none. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech; their servants must have bribes, and that no small ones. All love bribes. . . . . . The lawyers . . . . laugh with the money which maketh others to weep; and thus are the poor robbed on every side without redress, and that of such as seem to have authority thereto.—Sermon, &c., pp. 29, 30.
5 Sermons, p. 173.
6 Mors’ Complaint, chap. ix.
7 See p. 191 of this volume.

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

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

§ 7.

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

1 Hallam, Lit. Europe, i. 261, ed. 1860.
The remedies proposed, viewed in the light of modern times, seem remarkable. As Latin and Greek were deemed the foundation of all good learning, the young were to spend their early years in these studies. But, to permit of this, good schools were required. Further than this, it is recommended that several small schools should be united under one competent master. It was well understood that three or four small schools, with an income not large enough to maintain an efficient master, must all be failures. Join such schools, allow their endowments to go into one common fund, then an "excellent" master could be obtained, and the school would flourish. From such schools the universities were to be replenished. Such scholars as the master and other learned men appointed as examiners should judge fit for the honour, should go to one of the universities, there to be instructed in the liberal sciences, and be made preachers of the doctrine of Christ.

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

If Pole held these opinions at the time when this Dialogue was written, he had not departed from them when he came as a Legate to his native land. In 1556 appeared the "Reformatio Angliae ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli," in which, among other things, bishops are exhorted to live soberly, chastely, and piously. And, lest their moderation should be attributed to avarice, they are advised to use the whole of their surplus income in maintaining Christ's poor, in
the education of boys and young men, and in other pious works. In the Articles which he drew up for the Visitation of his Diocese, but which death did not allow him to hold, the twentieth, "touching lay people," was, "Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic and men of good upright judgment, and be examined and approved by the ordinary." In the "Reformatio," already alluded to, he charged many ecclesiastical persons with involving themselves in low and discreditable employments, with neglecting the study of learning, and with doing nothing consistent with their order; and decreed that they should apply themselves to study and learning, and to do other things suitable to their individual character. Regulations were also made for the greater efficiency of schools attached to cathedrals and religious houses.\(^1\)

§ 8.

In how far does this look 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

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.\footnote{Reformatio Angliae, etc.} Among other works
proposed, a translation of the New Testament was ordered. 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. 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. Whether Pole joined the Oratory of Divine Love does not appear,—he certainly became intimate with some of its illustrious members during his visits from Padua to Venice.

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

1 Hook, Archbishops, iii. 302, note, N.S.
2 Ranke’s History of the Popes, p. 22, ed. 1859.
3 Hook, Abps, iii. 53, N.S.
HIS FRIENDS ON THE CONTINENT.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Hook, Archbishops, iii. p. 73, 90, N.S.
² Reformatio Anglice ex Decretis, etc.
³ Vergerio, quoted in Hook, Abps, iii. 154, N.S.
On the whole this Dialogue may be taken as fairly representing Pole's opinions. In some important matters he changed, but in the main he seems to have remained faithful to what is here put into his mouth.

§ 9.

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

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

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

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

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

J. M. Cowper,

Davington Hill,
Faversham.

January, 1871.
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 said, 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 con-
spiracy 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 Lup-
set’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 con-
sider 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 dig-
nity, 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 excel-
lency, and ever strive against their manner of living. This rule is
OBEDIENCE TO CIVIL LAW.

CXXXI

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. How-
ever 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 di-
versity 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 ty-
ranny, 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 at-
ttempting 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 Caesar 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 there will be deformity.

2. There must be friends, riches, and abundance of necessaries. Poverty is the mother of envy, malice, dissension, and many other mischiefs. The country must also have friends among those living near. (3) There must be good laws put into effect by the rulers. Without these all other advantages are of no avail; necessaries and people are useless if the latter will not obey order—they will only be abused to the destruction of the commonwealth.

Lupset here (p. 51, par. 20) asks Pole to define what he means by "policy," "civil order," and "politic rule," terms which have been often used. Pole promises to satisfy him on these points. There was a time when man had no cities, no religion, but wandered abroad in fields and woods like the beasts. So he continued till certain men of wit and policy, with eloquence and philosophy, considering his nature and dignity, persuaded him to forsake his rudeness and follow order and civil life, building cities in which he might defend himself from wild beasts. Then ordinances and laws were devised, rude and imperfect like the people themselves, but improving as time went on. There were various kinds of government, some by a king, some by a council, and some by the whole body of the people, as was found suitable. The form of government
is immaterial so long as they who are in authority study to promote the public good. But when they look to their own pleasure and profit this good order is turned into tyranny, there is no politic rule, no civil order. The end of all politic rule is to induce people to live virtuously. Without these—civil order and politic rule—there can be no true commonwealth; for as in man there only are quietness and felicity where mind and body agree, so in a country there only can be perfect civility where all the parts agree, each doing his duty; rulers administering justice, people yielding all humble service. Thus when each does his duty, all may attain a high felicity. As the health of a man (p. 57, par. 21) stands not in the health of one member but of all, so a true commonwealth does not stand in the prosperity of one part but in all the parts together. Where the prince is chosen by free election, that is deemed by some to be the best form of government. Increase of population and multitude of cities and towns are sure signs of prosperity; and where these are seen we may rest assured there is a true commonwealth.

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

Lupset does not like to see such power given to fortune, but Pole says it can no more deprive a man of happiness than clouds can prevent the shining of the sun. A man may suffer from adversity here, yet if he live virtuously and honestly, God will give him felicity hereafter. But still he thinks man cannot have the highest felicity if he
lack worldly prosperity. Lupset is comforted (p. 64, par. 28) by hearing Pole confess that all men may get to heaven at last. Pole says he has no doubt about it, and that he differs in this from the "common sort of men." We must regard the future life as well as the present, and use our prosperity well. Pole concludes by repeating much that he has said before, that public good should be in a man's heart as well as in his mouth; that it should be the end of all his thoughts; that as a mariner who brings his vessel safely into port preserves his own life and the lives of others—so in the State, if a man saves others he saves himself also. Lupset professes himself satisfied, and doubts not that if men would well consider what has been said there would be more regard to the commonwealth here than there is. But he fears it is almost impossible to found such a commonwealth in England as Pole has described. Pole now proposes to spy out common faults, and at last find means to restore our commonwealth.

CHAPTER III.

Pole commences by repeating that, after defining a true commonwealth, it is expedient to examine into the faults and disorders which hinder its prosperity. Lupset thinks little diligence is required in this, as it is easier "to spy two faults than amend one." It is by no means hard to see the faults which prevail in our own country. No man can deny that there is great decay when he sees the ruinous condition of cities, castles, and towns, and the poverty of the inhabitants; or when he looks at the ground which used to be well tilled, but now lies waste; or when he considers the manners of the people and their order of living, which are as far from what they ought to be as good from ill, as vice from virtue. All these evils are as clear as the day. Pole does not admit that all is so clear, or that it requires so little diligence; without care wrong conclusions may easily be drawn. He then goes on (p. 71, par. 7) to speak of the faults which he perceives in the body politic. First he notices the lack of people. This he considers to be evident by observing how much better cities and towns were inhabited in times past than they are now. Many houses are in ruins, and many with-
out inhabitants. Further; many villages have utterly decayed, and where Christian people were nourished, now you only find wild beasts; where many houses and churches once stood, there is nothing but sheepcots and stables. This condition of things is not confined to one or two places; it prevails generally throughout the realm. This decay of cities, towns, and villages plainly shows a scarceness of men. Then crafts have declined, and much land lies waste and untilled; which things could not be if there were no lack of people. The ground is not barren, as some men think; it only requires the labour of man to render it fruitful.

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

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STARKEY.
PUNISHMENT FOR THEFT.

say 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.
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 threepence in the pound. The money thus obtained should be distributed, partly to those who had more children than they could well keep, and partly in endowments for poor damsels and virgins. When a bachelor dies one half of his goods shall go for the above purposes; and the whole of a priest's at his death. This Pole considers to be a "singular remedy for the slenderness for our politic body."

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

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. Lumped 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 un till ed, and crafts to be “so ill occupied.” If the Statute of Enclosure were put in force, and pasture land turned into arable, as it was before, there would be abundance and prosperity. All drunkards and gamblers—those who “lay the ground of misery and mischief, as well as the doers thereof,” would be punished. Gluttony and idle games, which lead to adultery and robbery, would be removed; and poverty, which comes of neglect, would give place to plenty.

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

Another evil which Pole points out (p. 175) lies in the enhancing of rents. If the farmers pay high rents they must sell dear; “for he that buys dear may sell dear also justly.” To remedy this he would have all rents lowered to what they were “when the people of Eng-
land flourished;" for now, by ill government and the avarice of rulers, they are brought almost to the misery of France. All kinds of food are dearer than they were, and consequently craftsmen sell their wares dearer. If the things noted concerning merchants, labourers, and farmers were remedied, we should have abundance again; this miserable poverty would soon be taken away; lusty beggars and thieves would be but few or none at all; and as for those who are impotent they could easily be nourished, either after the manner lately devised in Flanders, or by the charity of the people.

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

CHAPTER II.

Lupset commences by asking Pole to proceed with his remedies to keep the body in health. Pole answers that the diseases being cured health must of necessity follow. In health much depends upon temperance, and sober men generally have healthy and wealthy bodies. If we can but correct the faults in our policy, prosperity will be sure to follow. Of this Venice is an example: it has continued in one order over a thousand years; and the people, in consequence of their temperance, are as healthy and wealthy as any on earth. We must be compelled by the law to follow the temperance
of these men, then there need be no fear for our prosperity; especially if we remove all faults from our policy. The ruin of countries always follows some tyranny, or some sedition in consequence of some disorder in the government. Tyranny, he goes on to say, is the root of all sedition, and the ruin of civil life, and we must above all things see that it has no place with us. A country that is oppressed with tyranny, however splendid and populous its cities may be, is most miserable. As no prince can be found who will regard justice above all other things, we must be careful that by no prerogative he usurp by authority such a tyranny as acts of parliament have given under the pretence of majesty. The laws, not the prince, must govern the State. On this account wise men, considering the nature of princes, affirm that a mixed State is the best, because when one has authority and he chances to be corrupt, the rest must suffer. To avoid this the authority of the prince must be moderated, and how to do this must now engage our attention.

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

The mode of election again appears (p. 184, par. 5) to demand attention. Lupset thinks the old families should elect the prince, else war and sedition would ensue. But Pole quotes Venice as an example of good order. If our king's power were limited there would be less ambition than there is now. The power the prince possesses often brings on civil war. The best way is to elect the prince, but as "we are barbarous," "in the second place and not as the best," it is "convenient to take him by succession." In all which Lupset concurs.
Among other faults Pole observes (p. 186) one in bringing up the nobility. Generally even when their parents are alive they are brought up without any care, and when they are orphans the case is much worse, for they frequently fall into the hands of such guardians as only endeavour to spoil them of their property, or else to marry them to suit their own designs. These things must be remedied. The old laws must be abrogated; guardians must render a strict account of all properties received, and of the care they have bestowed upon the education and training of the ward. There is not in any country any regard paid to the training of youth in common discipline and public exercise. Every man engages a private tutor to educate his children in letters, but feats of arms and chivalry are utterly neglected. Some ordinance ought to be made for the joining of the two, as we have in our "universities, colleges, and common places to nourish the children of poor men in letters; whereby comes no small profit to the realm." It is most necessary that certain places should be appointed for the bringing up of the children of the nobility together, and to these they should be compelled to send their children. To teach them, wise and virtuous men should be appointed. The pupils should be instructed in learning and feats of arms, fit for such as should hereafter be captains and governors. It would be a noble institution, and much good would spring from it; and without it our realm will never approach perfection. Our fathers were liberal in building abbeys and monasteries, for the exercise of a monastic life, and they have advanced virtuous living. Their example we ought to follow in building places, or else in changing some that we have, such as Westminster and St. Alban's, for the training of the nobility. There are over many of these religious houses, and if they were converted to this use, the nobles might there learn the discipline of the commonwealth. Now the nobles think they were born only to spend the lands their ancestors provided, never looking to anything but pleasure. Here Pole would have them learn what they are and what position they are likely to occupy, and carefully prepare themselves for it. At void times they should "exercise themselves in feats of the body and in chivalry," which are useful in times of war and peace. Then they would be
worthy of their name, they would be nobles indeed, and true lords and masters, and the people would gladly obey them. Lupset thinks it would be a noble institution, and hopes he may live to see it put in effect. It would soon bring forth Plato's commonwealth, or rather the institution of Christian doctrine, if there were men to instruct them in the sum of the Gospel. That, Pole says, is to be understood; "that is the head discipline and public" which he spoke of before. If this were done it would profit more than the monks have done in very many years; and youths, "as stars, should light in all parts of the realm," and put in effect that of which the monks have only dreamed.

Lupset refers again to wards (p. 189, par. 11), abuses in which matter would be remedied by this institution; and not only for wards, but also for all the nobility, whose education is generally neglected, because more is thought of hawks and hounds than of children—"they study," Pole says, "more to bring up good hounds than wise heirs." He then refers again to appeals to London, which must be abolished; the nobility should see that justice is done among their servants and subjects, and only causes which they cannot decide must be removed. In cases of appeal the party condemned must pay the costs. This would end controversies and restore confidence and quietness. Severe penalties must be imposed upon such advocates as induce their clients to bring unjust causes, and upon those who attempt to prolong them. Lupset says there is no denying that the covetous minds of the lawyers is the great cause of long suits, and as a remedy he would admit none to practise except such virtuous and honest men as have enough private means to maintain themselves. But is there not another cause of long suits? To this Pole answers (p. 192, par. 14) yes, "and that is the fountain and cause of the whole matter." Our law is confused, it is infinite. The subtlety of one serjeant destroys the judgment of many wise men. The judgments of years are infinite and of little authority. The judges are not bound to follow them, but they judge as the serjeants instruct them, or according to circumstances. To remedy this we must do as Justinian did with the Roman law. Statutes made by kings are too numerous, as were the constitutions of the
Emperors. He would have the laws reduced to a small number, which should be written in English or Latin. If they were in Latin then students of civil law might study the Roman laws where they would find much more to their advantage than in the Old French. Besides, the laws themselves are barbarous, and many of them must be abrogated. This is the only remedy for faults already mentioned. If the nobility were instructed in the laws as they ought to be, our country would soon be in as prosperous a condition as any other—perhaps in a better condition. If two things were effected—the Civil Law of Rome adopted for our Common Law, and the nobility in youth compelled to study it—there would be no need to seek for particular remedies for the disorders in the realm, for public discipline would easily redress all. Lupset thinks it would be hard to bring such reforms about, and Pole goes on to show that it would be easier than at first sight appears. A good prince would soon accomplish the work, and his authority is all that is required.

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

CHAPTER III.

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

STARKEY.
GOOD SCHOOLS REQUIRED.

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 schoolmaster remember that he must study to bring up his pupils "no less in virtue than in learning; for look, how they be customized 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.

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NOTES.

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

Archery, pp. 79, 160, 161.—"The legislature, it has been said, enjoined the assiduous practice of archery. The statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. I. cap. 6, enacts that 'every man between fifteen years of age and sixty years shall be assessed and sworn to armour, according to the quantity of his lands and goods. . . . For forty shillings lands, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a dagger. And all others that may shall have bows and arrows.' By statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV., all able-bodied men were required to employ their leisure at the butts, 'as valiant Englishmen ought to do.' But the Wars of the Roses had found the bowmen more than enough of practice, and the reaction from the fierce struggle between York and Lancaster was shown in the disinclination of the higher classes for the tilt-yard, and of the yeomen for exercise at the butts. Archery, therefore, was falling into disuse, when, in 1511, Parliament re-enacted the statute of Winchester, with the additional provisions that 'every man being the king's subject, not lame, decrepit, or maimed, being within the
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 afores is rehearsed.' In 1541 an amended edition of this
statute was passed. Amongst other additional provisions, each village was re-
quired 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, bows, clay-
coting, logating, or any other unlawful game out of Christmas, under the
pain of xx³, 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 offend-
ting to forfeit viii.'—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 for-
bidding 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 pay-
ments 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 Arch-
bishops 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 re-
straint of the Pope's Bulls, for confirmations, elections, admissions, postula-
tions, 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, where-
unto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion where-
of, 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 for because 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 surely 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, 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 Archbishops and Bishoprics, the sum of 800,000 ducats, amounting in sterling money, at the least, to 160,000 pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm: And albeit, that our said Sovereign Lord the King, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, are as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any people be within any Realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annates or Firstfruits be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this Realm now represented by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and Common-wealth of this Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abuses and exactions of Annates or Firstfruits: And because that divers prelates of this Realm are now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes above-said, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained."

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

* See p. 260, l. 119.
STATUTE OF ENCLOSURES.

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."—Balo’s Leylande’s Laborious Journey, ed. 1549, l. 39.

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

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

Bread, 3000 loaves (13 qrs. 7 bushels of wheat).
Wine, 3 tuns, 2 pipes.
Ale, 6 tuns, 7 hhd.s.
Beesves, 10½ carcases.
Muttons, 56 carcases.

* The Complaynt of Rodereck Mors, chap. xvi., 1536. See also Froude, i. pp. 353—357; vi. 397-8.
† Lives of the Archbishops, iii. 399, note, N.S.
GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

Veals, 17.
Porks, 3.
Fat hogs, 4.
Cray fish, 600.
Fat capons, 24.
Kentish capons, 67.
Coarse capons, 84.
Chickens, 324.
Pullets, 30.
Swans, 15.
Crane, 6.
Rabbits, 372.
Rabbits, young, 24.
Partridges, 42.
Plovers, 132.
Teals, 78.
Pigeons, 384.
Quails, 150.
Larks, 648.
Geese, 60.
Pears, 3000.
Apples, 1500.
Butter, 367 dishes.
Eggs, 2500.
Cream, 16½ gallons.
Milk, 16 gallons.
Frumenty, 6 gallons.
Curd, 7 gallons.
Flour, 2 qrs. 4 bushels.
Mustard, 6 gallons.
Vinegar, 6.
Verjuice, 4.

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

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

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

"And lightly in the country
    They be placed 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. l. 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 enrolled in Latin."—36 Edw. III. c. 15.

Peter-Pence, p. 116.—King Offa (died 793) is said to have established the
tribute called Peter’s pence. He is said to have founded a Saxon hostelry in
Rome for the use of students, and this tax of a penny on each house was for
its support. Edward I. was the first who objected to pay tribute to Rome.
The statute passed in his reign (35 Ed. I.) was confirmed by the 4th and 5th
Ed. III. The Statutes of Provisors enacted in this latter reign may also be
consulted. Edward refused to pay the tribute, and his nobles supported
him (Ranke, Popes, p. 13, ed. 1859). The payment of Peter’s pence was for-
bidden 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 Sadoleto, Jacques Sadolet,
Jacobus Sadoletus, James Sadolet, a man well spoken of for piety, benevo-
lence, 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 Sadolet's Latinity was praised by Erasmus as being superior
to his own. His works were numerous, and are said to have shown consider-
able reading. His Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul was, at the instance of
his enemies, condemned at Rome. This caused him some annoyance, and
led him to appeal to the Pope, by whom the book was declared to be catholic.
He lived on friendly terms with Melancthon and Calvin. When Zuingle
died, and Erasmus and Luther spoke severely of him, Sadolet 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 Carpen-
tras, and having commenced or renewed his acquaintance with this excellent
and amiable man at Avignon, to have continued a warm friend until Sado-
leto's death in 1547.
The book referred to in the text in such laudatory terms is entitled De
Liberis recte instituentis. It was published in 1533, and became very
popular.

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

Hook's Archbishops, iii. 49, N.S.
† The "philosopher" which changed the houses and delivered London was the Great Fire of
1066.
Erasmus's Books.

"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 pestilent 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 undis turbed, 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 Para clesis, id est adhortatio ad Christianae philosophiae 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 deeds.—Theyr diligent vse in prouision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good cheape, theyr common graner (whiche is a myghtie greate house) is in maner alwayses furnisshed. So that lyghtly in the citie can be no great deearth, 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 schoole or fellowships, gathered together for deuocion, as one of saintc Marke, an other of saintc Rooke, one of this sainct, an other of that, which (beyng for the most part substantiail men) doe releue a nymber of the poore after this sorte.—They geue them ons a yere a course liuery, with

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 holiadaies at the schoole, where the principal bretherne assemble, to dispose vnto the mariage of poore younge women, and in other good woorkes, that parte of money that theyr rate for the time dooth allow; and afterwards (wyth theyr priestes and clerekes) goe a procession a certayne circuite, in the which the pore men lyse 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 sufficient appoincted for theim till the infection ceasse, that they may retourne.— Finally, for prisoners, they haue this order: Twise a yeere, at Christmas and Easter, the Auditori dooe visite all the prisones in Venice, and there geue audience vnto all creditours that haue anye debtour in prison for the summe of .50. duckates and vnder. If the partye be liable to pale, daies are geuen, and sureties founde; and if the debt be desperate, than doe they theim selfes agree with the partie for more or lesse, as the likelihode is, and pay hym of the common purse. So that ere euer they departe, they empty the prisones of all theim that lie for that summe."—The Historye of Itylge, &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. Lupset.—Much [tyme] past, Master Pole, has long desyrd greatly to commyn wyth yow, beyng moyd therto by the [great] frenchye and famlyaryte wych, of youth growyng betwyx vs, ys now so by vertue incresyd and confyrmyd, that nature hathe not so sure a band and knot to coupul and joyne any harty togyddur in true lou[e] and amyte. Wherfor I am and is glad to ryght glad, Mastur Pole, that I haue, now at thys tyme, here found you, both, as me semyth, at convenyent leser to commyn and talke, and also in thys place of Bysham, where as the image and memory of your old auncturys of grete noblyte, schal, as I trust, styr and moue your hart and mynd to the same purpos that I wold now and long haue desyrd to commyn vnto you.

2. Pole.—Troth hyt ys that leyser here, as you say, lakkyth non at al; but, I pray you, what ys that, gud P. asks, "What is the mater?" Mastur Lupset, that you seme so ernystely to wyl?

Hyt apperyth to be, by your begynnynge, some grete mater and weyghty.

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

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

STARKEY. 1
L. replies, "The matter concerns the whole of your life.

After so much study you must

apply yourself to the commonwealth,

as Plato, Lycurgus, and Solon did,

[* Page 28.]

or you wrong your country, and neglect your duty.

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, 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 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 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 thy mens are borne and of nature brought forth, to commyn such gyftys as be to them gyuen, ych one to the profyt of other, in perfayt cyuylyte; and not to lyue to theyr owne plesure and profyt, wyth[ou]t 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 exampl of Plato, Lycurgus, nor of Solon, by whose wysdome and pollycy dyuerse cytes, cuntreys and natyonys were broug[h]t to cyuyle ordur and poltyke 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 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, leyyth the cure of the commyn wele and pollycy, he dowth manyfest wrong to hys cuntrey and frendys, and ys playn vniust and ful of iniquyte; as he that regardyth not hys offyce and duty, to the wych, aboue all, he ys
HE PLEADS INEXPERIENCE.

most bounden by nature. Of thys, Mastur Pole, many men dow you accuse, saying that, syns you haue byn of your cuntrey so wel nuryshyd and brought vp, so wel set forward to geddur prudence and wyse[dom], you ought now to study to maynteyn and avance the wele of thys same your cuntrey, to the wych you are bounden no les then the chyld to the father, when he ys by syknes or age impotent and not of powar to helpe hym selfe. You see your cuntrey, as me semyth, requyre you see 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 study, gyue no yere therto; but, forgettyng hyr vtturly, suffur her styl to want your helpe and succur apyn your behalfe, not wythout gret injury. Wherfor, Master Pole, now at the last wake out of thys dreme; remembyr your cuntrey, loke to your frendys, consydyr your offyce and duty that you are most bounden vnto. And so now thys you hane 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 can not be denyd but hyt ys a gudly thyng to meddyl wyth the materys of the commyn wel, and a nobul vertue to dow gud to our frendys and cuntrey, to the wych, as you say, we are borne and brought forthe.

*Wherfor not wythout a cause you exhorte me therto, as to the end of al mанныs studys and actys, and the best thyng in thys lyfe to be atteynyd vnto. Thys ys your purpos; but, Master Lupset, here we must a lytyl stey. Me semyth you remembyr not the commyn saying, "He was neuer gud mastur that neuer was scoler, nor neuer gud capitayne that neuer was soudiar." I thynke hyt veray conuenyent, befor I begyn to meddyl

1 "cuntrey" is slightly scored out.
Wyth the rule of other, surely to lerne to rule myselfe; for he that can not gouerne one, vndowtydly lakkyth
93 craft to gouerne many. I neuer hard of any maryner abul to gouerne a gret schyppe, wych neuer could
gouerne wel a lytly bothe. 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,
then, peravauntur, I wyl not refuse the causys of my cur-
trey and rulyng of other. How be hyt, Master Lvpse, in
your communycatyon, me symeth, lyth no smal dowte.
I wold be glad to dow the best, and that to folow
102 wherein lyth the perfectyon of man; but wether hyt
stond in the actyue lyfe, and in admynystratyon 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 intelligence, hyt symeth, wythout
dowte, that knolege of God, of nature, and of al
the workys therof, schold be the end of manmys 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
of nature as to the chefe thyng wherin symdyd to rest
the perfectyon of man; and thus to them hyt apperyd
that prudence and pollycy were not to be comparyd
wyth hyle phylosophye. Bettur hyt symyd 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 manmys hart
surely, then the lawys wych manmys wyt hath deuysyd
by pollycy;—of the wych, the one perteynyth to the
cyyle 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 Lypset, as hyt apperyth, whether 127
hyt be best so to dow or not.

5. Lypset.—Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng your
aptones, I wyl now no ferther reson, of the wych no
man doth dowte: therfor 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 auncyent 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
Aristotyl, schole no thynge dowte therin at al; in so
much as he techyth and scho[wy]th most manystely
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
the admynystratyon 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
in materys of the commyn wele, are euwer referryd to thys
end and purpos, that the *hole body of the commynyaty
may lyue in quyetnes and tranquyllyte; euery parte
dowyng hys offycy and duty; and so, as much as the
nature of man wyl suffer, al to attayne to theyr natural
perfectyon. To thys euery honest man, medelyng in the
commyn wele, ought to loke chefely vnto; thys ys the
marke that euery man, prudent and polytyke, ought to
schote at; fyrst, to make hymselfe perfayte, wyth al
vertues garnyschyng hys mynd; and then to commyn
the same perfectyon to other. For lytyl avaylyth vertue
that ys not publyschyd abrode to the profyt of other;
lytyl avaylyth tresore closyd in coffurys, wych neuer ys 160
communydy to the succour of other; for al such gyftys of
God and nature must euuer be applyd to the commyn
163 profyt and vtylyte. Wherby man, as much as he may, schal euer folow the nature of God, whose infynyte gudnes ys by thys chefely declaryd and openyd to the world, that to euery thync 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 use of other.  

(5.) Therfor hyt ys not suffycyent, a man to get knolege and vertue, deltyng hymselfe only therwyth, 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 true admynystratyon of the commyn wele; the wych you see now, Mastur Pole, how thes phylosopharys, by whose exampul you appere to excuse your selfe, most avoydyd and uiniustely fled, ouer much deltyng in theyr owne pryuate studys. How be hyt, I wyl not yet say and playnly affyrme that therin they dyd vtturly 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, fyrst lerne to rule themselfe befor they toke apon them any rule of other. But thyng 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  

183 though hyt be so that lernyng and knolege of nature be a plesaunt thyng, and a hye perfectyon of mannys mynd and nature, yet yf you sundurly compare hyt wyth justyce and pollycy, vndowtydly hyt ys not to be preferryd therto as a thyng rather to be chosen and  

198 folowyd. For who ys he so fer wyouthout reson, that...
wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study and labur, know al the secretys of nature, leue al that asyde, and apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole cuntrey by prudence and pollycy, non other wyse then he wold dow wych lakkyth fode necessary to hys body, rather procure that, then the knolege of al natural phylosophy?

(5.) For euer that wych ys best ys not of al men nor at al tymys to be persuyd; hyt ys mete for a man beyng syke rather to procure hys heilth, then to study about the procuryng of the commyn welth. Hyt ys bettur, as Arystotyl sayth, for a man being in gret pouerty, rather to procure some ryches then the knolege of al natural phylosophy; and yet phylosophy of hyt selfe, as al men know, ys fer to be preferryd aboue al wordly ryches. And so, lyke wyse, al be hyt that*hye phylosophy and contempla-tyon of nature be of hyt selfe a grettur perfectyon of maunys mynd, as hyt wych ys the end of the actyue lyfe, to the wych al mennys dedys schold euer be referryd; yet the medelyng wyth the causys of the commyn wel ys more necessary, and euer rather and fyrst to be chosen, as the prynceypal mean wherby we may attayne to the other. For hyther tendyth al prudence and pollycy, to bryng the hole cuntrey to quyetnes and cyuylyte, that euery man, and so the hole, may at the last attayn to such perfectyon as by nature ys to the dygnyte of man dew; wych, as hyt semyth, restyth in the commynyng of al such vertues, as to the dygnyte of man are con-uenyent, to the profyt of other lyuyng togydur in cyuyle lyfe and poltyke; ye, and, as hyt were, in the formyng of other to theyr natural perfectyon. For lyke as the body of man ys then most perfayt in hys nature when hyt hath powar to gendur a nother lyke thervnto, so ys the mynd then most perfyt when hyt communyynth and spredyth hys vertues abrode, to the instructyon of for who would not help his country rather than know the secrets of nature? But philosophy is to be preferred to riches, and the good of the common-wealth to all other things.

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, moyd 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 offfyce and duty, to the wych they were by nature most bounden. For, as you playnly, Mastur Pole, now see, the perfectyon of man stondyth not in bare knolege and lernyng wyth-out applycatyon of hyt to any vse or profyt of other;

249 but the veray perfectyon of mannys mynd restyth in the vse and exerçyse of al vertues and honesty, and chefely in the chefe vertue, where vnto tend al the other, wych ys dowteles the communyng of hye wys-dome to the vse of other, in the wych stondyth mannys felycyte. So that thys, Master Pole, now you, I trow, playnly dow see, that yf you wyl folow the trade of the ancyynt phylosopharys, you schal not folow that thynge wych I am sure you aboue al other most desyre;—that ys to say, the best kynd of lyfe and most cowuenyent to

254 the nature of man, wych ys borne to commyn cyuylyte, one euer to be redy to helpe another, by al gud and ryght pollyce.

6. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, you haue ryght wel satysfyd me in my dowte, I can not deny; but yet (in so much as your communycatyon ys groundyd on that wych semyth dowtful) therwyth you haue brought me into a nother gretrur 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 thynge to me

264 semyth clene contrary. For yf you cal thys cyuylyte and

259 P. says one doubt is removed,

269 but a greater is left.
THAN COUNTRY LIFE.

lyuyng in polytyke ordur, a commynalty to lyue other vnnder a prynce or a commyn counsel in cytes and townys, me semyth man schold not be borne thereto, for as much as man at the begynnynge lyuyd many yerys wyt[h]out any such pollycy; at the wyche 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 cyuylite. We see also now in our days thos men wyche lyue out of cytes and townys, and haue fewyst lawys to be gouernyde by, lyue better then-other dow in theyr goodly cytes never so wel bylyyd and in-habytvd, gouernyde wyth so many lawys for commyn. You see by experience in grete cytes most wyce, most suttylty and craft; and, contrary, euery in the rude cuntrey *most study of vertue and veray true sym plyCyte. You se what adulterey, mordur, and wyce; what vsury, craft, and dysceyte; what glotony and al plesur of body, ys had in cytes and townys, by the reson of thys soccety and company 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 cyuylite. Therefore yf thys be cyuelle lyfe and ordur, to lyue in cytes and townys wyth so much wyce and mysordur, me seme man schold not be borne thereto, but rather to lyfe in the wyld forest, ther more folowyng the study of vertue, as hyt ys sayd men dyd in the golden age, where in man lyuyd accordyng to hys natural dygnyte.

7. Lvpset.—Nay, Maystur Pole, you take the mater amys. Thys ys not the cyuelle lyfe that I mean,—to lyue togydur in cytes and townys so fer out of ordur, as hyt were a multytude conspyryng togedur in wyce, one takyng plesure of a nother wythout regard of honesty. But thys I cal the cyuelle lyfe, contrary, lyuyng togydur in gud and polytyke ordur, one euery reddy to dow gud to a nother, and, as hyt were, conspyryng togydur in

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1 In margin of MS.
THE FAULT IN MEN, NOT IN CITIES.

305 al vertue and honesty. Thys ys the very true and cyuyle lyfe; and though hyt be so that man abusyth the society and company of man in cytes and townys, gyyung 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 first 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 felycyte to hys owne dystructyon and mysery; as he doth al most al thyng that God and nature hath prouydyd to hym for the mayntenawce of hys lyfe. For how abusyth he hys helth, stranghth, and buety, hys wyt, lernyng, and pollycy; how al manye* of metys and drynkys to the vayn plesure of the body; ye, and schortly to say, everu thyng al most he abusyth; and yet they thynges are not therfor vtturly *to be cast away, nor to be taken from the vse of man. And so

324 the society and company 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 offfice and authoryte, by whose wysdome the multytude myght be conteynyd and kept in gud ordur and cyuyle; such I say are rather to be blamyd. For, lyke as by the pursuasyon of wyse men, in the begynnyng, men were brought from theyr rudenes and bestyal lyfe, to thys cyuyle so natural to man, so by lyke wysdome they must be conteynyd and kept therin. Therfor, Master Pole, wythout any mo cauyllatyonys, me semyth, hyt schold be best for you to apply your mynd to be of the nombur of them wych study to restor thys cyuyle ordur, and maynteyn thys vertuose lyfe, in cytes and townys to the commyn vtylyte.

336

8. Pole.—As for cauyllatyonys, Master Lypset, I purpos to make non, except you cal them cauyllatyonys
wych I cal resonyng and dowtyng for the cleryng of the truth, of the wych sort I wyl not yet cesse to make more when so ever your communycatyon ys not to me clere; therfor, wyth pardon, you must patyently here me dowt a lytyl fether, mouyd of your wordys. You sayd ryght now that thys cyuyle lyfe was a polytyke ordur, and, as hyt were, a conspiracy in honesty and vertue, stablys[hp]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 confusion. 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, apon hys behalfe, wyl defend hys pollycy, saying that hys of al ys most best and most conuenyent to mannys dygnyte. The Jue constantly wyl affyrme hys law to be aboue al other, als receuyyd of Goddys owne mouth immedyatly. And the Chrystun man most surely beleuuyth that hys law and relygyon ys aboue the rest most agreabul to reson and nature as a thyng confyrmyd by Goddys owne dyuynyte. So that by thys *mean hyt apperyth al stondyth in the judgemen and opyynon of man, in so much that wych ys the veray true polytyke and cyuyle lyfe, no man surely by your dyffynytion 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 couerly take away al cyuylyte, and wold bryng al to confusion and tyranny, saying ther ys no dyfference betwyx wyce and vertue but strong opyynon, and that al such thyngys hang of the folysch fansy and jugemen of man; I schal fyrst schow you how vertue stondyth by nature and not only by the opyynon of man; and second how and by what mean thys folysch opyynon cam in to thos lyght braynys. And, fyrst, thys ys certayn and sure,—that man by nature fere excellyth

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

First, That vertue stands by nature, and not by man's opinion only. Second, How this fancy came into men's brains.
in dygne al other creaturys in erthe, where he ys by
the hye prouydence of God set to goure ne and rule,
ordur and tempur al to hys plesure by wysdome and
pollycy, non other wyse then this God hym selde doth in
heuyn goure ne and rule al celestyal thyngys immedyatly.

Wherfor he was of the old phylosopharys calld a erthely
god, and, as hyt wer, lord of al other bestys and creaturys,
applying them al vnto hys vse, for al be vnto hym sub-
jecte, al by pollycy are brought to hys obedeyece, ther
ys no best so strong, fers, or hardy, so wyld, oode, or cruel,
but to ma in by wysdom he ys subduyd; wherby ys per-
ceyuyd euydently the excellent dygne of hys nature.

And further more, playnly thys thyng to see, let vs, as
hys were, out of a hyar place, behoud and consydyr the
wondurful workys of man here apon erthe; where fyrst
we schal se the gudly cytes, castellys, and townys,
byllyd for the *settyng forth of the polytyke lyfe,
pleasauntly set as they were sterrys apon erthe; wherein
we schal see also meruelus gud lawys, statutys, and
ordynucoseys, deuysyd by ma by hye pollycy, for the
mayntyneyng of the cyuyle lyfe. We schal see infynyte
strange artys and craftys, inuerctyd by mannyys wyt for
hys commodyte, some for plesure, and some for neessyte.
Ferther, we schal see how by hys labur and dylygence he
hath tylyld the erth, and brought forth infynyte frutys
for hys necessary fode and plesaunt sustenauence; so that
now the erth, wych els schold haue leyne lyke a forest
rude and vntyllyd, by the dylygent labur and pollycy
of ma in ys brought to maruelous culture and fortylyte.
Thys, yf we wyth our seyle reson and consaydur the
workys of ma in here apon erth, we schal nothyng dowte of
hys excellent dygne, but playnly affyrme, that he hath
in hym a sparkul of Dyvynyte, and ys surely of a
celestyal and dyuyne nature, seyng that by memory and
wyte also he conceyuyth the nature of al thyng. For ther
ys no thyng here in thys world, nother in heuyn aboue,
nor in erth byneth, but he by hys reson comprythehyt. So that I thinke we may conclude that man by nature, in excellence and dygnyte, even so excellyth al other creaturys here apone erthe, as God excedyth the nature of man.

(9.) And now to our purpos. Thus hyt apperyth to me, that lyke as man by nature excellyth al other in dygnyte, so he hath certayn vertues by nature conuenuent to the same excellency, they wych, by the opynyon of man, are not conceuyd and groundyd in hart, nor yet be not propyr to one natyon and not to a nother, but stablyschyd by nature, are commyn to al mankynd. As, by exempl, ther ys a certyn equyte and justyce among al natyonys and pepul, wherby they are inclynyd one to dow gud to a nother, one to be buncygal to a nothur, lyuyng togydder in a cumpynabul lyfe. And, lyke wyse, ther ys a certayn temperance of the plesurys of the body, wych ys not mesuryd by the opynyon of man, but by the helth therof and natural propagatyon, as to ete and drynke only to supporte the helth and strengftth of the body, and to vse moderate plesure wyth 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 hymselfe from al violence of other inuirys or wrongys, ye and patyently to suffyr al such chaunces as can not be avoydyd, ys, amonge al pepul, taken as a nobul vertue.

Ther ys also a certyn wyt and pollycy by nature gyuen to man in every place and cuntry, wherby he ys inclynyd to lyue in cyuyle ordur accordyng to the dygnyte of hys nature; and to perceyue the mean how he may attayn theerto, ther ys, furthermor, in al men by nature, wythouty any other instructyon, rotyd a certayn reuerence to God, wherby they honowre hym as gouernour and rular of al thys world. For yet ther was neuer natyon so rude or blynd but fortheys causethely relygyously

AND DIGNITY OF MAN. 13

He excels all in dignity,

[* Page 39.*]

and his virtues correspond with it.

[* Page 40.*]
Virtue rests partly in nature; 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.

449 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

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454 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

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459 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

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464 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

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469 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

This law of nature is common to all nations.

474 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

This law of nature is common to all nations.

483 VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

This law of nature is common to all nations.
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.

(9.) But here we must note, that lyke as in many thyngys, wych by experyence we dayly se, nature requyryth 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 dylyge?zce of man, wych els wyl soone be oppresseyd and corrupt. 

*Therhe [*Page 42.*]

Dangers to virtue.

All nations have certain customs and manners, called civil law, which differs from the universal law of nature, and varies in every country.
AND NOT IN OPINION ONLY,

520 nature ys euer one, in al curntreys fyrm and stabul, and 
neuer for the tyme varyth; hyt ys neuer chaungeadul; 
the consent of man doth no thyng therto; hyt hangyth 
no thyng of tyme nor place, but accordyng as ryght 
reson ys euer one, so ys thys law, and neuer *varyth 
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 
ordyna?zce ys but as a mean to bryng ma« 
to obserue thys law of nature, in so much that, yf ther 
be any cyuyle law ordeynyd wych can not be resoluyd therto, 
yyt 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 
resoluyd and referryd as to the end why they be or-
deynd, to the observatyon wherof they are but as 
meany.

Thus we see that 

(9.) And thus now I thynke, Master Pole, we may 
se that al vertue and honestye restyth not in the strong 
opnyon of man, but that, lyke as ther ys a certayn law 
by nature ordeynyd to induce and bryng man to a lyfe 
convenyent 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, 
and no thyng by the opnyon 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, 
strength, nor authoryte. And lyke as to thys law of na-
ture ys consequently *annexyd thys natural vertue and 
honesty,—wych in euery place and tyme ys of equal 
powar,—so ther ys to law cyuyle, and the observatyon 
therof, couplyd also a certayn vertue and honesty, wych 
lyke to the law only remenyth in the opnyon of man 
and hath hys strenght and powar therof. For though
hyt be so that, to be obeyd to the lawys cyuyle, so long as they be not contrayr to the law of God nor of nature, ys euer vertue and honesty; yet to thy law or that law, al men are not bounden, but only such as re-

ceyue them, and be vnder the domynyon of them, wych have authoryte of makyng therof. As to absteyn from flesch apon the Fryday, wyth vs hyt ys now reputed a certayn vertue, wyth the Turkys no thyng so; prestys to lyue chast, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue and honesty, wyth the Grekys hyt ys no thyng so; to mary but one wyfe, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue also, wyth other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, and Sarasyns, hyt ys no thyng so. And thus in infynyte other hyt ys eyydent to se, how that to be obeyd to the lawys in euery contrey hyt ys a certayn vertue, but of that sort wych hath hys strength and powar holly of the opynyon and consent of man. And so thyys truth as now you may see, that vertue and honesty partely stondyth by nature and partely by the opynyon of man; wherby now you may perceyue the pestylent persuasyon of them wych say and affyrme betwyx vyce and vertue *no dyfference to be, but only strong opynyon and fancy; they wold bryng al to confusyon, and leue no ordu by nature certayn. But the veray cause of theyr error ys arrogant blundrye; they thynke themselfe to be of such hye policy that no man may see so fer as they, and in-

dede they see les then other. Such haue only a lytyl smaterynge in gud lernyng and hye phylosophye; they compre hend not the hole ordu of nature; they conceyue not the excellent dygnyte of max; the[y] depely consyder not the maner of lyuyng accordyng to the same, by the reson wherof they can not dyscerne the powar of thys natural law; they can not see thys hye vertue and hon-
esty couplyd thereto. But bycause max, yf he be brough[t] vp in corrupt opynyon, hath no perceyueace of thys natural law, but suffryth hyt by neclygence to be op-

AS SOME MEN AFFIRM. 17

Civil laws only binding on those who receive them.

To be obedient to the laws is a virtue.

So you see virtue stands by nature and opinion.

[ * Page 45. ]

He proceeds to show,

secondly, the cause of their error who say

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

591

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

(9.) And thus now, Mastur Pole, you haue hard shortly, aftur myn opynyon, the cause of such errors, wherby some are dryuen to juge al vyce and vertue only to consiste in the opynyon of man, wych ys arrogant blyndnes, no thyngh consyderynge the dygnyte of man, nor the lyfe accordyng to the same; but of hys actys mesuryng hys dygnyte, affyrme playnly, that seying 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 lyke to say, as yf al men wold by consent, agre, and 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 consydur not the fraylty of man, wych seying the best folowyth the worst, ouer comme by sensual plesure; they consydur not the neclygence of man, wych suffryth hys sedys, by nature instincte, by wordly occasyonys to be ouer run; they consydur not the blyndenes of man, wych by yl educatyon growth in hym; but of the effecte folyschely they juge al to stond in the opynyon of man; and thys ys the cause of theyr folysch erreoure. And so now of thys to make answere 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 dynerse sectys and natyon[ys], dyssent and dyscorde in the maner of pollycy, every one jugyng hys owne to be best, yet in al such thyng as perteynith by *nature to the

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

They say by nature there is no virtue.

because most men follow vice:

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

Hence these errors.

[* Page 46.]

602 [* Page 47]
DIVERSITY OF CIVIL LAWS.

Dygunyte of man and maner of lyuyng accordyng to the same, they consent and agre, wyhout any discorde or dyuersyte. Al juge God aboue al to be honowryd as gouernour and rular of thys world; al juge one bound to ayd and succyr a nother; al juge hyt to be cowvenyent to lyue togyddur in polytyke lyfe. So that in the law and rule by nature cowvenyent to the dygunyte 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 observauce 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 cowvenyent to the dygunyte of man. And as touchyng the discord 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, insewyth the vertue annexyd to the same, he then folowyth the polytyke ordur, and kepyth gud cyuulyte. In so much that the Jue, Sarasyn, Turke, and More, so long as they obseruyng 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 persych vtturly; seyng the infynyte gudnes of God hathe no les made them aftur hys owne ymage and forme, then he hath made the Chrystun man; and the most parte of them neuer, perauentur, hard of the law of Chryst. Wherfor, so long as they lyue aftur the law of nature, obseruyng also theyr cyuyle ordynance, as mean to bryng them to the end of the same, they schal not be damnyd.
664 Thys I haue hard the opynyon of grete wyse men, wel pondereryng the gudnes of God and of nature; but whether hyt be so or not, let vs, after the mynd of Sayn Poule, leue thys to the secrete jugement of God; and of thys be assuryd, of thys be certayn, that our lawys and ordyn-
ancys 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 saluyton yf we gyue perfayt fayth and sure trust to the promys of God in them to vs made. Thys to vs faythful and Chrystyn men ys no dowte. Therfor how other sectys schal dow, to what perfectyon so euer theyr lawys schal bryng them, let the secret wysdome of God therof be juge, and let vs be assuryd that our lawys, by Chryst the Sone of God, and by hys Holy Spryte incresyd and confyrmyd, schal bryng *vs to such perfectyon as accordyth to the dyngnyte of the nature of man. Of thys thynge we are by fayth confyrmyd, more sure, more certaine, then of thos thynge wyche we se, fele, or her, or by any sens may perceyue. Wherfor, Mastur Pole, let thys dyuersyte of sectys and lawys no thynge trowbul vs at al, wych, per-
auentur of necessity, folowyth the nature of man, non other wyse then the dyuersyte of language and tong.

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

687 For lyke as man naturally ys borne to speke and expresse the concaye of mynd one to a nother, and yet to no partyculler language they are borne, so to folow the law of nature al men are borne, al natyonys by nature are inclynyd thereto; and yet to no partyculler mean by cyuyle ordynance decreed they are nother bounden nor borne. Therfor, notwythstandyng thys dyuersyte of sectys and lawys, we may yet ryght wel affyrme the dyffynyton of the cyuyle lyfe before sayd to be ryght gud and resonabul, wych ys a polystyke ordur of a multytude conspyryn geogyddur in vertue and honesty, to the wych man by nature ys ordrynyst. Thys ys the end of marnys lyfe; to thys euery man ought to loke; to thys
Every man ought to referre al hys actys, thoughtys, and dedys; thys every man to hys powar ought to ayd and set forthe; thys (al dowtys layd aparte) every man ought to study to maynteyn. *Wherfor, Maystur Pole, now I wyl in thys cause no more resoun wyth you, but pray you, al occasyonys drawyng you from that layd asyde, to 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 every honest mynd to schote at.

10. Pole.—Maystur Lupset, you haue sayd ryght wel; and though in deede I dowtyd no thyng of thys mater, that you so ernystely moue me vnto, yet hyt hath plesyd me wel to here you, wyth such phylosophycal resonys out of nature drawne, confyrme the same, so manyfestely and clerly declaryng hyt, that no man may dowte thereof. 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 approchytb to the nature of God, who therby ys most perceyuyd to be God, that he communycatyth hys gudnes to al other. Therfor, Master Lupset, I am content. Let vs agre apon thys, let vs take thys as a ground, that every man ought to apply hymselfe to the setting forward of the commyn wele, every man ought to study to helpe hys cuntrey. Yet ther ys a nother thyng to be consyderyd, wych hath causyd many grete, wyse, and poltyke men to abhorre from commyn welys, and thys ys the regard of tyme and place. For though hyt be so that a man to meddyl wyth materys perteynyng to the wele of hys hole cuntrey, ys of al thyng best and most to be desyryd, yet in some tyme and certayn place hyt ys not to be tempydyd of wyse men, wych rght wel perceyue theyr labur to be spent in vayn; as in tyme of tyrann, or in such place where they that rule are bent only to theyr pryuate wele. What thynke and says how good it is to help a whole country; but there is another matter to be considered.

[* Page 50.]

He again urges Pole to affairs of state.

P. owns the force of the reasoning,

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

[* Page 51.]

Sometimes this is not to be attempted, as when tyrann and selfishness prevail.
you among such the counsell of a wyse man schold avayle? Wythout dowte hyt schold be laughyd at, and no thyng at al hyt schold be regardyd, no more then a tale tollyd among deffe men. Wherfor hyt semyth not wythout cause they euer absteynyd, in such tyme and place, from medelyng wyth materys of the commyn wele; they see exampullys of many and dyuerse, wyth wythout profyt had attemptyd the same, and no thyng got, but only that some of them therfor were put in exyle and bannyschyd from theyr cuntrey; some put in 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 wyssedome. Yf Tully had not chauncyd in the tyme of the cyuyle warre betwyx Cesar and Pompey, the cyte of Rome schold haue haue seen and felt much more profyt of that nobul wytt. Yf Seneca had not byn in the tyme of Nero, so cruel a tyran, * but in the tyme of Traiane, so nobul a prynce, hys vertue schold haue byn otherwyse extyymyd, and brought forth other frute. Thys we se that 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 tempest wyl commyt themselfe to the daungerys of the see, or wythout wynd wyl set vp the sayle. Plutarch comparyth them to such as, being them selfe in dry house, seing ther felowyys delyte in the rayne, and wylyng not to run out, but tary therin, are not content, but yssue out, no thyng obtaynyng, but only that they may be wet wyth theyr felowyys. So they wych, wythout
regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys and conseyl of pryveys, were they here every man speke of the commyn wele, every man hath that oft in his mouth, that, vnder the pretense and colour therof, they may the bettur procure their owne, some be corrupt wyth lyke opynyony, some draw lyke affecte. For as hyt ys commynly sayd, hard hyt ys dayly to be among thefys and be not a thefe. Every man for the most parte ys lyke to them wyth whom he ys commensant. 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 opynyony as they be wych meddyl therwyth, me semyth grete madnes and foly. * And so al be hyt therfor, Master Lvpset, that to meddyl wyth materys of the commyn wele, and profyt youre cuntrey, be in dede of al thyng that man may dow in thys lyfe the best and of hyest perfectyon, yet now to me hyt apperyth some respecte ys to be had both of tyme and of place.

11. Lvpset. — Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng the respecte both of tyme and of place, I thynke hyt ys some thyng to be conseyderyd; and no dowte thos men, wych be of grete wysdome and hye pollycy, be also fortunate and happy, wych chaunce to be borne in such tyme when they wych haue in theyr cuntrey hye authoryte and rule, al ambicyouse affectyon set apert, only procure the true commyn wele; and, as Plato sayth, thos cuntreys be also happy wych haue such gouvernursys 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 hyest poynt of wysdome to stond 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

1 MS. le.
and so have allowed their country to perish.

807 *comyn 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 consyderyng of tyme hathe causyd many *comyn welys vttruly to persych; hyt hath causyd in many placys much tyranny,* wych myght haue byn amendyd, *yf wyse men,* in tyme *and* in place, wold haue bent themselves to that purpos, leuyng such fon respecte of tyme and of place. But, *Master Pole,* what so euer regard he *of wyse mere* to he *had other it is certain* that of tyme or of place, *thys to vs ys certayn,* that now, in our tyme, when we haue so nobul a *prynece,* whome we are sure no thyng to haue so pryntyd in hys brest as

820 the cure of hys *comyn 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 ferueret loue to the *welth of hys subectys* then hath he; ther was neuer kynge in any cuntrey wych bare grettur zele to the adminystratyon of justyce *and* settyng forth of equyte *and* ryght then dothe he; aftur he ys therof informyd and surely instructe by hys wyse *conseylyrs* *and* 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 *comyn wele,* so ther ys much more of takyng the tyme when hyt ys, and takyng occasyon when hyt offryth hyt selfe. Wherfor, *Master Pole,* as you now see, cheffely to be regardyd as the end of al *mannys studys* *and* carys, the welth of the *comynalty,* so now also vse your tyme, vnder so nobul a prynce, to the mayntenaunce *and* settyng forward of the same. Let not occasyon slyppe; suffyr not your tyme vaynly to pas, wych, wythout recovery, fleth away; for *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
TOO LONG—THEY FIND NEITHER.

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

12. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you haue bounde me now; I haue no refuge fether to fie. Wherfor, I promys you I schal neuer pretermyt occasyon nor tyme of helping *my cuntrey, but euery, as they offer them-selbe, I schalbe redy to my powar euery to apply and [Page 55.] 849
indeuer myselfe to the mayntennance and settingyng forward of the true commyn wele. And now, bycause, as you ryght wel and truly haue sayd, we haue so nobul a prynce, wych, when he knowyth the best, he sted-fastely wyl folow hyt, euery desyrouse of hyss commyn wele; that I may be in the mater more rype when so euery occasyon schal requyre, I schal now at thyss lesur, and here, in thyss solytary place, some thyng wyth you, Master Lvpset, deuyse,-touchyng the ordur of our cuntrey and commyn wel, to the wyche purpos also, me 854
semyth, the tyme exhortyth vs, seyng that now our most nobul prynce hath assemblyd hyss parlyament and most wyse conseyl, for the reformatyon of thyss hyss commyn wele.

13. Lvpset.—Mary, Syr, thyss purpos ys maruelus 864
gud, and veray mete and commenyent for the tyme; and glad I am that I put you in remembra?jce herof. Therfor I pray you now exeryse 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, aftur thyss 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 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; [hyl] stondyth, and when hyl most floryschyth, that we may, hauyng thys playny lyt set before our yes, al our conseyllys to thys poynt euer resolue and referre.

Second, to search out its disorders:
Second, we wyl serch out therby the dekey of our commyn wele, wyth al the commyn fautys and mys-orduryys of the same. Thyrldly, we wyl deuyse of the cause of thys same dekey, and of the remedy and mean to restore the commyn wele agayne. And thys schalbe the processe of our communycatyon.

L. agrees with this,
but bids Pole to beware of imitating Plato’s example, whose commonwealth no mortal can follow.

This Pole promises.

15. Lvpset. — Syr, thys processe lykyth me wel; but here of one thyng, I pray you, take hede, that in thys your deuyse of your communycatyon you folow not the examplul of Plato, whose ordur of commyn wele no pepul apon erth to thys daye coud euer yet attayn. Wherfor hyl ys reputyd of many men but as a dreme and vayne imygynatyon, wych neuer caw be brought to effect; and of some other hyl ys comparyd to the Stoyke phylosophar, who neuer apperyd yet to the lyght, such vertue and wysdome ys attrbyutyd to hym, that in no mortal man hyl can be found. Therfor loke you to the nature of ourt cuntrey, to the maner of our pepul, not wythout respect both of tyme and of place, that your deuyse heraftur, by the helpe of our most nobul prynce, may the sonar optayne hys frute and effect.

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

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

1 MS. Le.
THE EVILS OF IGNORANCE.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. *[Pole.]*—Saying that we be now here mete,

Master Lupset, accordyng to our promys, to deuyse of

a mater, as you know, of grete dyffyculty and harduos,

I requyre you most tendurly to be dylygent and attent, and frely also to schow your mynd therin, that where as

my resonys schal appere to you sklender and weke, wyth

dylygence you may them supply; and cesse not to dowte as you haue occasyonys—for dowtyng, you know, bryngyth the truth to lyght. And though hyt be so that the mater be hard and requyryth grete labur to the

ensationg of the truthe conteyneyd in the same, yet the grete frute and profyte wych may ryse and yssue of the same may somewhat encourage vs and gyue vs stomake. For thys I juge to be of sure truth, that yf men knew certaynly what ys the true commyn wele, they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as the[y] dow; they wold not so neclecte hyt and despyse hyt as commynly they dow. For now as euery man spekyth of hyt and hath hyt oft in hys mouth, so few ther be that extyme hyt and haue hyt fyxyd in theyr hartyss; wych playnly commyth as (aftur the mynd of the most wyse phylosophar Socrates) al other yl dothe, of vayn, false, and corrupt opynyon; for no man wyttyngly and wyllyng wyl dow hymselfe hurte. Wherfor yf men knew that, so lytyl regardyng the commyn wele, *they dow them selfe therwyth also hurt, surely they wold mor extyme hyt then they dow,* wych thyng I trust to make euydently to be seen heraftur.

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

1 MS. Le.
32 befor that we passe any further, 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 every man felyth hyt in hym selfe, that thos wych be yl know they dow nought; and yet, by plesure

37 overcome, the[y] folow the same, contrary to thery owne conseycence and knolege. Euery man knowyth, as hyt apperyth to me, they schol folow vertue, and yet you see how they folow the contrary; euery man knowyth, as I thynke, they schol aboue al regard the commyn

42 welth, and yet euery man sekyth hys owne profyt. Wherfor hyt apperyth to me we schold attrbyute al fautys, al vyce, rather to malyee then to ignorawce. Besyde thys, how schal we defend the lyberty of our wyl, yf we be thys lade[n] wyth ignorance? Frewyl can

47 not be wyouthout knolege, both of the gud and of the yl. Wherfor me semyth the ground of your communycatyon stondyth in dowte.

3. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys thyngh wych you now bryng in questyon, mowyd of the beginnyng of our communycatyonys, semyth to be a controversy not only betwyx the commyn sort and lernyd, but also betwyx Arystotyl and Plato, the chefe phylosopharys. How be hyt, betwyx them I thynke thys dyscord that apperyth ys but in wordys only, and no thyngh in dede, as hyt ys in many thyngys mo, wherin they seme

47 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 thyngh payntyd or carvyd, but of hyt selfe apt and indyfferent to receyue al maner of pyturys 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

1 MS. arystotyttyl
of yl growyth in by experyence and lernyng, so euer the wyl conformyth and framyth hymselfe to the knolege before goten, in so much that yf hyt be persuyadeth that gud 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 resyn, and wyth ryght jugement, then sche folowyth euer that wych ys gud; lyke as, contrary, when the opynyon ys wauryng and not groundly set, then sche, overcómeth and blyndyd by plesure, or some other inordynat affecte, folowyth the yl; so that ether out of sure and certayn knolege, or lyght and wauryng opynyon, al the inclynyation of wyl takyth hys rote, wych euer ys framyd accordyng to the 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 from the streyght lyne of vertuose lyuyng; but when ther was therin no thyng but wauryng opynyonyes, wych wyth euery lyght contrary persuayyon wold vanysch away, then the mynd schold be lyghtly overcómeth and schortly blyndyd wyth the vayne colour of truth. Thys wauryng opynyon in mawnys mynd, and thys blyndenes wyth inordynat affectys, he callyd in dede ignorance, the wych he euer notyd to be the fountayn of al yl and vycyouse affectaynng in marnys mynd. Arystotyl, more conformyng hymselfe to the commune jugement of man, sayd that they wych had thys opynyon of gud, be hyt neuer so lyght, wauryng, and vnstabul, yet some knolege hyt left in marnys mynd, by the reson wherof, after the commyn opynyon of euer man, ychone in hym selfe, when he doth nough[t], felyth a gruge in conscyence and repugnance in mynd. Wherfor he says that they wych be yl haue knolege therof and yet folow the same. But Plato callclyth that same wauryng knolege, and lyght per-

which receives impressions afterwards.

If the opinion be strong, it follows the good:

if weak the ill.

Socrates says virtue depends on instruction.

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

Plato calls wauring knowledge ignorance.
suasyon, certayn blyndnes and playn ignorance, insomuch 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 callyth lyght knolege, and but a waueryng opynyon, the other callyth ignorance, specyally when hyt ys overcome wyth the contrary persuasyon, as hyt ys in al them wych know the gud and folow the yl. *They haue repugnance and dyuersyte of opynyony, but the one ouercumyth the other, and that wych ouerco?ranyth if man had sure knowledge of good, knolege of the gud, he wold neuer leue hyt and folow lie would never leave it. For, as Arystotyl sayth, theyr knolege wych be incowtynewt and gyuew to vyce ys blyndyd for the tyme wyth some iwordynate affecte, wherwyth they be, as hyt were, drunken aftur such sorte that they consydyr not what ys gud or what ys yl; but, as hyt were, by the vayn schadow therof, they are deceyuyd, and yet, thys notwythstondyng, they haue frewyl and lyberty therof; for as muche as they be not of necessyte by thys persuasyon compellyd nor drawn to folow the same. For albehyt the wyl of man euer commynly folowyth that to the wych opynyon of perseuyng the gud or voodyng of the yl ledyth hyt, yet hyt ys not of any necessyte, but man, dryuen nother to one nor to the other, may, other by dylygence resyst that same of hymselfe, or by conseyl of other ouercomme hyt also; and therin restyth the lyberty of mynd. How be hyt, thys ys of trothe, yf the reson and wyl be custummably blyndyd wyth any persuasyon, hard hyt ys to resyst therto, and wythout grete dylygence hyt wyl not be; for the wych cause many men vtturly take away the lyberty of wyl, and say that euer hyt ys compellyd, by strong opynyon, to folow thys or that, accordyng to the persuasyon. But vndowtydly dylygent instructyon
IGNORANCE THE CAUSE OF ALL VICE. 31

and wyse conseyl may at the lest in long tyme restore the wyl out of such captyuyte, and * bryng hyt agayne to the old lyberty; ye, and * though hyt be so that so long as hyt ys thys drownyd wyth affectys and blyndyd wyth ignorance, hyt euer folowthe the blynd persuasyon, out of the wych, as I sayd, as out of a fountayn, sprynghy al vyce, al myschefe, and yl; yet by dylygence hyt may be restoryd and brought to consydur hys owne dygnyte. But plesure and profyt so blynd reson, and so reyn ther, that hard hyt ys to pluke out thys pestylent persuasyon, wych ys the cause of al errorys in mannys lyfe. Thys ys the cause of the destructyon of al commyn welys, when euery man, blyndyd other by plesure or profyte, consyduryth not the perfectyon 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 vyce, and mysery, as wel in euery private mannys lyfe as in euery commynalty.

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 blamed 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 pollycys.

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

* MS. wold.
For ye he wold other here counseyl of wyse and prudent men, or suffur not by neclygenwe the sedys of nature plantyd in hys mynd to be oppressyd wyth vayn opynyon, he schold not be so led by ignorance and folly, and schold not be so drownyd in affectys and mystery. 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.

6. Lvpset.—Wel, then, let vs now, I pray you, returne to our purpos, that we may the bettur (and ether also, avoyd thyts ignorance,—the fountayn of al yl) serch out what ys the true commyn wele. For, in dede, I thynke thyts now to be truth, that ye men knew what 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. Polc.—Thys thynge 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 proftyte and plesure, as we schal see more playnly heraftur. But now to our purpos. Aftur the mynd of the antyent and most wyse phylosopher Arystotyl, in the veray same thynge wherein stondyth the welthe and prosperouse state of euyr partycular man by hym selfe, restyth also euyr cyte or cuntrey, the veray and true commyn welth; the wyth thynge ys to al men by commyn reson euydent, for as much as the welth and substance euer of the hole rysyth of the welth of euyr partycular parte. Wherfor, ye we can fyrst fynd out that thynge wyth ys the welth of euyr partycular man, we schal then consequently fynd out also what thynge hyt ys that in any cyty or cuntrey we cal the veray true commyn wele. And thys let vs take as a ground to the rest of our communycatyon.

1 MS. other.
8. Lvpset.—Mary, Syr, but herin, me semyth, lyth a dowte; for yf hyt be thus, that the commyn wele ryse of the partycular wele of euery one, then euery man ought to study to maynteyne* the partycular wele, to the settyng 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.

9. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset, not so; for thes ij thyngs 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 iwordynate loue of themselfe; lyke as physcyonys now be necessary in cytes and townys, seing that men commynly gyue themselfe to such inordynat dyat, wheras, yf men wold gourne themselfe soburly by temperat dyat, then physcyonys were not to be re- quyryd of necessyte in no commyn welth nor pollycy. And so, I say, yf euery man wold gourne on wel, no-thyng blyndyd with the loue of hymselfe, you schold then see a true commyn wele. And thys hyt ys true, that euyn 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 par-tycular wele of euery private man, that we may, as I sayd, therby come to our purpos. And for bycause

* Page 64.
L. If the common good come from the individual good,

[^ Page 65.]

P. says if every man would cure one, we should have a true commonwealth.

If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed.
many thyngys ther be wych are requyryd to the wele of
every 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
vnderstand 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 erthly 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 exclusyd 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-bodiedly infyrmyte be not vtturly 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 exercyse of vertue undowtyldly 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 communyth hys
vertue to the profyt of other. Wherfor hyt apperyth
that we may justely affyrm 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
helth, yet yf he have not strength to maynteyne the same, hyt wyl some 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 mayntenance of the same, yet yf hyt be deformyd, yf the partyes be not propercy[ ]nabul, one agreyng to another, accordyng to the ordur of nature, they be not so acceptabul nor plesaunt, nor the body hath not hys perfayt state and vertue. Also, aftur the sentence of the most wyse poete, yn a gudly body ys more [that ys] commendabul, plesant, and acceptabul. Wherfor, to the perfayt state of the body, and veray wele wele therof, they must run al iij joynefully togydur—both helth, strength, and beuty, to the wych al other vertues of the body, as to the pryncypallys and chefe, lyghtly ensue. And so in thes bodyly vertues and natural powarys, stondyth the fyrst poynt requyryd to the wele of euery partycular man, aftur my mynd, except *you have any thyng to say contrary to thys.

10. Lyvpet.—No, Sir, I wyl not interrupt your communycatyon now in the myddys, but when you haue brought hyt to an end, I wyl then frely and playnly schow my mynd.

11. Pole.—Wel, then, let vs go forward. The second poynt that mazzys wele restyth in, ys ryches and conuenient abundance of al wordly thyngys, mete to the mayntenance of euery mazzys state, accordyng to hys degre. Thys ys to euery man manyfest and playn; for in case be that man haue a body neuer so helthy, beutyful, and strong, yet yf he lake such thyngys as necessarly be requyryd to the mayntenance of hys state and degre, he schal be trowbyld in mynd wyth infynyte carys and myserabul thoughtys; bycause he seth wel that, wythout them, thys bodyly wele wyl some vade

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For if a man have health but no strength to maintain it, it will soon be lost.

In these three the perfect state of the body consists.

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

(11.) The thryd poynt now remeynyth, wych al be hyt of hyt selfe hyt ys most pryncepal 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 dreme of vertue; so lytyl count ys had therof. How be hyt, the troth ys thys, that lyke as the 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

*Page 68.*
IMPORTANCE THAN BODILY VIRTUES.

37

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.]

Of what avail are health, beauty, strength, riches, to a man who cannot use them? Riches to those who cannot use them are destruction.

361

368

374

383

Health is to be studied for the mind's sake, and for the good of your friends and your country.

Riches and abundance are to satisfy bodily wants,

vertues and powarys of ther body, and al other ryches and wordly tresore, as thos thynys wych be chefully and aboue al other to be extymyd and regardyd. And thought hyt be so that man, by corrupt judgement, 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 eydent and playn wych be not yet blyndyd wyth in-ordynat affectys, and haue not lost the ryght judgement of thynys, wych ys the cause of al errorys and mys-chefys that commynly happnynyth in manys lyfe. For what avaylyth to haue helth, beuty, and strength of body, to hym wych can not vse them to the end by nature and reson appoynytd? What avaylyth hyt to haue ryches, tresore, and al wordly abundance, to hym wych can not by wysdome vse them to hys owne welth and to the profyt of other? Wythout fayle, no thyng. We see dayly in commyn experyence (we nede not to seke for reson or exampul to proue and conffyrme hyt) that ryches, authoryte, and worldly abundance, 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 thyts in- tent, that therby wyth more lyberty and plesoure you may haue the vse of al vayn joys and past-tymys wordly; but to thyts end and purpos only, that by your helth of body you may more commuenyently vse al honest and vertuese exercyse of the mynd, both to the commodyte of yourselfe and also of your frendys and contray. Aftur thyts maner helth ys to be extymyd as the ground and fundatyon, accordyng, as I sayd befor, of the wele and prosperous state of every man. Lykewyse, ryches and worldly abundance ys not to be regardyd to thyts intent, that man therby may haue *the vse of vayn and transytorie plesures, but only to thyts purpos, that by them he may fyrrst satysfy hys owne necessyte, and
and to help the needy and such as are in misery. After this manner also they are to be extynymyd, euer referryng them to vertue as to theyr end and purpose wy they are to be desyryd, and as the chefe poyn of the felicyte, wele, and prosperous 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 streght, both of helth, strength, and beaty, of ryches, and of al other worldly abundaunce; and transytory vertue hyt ys that techyth vs al honest behauyour bothe toward God and man. As, by examplul, relygiously to honower and worschype God, as Maker, Gouernor, and Rular of thyss word, and brotherly to loue euery man iche other, wyth al ryghtwyse and just delyng togyddur.

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

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.

Riches without religion and honour towards God and man cannot profit.

so after succur and helpe them wych haue nede and be in mysery. After this manner also they are to be extynymyd, euer referryng them to vertue as to theyr end and purpose wy they are to be desyryd, and as the chefe poyn of the felicyte, wele, and prosperous 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 streght, both of helth, strength, and beaty, of ryches, and of al other worldly abundaunce; and transytory vertue hyt ys that techyth vs al honest behauyour bothe toward God and man. As, by examplul, relygiously to honower and worschype God, as Maker, Gouernor, and Rular of thyss word, and brotherly to loue euery man iche other, wyth al ryghtwyse and just delyng togyddur.

(11.) Wherfor hyt can not be dowtyd, yf we wyl extyme thyngys in ryght ordur and degré, but that vertue ys the chefe poyn of al thes thre. For yf hyt were so that a man had most prosperous state of body, wyth helth, strength, and beaty; ye, and yf he had also al abundaunce of wordly godys and ryches, yet yf he had not also the streght 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 vttur destruc-

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 prosperyte therof, yet, yf hys mynd were not ryghtly set wyth relygyouse honour toward God, and wyth honest and just behauyour toward man, al that schold no thyng avayle, no thyng profyte. So that thyss ys now certayn, that they ij fyrst poynys, wythout thyss thryd couplyd therto, rather hyndur and hurt, then ayd and set forth, the wele and prosperous state of euery private
man; but when they al be joynyd togyddur,—helth, strengthh, 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 streygth[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 lyhe welth and most prosperouse state and felcyte, conuenyent to the nature of man and to hys dygnyte. And so thus, Master Lvpset, now I thinke you se wherin stondyth the wele of euer partycular man; out of the wych we must now seke out and ensrch 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.

12. Lvpset.¹—Syr, you say wel. How be hyt, bycause thys ys the ground, as me semyth, of the rest of our communycayton, 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 felcyte of euer partycular man restyth in thos iij povntys, wych you haue declaryd couplyd togyddur, then few ther be that haue wele, few wych be in prosperouse state and felcyte; the most parte of mankynd ys excludyd from hyt. For by thys reson, yf a man be fallen *in to any grete syknes 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 felcyte; 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 felcyte. In so much that yf man were fallen in to neuer so grete syknes or pouerty, or otherwyse trowblyd by the stormys

¹ MS Le¹
459 of fortune in adversyte, wych by no wysdome he can avoyd; yet, so long as he patyently suffryth them and contentyth hys mynd wyth hys present state, euer com-forthyng hymselfe wyth vertue purposys; so long, I say, hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele and felcyte. To thys, me semyth, agreth al the doctryne of our Master Chryst, wych callyth them blessyd wych be euer in wordly adversyte, patyently suffryng: yet, so long, as he patyently sufifryth them and cowtewtyth hys mynd wyth hys present state, euer comfortyng hymselfe wyth vertuse purposys; so long, I say, hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele and felyami to this agrees the doctrine of Christ.

463 Of thys al Scripture ys ful. Hyt nedyth not to bryng in any particular place for the testymony therof, seyng that al sownyth therto. Al Chrystys dyscypullys and apostyllys were sympul and pore, hauyng no wordly prosperyte; and, contrary, thos wych be in wordly prosperity, he notyth to be myserabul and wrechyd. Of thys al Scrypture ys ful. Wherfor hyt apperyth that your iiij poyntys couplyd to gyddur are not requyryd of necesseyte to the wele of euery particynlar man; specyally consyderyng that, by that mean, the most parte of mankind schold be excludyd from theyr wele and felcyte, wych can not at-tayn to wordly ryches and hye philosofy.

468 Wherefore these three points are not required.

13. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, you euer bryng in some regyd knottys in communycaton. But yet by-cause they be somewhat to our purpos, we schal not let them slype vtterly vnexamynyd. And, fyrst, you schal vnderstond, for the ground of your dowte, that we may perceyue wherof hyt sprange, that, accordyng to the dyuersyte of opynyonys wych men haue had of the nature of man, so varyabul sentence were taken of hys felcyte and wele. Some sayd that man was no thyng els but hys resonabul soule, for as much as 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

1 MS. suffrynge.
conuenient to say that so long man hathe hys hye felocyte and wele as the soule was instructe wyth such vertues as be accordyng to hyr dygnyte; notwyth-standingyng that the body were trowhlyd wyth syknes, pouerty, and al other callyd worldly aduersyty, wych no thyng touchyd the nature of the soule; and so by theyr opynyon vertue had euer couplyd wyth hys hys felocyte. Other ther were, more agreyng to the commyn reson of man, wych sayd that man ys not only the soule, but as one chefe and pryrccypal parte, but a certayn nature wych rysyth of the vnyon and coniumctyon 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 prosperous state of the same; wych, after 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 defendyth mammys mynd from mysery, and euer hath joynyd therto felocyte, yet, me semyth, hyt ys not in the most perfayt state, hyt ys not in the hyest degre, except therto be couplyd worldly prosperyte. For thys ys certayn, that the mynd of man then more floryschyth, more reioycyth, and hath more wele, when frely, wythout any impedymcnt, other of body or inury of fortune, hyt exercysyth vertues actys, and spredyth hyr beamys to the lyght and comfort of many other. Wherfor, though vertus purpos and honest intent be suffycyent, not only to defend a man from mysery, but also to conserve and kepe hys mynd in felocyte; yet, after myn opynyon, for as much as the body ys one parte of man, he hath neuer most hye felocyte nor most perfayt state in the hyest degre, except the body wyth the mynd florysch also wyth hys vertues and al thyngys necessyry for the mayntenance of the same. And thys, I thynke to be of truth, that to the most prosperous
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 adversity 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 adversity.

*Page 76.*

Christ said, "How hardly shall they that have riches, &c.,"

530 state al thes thyngys joynly are requyryd; albehyt hyt ys no thyng to be dowtyd but that many, stablyd and confyrmyd wyth perfayt and sure hope, may ryght wel attayne, in the lyfe to come, to the most hye felycyte, though he be here trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte, wherof by foly and neclygene he hymselfe ys not the cause; but yf he patyently suffyr hyt for the loue of God, hyt ys as a mean to the attaynyng therof. And lyke wyse wordly felycyte and prosperouse state in thys lyfe present, excludyth not man from the most hye felycyte of the lyfe to come, but rather, yf he vse hyt wel, hyt ys also a mean wherby he the bettur may attayne to the same. But forbycause wordly prosperyte ys so ful of manyfold peryllys and daungerys, by the wych a neclygent mynd ys sone oppressyd, and, as hyt ys commynly sayd, hard hyt ys to haue heuyn here and els-were; therfor few ther be, and few euer haue byn found, wych wel to that end coude vse thys wordly prosperyte, in so much that hyt ys of many wyse men jugyd much harder to be wel to vse wordly prosperyte, then pa-.cyently to suffyr and bere al wordly aduersyte. For the wych cause *I thynke our Mastur Chryst chose, for the most parte, hys dyscypullys of that sort wych were tossyd in wordly aduersyte, and few of them wych in-\[552\]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 thys world nother they wych haue theyr hartys fyxyd in the loue of ryches of thys word nother they wych haue theyr myndys drownyd in the vayn plesurys of thys lyfe, may attayne to the plesure and felycyte of the kyngdome of heuyn and lyfe to come. But yet, as I sayd, he excludyth not them wych euer bere theyr myndys vpryght in the streygght vse of the same. And, forbycause the thyng ys of so grete hardnes and dyfficulyt, few you schal fynd in al Holy Scrypture, wych wel dyd vse thys wordly
DO NOT EXCLUDE MAN FROM HEAVEN.

prosperity; for the which purpos, as I thinke, many men
of gret wysedome and vertue flye from hyt, settingh
themselfe in relygyouse housys, ther quetyly to serue
God and kepe theyr myndys vpyght wyth les jopardy.
Wych thyng surely ys not amys downe of them wych
perceyue theyr owne imbeczylyte and wekenes, prone
and redy to be oppressyd and ouerthrownye, wyth thes
commune and quyat plesurys of the world, by whome
they see the most parte of mankynd downyd and ouer-
comyn. How be hyt, me semyth, they dow lyke to fere-
but they are
ful schypmett, wych, for drede of stormys and trowblus
who, for dread
ys callyd a gud and experte maryner, and much more
prayeysworthy, then he wych for fere and dred kepyth
hymselfe in the hauen styl; so he wych in daungerouse
prosperyte, so ful of so many occasyonys of errorys and
dowyng amys, gouernyth wel hys schype and convetyth hyt at the
ys callyd a gud and experte maryner, and much more
last to the hauen and place appoyntyd of hys course, 581
prayeysworthy, then he wych for fere and dred kepyth
hymselfe in the hauen styl; so he wych in daungerouse
prosperyte, so ful of so many occasyonys of errorys and
dowyng amys, gouernyth wel hys mynd wel, and kepyth
hyme in to a relygyouse house, ther as in
hauyn quetyly to rest, wythout so much trowbul and
dysquyetnes. Thys I say, bycause you schal not thinke 592
that such as lyue in prosperous state of thys lyfe present
are therby excludyd from the felcyte of the lyfe to
come; but rather when prosperity ys wel vsyd, hyt ys
a mean to set manmys mynd in that state, wherby he
596
schal attayne hyar felcyte.

And so now to retourne to your dowte,
Master Lypset, thus I say:—That though hyt be so
that man, beyng here in thys lyfe present trowblyd
wyth al wordly aduersyte, may vndowtydly, by patyent
601

Some retire from the world,
and it is not amiss of them;
but they are like sailors,
who, for dread of storms,
ever leave the haven.

He who does his
duty in all
perils, is a wise
man,
and better than
he who hides
himself in a
religious house.

Though a man
in adversity may
attain heaven,
yet, as riches do
not exclude him,
VIRTUE AND WORLDLY PROSPERITY

602 suffrstice of the same, in the lyfe hereafter attayne
to the most hye feltyce, yet, seyng that by no worldly
prosperyte he ys excludyd from the same, hyt may
not [be] dowtyd but that the most prosperous state* of
man stondyth in the vertues of the mynd couplyd wyth
wordly prosperity. And, albehyt that few ther be wych
attayne ayther, yet bycause hyt ys commenyent to the
dynyte of man, and some ther be wych
the thynge ys not vtturly to be taken away, nor vtturly
to be denyd from the nature of man. Suffycyent hyt ys
that no man by nature ys excludyd from feltyce, though
al men can not attayne to the hyest degre therof. And
so, yf we haue regard of the soule only, callyng
aftur the mynd of Plato, the veray man, wherof the
body ys but as a pryson; and yf we also haue regard
and only of the lyfe to come, despysyng, aftur the
doctrine of Chryst, the vayne plesurys of thys present lyfe;
then hyt ys troth, as you thought, that man, though
he be troublyd wyth al worldly aduersyte, yet may
ryght wel attayne to hye feltyce. But, contrary, yf we
haue regard not only of the soule, but also of the body,
saying with Arystotyl, that man ys the vnyon and con-
junction togyddur of them both; and yf we haue re-
gard also, not only of the lyfe to come, but also of the
lyfe present; then hyt ys true that I say, that feltyce
in the hyest degre ys not wythout worldly prosperity.
Thus, Master Lwpset, the thynge dyuersly consyderyd
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 thyngeys wherof they dyspute makyth to appere
betwyx them controuersy.

14. Master Lwpset.—Syr, therin I thinke you say
truth, for dyuarse consyderatyon hathe euer made dy-
verse opynyon, and I am glad that both we say truth.
But yet of one thyng I somewhat marvayle, that in the highest felicity of man you put dyuerse degres, to some attrybuttering more, and to some les. Me semyth felcyte ys the most perfayt state, wych admytyth 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 coupled also wordly prosperyte, schold yet haue hyar felcyte then they wych, wythout that, haue only vertue, the wych, yf hyt be so, you then agre that vertue alone gyueth man felcyte.

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 gyueth to man hye felcyte; 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 felcyte admytyth degres; and some haue more wele, and some les; and he, as I sayd, hath most prosperouse state and hyest felcyte, wych hath wyth vertue coupled al wordly prosperyte; and thys ys, wythout fayle, most conuenyent to the nature of man. So that now I thinke hyt ys clere wherin stondyth the felcyte and wele of euery partycular man, by the wych now, as a ground and foundatyon leyd, we schal procede to the rest of our communycatyon.

16. Lvset.—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 felcyte 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?
A LARGE POPULATION NECESSARY

674 numb of cytyzyns, in euery commynalty, cyty, or cuntrey. The thyng wych ys resembled to the soule ys cyuyle ordur and polytyke law, admynistryd by offycers and rularys. For lyke as the body in euery man receyuyth hys lyfe by the vertue of the soule, and ys gouernyd therby, so dothe the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey receyue, as hyt were, cyuyle lyfe by lawys wel admynistryd 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 compared to the body, and the other to the soule.

679

686 18. Lvpset.—Thys symylytud lykyth me wel.

19. Pote.—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 prywcypal thyngys befor declaryd, so the commyn wele of euery cuntrey, cyte, or towne, semablys rysyth of other iij thyngys proporeyonabul and lyke to the same, in the wych al other partycular thyngys are comprehended. And the fyrst of them, schortly to say, stondyth in helth, strength, and beuty of thys body polytyke and multytude of pepul, wherein restyth the ground, and, as hyt were, the fundatyon of the commyn wele. For yf the cuntrey be neuer so rych, fertyl, and plentiful of al thyngys necessary and plesaunt to mawnys lyfe, yet yf ther be of pepul other to few or to many; or yf they be, as hyt were, etyn away, dayly deouuryd and consumyd by commyn syknes and dysease; ther can be no ymage nor schadow of any commyn wele, to the wych fyrst ys requyryd a commenyent multytude and commenyntly to be nuryschyd ther in the cuntrey. For where as ther be other to many pepul in the cuntrey, in so much that the cuntrey by no dylygence nor labur of man may be suffycyent to nurysch them and mynys-

[* Page 81.*]

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

1. From the number of its people.

No matter how rich and fertile it may be, if the people be too many or too few, or if they be oppressed in any way, there can be no prosperity,

Multitude of pepul,1

703

708

1 In margin of MS.
tur them fode, ther wyhound dowte can be no commyn wele, but ever myserabul* penury and wrechyd pou-
erty. Lyke as yf ther be of pepul ouerfew, insomuch that the cuntrey may not be wel tylyyd and occupyd, nor craftys wel and dylygently exercysyd, ther schal also syrnyge therof grete penury and seassenes of al thynge necessary for mannys lyfe; and so then cyuyle lyfe and true commyn wele can in no case be ther maynteynyd. Wherfor a conuenyent multytude mete for the place, in euery cuntre and commynalty, as the mater and ground of the commyn wele, ys fyrst to be requyryd of nescynte.

(19.) Ferther, also, though the nombour of pepul were neuer so mete to the place, cyty, or towne, yet yf they floryshyd not in bodyly helth, but commynly were vexed wyth greuus syknes and contagouse dys-
ease, by the reson wherof the pepul schold be consamyd, no man could say ther to be any commyn wele. But lyke as euery particulyr man in bodyly sykenes, 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, fyrst, as ground and fundatyon of the rest of hys wele, ys requyryd a certayn helthe, wych also by strenghth must be *maynteeynd. For lyke as the body, yf hyt be not strong, sone by vtward occasyony, as by in-
temperance of ayr, labur, and trauayle, ys oppressyd and ouerthrowne, and so losythe hys helth; so dothe the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne, sone, by warrys and inury of ennemys, wythout strenghth, lose hys welth and sone ys oppressyd and brought in to mysery and wrechyd captyuyte. Wher-
for to thys polytyke body strenght ys also requyryd,
as health, or it
must of necessity
decay.

Strenght of the
pepul.¹

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 party of
the poplyk body.¹

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 maynteyny; but, shortly, of necesstye hyt must dekay.
Thys strenght stondyth in thys poynt chefely—so to kepe and maynteyne euyry parte of thys body, that they
promptely and redyly may dow that thyngh wych re
quyryd to the helthe of the hole. Lyke as we say, then
euyry manyn body to be strong, when euyry parte can
execute quykly and wel hys ofyce 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 poplytyke body stondyth
in euyry parte beyng abul to dow hys ofyce and duty;
for thys body hath hys partys, wyth resembyld also the
party 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, pryncel, and rular
of the state, whether so euery hyt be one or many, ac
cordyng to the gouernance of the commynalty and poply
tyke state; for some be gouernyd by a pryncel alone,
some by a conseyel of certayn wyse men, and some by
the hole pepul togyyddur, as here aftur, when occasyon
requyrth, more playnly I wyl schow. But now to our
purpos. He or they wych haue aorthyte apon the hole
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
prynceys and rularys of the state commynty al lawys, ordur
and pollycy, al justyce, vertue, and honesty, to the rest
of thys poplytyke body. To the hede, wyth the yes, yer ys,
and other sensys therin, resemblyd may be ryght wel the

¹ In margin of MS.
vnder offycerys by pryncys appoyntyd, for as much as they schold euer observe and dylygently wayte for the wele of the rest of thys body.  *To the handys are re-
semblyd bothe craftysmen and worryarys wych defend
the rest of the body from injury of ennymys vtward, and worke and make thyngys necessary to the same. To
the fete, the plowmen and tyllarys of the ground, bycause ploughmen the feet.

*To the handys are re-
assemblyd bothe craftysnien and warryarys wych defend craftsmen and
plowmen the

are the most general partys of thys polytyke body, wych may justely be resemblyd aftur the maner declaryd to thos chefe partys in manys body.

788

(The strenghth of thses partys altogyddur ys of necessyte requyryd, wythout the wych the helth of the hole can not long be maynteynyd. 

(19.) And ferthermore, yet though thys polytyke body be helthy and strong, yet yf hyt be not beutyful, but foule deformyed, 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 fascyon, quantyte 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 ii j thyngys, couplyd togyddur, stondyth, wythout fayle, the wele *and prosperouse state of the multytude in euer commynalty, wych, as you now se, iustely may be resemblyd to the body of euer particyular man. 

And yet ferther to procede in thys symylytud. Lyke as the wele of the body, wythout ryches and con-

venyent abundance of thyngys necessary, can not con-

[* Page 85.]

[* Page 86.]
tinue nor be maynteynyd, so thys multytude wych we cal the polytyke body, wythout lyke abundance of al thyngys necessary, can not florysche in most perfayt state. Wherfor thes exteyor thyngys—frendys, ryches, and abundance of necessarys—are iustely, in the second place, to be requyryd to the 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 be lake of necessarys, hyt can not long prosper; ther wyl schortly grow in al kynd of mysery, for grete poerty in any cuntrey hathe euer couplyd gret mysery. Sche ys the mother of enuy and malyce, dyssen-syon and debate, and many other myschefys ensuyng the same. Wherfor, wythout necessarys no cuntrey can florysch; ye, and yf ther be no lake of necessarys for the sustenance of the pepul, but grete abundance of ryches and of al thyngys necessary and plesaunt for mannys lyfe, yet yf the same cuntrey lake the frenschype of other joynyd therto, and be inuyronnyd and 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 cuntreys ys no les requyryd then ryches and abundance of other thyngys necessary. And so in thes thyngys joynyd togyddur restyth the second poynyt requyryd to the wele of euer commynalty.

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

1 In margin of MS.
2 The following is written in the margin, but there is no sign to show where it should be inserted:—as frendys to may[n]teyne the state, or els by ennemys they schortly may be oppressyd.
ruilyd, to the intent that thys multytude of pepul and hole commynalitie, so helthy and so welthy, hauyng con-

uenty abundance of al thynys necessary for the maytenance therof, may wyth dew honowr, reuerence, and lone, relygously worschype God, as fountayn of al gudnes, Maker and Gouernower of al thyys world; euer one also dowyng hys duty to other wyth brotherly lone, one louyng one a nother as membrys and partys of one body. And that thys ys of the other powntyys most chefe and pryyncypal hyt ys euydent and playne; for what avaylyth hyt in any cuvtry to haue a multytude neuer so helthy, beutyful, and strong, wych wyl folow no cuyle nor polytyke ordur, but euyry one, lyke wyld bestys drawn by folysch fantasy, ys lade by the same, wythout reson and rule? Or what avaylyth in any cuvtry to haue neuer so grete ryches and abundance of al thynys both necessary and plesaunt to mawnys lyfe, where as the pepul, rude, wythout polyty, can not vse that same to theyr owne commodyte? Wythout fayle, nothyng. But euyn lyke as euvry man, hauyng helth, abundance of ryches, frendys, dygnyte, and authoryte, wych lakyth reson and vertue to gouerne the same, euer abusyth them to hys owne destructyon; so euvry cuvtry, cyty, and towne, though they be neuer so replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al abundance of thynys necessary and plesenaut to the maytenance of the same, yet yf they lake gud ordur and polytyke rule, they schal abuse al such commodytes to theyr owne destructyon and ruyne, and neuer schal attayne to any commyn wele; wych, wythout cuyle ordur and polytyke rule, can neuer be brought to purpos nor effecte.

20. Lypset.—Sir, I pray you here, before you pro-
cede any fether in your communycation,—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,"
883 now "cyuyle ordur," and now "polytyke rule;" to the intent that I may the better understand the rest of your communycatyon.

21. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you admonysch me now ryght wel; for bothe here ys place now that thyng *to dow, and I promysyd hyt a lytyl befor. Wherfor I wyl go about in some parte to satysfy your mynd and desyre. A tyme ther was, Master Lvpset, as we fynd in storys many and dyuere, when man, wythout cyty or towne, law or relygyon, wan[d]eryd abrode in the wyld feldys and wodys, non other wyse then you see now brute bestys to dow. At the wych tyme he was lad and drawen wythout reson and rule by frayle fantasy and iuordynat[e] affectys, and so long contynuyd, and many yerys, tyl at the last certayn men of gret wytt and pollycy, wyth perfayte eloquence and hye phylo[so]-phy,—consyderynyg the excellent nature and dygnyte of man, and perceuyng 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 rudenes and vncomly lyfe, and so to folow some ordur and cyuylyte. And fyrst of al to byld them certayn cytes and townyys, wherto they myght assembal to theyr commyn ayde, suctur, and commodyte, avoydying the daunger and peryl of the wyld bestys, by whom theye were oft before deuouryd and destroyed. Then, aftur, they deuysyd certayn ordynance and lawys, wherby theye myght be somewhat inducyd to folow a lyfe convenyent 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 possybuly sodeynly, by exacte law and pollycy, to bryng such a

1 In margin of MS.
2 Although this word is not marked out, the word "vn-rulyd" is written above it.
rude multytude to perfayt cyuylyte, but euer as the pepul, by processe of tyme, in vertue incresyd, so particular lawys by polytyke men were deuysyd. And thus in long tyme, by perfayt eloquence and lyfe phylosophy men were brought, by lytyl and lytyl, from the rude lyfe infeldys and wodys, to thyth cyuylyte, wych you now se stablyschyd and set in al wel rulyd cytes and townys. Where as you see some gouernyd and rulyd by a kyng or prynce, some by a commyn consayl of certayn wyse men, and some by the hole body and multytude of pepul; and thus hyt was determyd, jugyd, and appoyntyd by wysdome and pollycy, that euer, accordyng to the nature of the pepul, so, by one of thes polytyke manerys, they schold be gouernyd, ordryd, and rulyd. For some pepul ther be to whome the rule of a prynce more agreth then a commyn councayl, as such as haue byn long vsyd thereto, and be not gretyly desyrouse of hye authoryte, but in pryuate lyfe are content to lyue quyety. To other, contrary, ys mor conuenyence [in] the rule of a commyn councayl, wych can in no case suffur the rule of one, for as much as euer one of them by theyr custome and nature, are desyrouse of frank lyf and hye authoryte; and so to them *ys bettur the rule of many. How be hyt, thys euer ys certayn and sure, among al sortys and nature of pepul, whether the state of the commynalty be gouernyd by a prynce, by certayn wyse men, or by the hole multytude, so long as they wych haue authoryte and rule of the state loke not to theyr owne syngular profyt, nor to the pryuate wele of any one parte more then to the other, but refer al theyr cons[e]yle, actys, and dedys to the commyn wele of the hole;—so long, I say, the ordur ys gud, and dyrectyd to gud cyuylyte, and thys ys gud pollycy. But when they wych haue rule, corrupt wyth ambycyon, enuy, or malyce, or any other lyke affecte, loke only to theyr owne syngular wele, plesure, and profyt, then thys gud ordur ys turnyd

916 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 particular people; 929 * 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.

Virtue is the end of all politic rule.

[*Page 92.]*

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

Without civil order there can be no true commonwealth,

for as in man there only is felicity where mind and body agree; so in a country or town there into hys tyrannye; then ys broken the rule of al gud cyuylete; ther can be no polytyke rule, nor cyuyle ordur; the nature wherof now to perceyue ys, as I thinke, no thyng hard at al. For hyt ys a certayn rule wherby the pepul and hole commynalty, whether they be gouernyd by a prynce or commyn counselye, ys euer dyrectyd in vertue and honesty. So that the end of al polytyke rule ys, to enduce the multytud to vertuse lyuynge, according to the dygnyte of the nature of man. And so thus you haue hard what thyng hyt ys that I so oft speke of and cal polytyke rule, cyuyle ordur, and juste pollycy. *You haue hard also how dyuere hys 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 thys rulyys ys best, and to be preferryd aboue other, me semyth superfynouse, seyng that certayne hys ys that al be gud and to nature agreabul; and though the one be more comuynent to the nature of some pepul then the other. Wherfor best hyt ys, leuynge thys questyon, al men to be content wyth theyr state, so long as they be not oppressyd wyth playn tyrannye.

(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 town, be seen any schadow of the true commyn wele. For yf ther be neuer so many pepul, as I haue oft sayd, and neuer so grete ryches in any cuntrey or commynalty, yet yf ther be no polytyke rule nor cyuyle ordur, of al such thyng they schal take no commodyte. Yf al the partys of the cyty wyth loute be not knyt to-gyddur in vnyte as membrys of one body, ther can be no cyuylete. For lyke as in mannys mynd ther only ys quyetnes and hye felcyte, wher as in a gud body al the affectys wyth reson dow agre, so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys perfayt cyuylete, ther
ys the true commyn wele, where as al the partys, as membrys of one body, be knyt togyddur in perfayt loue *and vnyte; every one dowyn g his office and duty, aftur such maner that, what so euery state, office, or degre, any man be of, the duty therto perteynyng wyth al dylygence he beslyy fulfyl, and wythout enuy or malyce to other accomplysch the same. As, by exampl, they hedys and rularys, both spiritual and temporal, to dow their duty, prouydyng alway that fyrst, and aboue al, the pepul may be instruct wyth the doctrine of Chryst, fede and nuryschyd wyth the spiritual fode of hys celestyal word, euery dyrectyd therto by al gud pollycy; so that consequently they may also quyetly labur, both wythout vyward impedyment and hurt of ennomys, and also wythout inward iniury among themselvene, one oppressyng another wyth wrongys and iniury, but dylygently to labur, procuryng fode and thyngys neccessary for the hole polytyke body. And thys ys the office and duty, breuely to say, of hedys and rularys, aftur thys maner dylygently to se the admynystratyon of justyce to the hole commynalty. For the wych purpos they are thys maynteynyd in pompe and plesure, and in quyat lyfe, wythout al trouayle and bodly labur, as you see; in al placys commynly euery maynteynyd by the labur and trouayle of the pore commynalty, to the intent, that they, a the other syde, supportyd by their prudence and pollycy, may dylygently, wyth commyn quyetnes, apply themselfys to their laburys and paynys for the susteynyng of the hole body, the wych also ys the chefe poynt of their office and duty; gyuyng also reuerently to their pryncys and lordys al humbul servyce and meke obedience requyryd to their *state and degre. And so thus, when euery parte, aftur thys maner, dothe hys office 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

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. 1004

And so thus, when euery parte, aftur thys maner, dothe hys office 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-
tent that, after thy wordly and cyuyle lyfe here paysy-
ably passyd and vertusely spent, they may at the last
al togyddur attayne such end and felycyte as, by the gud-
nes of God and ordynance of nature, ys determyd to
the excellent dygnyte and nature of man. Then schal ther be
stablyschyd and set in such a multytude of pepul so
gouernyd, so rulyd, wyth such pollycy, that thynge wych
we so long haue sought,—that ys to say, a veray and
true commyn wele, wych ys no thynge els but the pro-
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 dy-
gnyte of man. The nature wherof now, I thynke, you
may clerly perceyue, and how, semblably, hyt rysyth of
ij thynks, lyke and proportionabul to them, wherin
stondyth the wele of euery partycular man. For lyke as
a man ys then welthy, and hath hye felycyte, when he
hathe helth, strenghth, and beuty of body, wyth suffy-
cyency of frendys and wordly godys to maynteyne the
same, and hathe also therfo joynyd honest behauyur
both toward God and man; * so a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,
hathe his commyn wele and most perfayt state, when
fyrst the multytude of pepul and polytyke bodyys helth,
beutyful, and strong, abul to defend themselfys from
vtward injurys; and then plentuously nuryschyd wyth
abundance of al thyngeys necessary and plesaunt for
the sustentatyon and quyetnes of mannys lyfe,—and so,
thyrldy, lyne togyddur in cyuyle ordur, quyetly, and
peasybly passyng theyr lyfe, ych one louyng other as
party of one body, euery parte downyg hys duty and
offyce requyryd thereto. Then, I say, ther ys the veray
and true commyn wele; ther ys the most prosperouse
and perfayt state, that in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, by
pollycy and wysdom, may be stablyschyd and set. To
the ayd and settyng forward wherof, euery man for hys

1 In margin of MS.
parte, by the law and ordur of nature, ys bounden; wych hath brought forth man, as I sayd at the begynnynge of our communycatyon, for thys purpos and for thys end,—that after such maner he myght lyue in cyuyle lyfe, euer hauynge befor hys yes thys commyn wele, wythout regard of hys owne vayne plesuryes, frayle fantasies, and syngular profyt. Every thyng that he doth in thys lyfe referrynge to thys end, wych ys the only pouynt and marke, of al conseylllys assemblyd in any commynalty, to be lokyd vnto; non other wyse then to gud physycyonys the helth of theyr patyentys, or to gud marynerys the hauen and parte to the wych *they sayle and dresse theyr course. And euyn 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 offycye and duty appoyntyd to hym; by the reson wherof, consequently, the schype arryuyath at the hauen purposyd and intenedyd; so a cuystrey, cyty, or town, then ys wel gouernyd, ordryd, and rulyd, when the hedys or rularys therof be vertuse and wyse, euer hauynge before theyr yes, as a marke to schote at, the welthe of theyr subj[e]cts, euery one of them also dowynge theyr offycye and duty to them appoyntyd and determyd. And so consequently the hole poltykye body attaynyth the veray and true commyn wele, wych now I thinke, Master Lupset, somewhat you see, bothe what hyt ys and wherin hyt stondyth.

(21.) For lyke as the helth of mannys body stondyth not in the helth of one partycular parte therof, but in the gud and natural affecte and dysposytyon of euery parte couplyd to other; so thys true commyn wele in thys poltykye body stondyth not in the wele and prosperous state of any partycular parte separat from other, but in euery parte couplyd togyddur, vnyte and

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

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

As the health of a man's body stands not in the health of one particular member, but in all the members together, so the true commonwealth does not stand in the prosperity
knyte as membrys of one body by loue, as by the com-
myn bande of al polytyke ordur and gud cyuylyte. And
lyke as the helth of the body determyth no partycular
*complexyon, but in euery one of the iiiij by physcy-
onyys determyd, as in sanguyn, melancholyk, phlegmatyk,¹
and coleryke, may be found perfayt; so thys commyn
wele determyth to hyt no partycular state, wych by
polytyke men haue byn deuysyd and reducyd to iiiij;
nother the rule of a pryunce, nother of a certayn nombrur
of wyse men, nother yet of the hole multytude and body
of the pepul, but in euery one of thes hyt may be found
perfayt and stabul. How be hyt, as of physcyyonys the
sanguyn complexyon ys gugyd of other chefe and best
for the mayntenance of helthe of the body, so the state
of a pryunce, where as he ys chosen by fre electyon most
worthy to rule, ys, among the other, chefe and pryncypal
jugyd of wyse men for the mayntenance and long con-
tynuance of thys commyn wele and polytyke rule in any
commynalty. Wherfor hyt determyth no certayn state,
so that hyt can be in non other; but in euery one hyt
may be founde and surely groundyd, as long as euery
parте ys kept in hys ordur wyth prosperitye. And as to
see and playnly to juge when thys commyn wele most
floryschyth, hyt ys no thyng hard, but esy to perceyue.
For when al thes partys, thys coupleyd togyddur, exercyse
wyth dylygence theyr offyce and duty, as the plowmen
and laburarys of the ground dylygently tyl the same, for
the gettyng of fode and necessary sustenance to the rest
of the *body; and craftysmen worke al thyngys mete
for mayntenance of the same; ye, and they hedys and
rularys by just pollycy maynteyne the state stabllyschyd
in the cuntrey, euer lokyng to the profyte of they hole
body; then that commyn wele must nedys florysch, then
that cuntrey must nedys be in the most prosperouse
state. For ther you schal see ryches and conuenyent
¹ MS. φlegmatyk.
abundance of all thyngs necessary; ther you schal see
ocytes and townys so garnyschyd wyth pepul, that hyt
schalbe necessary in placys deserte, to byld mo cytes,
castellys, and townys for the mynyschyng of such a
multytude, wych ys a sure argumente and certayn token
of the floryschyng of thys polytyke body. So that of
thys you may be sure: where so euer you se any cun-
trey wel garnyschyd and set wyth cytes and townys,
wel replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al thyngys neces-
sary and plesaunt to man, lyyng togyddur in cyuyle
lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of the nature
of man; euery parte of thys body agreyng to other,
dowyng hys ofTyce and duty appoyntyd therto; ther, I
say, you may be sure ys set a veray and true commyn
wele, ther hyt floryschyth as much as the nature of man
wyl suffur. And thus now, Master Lvpset, schortly to
conclude, aftur my mynd you haue hard rudely de-
scribyd, what ys the thyng that I cal the commyn wele
and iust pollycy, wherein hyt stondyth, and when hyt
most *floryschyth.

22. Lvpset.—Sir, though you haue therin satysfyd
my mynd ryght wel, and clerly the mater openyd, yet
you haue made me therwyth somewhat sory, ye, and to
lament wyth myselfe. For I haue euer thought hytherto
that the state of Chrystundome hath had in hyt a veray
ture commyn weele and just pollycy, 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 communycatyon, hyt
wanyth 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 pollycy, ye, and ys now in other statys of poly-

[Increase of population is an evidence of prosperity;]

[and wherever these signs of prosperity are seen,]

[we may rest assured that there is a true commonwealth.]

[* Page 99.*]

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

60

He thinks much hangs upon fortune.

60 tyke pepul. Wherfor, by thys mean hyt apperyth manly-festely that the comyn wele and the floryschyng of the same hangyth much of fortune, as touchynge the wordly prosperyte, wherof sche hath grete domynyon, and hath byn euer notyd to be as lady and mastres.

1166 23. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, as to thys, I schal schortly 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 conuenyent to the nature of man; forasmuch as the rule and ordur therof tendyth to euerylastyng lyfe and felycyte, and forbycause the plesurys of thys lyfe and wordly prosperyte so blyndyd man before Chryst commynly, that he nothyng regardyd the lyfe to come. Therfor, to pluke thys blyndnes out of inawnys mynd, the Author and Stablyschar of our Chrystyn pollycy, tought vs, by contempt of thys vayn prosperyte, to take the streyght way to euerylastyng felycyte. For, seyng hyt was so, that man coud not as a passenger only vse to the ryght purpos thys prosperyte, but drownyd ther-wyth lokyd no fether then thys pollycy, necessary hyt was to bryng man to the contempt of the same. To thys the Henenly Wysdome, and no wordly pollycy, hathe brought the state of Chrystundome; the wych passyth al other non other wyse then doth that man wych, garnyschyd wyth al vertue, in pouerty and 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 euery lyke as the welth of euery partycular man, sonderly by hymselfe, yf he lake helth or necessarys, though he be most ver-
tuse, ys not most perfayt, as you haue hard before; *so the state of any cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ys not [the] most perfayt that may be, yf ther be lake of worldly prosperity; wych, as we haue at large before declaryd, yf hyt be wel vsyd, excludyth no cuntrey from most perfayt pollycy, ordur, and rule, but rather much settyth forward the same. And as touychyng that you sayd, that the commyn wele schold by thys mean hang much of fortune, thys, I thynke, be truth, spekyng of the most perfayt state wych may be, to the wych of necessyte ys requyryd thys worldly prosperity. To thys agre bothe Arystotyl and Theophraste, they grete and auncyent phylosopharys, wych, though the[y] were of the Stoyke secte, therfore reprouyd. Yet, me semyth, theyr opynyon, yf hyt be wel ponderyd, agreth wel to nature and to mannya resoun. For who ys he that doth not dayly in experyence se how ryches and helth, authoryte and dygnyte, ye, and al other callyd worldly prosperity, 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 tempestuus see, wych by euery wynd ys tossyd and tumiblyd 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 partycular man, so hangyth apon fortune, that, wythout hyr ayd and succur, they can not stond; for that were to vertue grete injury, wych to euery man gyuyth felycyte, and to euery cuntrey hys true commyn wele and just pollycy. How be hyt, except to thys vertue be also couplyd worldly prosperity, wherby hyt may be put in vse to the profyte

[* Page 101.] and a country is not perfect which lacks worldly prosperity.

He owns that he thinks much depends on fortune,

which has great power in all outward and worldly things.

Some by her are exalted; others are brought low and trodden under foot.

Yet he will not own that the happiness of any country so depends upon fortune, that it cannot stand without her aid.
of other, me semyth (as I oft haue sayd before), hyt lettyth not man in hys most perfayt state that he may be in; nor leyth not in the cuntrey, cyty, or towne, the hyest wele that may come theerto, _and_ be stablyschyd therin, by prudent pollycy. For [who] dowthyth of thys, but that such a man hath more perfayte state wych to vertue hath joynyd al wordly prosperity, then he wych hath equal vertue, but, oppressyd wyth al wordly aduersyte, by the reson wherof he can not put in effect hys vertuse purpos _and_ honest intent? And so, lykewyse, to no man hyt ys dowte, but that cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wych ys replenyschyd wyth pepul, helthy _and_ strong, hauyng habundaunce of ryches _and_ al thyngeys necessary, wel gourneyd _and_ rulyd wyth polytyke ordur, ys in hyar _and_ mor perfayt state, then that cuntrey where ys grete poverthy _and_ lake of al thyngeys necessary, though ther be belyde neuer so gud ordur _and_ perfayt cuyltye. For thys ys truth, Master Lvpset, as me *semorthy, that I haue oft sayd, thys wordly prosperous, yf hyt be wel vsyd, some thynge incresyth manmys felcytye; nor no thynge hyt ys to be manuyld that perfayt felcytye _and_ hyest commyn wele hang some thynge of fortune _and_ chaunce; for as much as they haue domynyon _and_ rule in certayn thyngeys, wych of neces- syte are requyrd to them in the perfyttyst degre; for euer thynge as hyt ys more perfayt in hys nature, so hyt requyryth euer mo thyngeys to hys perfectyon.

Thys ys so euydent _and_ playn, bothe in al thyngeys 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 thynge most perfayt, therfor he requyryth to hym al perfectyon. Wherfor, nother to manmys felcytye in the most perfayt degre, nor to the commyn wele of any cuntrey in the most perfayt state _and_ pollycy, hyt ys no imperfectyon to hange of many vtward _and_ ex-
IS NOT AN IMPERFECTION.

teryor thynys, wych oft be alteryd by fortune and chaunce. And thus, Master Lvpset, aftyr my mynd, hyt ys no incommenyens that manynys felicyte by the fauour of fortune schold be set forward vnto the hyest degre.

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 manynys felicyte.

25. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset,1 you may not take hyt thys, that fortune hath powar to cast man out of hys felicyte, 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 schynynyng and 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 manynys felicyte, stoppyng hyt from exercyse and vse, to the commyn profyt of other and commodyte. But so long as hyt happurnyth not by manynys neclygence, but by ytward occasyon, ther ys in hym no faut nor blame. Wherfor, though man be here oppressyd wyth iniurys of fortune and al wordly aduersyte, yet, yf hys mynd be stablyd and set wyth vertuse purpos and honest intent, God (wych lokyth only and knowyth the hart) schal therfor herafter in a nother lyfe gyue hym euerlastyng felicyte and joy; by the hope wherof he ys also, in thys lyfe present, so comfortyd and fede, that he can by no maner fall into wretchednes and mysery. How be hyt, the most hye felicyte, after myn opynyon, he hath not, except therto be joynyd wordly prosperyte.

26. Lvpset.—Syr, yet thys, me semyth, ys some-what straunge, consyderyng your symylytude and al that

MS. le.
you spake of befors; for yf they iniurys of fortune to vertue and felicity be but as cloudys to the sone, how shold they let man from hys hyest perfectyon? Me semyth no more then the cloudys let the sone from hys perfectyon, wych I thynke no man wyl say. Troth hyt ys, that they, perauentur, somtyme let the perfectyon of thyngys beneth, but of the sone no thyng at al.

27. Pole.—Master Lupset, I schal tel you, yf the perfectyon of the sone and exercyse therof were let by cloudys, as vertue ys, and the operatyon therof, by iniurys of fortune, I wold then agre to you in thys mater. But in that thyng they be not al lyke; for the sone communy whole hys perfectyon at al tymys of thes inferoyr thyngys accordyng to theyr nature and capacyte, as wel in cloudys as in serenyte. But vertue, vn dowtydly, let by fortune and wordly aduersyte, can not commune hyr actys and dedys to the profyt of other. Wherfor in thyys mater ther ys no more to be dowtyd; but sure hyt ys, that fortunys fauaur somewhat aydyth and settyth forward the hyest poynyt of felicyte; and so, in lyke wyse, the commyn wele of euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wych, wythout ryches and other wordly prosperyte, can neuer florysch in the hyest degre.

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

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

1 MS. and and
SELFISHNESS DESTROYS A STATE.

1344

CONSYDUR not they manyfold occasyonys of ruyne, and fallyng from the trade of vertue, wych they haue dayly and hourly before theyr yes, wych be inhaunsyd in worldly prosperyte; they loke only to the payn and trowbul, wherwyth they be oppressyd wythal, wych be in aduersyte; and such thyngys, bycause they are but few, in nombur, may other, as they juge, much more esely be borne, or more sone avoydyd. But how so euer hyt be, we wyl not now dyspute, but turne to our purpos, takyng thyss as sure, bycause we seke the most perfayt 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 pertyne to the mayntenance therof, with al gud cyuylyte, to the intent that we here, wel vsyng thyss wordly prosperity, may, at the last, attayne to stuche end and perfectyon as, by the prouydence of God, ys ordeynyd to the excellent nature and dygnyte of man. And so now, to make schort, Master Lvpset, you haue hard what ys the veray and true commyn wele in any cuntrey, cyty, or towne, and what ys the most perfayt state therof; the wych, as I sayd at * the begynnyng, yf al men knew and ponderyd ryght wel, they wold not so much regard the[x] pryuat wele as the[y] dow; they wold not so study theyr owne destructyon. For thyss ys sure (as now you playnly see and clerly perceyue) that ouermuch regard for pryuate wele, plesure and profyt, ys the manyfest destructyon of al gud, publyke, and inste commyn pollycy. For euyn 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 in the see, or by neclygence run apon some roke, to the hole destructyon bothe of themselfe and of al other caryd in theyr schyp; so in a cuntrey, cyte, or towne, STARKEY.
when every man regardyth only hys owne profyte, welth, and pleasure, wythout respecte of the profyt of the hole, they schortly fal in dekey, ruyne, and destructyon; and so at the last, perceuyng theyr owne foly, then, when hyt ys to late, they begyn to lament. Wherfor, vndowtyldy, thys ys a certayn and sure truthe, that men communly are so blyndyd wyth syngular profyt and vayn pleasure, that they neuer consydur thys commun wele; though they speke of hyt neuer so much, they neuer conceyue how theyr owne destructyon ys secretly coupled to theyr owne actys and dedys; for yf they dyd, surely they *wold not sufffr themselfe so to erre, and so to ruz [to] their owne ruyne. For thys ys a sure ground, that no man wyttyng and wyllynge wyl hurt hymselfe, nor desyre hys owne destructyon. But euer, by the colowr of good and schadow of truth, man ys blyndyd, dysceyuyd, and into ignoraunce lad, and so by corrupt jugement, extymyth yl to be gud and gud to be yl; wych ys, as you hane hard before at large, the fountayn and spryng of al erroyr and vye, and of al mysordur in manmys lyfe, bothe pryuat and publyke; the wyche thyng, when hyt ouerrunnyth hole natyonys and pepul, vtturly destroyth al cyuyle lyfe and polytyke rule. For ther can rayne no gud pollycy wher the jugement of the pepul ys corrupt by false opynyon; wherby they juge that every man doth wel when he only regardyth hys owne pleasure 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 commun profyt, that they therwyth also regard theyr owne syngular and pryuate, surely they wold not so neclygently loke thervnto, as hyt ys communly seen they now dow. But euen as the commun wele ys in every manmys mouth, so also hyt schold be fyxyd in theyr harty; hyt schold be the end *of al theyr cogytatyonyngs, conseylys, and carys. For euen as gud marynyers, when they, by theyr
craft and dylygence, bryng theyr schyple saue out of tempestys into the sure port and hauen, dow not only saue other byeng in theyr schyple but themselfe also, so cytyzyns in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, when they, by prudent pollycy, maynteyn cyuyle ordur and gud rule, euer settyng forward the veray and true commyn wele, dow not only saue other wych be vnder the same gouern-aunce and state, but also themselfe. For, as you see and haue hard by many exampullys, in dyuere cuntreys, cytes, and townys, when, by sedycyon and necklygence of rularys, the cyuyle ordur and poltyke rule of the hole body ys onys broken and turnyd vp so downe ther-wyth by and by, peryschyth the pryuate wele of evry man; no one can long enyoy plesure or quyetnes, where the hole ys dysturbyd and put out of ordur. Therfor thys ys as euydent as the schynyng of the sone, that in the regard euer of the true and commyn wele ys con-teynyd also the regard of the pryuate. Wherfor now, Master Lvpset, seyng that we haue somewhat *declaryd what ys the veray true commyn wele, wherin hyt stond-yth, and when hyt most floryschyth, let vs go forth to the rest of our communycatyon, purposyd at the begyn-nyng, as you thinke best. 1425

30. Lvpset.—Yes, Sir, I thinke hyt now veray gud; for you haue in the fyrst satysfyd me ryght wel. And I dowte no thyngh but yf men wold wel, al that you haue sayd, consydur and pondur, ther wold be more regard of the commyn wele here in our cuntrey then ther ys in dede. For me smyth playlyn wyth vs evry man, vnder the pretens[e and] colour of the commyn wele, regardyth the syngular, by the reson wherof our cuntrey lyth rude, no thyngh brough[t] to such cyuyltye as hyt myght be by gud pollycy. Wherfor I fere me sore, lest hyt be almost impossybly to stabul and set such a commyn wele among vs here in Englad as you 1430

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.

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

1438

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

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

1 Not crossed out; but the word “rularys” written above.
1451 have before describyd; al thyngys be here so fer out of ordur, so fer out of forme.

31. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpe'st, ¹ by lykelyhode you se much amys that you be in so grete desperatyon before we begyn. How be hyt, I se no cause wy you schold so be; for nother the place here of our cuntrey nor pepul themselfe be so rude of nature but they may be brough[t] * wel to al gud cyuulyte. Troth hyt ys that you say, as yet they are fer from that ordur and such state as we have describyd; for many and grete fautys ther be reynyng among vs here in our cuntrey and commynalty, wych now remayne in the second place to be sought and tryed out. Wherin now, also, Master Lvpe'st, you must put to your dylygence, that we may togyddur bettur spye out the commyn fautys and mysordurys therin; that so at the last we may, peraudenture, fynd some mean to restore our cuntrey to hyr commyn wele agayne, and, as nere as may be, reformyng hyt to the exampl that we haue prescrybyd before, wych schalbe to vs enuer as a rule to examyn the rest of our communycatyon by.

32. Lvpe'st.—Sir, to thys gud purpos that you now haue conceuyd, 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.

33. Pole.—Master Lvpe'st, you say ryght wel, and so let hyt be.

¹ MS. i.e.
[CHAPTER III.]

1. [Pole.] Now, after that we haue somewhat declareyd what ys a veray commyn wele in euery coun-
trey convenyent to the nature of man, lyuynge in cyuyle lyte and polytyke ordur, hyt schal be expedient for vs (lokyng therto euer as to our marke to schote at, and to the end of al conseyllys and parlyamentys in any commynaltyt to seke out wyth dylygence, and by reson to try, such fautys and mysordurys as appere to let the settinge forthe of thys commyn wele, and be occasyonyys that hyt can not prosper and florysch, but rather fal into ruyne and dekey. For lyke as to physycyonys lytyl hyt avaylyth to know the body, complexyon therof, and most perfayt state, except they also can dyscerne and juge al kynd of syknes and dyssessysys wych commynly destroy the same; so to vs now thys vnyuersal and scolastycal conseyderyon 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 mysorduryys, wych, as syknes and dyseyssysys, be manyfest imedymentys, and vtturly repugne to the mayntenance of the same. Let vs ther-
for now, Master Lypset, to thy 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 thyng 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 hane hard the descryptyon of a commyn wele, aftur the P. says after de-
fining a commyn-
wealth suitable to the nature of man in a civil state, it is exp-
editent to seek out and reson upon the faults which hinder such a common-
wealth, and bring it in the end to ruin and decay.

It avails phy-
sicians little to
know the perfect state of the body if they cannot judge of the
sicknes and
diseases of it;
and our consider-
ation will avail little except we
diligently search out the faults of the common-
wealth.

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

"phylosophycal" is written over this word.
32 maner before schowyd, hyt ys not hard to see the mys-
ordurys here in our cuentre, nor to spye the grete dekey of
such a commyn wele wych you hauo so manyfestely
describyd;—hyt ys so open to every manmys 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 apon our cytes, castellys, and
townys, of late days ruynate and fallen downe, wyth
such pore inhabytans dwellyng therin; or when he
lokys apon the ground, so rude and so wast, wych, by
dylygence of pepul, hath byn before tyme occupyd and
tyllyd, and1 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 lyuynge,
wych ys as ferre distant from gud and perfayt cyuulyte,
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-
serchynge of the same.

51 3. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvset, thys mater ys not
al on't so clere as you make hyt, nor requyryth not so
lytyl dylygence as you sene to make hyt. For we may,
perauentur, other a the one syde, to strethylyte or
naroly examyn the hole mater, laying ther faut wher
as non ys; callyng that mysoordur and yl gounernance,
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 cuentre) contrary, cal
that playn gud and gentyl cyuulyte wych in dede ys
rudenes and rustycyte. Wherfor, of thys we must
chefely beware, and dylygently take hede, lest therby
64 we dysceyue not2 our selfe.3

1 This word has been crossed out in the MS.
2 This word is not marked through in MS.
3 This sentence stood originally as follows :—"of thys we
must beware, and dysceyue not our selfe."
THREE GENERAL FAULTS.

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

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, wych you schal perauenture see me ouerrun and, by neclygence, let pas.

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

7. Pole.—Wel, then, let vs now go forward in the mater; wherin, fyrst, you schal vnderstond that I wyl not speke of every partycular faute and mysordur in euery mammys lyfe here in our cuntrey,—for that were a mater infynyte, and nothyng mete for our purpos intendyd; but I wyl speke only of the general fautys and mysordurys and vnyuersal dekeys of thys commun wele, wych by commun counseyle and gud pollycy 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 communalty and reame; second, I wyl seke out and inserch such as schal appere to me in thyngys necessary and commodyouse for the mayntenance of the same body; thrydly, I schal touch such fautys and mysordurys as I schal fynd * in the polytyke ordur, rule, and gouvernance of thys body, grown in by abuse and lake of gud pollycy. Thys schalbe the ordur and processe of our communycatyon thys day to be had.

8. Lvpset.—Sir, thysh lykyth me wel; and aftur

1 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 sklundurnes, debylyte, and wekenes therof, wherby hyt ys let to prosper and florysch in hys most perfayt state; the wych I cal and note to be groundyd in the lake of pepul and skasenes of men. For lyke as mannys body then doth not florysch, then doth not increse, when hyt ys sklundur, febul, and weke, but by lake of flesch fallyth in to sykenes and debylyte; so euer cuntrey, cyte, or towne, then doth not florysch, then doth not prosper, when ther ys lake of pepul and skasenes of men; by the reson wherof hyt fallyth in to ruyn and dekey, slyppyng from al gud cyuylyte; the experyence wherof we see in late days now in our cuntrey, the wych chefely I attrbyute to the lake of inhabytans. And to thys, as me semyth, by many argumentys we may be inducyd; as, fyrst, yf you loke to the cytes and townys throughout thys reame, you schal fynd that in tyme past they hane 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 stond- yng wythout any tenantys and inhabytantys of the same. Wherby playnly ys perceyyud, after myn opynyon, the grete lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. And, farther, *yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nombur vtturly 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 schypectys and stabullys, to the ruyn of man; and thys ys not in one place or ij, but generally throughout thys reame. Wherfor hyt ys

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

Tabes in corpore. 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.

1 In margin of MS.
not to be dowtyd, but that thys dekey, both of cytes and townys, and also of vyllagys, in the hole cuntrey, declaryth playnly a lake of pepul and skarsenes of men.

Besydy this, the dekey of craftys in cytes and townys (wych we se manyfestely in euery place) schowyth also, as me semyth, a plain lake of pepul. Moreover, the ground wych lyth in thys reame vntyllyd and brought to no profyt nor vse of man, but lyth as barren, or to the-nuryschyng of wyld bestys, me thynkyth coud not ly long aftur such maner yf ther were not lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. For yf hyt were so replenyschyd wyth pepul as other cuntreys be, the wast groundys (as hethys, forestys, parkys and oldys) 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 dylygence and labur of man, myght wel be brought to tyllage and vse. For the ground ys not of hyt selve, as many men thynke, by nature so barren, but that, yf hyt were dylygently laburyd, hyt wold bryng forth frute for the nuryschyng of man; wych ys by experyence in many placys provyd, here of late days, where as ground jugyd to be barren and rude, ys by dylygent men brought to tyllage and frute. Therfor that we haue so much wast ground here in our cuntrey, hyt ys not to be attrybute 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 ruyne of cytes and townys, as by dekey of facultes, lernyng, and craftys, may playnly be perceyuyd. Wherfor I thynke we may surely affyrme thys faute and sykenes playnly to rayne in our poltyke body.

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

11. Pole.—Mary, that was agred at the begynnyng such decay arises from lack of people.

Crafts also have decayed in cities and in towns.

The waste lands show a scarreness of people;

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

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

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

The body politic is sick.

1 This word has “playnys” written over it.
and thinks all this ruin and decay prove idleness only. [*Page 118.*]

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

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

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

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

172 for the better examination of every thing; therefore say on.

12. Lvpset.—Sir, me semyth thys ruyne of cytes and townys, thys dekey of craftys in every place, thys rudenes and barrennes of the ground, arguth no *thynge* the skarsenes of pepul, but rather the necligent idulnes of the same. For *yf* a cuntrey were neuer so populos and replenyschyd wyth pepul, yet *yf* they were euer necligent and idul in the same, neuer intending to profytabul exercise, ther schold be no les dekey of artys and craftys, wyth no les ruyne 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; specially seyng that, contrary, me semyth, we haue here in our cuntrey rather to many pepul then to few; in so much that vytel and nuryschment suffycyent for them can skant here be found, but for lake therof many persych and dye, or at the lest lyue veray wrechydly. Wher-

181 for, lyke as we say commynly, a pastur ys ouerlayd wyth catel, when therin be mo then may be commenently nuryschyd and fed; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys of pepul to grete multytude, when ther ys of vyttayl ouerlytyl for the necessary sustenaws 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 fauteys as you fynd, attrbyute to the neclgyence of the same.

191. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, you say wel. I perceyue by you that you wyl not let the materys pas vtturly vnexamynyd. How be hyt, yf you compare our cuntrey now, other wyth hyt selfe, in such state as hyt hathbyn in tyme past, other els wyth other cuntreys, wych be by nature no more plentyful then thys, and yet nurysch much more pepul then doth ourys, I can not se but you must nedys confesse a lake of pepul
THE LAND WOULD SUSTAIN MORE PEOPLE.

here in our cuntrey. For thys ys no dowte, in tyme past 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 perceuyd by the multytude of cytes, castellys, and townys, wych be wel inhabytyd and re-
plenyshyd wyth pepul in fer gretur nombr then our cuntrey ys; as you may see both in France, Flaudres, Almayn, and Italy. Therfor hyt can not be denyd but here ys much lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. And yet troth thys ys also that you say, that yf we had never so many pepul here in our cuntrey, yf they same lyuyd oueridul and neglect, we schold haue no les dekey of cytes and townys then we haue now. But, Master Lvpset, though he hyt be so that we haue her in our cuntrey much idul pepul, and, as I thinke, in no cuntrey of the world such a multytude, yet they be not so idul that we must of necessyte attrybute both the ruyne of cytes and townys, and al the dekey of artys and craftys, only to the idulnes and neglect of pepul. Trothe hyt ys, that yf our pepul were al dylygent and wel occu-
pyd wyth honest exeryse, 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 occupyd, we haue such a nombr as ys connuyent to the nature of the place. Thys ys certayn and sure, that yf our cuntrey were *wel occupyd and tyllyd, hyt wold nurysch sufficyently many mo pepul then hyt doth now. And as touchyng the skarsenes of vytayl wych you allegyd, that no thyng prouyth ouergrete nombr of pepul, but rather the gret neglectys 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 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.
in our cuntrey lately growen in. Let vs therfor take thys as a certayn and playn truth, that here in our cuntrey ther ys a lake of pepul, 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 sklen-durnes, ther ys lake of powar and strenght to maynteyne the helth of the same; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or townes, wher ther ys lake of pepul, ther wantyth powar to maynteyne the floyrzychyng 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 cuystres ysch haue byn replenyschyd wyth pepul and wel inhabytyd in old tyme; as Egypt, Asia, and Grece, wyth, destroyd by warrys, now, for lake of pepul, be desolate and deserte, fallen into ruyn and commyn dekey. So that thys lake of pepul, not wythout cause, may wel be callyd *the fyrst frute and ground of the ruyne of al commyn welys; and, as I haue sayd, can not be denied here from ourys, yt we loke to the nature of the place, and to the auncyent state here of the same.

14. Lvpsæt.—Sir, indede, as you say, when I loke to the cytes and townys and vyllagyys in the cuntrey, I can not deny but ther hath byn more pepul here in our cuntrey then ther ys now. Wherfor, wythout further cauyllatyon, agreyng apyon thys, let vs go forward.

15. Pole.—Wel, then, let vs consydur and behold how that, besyde thys lake of pepul, ther ys, also, in thys polytyke body, a nother dysease and syknes more greuus then thys, and that ys thys (shorly to say) :—A grete parte of the pepul wych we haue here in our cuntrey, ys other ydul or yl occupyd, and a smal nombur of them exercysyth themselfe in dowyng theyr offfice and duty perteynyng to the maytenance of the commyn wele; by the reson wherof thys body ys replenyschyd and ouer-
fulflylyd wyth many yl humorys, wych I cal idul and vnprofytabul personys, of whome you schal fynd a grete nombur, yf you wyl a lytyl consydur al statys, ordury, and degres, here in our cuatrey. Fyrst, loke what an idul rout our nobul men kepe and nurysch in theyr housys, wych do no thyng els but cary dyschs to the tabul and ete them when they have downe; and aftur, gyuyng themyselwe to huntyng, haukyng, dysyng, cardyng, and al other idul pastymys and vayne, as though they were borne to no thyng els at al. Loke to our byschoppys and prelatys of the reame, whether they folow not the same trade in nuryschyng such an idul sort, spendyng theyr possessyonys and godys, wych were to them gyuen to be dystrybut but among them wych were oppressyd wyth pouerty and necessary. Loke, ferthermore, 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 vnprofytabul, wych be nothyng but burdenys to the erthe. In so much that yf you, aftur thys maner, examyn the multytyde in euer ordur and degre, you schal fynd, as I thynke, the thryd parte of our pepul lyuyng in idulnes, as personys to the commyn wele vtturly vnprofytabul; and to al gud cyuylyte, much lyke vnto the drowne bees in a hyue, wych dow no thyng els but consume and deuoure al such thyng as the besy and gud be, wyth dylygence and labur, geddurlyth togeddur.

16. Lypset.—Master Pole, me semyth you examyn thys mater somewhat to schortely, as though you wold have al men to labur, to go to the plowgh, and exercyse some craft, wych ys not necessary. For our mother the ground ys so plentuous and bountyful by the gudnes of God and of nature gyuen to hyr, that wyth lytyl labur and tyllage sche wyl suffycyently nurysch mankynd, non otherwyse then sche doth al bestys, fyschys, and 1

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1 In margin of MS.
315 foulys, wych are brede and brought vp apon hyr; to whome we *se sche mynystryth fode wyth lytyl labur or non, but of hyr owne frendly benyghte. Wherfor yf a few of our pepul besy themselfe, and labur therin, hyt ys suffycyent; the rest may lyue in tryumphhe, at lyberty, and ease, fre from al bodyly labour and payn.

To this P. answers that man was not born to live in idlenes and pleasure, but to labour; to be a governor, ruler, and tiller of the earth; some by labour of body to procure food; some by wisdom and policy to keep the rest in order; none are born to idleness and vanity, but to exercise themselves in some manner suitable to the dignity of man. It is not necessary that all should be tillers of the ground; there must be priests, governors, and servants, but all in due proportion.

321 17. Pole.—Thys ys spoken, Master Lupset, euyn as though you jugyd man to be borne for to lyue in idulnes and presure, al thyng referrynge and applyng therto. But, Sir, hyt ys no thyng so; but, contrary, he ys borne to labur and trauayle, aftur the opynyon of the wyse and sycyent antquyte, 1 non other wyse then a byrd to fle; and not to lyue (as Homer sayth some dow) as an vnprofytabil weght and burden of the erth. For man ys borne to be as a gouernour, rular, and dylygent tyllar and inhabytant of thys erthe; as some, by labur of body, to procure thynys necessary for the mayntenance of mannys lyfe; some, by wysdome and pollycy, to kepe the rest of the multytyde in gud ordur and cyuylyte. So that non be borne to thys idulnes and vanye, to the wych the most parte of our pepul ys much gyuen and bent; but al to exerzyse themselfe in some fascyon of lyue conuenyent to the dygnyte and nature of man. Wherfor, though hyt be so, that hyt ys no thyng necessary al to be laburarys and tyllarys of the ground, but some to be prestys and mynystyrus of Goddys Word, some to be gentylmen to the governance of the rest, and some servauytys to the *same; yet thys ys certayn, that ouergrete nombur of them, wythout dew proportyon to the other partys of the body, ys supperfluous in any commynalty. Hyt ys not to be dowtayd but that here in our cuntrey of thos sortys be ouer-many, and specyally of them wych we cal servuyng men, wych lyue in servuye to gentylmen, lordys, and other of

1—1 “phylosopharys,” was originally written here.
the nobylte. Yf you loke throughout the world, as I 350
thynke, you schal not fynd in any one cuntrey, propor-
ytonabl to ourys, lyke nombur of that sorte.

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

19. Pole.—O, Master Lvpset, you take the mater
amys. In them stondyth the beggary of Englond; by
them ys nuryschyd the commyn theft therin, as here
after at large I schal declare. How be hyt, yf they were
exercysyd in featys of amys, to the defence of the reame
in tyme of warr, they myght yet be much bettur suffryd.
But you se how lytyl they be exercysyd therin, in so
much that, in tyme of warr, hyt ys necessary for our plow-
men and laburarys of the cuntrey to take wepun in
hand, or els we were not lyke long to inyoy Englond;
so lytyl trust ys to be put in theyr *featys and dedys.
Wherfor dowte you no more but of them (lyke as of
other that I hauwe spoke of before,—as of prestys, freys,
munkys, and other callyd relygyouse) we hauwe ouer-
many, whych 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 dropcy in manmys body. For lyke as
in a dropcy the body ys vnweldy, vnlusty, and slo, no
thyng quyke to moue, nother apte nor mete to any
maner of exercyse, but, solne wyth yl humorys, lyth
idul and vnprofytabul to al vtward labur; so ys a com-
mynalty, replenyschyd wyth neclygent and idul pepul,
vnlusty and vnweldy, nothyng quyke in the exercyse
of artys and craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayn-
tenyd and supportyd; but, solne wyth such yl humorys,

1 In margin of MS.
overruns with vice.

This is the mother of many diseases.

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

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

[§ Page 126.]

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

tremor partium, in providing new and diverse kinds of meats and drinks;

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

boyllyth out wyth al vyce, myschefe, and mysery, the wych out of idulnes, as out of a fountayn, yssuth and s pryngyng. 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.

20. Lupset.—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 deuyse. [How be hyt, thyse deysemyth to repugne to the other, for one schowyth to few, and the other to many.]

21. Pole.—[Nay, not but schortly, on schoweth to few of wyll occupyd, and the other to many idul.] 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 cheffely be they wych I nytyd to be idul before. But al such I cal yl occupyd wych besy themselfe in makyng and procuring thyngeys for the vayne pastyme and pleasure of other, as al such dow wych occupye themselfe in the new denysys of gardyng and jaggyng of menny apparyle, wyth al thynge perteynyng thereto; and al such wych make and procure manynfold and dyuerse new kyndys of metys and drynkys, and euere be occupyd in curyouse deyse of new fangulyd thyngeys concernyng the vayn plesure only of the body. Wyth al such as be callyd syngyg men, curyouse descanterys and deuyssarys of new songys, wych tend only to vanyte; and al such marchantys wych care out thyngeys necessary to the vse of our pepul, and bryng in agayn vayn tryfullys and conceytys, only for the folysch pastyme and plesure of man.

1 MS. to the to other.

2-3 The words enclosed in brackets are written at the foot of the page; but without any reference as to where they should go in the text.

3 In margin of MS.
22. **Lypset.**—Sir, in thys mater also, me semyth, you are a juge of to much seueryte; for you wold haue no thyng suffryled 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 personys, as me semyth, are occupyd in the procuryng ther-of; that ys to say, of such thyngys as perteynyth to the ornamentys of the commyn wele in euery cunterey.

23. **Polc.**—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 pollyce, but in bannyschynge such yl-occupyd personys as I spake of befor. I wold bannysch also, and vtturly cast out, al vayn plesure and vayn ornamentys by cor-rupt iugement commynly approuyd, brynyng in their place veray true plesure of man and they true orna-mentys of the veray commyn wele, wherof we spake before; wych stondyth nother in the gay apparele of the cytyzyns, nother yet in delycate metys and drynkys nuryschynge the same, nor in non other thyng: in one word to say, perteynyng 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 perteynyth to the dygnyte of hys nature; of the wych sorte, surely, many we haue here in our cunterey, by whom we may se thys poltyke body

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1 In margin of MS.
They are like a man in a palsy, ever moving and ever seeming to be doing, but always about such matters as are unprofitable. Palsy.  

It is true, says L.; go on.  

P. Another disease  

is want of agreement.

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

there is no unity.

452 ys also gresuusly dyseasyd, and much lyke to manyns body trowbyld as hyt were wyth a palsy. For lyke as in a palsy, some partys be euer moyung and schakynge, 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 moyung and sterryng, and alway occupyd, but euer about such purpos and mater as bryngyth nother profyt nor true plesure to the polytyke body. Wherfor, me semyth, Master Lupset, hyt can not be denyd but that thys ys a nother greuus dysease.  

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

25. Pole.—Syr, yet ther ys a nother dysease remenyng behynd, wych gretyly trowbylyth the state of the 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 physcyonyss say) the body and mynd are so knyt togyddur by nature that al sykenes. and dysease be commyn to them both, I wyl not now stond to reson much herin, but boldly cal hyt a bodyly dysease; and, breucly 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 temporality grugthy agayn the spiritu-alty, the commyns agayne the nobullys, and subyectys agayn they rularys; one hath enuy at a nother, one beryth malyce agayn another, one complaynth of a nother. They partys of thys body be not knyt togyddur, as hyt were wyth sp[i]ryt and lyfe, in concord and vnyte, but dysseeneryd asoundur, as they were in no case partys of one body. Thys ys so manyfest hyt nedyth no profe, for sure argumenys therof are dayly amonget vs, 486 both seen and hard in euerly place. Wherfor of thys

1 In margin of MS.
CLASSES NOT WELL BALANCED.

dysease we nede not further to dowte, wych ys open to euery mannyg ye.

26. Lvpset.—Thys cannot be denyd; but what dys-
 ease wyl you lykkun thys vtnto reynyng in mannyg body, gud Master Pole?

27. Pole.—Sir, me semyth hyt may wel be lykkyn-
yd 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 commynalnty, where so euer hyt reynyth, schortly destroyth al gud ordur and cyuylyte, and vtr-
turly takyth away al helth from thys polytyke body and tranquylyte.

28. Lvpset.—Truly you say wel; for euery so hyt hath byn from the begynnyng, I trow, of the world vtnto thys day. Thys hathe euer byn a grete destryctyon to euery commyn wele; thys hath destroyd more then any pestylens, as Lyuius wrythyth.

29. Pole.—Wel, thys, 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 strenght of the same, to the wych now we wyl dyrect our communycatyon. 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 proporcyonabul 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; monyks, frerys, and chanonyys are to many; and yet gud relygyouse men to few. Prokturys and brokarys of both lawys, wych rather trowbul mennyys causys then fynysch them justely, are to many; and yet gud mynustrys of justyce are to

1 In margin of MS.
522 few. *Merchantys*, carnyng out thyngys necessary for our owne pepul, are ouermanye; *and yet they wych schold bryng necessarys are to few. Servantys in menys housys are to many, craftys men *and* makers of tryfullys are to many; *and yet gud artyfycerys be to few; and occ-byarys *and* tyllarys of the ground are to few. After thys maner the partys in proporyton not agreyn, but hauynge of some to many, *and* of some to few, lene much enormyte, *and* make in thys polytyke body grete *and* monstrose deformyte.

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

534 muny[catyon].

31. *Pole.*—Ther ys also in the strenght of thys body perceyuyd no smal faute. Hyt ys weke *and* febul, no thyng so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme past. We are now at thys tyme nother so abul to defend our selfe from inuirys of ennemys, nother of other by featys of armys to recuper our ryght agayn, as we haue byn here before tyme; wych thyng schold be manystesthes 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 wych be exercysyd in dedys *and* featys of armys, in whome cheffely stondyth the strength of euery cuntrey. Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl consydyr wyth themselfe indeferently the state of our reame as hyt ys now, *and* confer *hyt wythe the old state before, when we were dreed *and* fearyd of our ennemys *and* cuntreys al about. Wherfor we niede not to dowte but that our 553 cuntrey ys now weke, *and* no thyng so strong as hyt hath byn in old tyme.

32. *Lvpset.*—Sir, as touchyng thys, when I remembyr the nobul actys of our aunceturyys, by whose 1

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

32. *Lvpset.*—Sir, as touchyng thys, when I remembyr the nobul actys of our aunceturyys, by whose

1 In margin of MS.

2 MS. Le.
Every man seeks his own profit.

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 neccessyte. Wherfor I wyl not be obstynate, but playnly confesse our wekes and deblyte.

33. Pole.—Thes are, Master Lupset, the most general fautys commyn to the hole body wych now came to my mynd as necessary to be spoken of for our purpos here at thys tyme. Wherfor now a lytyl we wyl examyn the fautys wych we schal sundry in the partys, as hyt were, separat from the hole; as in the hede, handys, and fete, wych I before notyd here to resemyb thes partys in manys body. As, to the hede (yf you remembyr) I resemybd the offycerys and rulyars in every commynalty, in whose faute to se here in our cuntrey hyt ys no thyng hard; for thys ys general almost to them al—both pryneys, lordys, byschoppys and prelatys—that euery one of them loke hyt to the gud ordur and welth of theyr subiectys; only they loke to the receyuyng of theyr rentys and reenuyys of theyr landys, wyth grete study of enhaunysyng therof, to the ferther 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 commynly 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 symple shype, but let them wandur in wyld forestys, in daunger

1 In margin of MS.
of wolfys dayly to be deouryd. Jugys and mynystrys of the law, you see how lytyl regard, also, they have of gud and true admynystratyon 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 judge be hys frend whose cause ys intretyd, the mater lyghtly can not go amys, but euer hyt schalbe fynyschyd according to hys desyre.

Thys fautys you may see in offycerys and rularys both spirituall and temporal; wherby you may most playnly percyue how lytyl they regard theyr *offyce and duty, by the reson wherof in the hede of thys commynalty ther ys reynyng a grete dysease, the wych, as me semyth, may wel be comparyd to a frenecy. For lyke as in a frenecy man consyderyth not hymselfe, nor can not tel what ys gud, nother for hymselfe, nor yet for other, but every thyng doth that cumyth to hys fancy, wythout any ordur or rule of ryght reson, so dow our offycerys and rularys of our cuntrey (wythout regard other of theyr owne true profyt or of the commyn,—forgettyng al thyng wych perteynyth to theyr offyce and duty) apply them selfe to the fulfyllyng of theyr vayn plesuryys and folysch fantasye; wherfor they be taken, as hyt were, wyth a commyn frenesy.

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

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

Plowmen dow not dylygently labur and tyl they ground

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1 In margin of MS.
for the bryngyng forth of fruitys *necessary for the fode and sustenance of man; craftys men also, and al arty-fyrcerys, schow no les neclygence in the vse of theyr craftys: by the reson wherof here ys in our cuntrey much darth therof and penury.

36. Lvpset.—Sir, thys you dow, as me semyth, but only say. You nother proue hyt by argumente nor reson.

37. Pole.—Me semyth hyt nede no more to dow so, then to schow the lyght of the sone by a candyl, thys mater ys so open to euery mazzys ye. For thes many and grete waste groundys here in our cuntrey, the grete lake of vytayle and the skarsenes therof, and darth of al thyng workyd by mazzys hande, dow not only schow the grete neclygence of the rest of our pepul, but in the plowmen also and artyfycerys dothe arge and declare manyfest lake of dylygence. For thys ys sure—yf our plowmen here were as dylygent as they be in other partys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not haue so much wast ground, voyd and vntyllyd, as ther ys now; and yf our artyfycerys applyd themselfe to labur as dylygently as they dow in other cuntreys, we schold not haue thyngys made by mazzys hande so skase and so dere as they be now here commynly. For thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englond ys more gyuen to idul glutony then any pepul of the world; wych ys, to al them that haue experience of the man-erys 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 vnproftytabul to the body, hauyng no powar to exercyse themselfe in theyr natural offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknns to procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

[* Page 134.]

628

hence there is darth and penury.

L. requires proof of this.

P.* says it is clear;

look at the waste grounds, and the lack of food.

If plowmen and artificers were as diligent as they are in other parts, there would be less waste land, and less scarcity of manufactures.

641

Our people are given to idle gluttony.

[* Page 135.]

655

Goute. 1

This idleness of the hands and feet is like the gout.

Chiragra podagræ. 1

1 In margin of MS.
THE POVERTY OF THE REALM.

662 lygence of the plowmen and arysfycerys, thys polytyke body lyth as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknesc, lakkyng al thynge necessary for the fode and natural sustenance of the same. Wherfor we may wel, for thys cause, compare thys dysease reynyng in thers partys vnto the goute in manyys body, wyth so occupyth the handys and the fete that they be not abul to dow theyr offyce and natural exercys.

(37.) And thus now, Master Lyfset, you haue hard the most general dysaesys in thys polytyke body, and in the partys of the same, to the wych al other partlycular run vnto, non other wyse then smal brokys to grete ryuerys. Wherfor, now folowyng our processe, we wyl go seke out the fautys and lake of thynge necessary, and commodyouse also, for the mayntyenyng of the weth of thys body; wyth thynge to fynd ys nothyng *hard. For I thynke ther ys no man so wythout yes but he seeth playnly the grete poertey of thys reame, and the grete lake of thynge necessary and commodyouse to the mayntyenyng of a true commyn wele.

681 L. marvels how he can say so, considering the wealth of the country.

L. replies that Lyfset speake lyke a man of the old world and compares the past with the present.

691 reame.

39. Pole.—Master Lupset, you speke lyke a man of the old world and not of thys tyme. For thys ys un dowtyd and certaynly true, that our yle hathe byn the most welthy and rych ile of Chrystundome, and not many yerys of goo; but yf you consydur hyt wel, and

1 In margin of MS.  2 MS. you in.
LACK OF MONEY, CORN, AND CATTLE.

examyn the state therof as hyt ys now, comparyng hyt wyth the same in auncyent tyme, I suppose you schal fynd grete alteratyon therin. You schal fynd, for grete ryches and lyberalyte in tyme past, now grete wreichdynes and pouerty; and for grete abundance of thyngys necessary, grete skarsenes and penury. Wych thynge you schal not dowte of at al, yf you wyl fyrst loke to the grete multytude of beggarys here in our cuntrey in thys lake and skarsenes *of pepul. For thys ys sure, that in no cuntrey of Chrystundome, for the nombr of pepul, you schal fynd so many beggarys as be here in Englon, and mo now then haue byn before tyme; wych arguth playn grete pouerty. Then, ferther, yf you herken to the complaynt of al statys and degres, you schal dowte of thys mater no thyng at al. The plowman, the artyfycer, the marchant, the gentylman,—ye, lordys and prynecs, byschoppys and prelatys,—al wyth one voyce cry they lake money, and that they be no thyng so welthy and rych as they haue byn in tyme past. Thys ys the consent of al statys, non except, al in thys agre; and hyt ys no thyng lyke that al schold complayn without a cause. Wherfor, me semyth, hyt cannot be dowtyd but that ther ys here among vs grete pouerty. And as for the lake of thyngys necessary, who can deny, when he lokyth to the grete darth of corne, catayle, vytyayle, and of al other thyngys necessary, a commyn darth arguth grete lake? Yf ther were abundance and plenty, hyt coude not be long so dere; for abundance ever maketh every thyng gud chepe. Wherfor, now, in thys darth of al thyngys, we must nedys confess grete lake, penury, and skarsnes *of thyngys necessary to the maytenance of our commyn wele.

40. Lvpset.—Sir, [as]¹ me semyth, thys ys not wel prouyd : for, fyrst, as touchyng [the]¹ multytude of beg-

¹ MS. torn off.
ENGLAND NOT SO POOR AS FRANCE,

Garys, hyt arguth no pouerty, but rather mu[ch] idulnes and yl pollcy; for hyt ys theyr owne cause and neclnegence that they so begge;—ther ys suffycyent enough here in our cuntrey of al thyngys to maynteyne them wythout beggyng. And where as you bryng the complaynt 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 themselfe riche, few that wyl say they haue enough. How be hyt, yf we wyl justely examyn the mater, and compare our pepul of England wyth the pepul of other cuntreys, I thinke we schal fynd them most rych and welthy of any commynys aboute vs; for in Fraunce, Italy, and Spayn, the commynys 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 pwnysch vs, then we must lake, and lay no *faute in our pollcy. Wherfor, me semyth, you nede not to lay to vs here in our cuntrey thys grete pouerty, nor yet thys grete lake of thyngys necessary; except hyt be such as commyth by the prouydence of God, wych by no wyt nor pollcy of man may be amenadyd.

41. Pole.—Master Lvpset, I haue spyd by you that you are loth to graunt your cuntrey to be pore, specyally when you compare hyt wyth other where you see grettur pouerty then wyth vs. But, Master Lvpset, when we speke of the pouerty of our cuntrey, we may not then compare hyt wyth them wych be more pore then hyt; for thys ys no dowte, but that ther ys grettur pouerty

and as to the complaint of all ranks, why, men will complain however rich they may be.

Compare our people with Italy, &c.

As for the lack of food, that is the fault of the weather,

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 in Englon. But therin I wyl wyth you agre, Master Lvsset, 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 lakkys here among vs, wych may be any impedymentys therto. And so, although peryaunenture 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 sure,—that thys multytude of beggarys here in our cuntrey schowyth much pouerty, ye, and, as you say, also much *idulnes and yl policy. Hyt ys no dowte but hyt arguth suffycyeently both, and thys complaynt cumyth not, as I sayd, also of nought; for though hyt be so that men may dyssembyl and fayne grete pouerty, where as non ys, yet I thynke, in dede, hyt ys not so alway. Al men wold not so agre in dyssymylyng, some state schold be content, and no thyng complayn. But, Master Lvsset, 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 partys, where as you schal fynd as grete plenty therof as in the myddys of Englon. 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. 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.

1 MS. le.

* Page 140. *

These complaints do not arise from nothing.

The lack of corn and things necessary does not arise from the ordinance of God.
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 forme and fascyon as we haue descrybyd before, wyth a juste pollycy.

[* Page 141.]

L. owns the poverty is greater than need be.

This poverty must be re-formed.

809 a juste pollycy.

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, you wold haue had me to confessse. But surely ther ys grettur pouerty then nedo to be, yf ther were among vs gud pollycy; for thys euery man may see,—that some haue to much, some to lytyl, and some neuer a wyt. Wherfor, wythout fayle, a mysordur ther ys wherby rysyth thys pouerty.

813 you wold haue had me to confessse. But surely ther ys grettur pouerty then nedo to be, yf ther were among vs gud pollycy; for thys euery man may see,—that some haue to much, some to lytyl, and some neuer a wyt. Wherfor, wythout fayle, a mysordur ther ys wherby rysyth thys pouerty.

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.

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, concernyng the byldyng and clene kepyng of the same?

831 ys to al them manyfest wych hauebyn laburyd and traauayld in other partys. Me thought, when I cam fyrst into Flaunders and Fraunce, that I was translatyd, *as hyt had byn, into a nother world, the cytes and townys apperyd so gudly, so wel byldyd, and so clene kept; of the wych ther ys in every place so grete cure

837 and regard, that every townse semyd to me to stryue-
EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

wyth other, as hyt had byn for a vupyter, wych schold be more beutyful and strong, bettur byld and clennur kept; such dylygens they put al to that purpos. And, contrary, here wyth vs they pepul seme to study to fynd meanys how they may quyklyst let fal into ruyn and dekey al theyr cytes, castelys, and townys. Every 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 cuyle ordur almost, nor rule.

45. Pole.—Master Lvpset, thys ys veray wel sayd of you. Befor I had much to dow to make you to confesse such fauteys as we spake of; but now me thynke you wyl begyn to conffyrme them, and to fulfyl your promys also, made at the begynnyng of our commyny- catyon: 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.

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 mayntenaunce of thys polytyke body that you speke so much of, I wyl schow you. And fyrst, as touchyng the bryngyng in and carying out of thyngys necessary for vs, I haue obseruyd, as me semyth, a grete faute here in our cuntrey; for ther ys conuenauns 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, where- of we haue no such abundaunce, that our cuntrey wyth commodyte 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

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1 In margin of MS. Read ἐπεσάγων καὶ ἐγαγων.
evils arising from excessive use

exercyse of artys and craftys here in our cuntrey; as, many sortys of delicatys wynys, fyne clothys, says and sylkys, bedys, combys, gyrdyllys and knyfys, and a thousand such tryfelyng thynys, wyche other we myght wel lake, or els, at the lest, our owne pepul myght be occupyd wyth the workyng therof, wyche now, by the resoun therof, are much corrupt wyth idulynes and slothe.

And in thys behalfe, me semyth, hyt ys a grete hurt to Hurtofciothyng. The clotliyarys of Englond, thys bryngyng in of French clothys, the cause why I nede not to open, wych to eue?y also maranys ye ys manyfest. And thys bryngyng in of such impoverish the clotliyarys of Englond, thys bryngyng in of French clothys, the cause why I nede not to open, wych to eue?

The wines also impoverish the nobles

Bryngyng in of wyne, as well as the poor.

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 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 incresyd 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. And so, lykewyse, of sylkys and says, convuenyent hyt ys that some we haue for the apparayle of the noblyte; but yet therin I note a nother grete mysordur, in the

1 In margin of MS.
OF WINE, CLOTHING, AND DIET.

95

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 euer
yan wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as cham-
let, says, fustyanys, and sylkys; by the reson wherof
dyuerse *craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuerys,
worstyd-makyrs, tukkarys, and fullarys, wyth dyuere
other of the same sort. Thys thyngys folow, and be
annexyd as commyn effectys to the bryngyng in of such
thyngys as we myght bettur lake, then haue in such
abundaunce as we haue now commynly.

49. Pole.—Thys wych you say I trow euer man
seth. No man can deny them, who deleyt in
obstynacy.

50. Lynpset.—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 al at, but rather
for grete honowre and prayse, and that ys, the excesse
in dyat, and the mysordur therin, wych al men of juge-
ment playnly dow see; for ther was neuer so grete
festyng and bankettyng, wyth so many and dyuere
kyndys of metys, as ther ys now in our days commynly
vsyd, and specyally in mean mennys housys. Now
euery mean gentylman for the most parte wyl fare as
wel as before tyme were wont pryncys and lordys; and
thys they take for theyr grete honowre, wych, in dede,
yys a grete dyshonowre and manyst festyng and
detrymente to the commyn wele sundry ways; as wel
by nuryschyg many idul glottonys, wherof spryngyth
much syknes, as by the bryngyng in also of grete
skarsenes of catayl, corne, and al other vytyal; for thys
may be a commyn prouerbe, "many idul glottonys
make vytyale dere."

51. Pole.—Thys mysordur ys also manyst fest. Hyt
may not be wyth reson denyd.

but all will have
says, fustians and
silks from over
the sea;

[9 Page 143.]

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 euer
man wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as cham-
let, says, fustyanys, and sylkys; by the reson wherof
dyuerse *craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuerys,
worstyd-makyrs, tukkarys, and fullarys, wyth dyuere
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in dyat, and the mysordur therin, wych al men of juge-
ment playnly dow see; for ther was neuer so grete
festyng and bankettyng, wyth so many and dyuere
kyndys of metys, as ther ys now in our days commynly
vsyd, and specyally in mean mennys housys. Now
euery mean gentylman for the most parte wyl fare as
wel as before tyme were wont pryncys and lordys; and
thys they take for theyr grete honowre, wych, in dede,
yys a grete dyshonowre and manyst festyng and
detrymente to the commyn wele sundry ways; as wel
by nuryschyg many idul glottonys, wherof spryngyth
much syknes, as by the bryngyng in also of grete
skarsenes of catayl, corne, and al other vytyal; for thys
may be a commyn prouerbe, "many idul glottonys
make vytyale dere."

51. Pole.—Thys mysordur ys also manyst fest. Hyt
may not be wyth reson denyd.

P. says none can deny it.

L. Another fault is excess of diet.

Excesse in dyat, 4

Now "a mean gentleman will
fare as well as
princes used to
fare;" and
this they
take as an
honour.

"Many idul
gluttons make
victuals dear."

1 In margin of MS.
52. Lvpset.—And what thinke you in byldyng? Though you found a faute before in the yl byldyng of our cytes and townys, yet, *me semyth, gentylmen and the noblyte are in that behalfe ouer sumptuouse. They byld commynly abone theyr degre. A mean man wyl have a house mete for a pryuce, wych, me semyth, ys no thyng conuenyent to hys state and condycyon.

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 gylyting 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.

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 successors, be conuenyently abyl 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 ruyne and dekey, bycause they were byldyd abone theyr state, condycyon, and degre.

55. Pole.—Of that sort, Master Lvpset, you schal not fynd veray many. But the gretyst faute in our byldyng ys, the consumyng of gold apon postys and wallys; for then hyt neuer commyth aftur to other vse 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.

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 enclosyng in euer partie of herabul land; and where as

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1 In margin of MS.
ENCLOSURE OF ARABLE LANDS.

was corne and fruteful tyllage, now no thyng ys but pastyrys and playnys, by the reson wherof many yvl- 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, perauenture whyt ys not so grete as whyt apperyth, and so ys jugyd of the commyn sorte. For seyng whyt ys so that our fode and nuryshchyng stondyth not only in corne and frutys of the grunde, but also in bestys and catayl, no les necessary then the other, ther must be prouysyon for the bredynge of them as wel as for the tyllynge of the erthe, wych can not be wythout pastyrys and enclosure of ground. For thys ys certayn, wythout pastyrys such multytude of catayl wyll not be maynteynyd as ys requyryd to vs here in our cuntrey, where as lakkyth the manyfold and dyuerse frutys wych ys had in other cuntreys for the sustenance of man. Wherfor, I thynke whyt veray necessary to haue thys inclosyng of pastyrys for our catayl and bestys, and specyally for schepe, by whose profyte the welth *and plesure here of thys reame ys much maynteynyd. For yf your plenty and abundance of wolle were not here maynteynyd, you schold haue lytyl brought in by marchaundys from other partys, and so we schold lyue wythout any plesure or com-modyte.

58. Lvpset.—Sir, as touchyng that, I remembyr what you sayd before:—yf we had fewar thyngys brough[t] in from other partys, and les caryd out, we schold haue more commodyte and veray true plesure, much more then we haue now: thys ys certayn and sure. But 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 nuryshchynge of the pepul, whyt ys necessary that we schold haue more inrece of bestys and catayl then ther ys ther; but yet you know wel ther ys in al thyngys a mesure and mean.

STARKEY.
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 punnyshyd therfore; 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 closydyd in ranke pasturys and butful ground, they are sone touchyd wyth the skabe and the rotte; and so, though we nurysch ouer many by inclosure, yet ouer few of them (as experyence schowyth) come to the *profyte and vse of man. And as touchyng other catayl and bestys of al sortys, I thynke wyth vs ther ys commynly ouer lytyl regard of the bredyng of them. Few men study the increse of that sort; but as sone as they be brought forth, commynly they be other kyld where they are brede, or sold to them wych purpos not to bryng them vp to the commyn profyt. And so thys, notwythstondyng that we haue ouer much pasture, yet we haue of such bestys ouer few wych are brought to the profyte of man, and be necessaary to the maytenance of the vtward wele of a commynalty; of the wych thynge, peraenture, rysyth a parte of thys grete darthe both of vytayl and corne, as I thynke here aftur, in hys place, you wyl more largely schow and declare. Now here hyt ys suffycyent for me to note thys as a commyn faute, and that hyt ys no thynge necessary for the nuryschyng of our bestys to haue so grete inclosurys of pasturys, wych ys a grete dekey of the tyllage of thys reame; and specyally when the fermys of al such pasturys nowadays, for. the most parte, are brought to the handys of a few and rychar men, wyche wyl gyue other gretyst rent or fyne for the vse therof; wych thynge I note as a nother grete faute

To much care of schype, and lytyl of other bestys, horses, oxen.  
The sheep die of scab and rot, in consequence of the fat pasture.

[*Page 119.]

There is little attention paid to the breeding of cattle,

and though we have much pasture we have few cattle.

The pasture-farms get into the hands of a few rich men, and the poor are excluded. Ingrossyng of fermys.

1 In margin of MS.
concernyng our purpos now intendyd. For by thys bothe they pore men are excluyd from theyr lyuyng, and, bysyde that, the ground also wors tylyyd and occupyd, remeynyng in the handys of them who therof take lytyl regard. Thes few thyngys now are come to my mynd, wych I haue notyd, concernyng the *dekey of ryches and other vtward thyngys necessytye requyryd to the welthy state and veray cometyn bele heere of our cuntrye, thys remeynyth (accon-
yng to the proces of our communycatyon at the begyn-nyng appoyntyd) to note also, and, aftar the maner begun, schortly to touch the mysorduryys and yl gouern-
ance wych we schal fynd in [the] ordur and rule of the state of our cuntrey; the wyche ordur and rule we before haue declareyd to resembly the soule in mannys body. For euyn lyke as the soule gyuyth lyfe, gouernyth, and rulyth the body of man, so doth cyuyle ordur and poly-
tyke rule (as we sayd before) gouerne and stabyl the polytyk body in euery cuntrey, cyte, and towne. And here, Master Lvpset, aboue al, we must be dylygent, for as much as hyt ys more hard *to spy the fautys therin, then such as we haue notyd before. For lyke as hyt ys much easyar also to spy the sykynes in mannys body then the syknes of mynd wych many men perceyue no-

1 In margin of MS.
and we have many disorders which are unfelt.

1084 thyng at al, wych then be indee most greuusly dys-easyd when the[y] lest perceyue hyt; so I feare me that we haue many dyseasys or mysordurys (cal them as you wyl) here in the ordur and governance of our cuntreys, wych no thyng at al are perceyuyd nor felt; for they are\(^1\) by long custume and law in processe of tyme, so growne among vs, so cowfyrmyd 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 jugement, but that you wyl gyue place euere to reson manyfest and playn.

1090 60. Lvpset.—That I wyl surely, yf I may perceyue hyt, for I neuer louyd blynd obstynacy; but, contrary, I schal beware, as nere as I can, that you schal not make me to graunt such thyngys to be mysordurys and fautys wych in dede are non at al.

61. Pole.—Thys I remembyr we agred apon before; but yet, bycause hyt ys a gud poynyt, I am wel content that we agre apon thyss bargyn onys agayne. And thus now let vs begyn.

[CHAPTER IV.]

1. [Pole.]—Hyt ys not vnknown to you, Master Lvpset, that our cuntreys hathe byn gouernyd and rulyd thes many yerys vnder the state of pryncys, wych by theyr regal powar and pryncely authoryte, haue jugyd al thyngys perteynyng to the state of our reame to hange only apon 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 private

\(^1\) MS. are so.

\(^2\) In margin of MS.
man and subyecte; or els, by and by, they haue sayd that men schold mynyszch theyr prynce lyth aubon hys only arbytryment. Thys hath byn thought, ye, and thys yet ys thought, to perteyne to the maiesty of a prynce— to moderate and rule al thyng accordyng to hys wyl and plesure; wych ys, wyhout dowte, and euer hath byn, the greyst destructyon to thys reame, ye, and to al other, that euer hath come therto. Thys I coude declare to you, yf hyt were nede, by long and many storys; but I thynke ther ys no mare that equally wyl consydyr the state of our reame, but he seth thys ryght wel. For, Master Lvpset, thys ys sure and a gospel word, that cuntrey can not be long wel gouernyd nor maynteynyd wyth gud pollycy where al ys rulyd by the wyl of one, not chosen by electyon, but commyth to hyt by natural successyon; for *syldon seen hyt ys that they wych by successyon comme to kyngdomys and reamys are worthy of such hye authority.

2. Lvpset.—Sir, take you hede here what you say; for thys poynyt 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 commyndy sayd (and, I thynke, truly) a 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.

3. Pole.—Master Lvpset, thys ys one of the thyngys 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
faute therin 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 pollycy and rule to be gournyld
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
so fer excelllyth al other as doth the maiesty of a prynce
the private state * of the sympul commynalty) so hyt
ys of al the most pestylyent and pernycouse state, most
ful of peryl, and to the commyn welth most daungerouse,
to be rulyd by one, when he ys not of suche hye vertue
as, for one worthy there are many unworthy.

It is all very well if the prince is worthy, but very
pestilent if he is unworthy:

It is better to rule by a parli-
ament.

Prerogatyfe.\(^1\)

Licence from the
king, like dis-
pensations from
the Pope, do
harm.

1 In margin of MS.
Wherfor tyl thys be redressyd, lytyl schal hyt avayle to 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 mysorduryes here in our cuntrey. 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 wy1; 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. 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 lynely reson, wych ys the only hede and rular of reamys by the ordur of nature, so long, I say, he ys aboue hys lawys, wych be but, as you wy1 say, rayson dome, hauyno powar to consydur the circum-stancys of thyngys; but when the prynce ys lynuely, or, rather, dedely affectyon, then, I say, he ys subiecte to hys lawys, and bounden to be obedyente to the *same, wych obedyence ys, in dede, true lyberty. For, be you assuryd, thys ys a grete faute in euery reame,—any one man to haue such authoryte to dyspense wyth the commyn lawys and wyth the transgressorys and brekarys of the same; to dystrybute al grete promocyons and offyce; to make and breke legys and peace wyth other natyonys and pryneys about;—to leue, I say, al such thyngeys to the fre wy1 and lyberty of one, ys the open gate to al tyranny. Thys ys the grounde of the de-struction of al cyuylite, thys enteryth and turnyth vp so downe al poltyke ordur and rule. For thys ys sure— the wyt of one commynly can not compas so much as the wyt of many in materys of pollycey; for hyt ys commynly sayd “many eyeys see bettur then one.” Wher-for, to be schort, and so to conclude, to attrybute so much to the wy1 and plesure of one, can not be wythout One can’t com-pass as much as many; “many eyeys 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.

4. Lypset.—Sir, I maruayle much at your communycatyon; for me semyth you allow the state of a prynce, and wold not but that we schold be gouernyd therby, and yet you wyl not gyue hym the authoryte of a prynce, wych stondyth in thys, that by hys regal powar gyuen to hym by the consent of the hole commynys, he may moderat al thyng accordyng to hys plesure and wyl; or els hyt schold be necessary to cal veray oft the commyn conseyl of parlyament, and so oft as any grete causys incydent requyryd the same, wych perteyne to the hole body of the *reame; wych were no smal trowbul to the commynys of thys reame. Therfor I can not see but yf you wyl haue a kyng, you must also gyue hym the powar perteynyng to the majesty of the same.

5. Pole.—Master Lypset, yf kyngys and pryncys in reamys were by electyon chosen, such as, of al other, for their pryncely vertues, were most worthy to rule, hyt were then veray comuyenyt they schold haue al such authoryte as ys annexyd to the same; but sythen they be not so, but come by successyon, you see they be syldom of that sorte, as I sayd before, but, rulyd by affectyon, draw al thyng to theyr syngular lust, vayn plesure, and inordynat wyl. Hyt can not be denyd but to the commyn wele such authoryte, other vsurpyd or by prerogatyue gyuen therto, ys pernyceyouse and hurtful to the commyn wele; and here in our cuntrey (frely to speke betwyx you and me) a grete destructyon to our cuntrey, wych hathbyn perceuyyd by our for-fatherys days, at dyuerse and manytyms, and schold be also now, 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 wych now study to fynd al fautys in the pollycy and
rule here of our cuntrey, hyt may wel appere to be notyd as a grete faute, for as much as he may abuse hyt yf he wyl, and no restreynt ys had therof by the ordur of our law; but rather, by law such prerogatyue ys gyuen to hym, in so much that, as you sayd ryght wel before, hyt ys almost treson to speke any thynge agayne the same. Therfor we may not dowte but hyt ys a faute, and much more the greuus bycause we are bend to the defence of the same, and skant perceyue thys grefe in our pollycy.

6. Lvpset.—Sir, thys I can not deny, but that a fault ther ys, as me semyth, therin; but how hyt schold be redressyd and reformyd agayne, I can not yet se, but by much more incomuenyence insuyng the same.

7. Pole.—Wel, as for that, we schal see when tyme and place hyt schal requyre. Now let vs bo[l]dy affyrme thys to be a grete mysordur in the pollytyke rule here of our cuntrey, seyng the kyngys here are taken by successyon of blode, and not by fre electyon, wych ys in our pollycy a nother grete faute and mysordur also, and of vs now specyally to be notyd, seyng that we haue purposyd before, euer as a marke to schote vnto, the veray and true commyn wele, wych can not long stond in such state whereas pryncys are euer had by successyon of blode; *specyally yf we wyl gyue vnto hym suche regal and pryncely powar as we dow in our cuntrey; for though some tyme hyt may fortune such a prynce to be borne wych wyl not abuse such powar, yet, for the most parte, the contrary wyl haue place. Wherfor we now, wych seke the best ordur, must nedys confesse thys thyng to be a faute in pollycy; for in al lawys and pollytyke ordur, thys ys a rule—such thyng to determe as, for the most parte, ys best, though some tyme the con-trary may happyn and fal. How say you, ys hyt not so, Master Lvpset ?

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1 In margin of MS.
DANGER OF CIVIL WAR.

8. Lupset.—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 probabl and lyke the truth, but a the other syde, when I looke to the expe-

rience, and consydur the manerys, custome, and nature here of our cuntrey, I me semyth the contrary, and that hyt schold be very 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 perfayte concorde among themselwe. For in no cuntrey may be any grettur pestylens, or more pernyouncy, then cyuyle warre, sedycyon, 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 knownen then to me. Wherfor we must beware of al occasyon of such myscheffe, to the wych, aftur myn opynyon, your sen-
tence 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 euer man wold be kyng, euer man wold juge hymselfe as mete as a nother; and so, ther schold be facyon and partys, wyth grete amybycyon and enuy; and so, also, at the end, euer sedycyon and cyuyle warre.

For our pepul be of that nature that, ys they had such lyberty, surely they wold abuse hyt to theyr owne de-

structyon. Therfor, me semyth, for as much as we be vsyd to take our prynce by successyon of blode, thys fre electyon that you so pryase may not be admyttyd.

9. Pole.—Wel, Master Lupset, nothwystondyng that by gud reson you seme to defend thys custume long vsyd in our reame and natyon, yet, ys we remembyr our purpos wel and ordur of resonnyng, hyt schal be no thyng hard to take away your reson at al. Thys you know ys our purpos,—to fynd out the best ordur that,

P. says though Lupset's reasons seem to be good, they are easily answered.

Nothing more hurtful than civil war, and

[* Page 160.]*

if we chose our king by election, civil war would surely arise.

L, hardly knows what to say; while Pole's reasons seem probable, experience seems to be against them.
by prudent pollycy, may be stablysched in our *reame and cuntrey, and to fynd al fautys wych repugne to the same, of the wych thys I notyd to be one pryncypal and chefe. For what ys more repugnant to nature, then a hole natyon to be gouernyd by the wyl of a prynce, wych euer folowyth hys frayle fantasy and vn-rulyd affectys? What ys more contrary to reson then al the hole pepul to be rulyd by hym pry/zee, wych euer folowyth hys frayle fantasy and vn-rulyd affectys?

The Romans and Greeks always wele may be exampld to al other, wych, lyke as theyr consullys, so lykewyse theyr kyngys, chose euer of the best and most excellent in vertue. Loke, also, vnto Lacedemonia, and in al other nobul cuntreys of Greece, where the pepul were rulyd by a prynce, and you schal fynd that he was euer chosen by fre electyon. Thys successyon of pryncys by inherytaunce and blode was brought in by tyrannys and barbarus pryncys, wych, as I sayd, ys contrary to nature and al ryght reson; wych you may se, also, more euydently, by successyon in private famyllys, wherin you see that yf the sone be prodygal and gyuen to al vyce and foly, the father ys not bounde to make hym hys heyre; where as ys gud pollycy, but hath lyberty to chose hym anoother where as he thynkyth conuenyent and best. Much more hyt ys to be admyttyd in a reame, that yf the prynce be not mete to succede hys father, that then a nother ys to be *chosen by the fre electyon of the cyty-zyns in the cuntre. Wherfor we may thys surely conclude, that best hyt ys for the conservayton of poltyke ordur and iust pollycy, a prynce to be chosen by fre electyon at lyberty. And yet, Master Lvpset, I wyl not say nor affyrme, but as the state of our reame ys, and here in our natyon, hyt ys bettur to take hym by successyon of blode, for the avoydyng of al such dyscorde, debate, and confusyon as you before sayd; but, Master Lvpset, that ys not best of hys nature, wych, of
KINGS BY SUCCESSION SUIT US BEST.

259 ij thyngys wych both be yl, ys only the bettur. Troth hyt ys, as our pepul be now affectyd, and as the state of our reame ys, yl hyt ys to take our prynce by succes-
syon, and much wors by fre electyon; and yet yf we wyl stablysch a true comynyn wele wythout al tyranny, and wythout al wrchydnes of the pepul and mysy, we must nedys graunte thys best to be, and most con-
venyent to nature, to take a prynce electyd and chosen of al other for hys wyesdome and vertue most worthly to reyne. We may not consydur what ys best and most
convenyent to our pepul now as they he, but what schold be most convenyent to them gouernyd and rulyd by cyuyle ordur and resonabul lyfe, according 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 communycatyon; for thys ys sure—both to gyue to our prynce such regal powar and hye pre-
rogatyfe, and also to haue hym by successyon of blode, ys a grete faute in our pollycy and much dystant from al cyuyle ordur.

L. can see it is better as we are, to have our king by succession, but if we would live in true liberty, we should elect him.

10. Lupset.1—Sir, you haue now satysfyd me ryght wel; for now I see that, notwythstondyng that hyt ys bettur, as our pepul are affecte, to haue our prynce by succes-
syon of blode, yet, yf they wold lyue in true lyberty and obserue the cyuyle lyfe convenyent to the nature of man, best hyt were to haue hym chosen by fre
electyon. Therfor, I pray you, go forward, and let vs examyn some other mysordurys in our pollytyke rule and ordur of lyfe.

11. Pole.—A lyke faute vnto thys, but not so grete, ys in the successyon of pri‘uate men. You know by the ordur of our law, the eldys[t] brother succedyth, ex-

* Page 168.]

He maintains that both their opinions are true.

As our people and country now are, succession is bad, and free election worse.

P. A like fault is the law of primogeniture. In pryvat succession.
Thys ys a thyng, as me semyth, fer out of ordur, vtturly to exclude the yongur bretherne out of al partys of the heytage, as though they were not the chyldur of that father nor bretherne to the heyre. Reson and nature vtturly requyryth that they chyldur, wych be as partys of the father and mother, schold also be admyttyd to partys of the patrymony, that, euen lyke as "they haue brought them forth in to the lyght, so theyr godys myght maynteyn and succur them aftur in theyr lyfe. Wherfor, vtturly to exclude them from al, as though they had commyt some grete offence and cryme agayn theyr parentys, ys playn agayn reson, and semyth to mynysch the natural loue betwyx the father and the chyld, and also increse enuy and hates betwyx them wych nature hath so bounden togyddur. For betwyx bretherne1 vndowtydly thys thyng squeakyth much of the broderly loue wych nature hath plantyd and rotyd. And so thys may not be denyd to be a nother mysordur in our polytyke rule and gouernarcce.  

12. Lvpset.—Syr, as touchyng thys, I maruayle much also what you mean. Me semyth you are aboute to take vtturly away our pollycy and hole ordur of thys our reame. You note such thynys to be fautys wher-in 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 thynys, that thys begyn of such thyng wych I and many mo take for gud law and pollycy.  

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 begynnynig, wer infynyte and grete foly, but only to note such thynys as in general repugne to the commyn wele  

1 "brother and brother," written aboue.
THE EVILS OF AN EQUAL DIVISION

329 before descrybyd, and such as, for the most parte, are taken for no faultys at al; *of the nombr of whome ys thys wych we speke of now, and other peraunture we schal, as tyme requyryth, open and touch. But, Master Lvpset, to retorne to the purpos, let me here a lytyl mynd in thys mater some what more at large.

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. Wherfore, al such lawys,

ordynyanys, and statutys, wyth conteyne the pepul in gud ordur and rule, are to be alowyd and iustely to be receyuyd. Thys, I thynke, was wel conseyderyd of them wyth fyrst instytute thys law of inherytance. They wel conseyderyd the nature of our pepul, wyth 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 vnruyl, theyr wold among them be no ordur at al; and therfor byt was not wythout cause, as hyt apperyth, ordeynyd and stablyschyd, that in euery grete famyly the eldyst schold succede, to maynteyne a hede, wyth fyryst instytute thys law of inherytance. They wel conseyderyd the nature of our pepul, wyth 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 vnruyl, theyr wold among them be no ordur at al; and therfor byt was not wythout cause, as hyt apperyth, ordeynyd and stablyschyd, that in euery grete famyly the eldyst schold succede, to maynteyne a hede, wyth fyryst instytute thys law of inherytance.

350 If lands of great families were divided between brothers, the families would decay.

354 the rudenes of the pepul. For thys ys both certayn and sure—that yf the landys in euery grete famyly were dystrybutyd equally betwyx the bretherne, in a smal processe of yerys they hede famlyys wold dekey, and by lytyl and lytyl vtturly vanysch away; and so they pepul schold be wythout rularys and hedys, the wyth then, by theyr rudenes and foly, wold schortly distrurbe thys quyat lyfe and gud pollycy, wyth by many agys they haue lade here in our cuztre: such schold be the dyssensyon and dyscorde one wyth another. And so, me semyth, the mayntenance of thes hedys *ys
the maytenaunce of al cyuyle ordur and polytyke rule 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 cyuyle; and, besyd thys, you schal therwyth bryng in the ruyne of al noblyyte and auneynt stokkys. For yf you from nobullys onys take theyr grete possessyonys, or mynystur any occasyon to the same, you schal, in processe of yerys, confounde the nobyllys and the commynys to-geddur, aftur such maner that ther schalbe no dyfferens betwyx the one and the other. Thys apperyth to me, except, Master Pole, you can answere to thys resonys, wych seme playnly to conclude contrary to your sentence. 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 ene 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 mayntenance of gud pollycy, the wych repugnyth, aftur my jugement, no thyng at al to the law of nature and honesty.

15. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, notwythstandyng 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. How be hyt, they *haue also somewhat of the truth mynglyd with al; for surely aftur, as you say, the rudenes of our pepul requyrth hedys and gouernourys to conteyne them in ordur and quietnes, and though hyt be not necessary at al, yet in grete famylys thys maner of successyon may be sufferyd ryght wel. How be hyt, some prouysyon for the second bretherne, by the ordur of law, also wold be had, and not to leue them bare to the only curtesy of theyr eldyst brother, whose loue oft-tymys ys so cold and weke, that he may wel

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.

P. grants that the people need "heads," but surely the younger sons might have something.
401 suffyr hys bretherm to lyue in grettur pouerty then ys
comuynent to theyr noblyyte. But yf you wold suffur
thys addycyon and moderatyon to be yoynyd therto,
your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys
(as pryncys, dukys, erlys, and baromys) such maner of
successyon to be alowyd as comuynent. 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
nature and al gud cyuylyte; for thys bryngyth in
among the multytude ouer grete inequalyte, wych ys
the of this we may
take example
from the Romans,
whose children
equally divided
the inheritance.
[ * Page 168.]
This fault came
of entailing lands,
whereby every Jack would be a
gentleman.
L. says this is a
fault.
401 suffyr hys bretherm to lyue in grettur pouerty then ys
comuynent to theyr noblyyte. But yf you wold suffur
thys addycyon and moderatyon to be yoynyd therto,
your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys
(as pryncys, dukys, erlys, and baromys) such maner of
successyon to be alowyd as comuynent. 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
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[ * Page 168.]
This fault came
of entailing lands,
whereby every Jack would be a
gentleman.
L. says this is a
fault.
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 inher-
ance left to theyr famyly. And thys, Master Lvpset,
you may see how that both your resonys and myn also
may haue place, yf they be wel applyd and indyfferewtly
weyd; for euen lyke as hyt ys among the nobyllys con-
uenent to succede aftur such maner, for the mayntenance
425 of the hedys and of noblyyte, so hyt ys agayn reson and
al cyuyle ordur to admyt the same among al the pepul
commynly. But, Master Lvpset, thys faute sprange of
a certayne arrogancy, wherby, wyth the intaylyng of
landys, euery Jake wold be a gentylman, and euery
gentylman a knyght or a lord, as we schaLschow here
aftur in hys place. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, now yf
you thinke thys to be a faute, aftur such maner as hyt
ys now declaryd, let vs procede, and seke out for other
430 of the same sorte.

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 at the begynnynge hyt apperyd a veray strange thyng vtturly to take away our maner of successyon, wych so many yerys hath byn alowyd, and, as me thought, not wythout grete resoun. I thynke also, veryly, that at the fyrst ordynance of our lawys, euyn as you say, that thys maner of successyon was only in grete famyllys, and yet not wythout some prouysyon for the other bretherne, as they haue yet in Fraunce, Flaundres, and in Italy; [where] the second brother hath euer some castel or towne appoyntyd to hym * by the ordur of theyr law and custume in euer grete famly. But truly I can not but confesse thys maner, to be receyuyd among al men of mean state and degre, to be vtturly agayne al gud cyuylyte, and wythout fayle ryseyth 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, specially aftur such maner only to the eldyt sone in euery base famly, makyth many rechles heyrys, causyth them lytyl to regard nother lernyng nor vertue, in as much as they are sure to be inheryetrys to a grete porcyon of intaylyd land; and so, by thys assurans, they gyue themselfe to al vanye and plesure, wythout respecte. The wych, I thynke, they wold not dow yf they were in dowte of such possessyonys, and the hole inherytance to hang apon theyr behauyour and beryng.

17. Pole.—As for that, Master Lvpset, the law doth command no such intaylyng, but permyttyth hyt only. 18. Lvpset.—Mary, that ys the thyng also that I reproue; for though in grete housys such intaylyng may be suffryd for the mayntenance of the famly, yet in the basse famyllys, commynly thys to be admyttyd, *surely hyt ys no thyng conuenyent, for as much as hyt

[1 In margin of MS.

* Page 163.

He speaks of the fault of entailing lands, especially in base families.

* Page 170.
bryngyth in grete inequalyte, and so much hate and malyce among the commynalty. Wherfor thys ys no smal erreore in the ordur of our law, and may wel be coupyld wyth the other.

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 reprouyd, then the other before notyd; and that ys thys:—you know wel wyth vs, yf a man dye wych leuyng hys landys by knyghtys seruyce of any superyor, 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, tuytyon, and gouernauence of the same. Thys apperyth to me fer agayn reson. Fyrst, hyt ys nothyng conuenyent the heyre to be in gouern- those who are not related to him.

Abuse in wardys.1

when the heir, being left under age, is subject to those who are not related to him.

They may marry him to whom they will.

L. thinks this custom just and reasonable,

1 In margin of MS.
at the fyrt begynying, I suppose you wyl not so much reпрoue the mater as you dow. For thys we fynd in storys and in the fyrt instytutyon of our comyn law, that at such tyme as Wylyam the Conquerour subduyd our cuntrey and stablyschyd our lawys, certayn landys were gyuen out of grete famyllys to inferyor personys for theyr servyce downe to them before, vnder such con-
dycyon that when so euer they decessyd, leuyng theyr heyrys wythin age, that then thes landys during the nonage schold retorn the to the superior agayne, by whose bunfyte hyt cam to the famly and stoke, and the same man also to haue such powar to mary hym as he thought best and most conuenyent; how be hyt, no thyng com-
pellyng hym therin at al, but only by gentyl and gud exhortatyon mouyng hym therfo, for hys profyt and -synguler comfort: the wych, me semyth, much resonabul, consydereryng *they bunfytys come al from hym by the wych the hole famly schold be maynteynyd. And as for count during the nonage, why schold he make any, seyng for that tyme hyt ys as hys owne? For the landys were gyuen at the fyrt begynnyng vnder such condyceyon, as I sayd before. Wherfor hyt ys not so vnresonabyl for hym to haue both ward and maryage, and of the landys no thyng to be constabul.

21. Pole.—Wel, Master Lyvset, set what face you wyl apon thys mater, you can not persuade me thys ordur to be gud, specially when I loke to the perfayt commyn wele wych I wold myght be stablyschyd here in our cuntrey. Let hyt be so that at the tyme of the fyrt entre of the Conquerour, or tyranne (cal hym as you wyl) thys maner myght be for the tyme commenient; but now, yf we wyl restore our cuntrey to a perfayt state, wyth a true commyn wele, we must schake of al such tyrannycal custumys and vnresonabyl bandys, instytute by that tyranne when he subduyd our cuntrey and natyon. I can not deny: but, as you say, they wych...
the land had power to make conditions;  
1 MS. so such.

548 and consydyr the tyme of nature to the wych we wold forme our commyn wele; and then we schal fynd thythondage to be vnresonabul among cyuyle pepul purpos-yng to lyue in a just pollycy. Wherfor, Master Lvp-

552 set, let vs no more dowte of thyth mater.

22. Lvpset.—Syr, you euer stoppe my mouth wyth thys consyderatyon of the perfayt state; to the wych, wywithout fayle, thys maner dothe somewhat repugne; for surely hyt smellyth a lyltyl of tyrany. Wherfor, bycause I wyl not wyth no sophystycal reson repugne to the manyfest truthe and equyte, therfor I wyl confesse thyth to be a grete errore in our commyn wele and pollycy, without ferther lettyng you to procede in the rest of your commynycatyon.

23. Pole.—Master Lvpset, therin you dow wel; for yf you schold tary our communycatyon wyth sophystycal argumentys, we schold not thyth day note halfe the erorys wych I purpos to talke wyth you of. For ther ys nothyng so true and manyfest, but the sutterlyt of mannys reson may deuyse somethyng to say contrary, and to impugne the same, as in thyth wych now I wyl speke of, wych, me semyth, ys so manyfest an errore in our law, that no man may hyt deny; and yet I can not thinke but you wyl fynd somewhat to lay agayne hyt.

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 offtymys to appere more manyfest and playn. Therfor let vs see what thyng hyt ys that you thinke so many-

579 fest a faute.
25. Pole.—Syr, hyt ys touchyng appellatyony in causys and remouyng by wrytt. You know ryght wel hyt ys wyth vs comunynly 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 perauntur 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.

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 afectyon and powar, materys are so borne and bolsteryd that justyce can not haue place wyth indyfferency, hath ordeynydyd that by wryte the cause myght be remouyd to London to indyfferent juge-ment, where as the partys be nother of both knownen nor by afectyon fauoryd. Therfore in the law, touchyng thys behalfe, I thynke ther ys no faute at al.

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 malycously vexythe hys aduersary, yet the law ther- by ys not excusyd, wych so seruyth to the malyce of man, so lyghtly admyttynge the remouyng of the cause before sentence be gyuen, and before hyt be known 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, appellatyyon ys necessary and re-

1 In margin of MS.
615 moyng of the cause to indyfferent jugement. But as 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 remoyung by wryte materys out of the schyre, but lyke wyse from the jugys of the commyn law to the chauncery and to the hyar counsel by iniuuctyon; the wych thyng, as hyt apperyth, letthyth much justyce and trowblyth the hole ordur and processe of the law. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke not you thys to be truth?

28. Lvpset.—Syr, wythout fayle, I can not deny but other the law other the mynysterys therof, are somewhat to esy in grauntyng and admyttynig such appellatyon and iniuuctyon 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-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.

29. Pole.—Ther ys also a grete faute wych apperyth concernyng the processe in sutys of causys. I see many mennys materys heng in sute ii, iij, or iiiij yere and more, and can not be fyndymyd; 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 of the law. For though hyt be so that thes hungry advo- catys and cormorantys of the court study much to delay causys for theyr lucre and profyt, yet I thynke hyt can not be denyd but ther ys some faut also in the ordur of the law and in pollycy. For thys ys sure—yf hyt were wel ordryd, justyce schold not be so defettyd, nor the processe therof so be stoppyd, by euerly lyght and

\[1 \text{ In margin of MS.}\]
SEVERITY OF PUNISHMENTS. 119
couetouse sergeant, proktor, or attornay. Wherfor me 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 faute found in the processe of the law nor ordur of the same; for the couetouse and gredy mynds of them destroyth al law and gud pollycy, wych ys a maruelouse thynge, to see them wych were first instytute for the mayntenance and settyng forward of true justyce and equyte, now to be the destructyion of the same wyth al injury.

31. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys ys no dowte, the mynysters be the gretyst cause of al such mysdurys; 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.

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 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 desendez to thys parte, the ordur of our law also in the puunyschment of theft ys ouer-strayte, and faylyth much from gud cyuylyte. For wyth vs, for every lytyl theft, a man ys by and by hengyd wythout mercy or pyte; wych, me semyth, ys agayne nature and humanyte, specyally when they steyle for necessyte, wyth[h]out murdur or manslaughter comm-

34. Lvpset.—Syr, I can not tel why you schold cal

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1 In margin of MS.
not be too severe: it does not deter men from stealing.

thys ordur ouer-strayte, wych ys not yet, by al hys straytenes, suffycyent to make *felonyes to be ware one by another. I thynke yf we coude deuyse a punnyschmeunt more strayttur then deth, hyt were necessary to be ordenyd and receuyyd among vs; for you know the gretenes of the offence ys such agayne the commyn wele, wych dysturbyth al quyet lyfe and peacybul, that no payne ys [equal] to the punnyschment therof.

To hang him is over severe.

Can you devise any other plan?

We shall see.

Punnyschmeunt of treason.

P. says the punishment for treason is too severe.

1 In margin of MS.
TREASON TOO SEVERE.

but also the credytorys holly are defaytyd of theyr dette, 720 what so euer hyt be, wyouth respecte; wych thyng apperyth ouerstrayte also.

40. Lvpse.—Syr, me thynke you pondur not wel the gretnesse of thys faute, wych of al other ys the most haynouse. Wherfor the traytour ys not only to be punnyschyd in hys body and godys, but also in 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 ouerlytyl, yf they were of counseyl wyth the traytour.

42. Lvpse.—That, by the law ys presupposyd and vtturly presumyd to be truth; and in case be that they be not gylyt at al, the pryunce, yf he wyl, may pardon such punnyschment.

43. Pole.—That ys trothe; but thys hangyth only apon the wyl of the pryunce—a veray weke thred in such a case. Wherfor, as I sayd, an excepcyon were to be requyryd by the ordur of the law, wych apperyth ouerstrayte in that punnyschment, lyke as in the other before rehersyd.

44. Lvpse.—Syr, al be hyt here may *be much spoken in thys mater agayne your sentence, yet by cause hyt leynyth to equyte and consyence, aftur my mynd also, I wyl not be obstynat, but graunt thys to you, lest I schold let you otherwyse then ys conuenyent now to our purpos.

45. Pole.—Ferther, also, in the accusyng of treson, ther ys, me semyth, ouer-grete lyberty; for wyth vs, yf a man accuse a nother of treson, though he proue hyt not, yet he ys not punnyschyd, but frely pardonyd by the custume here vsyd, wych ys playn agayn al gud reson.

46. Lvpse.—Syr, in that I can not wel agre wyth you; for in so much as they cryme ys so grete, only

† In margin of MS.
suspycyon ys to be accusyd, wythout any dede, to the wych, if ther were punnyschment greus 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-

out cause, apon suspycyon only, euery man may frely accuse other of treson.

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 conceuyyd; for euery lyght suspicyon 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.

48. Lvpset.—Syr, he that apon lyght suspicyon accusyth any man of so grete cryme, surely were worthy to be punnyschyd. Thys I can not deny; and so in admyytting such lyght suspicyon to be accusyd, our law ys some what ouer-lyght agayn the accusarys.

49. Pole.—Thes, Master Lvpset, are the most general thyngys touchyng the ordur of our commyn law, wych, among infynyte other, I haue pykyd out and thought to be notyd now at thys tyme, for the restoryng of a iust pollycy. Wherfor, except you remebyr any other, we may procede to the fautyys in the sprytual parte callyd; for of thys body ther be also no smal mysordurys, and, perauenture grettur, then in thys.

50. Lvpset.1—Syr, you schal dow well, for me semyth you haue sayd metely in thys behalfe. How be hyt, I marauyle that one thyng you haue so let pas con-

cernyng the commyn law, wych, though hyt be no faute in the ordur therof, yet me thynke hyt stondyth not wel. The thyng ys thys, that our commyn law ys wryten in the French tonge, and therin dysputyd and tought, wych, besyde that hyt ys agayne the commyn

1 MS. Le. 2 In margin of MS.
wele, ys also ignomynyouse and dyshonowre to our natyon; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subiection to the Normans. Thys thyng apperyth to me not wel; for commyn law wold euere be wryten in the commyn tong, that euery man that wold myght understand the bettur such *statutys and ordynancys as he ys bounden to observe.

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.

52. Lvpset.—Syr, as touchyng that, here aftur in hys place we may examyn and try out the truth herin; for, perauenture, 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 cyuylite, bycause al the lyberal artys are conteynyd therin.

53. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, let vs not entyr into thys dysputatyon now, but euen, as you say, dyffer hyt to hys place, and now procede to the sprytualty, wherein 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 dispensatyon of al lawys stablyschyd by God and man, the wych by money hys offycerys dow sel; as hyt wer proclaymyng aftur thys maner, "who so euere wyl breke such lawys and such, let hym bryng thys some of money, and I schal dispens wyth hym." Thys ys a intollerabul vsage and costume. How thynke you, Master Lvpset, ys hyt not thys?

54. Lvpset.—Yes, truly abuse ther ys therin; but

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1 In margin of MS.  
2 MS. mater.  
3 MS. le.  
4 MS. Le.
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
gae that to Sayn Petur and to al hys successorys also.
Werfor that authoryte may not be taken away, except
you wyl take away the ground of our religygon wythal.

55. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset,¹ not so. I wyl not
name any poynt of the Gospel at-al. How be hyt, her-
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 usurpe, but hyt was only
to declarey penytent heartys contryte for ther syn to be
absoluyd from the faute therof, and that hyt schold be
no more imputyd to them. And as for the dispensa-
tyon of lawys, wych aftur were ordeynyd by man, was
also by man gyuen to the See of Rome. I mean not to
the person of the Pope, but to hym and to his College
of Cardynallys also, wych, at the fyrst, were chosen
bytheyr vertue and lernyng, men of auncyent wysdome
and sage. They were not made by money, as they are
now, and of al age, wythout respecte. Werfor, thys
ys my sentence:—the Pope hathe no such authoryte
to dispense wyth general lawys made by the Church,
nother by the powar gyuen to hym by God, nor by man.
For hys powar gyuen to hym by God extendyth only to
the absolutyon of syn; and that wych by man was
gyuen, was not gyuen only to hym, but to the hole
cumpany of the See of Rome: and so he, in abusyng thys
powar, destroyth the hole ordur of the Church. Thys
ys clere, as I coud by many storys confyrme, yf I
thought ther were any dowte therin. But now, as I sayd,

¹ MS. le.
APPEALS TO ROME.

therfor I thinke I may affyrme grete mysordur to be in the vsurpyng of thys authoryte.

56. Lvpset.—Syr, as touchyng the dispensatyon, wythout dowte grete faute ther ys; and surely that he hath no authoryte therto, but only by the consent of man, me thinke schold be veray truth. Wherfor in the abuse therof ys no les detryment to the law of the *Church, then ys to the commyn law here of our cuntre, by the prerogatyue of the prynce. Let vs therfor agre appon thys.

57. Pole.—Of thys same ground spryngyth also another grete mysordur, in appellatyon of such as be callyd spiritual causys. In a grete cause nowadays, sentence can not be sure nor fyrme ; for the one party wyl by and by appele to Rome, as who say that wythin our reame ther were nother wysdome nor justyce to examyn 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 no appellatyon, be the sentence neuer so iniuste, wych ys agayne the ordur of any commyn wele. Whereas appellatyon ys euer admyttyd to the hede and to hyar authoryte. Wherfor, seyyng you graunte the Pope wyth hys College of Cardynallys to be hede, made and admyttyd by the consent of man, you must nede admyt also appellatyon therto.

59. Pole.—Syr, as touchyng thys, you say wel; for appellatyon I dow not vtturly take away; but I wold haue hyt moderate, aftur gud resoun, that euery tryfylyng cause schold not be *referryd to Rome, as hyt hathbyn 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 remouyng of causys to London by wryte.

[* Page 185.]

[* Page 186.]
61. Pole.—Then let vs go forward. What thynke
you by the law of Anenats? Ys hyt not vnresonabyl
the fyrst frutys to run to Rome, to maynteyne the pompe
and pryde of the Pope, ye, and warre also, and dyscord
among Chrystun pryncys, as we haue seen by long
experyence?

62. Lvpset.—Wel, Sir, that ys no more but to
schow the abuse of the thyng; for the wych you may
not vtturly take away the ordynance of the law, wych
was eu er for a gud purpos, as in thys. Thes fy rst frutys
were appoyntyd, as I conyecture, to maynteyn the ma-
ystery of our hede, and magnyfycence of the See, and also
to defend our Church from the subiectyon of the ennemys
of Chrystys fayth. Wherfor, bettur hyt were to prouyde
a gud use of thses thyngys, then vtturly to take them
away.

63. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, to make you a
breue answer, I thynke thses causys that you lay now
haue no place. For, fy rst, as for the magnyfycence and
maiesty of the Church stondyth not in such possessyonys
and pompe, but in stabylnes and puryte of Chrystyun
lyfe: thys ys a thyng clere and manyfest. And as for
the defence of the Church, [hyt] pertynyth not to the
Pope and hys See, but rather to the Empour and
other Chrystun pryncys: wherfor to pyl theyr cuntreys
for thys purpos, ys not just nor resonabul; and thys
shor thy I thynke remaynyth no just cause wy thses
annatys schold be payd to Rome.

64. Lvpset.—Syr, I parceyue wel al thses thynygys
henge apon one threde. You harpe apon one stryng
contynually, wych in hys place I thynke you wyl tem-
pur. Therfor now, bycause I wyl not be obstynate
and offend agayn my gost, denying the playn and
manyfest truth, I wyl no more repugne in thses causys.

65. Pole.—The same mysordur that ys in appella-

1 In margin of MS.
YOUTHS ADMITTED TO RELIGION.

Yonys and annatys, also, to the See of Rome, yys also
in appelyng to the Court of the Byschope of Canterburry,
callyd the Arches, whether as causys are remouyd wyth- 
out examynatyon or sentence before gyuen in the 
dyosys.

66. Lvpset.—Ther ys no dowte but ther ys also 934 
grete abuse therin.

67. Pole.—And what say [you] by the prerogatyf 
gyuen to the same Byschope of Canterburry, wherby he 
hath the probatyon of testamente and the admynystra-
tyon of intestate godys, by the reson wherof they *be 
sequestryd from the profyt of al the friendys of hym 
wych so dyed intestate, and be spoylyd of the raumnys 
and pollyng offycerys?

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 conueny-
ent, and contrary to the ordynance of the Church at the 
fyrst instytutyon.

70. Lvpset.—Sir, that ys truth, and that ys the 
cause that at that tyme prestys were of perfayt vertue, 953 
as now, contrary, they be ful of vanyte.

71. Pole.—And how thynke you by the law wych 
admynyth to relygyon of al sortys, youth of al age 
almost; insomuch that you schal see some frerys whome 
you wold juge to be borne in the habyte, they are so 
lytyl and yong admynytd therto?

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

1 In margin of MS.
what relygyon menyth? Thys ys vndowtydly a grete erroure in al ordur of relygyon.

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?

74. Lvpset.—Syr, in thyngys may be sayd; but bycause I wyl not repugne agayne my con-

75. *Pole.—Master Lvpset, you are veray esy in in the admyssyon of thys fantys in the spiri-

76. Lvpset.—Syr, as touchyng thyngys may be sayd; but bycause I wyl not repugne agayne my con-

77. Pole.—Wel, then, Master Lvpset, seyng that we haue now examynyd the most general and commyn errorys wych we haue observyd to be in our law, both sprytual and temporal, as they haue come to our remembraunce now, let vs now here aftur, by lyke maner, examyn the custumys most commynly vsyd wych seme to repugne to gud cyuylyte.

78. Lvpset.—Mary, Syr, thys ordur ys gud; for then we schal note and touch much wych ys now to our purpos.

1 In märgin of MS.
2 The remainder of this sentence is cut off in the binding.
79. Pole.—Fyrst and most pryncypal of al yl custumys vsyd in our cuntre commynly, aftur my jugement, ys that wych touchyth the educatyon of the nobylte, whome we see custummarly brought vp in huntyng and haukyng, dysyng and cardyng, etyng and drynk-yng, and, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, and vanyte. And that only ys thought to pertyne to a gentylman, euen as hys propur fayte, offyce, and duty, as though they were borne therto, and to no thyng els in thys world of nature brought forth.

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 necessyte?

81. Pole.—Master Lvpset, what I wold haue them to dow now, the place ys not here to schow and declare, wych hereafter I wyl not omyt; but that thyss 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 stablyschyd here in our cuntre; for of thys poynt hangyth a grete parte of the veray welth of the hole commynalty.

82. Lvpset.—Surely thys thyng ys amys. Wherfor procede you ferther. I wyl not repugne agayn so manyfost a truthe.

83. Pole.—A nother yl custume among the nobyllys ther ys, that euery one of them wyl kepe a court lyke a prynce; euery one wyl haue a grete idol route to wayte apon hym, to kepe hym cumpany and pastyme, as he that hath in hymselfe no conforte at al, nor wythin hys mynde, hart, and brest, no cause of inward rejoycyng, but hangyth only of vtward vanyte.

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.

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1 In margin of MS.
and adds, in this stands, not the beggary of England, 

85. Pole.—Nay, Master Lupset, truly to say, in this stondyth the beggary of England, as we sayd before; specyally yf you consydur what custume ther ys among them wyth al, both in theyr dyat and theyr appayrayl. For yf the nobyllys, ye, and many of theyr servuantys, be not appayraylyd in sylkys and veluettys, they thynke they lake much of theyr honowre; and yf they have not at dyner and souper xx dyschys of dyuerey meytys, they lake they chefe poynyt that perteynyth to theyr honowre, as they thynke, wych ys rise and sprounge of a long custume, noyful, wythout fayle, to the commyn wele many ways. For thys excesse in dyat bryngyth in apparyle. For yf the nobyllys, ye, and many of theyr servuantys, be not appayraylyd in sylkys and veluettys, they thynke they lake much of theyr honowre; and yf they have not at dyner and souper xx dyschys of dyuerey meytys, they lake they chefe poynyt that perteynyth to theyr honowre, as they thynke, wych ys rise and sprounge of a long custume, noyful, wythout fayle, to the coramyn Pompos Fare and wele many ways. For thys excesse in dyat bryngyth in apparyle. Manyfold sykynes and much mysery, lyke as thys ipompos apparyle doth induce much pouerty. Thes are thyngeys as clere to al men as the lyght *of the day.

86. Lupset.—Truly thes thyngeys I can not deny, and specyally thys custume of nuryhschyng such an idyl trayne dysplesyth me. Hyt ys a thynge vsyd in no cuntrey of the world I trow. A knyght or a mean gentlelman schal haue as many idyl 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 peraunture, wold say and ax, what dow they then wyth theyr possessyonys and ryches? Dow they hepe hyt togydur in coffuryys and cornarys, wythout applying hyt to any profyt or vse?

They use their riches better in France.

88. Lupset.—Nay, not so, Sir, but they mary theyr chyldur and frendys therwyth, and so kepe vp the honowre of theyr famly therby. You schal neuer see non of any gud famly, 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-

In margin of MS.
gyng, where as the eldur hath tryumphyd and lyuyd in plesure, lyke a grete prynce of a cuntrey.

89. Pole.—Truly thys haue I knowne also. Wher-for I can not but laude that custome of straungerys, and dysprayse ourys also, wych ys so ferre frome al gud gentylnes and humanyte, of the wych sort many other also be, but thes now touchyd as most general in the temporality. Let vs, Master Lupset, *now lykewyse loke to the custumys of the sprytualty. How thynke you by the maner vsyd wyth our byschoppys, abbottys, and pryorys, towchyng the nuryschyng also of a grete sorte of idul abbey-lubbarys, wych are apte to no thyng but, as the byschoppys and abbotys be, only to ete and drynke? Thynke you thys a laudabl custume, and to be admyttyd in any gud pollycy?

90. Lupset.—Nay, surely thys I can not alow, hyt ys so euydent a faute to euery mannys ye; for by thys mean al the possessyonys of the Church are spent as yl as they possessyonys of temporal men, contrary to the institutyon of the law and al gud cyuylyte.

91. Pole.—And what thynke [you] by the maner of electyonys, both of byschoppys, abbottys, and pryorys, wych are made other by the prayce or some other grete mannys authoryte? May thys be alowyd as a gud custume in our cuntre?

92. Lupset.—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 not of the maner of the law, but of vnresonabul custumys wych haue more powar then any law, aftur they be by long tyme confyrmyd and receuyd commynly.

94. Lupset.—Thys custume vndowtydly ys vnreson-abyl, and grete destructyon of the gud ordur in the Church rysyth therof.

1 In margin of MS.
95. Pole.—Ther ys a nother grete faute wych ys the ground of al other almost, and that ys concernyng the educatyon of them wych appoynt themselfe to be men of the Church. They are not brought vp in vertue and lernyng, as they schold be, nor wel approuyd therin before they be admyttyd to such hye dygnyte. Hyt ys not conuenyent men wythout lernyng to occupy the place of them wych schold prech the word of God, and tech the pepul the lawys of relygyon, of the wych com-mynly they are most ignorant themselfe; for com-mynly you schal fynd that they can no thyng dow but pattur vp theyr matyns and mas, mumbling vp a certayn nombur of wordys no thyng vnderstonde.

96. Lvpset.2—Sir, you say in thys playn truth; I can not nor wyl not thyss deny.

97. Pole.—Ye, and yet a nother thyng. Let hyt be that they prestys were vnlerneyd, yet yf they were of perfayt lyfe and studyouse of vertue, that by theyr ex-ampul they myght tech other, thyss 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 vycyouse lyfe to the lay pepul. How say [you], Master Lvpset, ys no thyss also a playn truthe and manyfest?

98. Lvpset.2—Yes, truly, in so much that almost they infantys now borne into the lyght perceyue hyt playnly. Ther ys no man that lokyth *into our maner of luyng that may dowte of thyss.

99. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you are in thys materys veray esy to persuade. You make no obiectyonys, aftur your maner in other thyngys; wherfor I somewhat feare that we admyt over-quykyly thes fauteys in the Church, for some privete hate that we bere agayne the prestys and prelatys therin.

100. Lvpset.—Syr, feare you no thyng [in] that

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1 In margin of MS.
2 MS. Le.
mater; for I promys you I wyl and dow pondur our manerys wythout affectyon or hate, but, as nere as I can, wyth indysfferent jugement loke vnto them.

101. [Pole.]—And as for thyss ignorance and vcyouse lyfe of the clergy, no man can hyt deny but he that, perwertyng the ordur of al thyngys, wyl take vye for vertue, and vertue for vyce. And thought hyt be so that the temporalty lyfe much aftur the 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 examplul of lyfe, wherby chefely they schold induce the rude pepul to the trayn of vertue. Wherfor surely thyss no smal faute in our custume of lyfe. To the wych we may joyne He adds that priests are non-
Resyndence upon busycys, but other be in the Court or in gret mennys housys, ther takyng theyr pleisure; by the reson wherof they pepul lake theyr pastorys, wych geddur the wol dylygently, wythout regard of the profyt of theyr schype.

102. Lupset.—Syr, thyss 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 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 prouydcence of God, put only in the powar of pryncys of the world, so the other ys facyle and esy, and open

1 In margin of MS.
1173 to every prudent man and polityke; lyke as to schow the passage and way through rough and asper mon-
taynys ys not hard nor ful of dyffyeculty, but to passe the same ys no smal labur, trauyle, andayne. But now, thy set aparte, Master Lupset, let vs go forth and serch out other yl custumys, yf we remembryr any, here in our cuntre. And herin me thynkyth yht ys an yl\(^1\) custume in our Church vsyd, that as dyuyne seruyce ys sayd and song aftur such maner as yht ys commynly; as, fyrst, that yht 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 yht were rehersyd in our vulgare tong. Second, touchyng the syngyng therof, they vse a fascyon more conuenyent to mynstrellys then to deoute mynstyrrys of the dyuyne seruyce; for playnyly, as yht ys vsyd, thys ys truthe, specyally consyderyng the wordys be so straunge and so dyuersely descantyd, yht 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 Lvp-

Saying of servyce in straung tong.\(^3\)

Church music too elaborate, and better suited to recreation than devotion.

1183 set, ys yht not thyys as I dow say? 104. **Lvpset.**—Sir, in thyss mater somewhat I mar-

Pole should [\* Page 196.] approve the Lutheran fashion

L. marvels that

in the service;

I vnderstond \(^3\) to haue chaungyd thys fascyon long vsyd in the Church. They haue theyr servyce, such as yht ys, al in theyr vulgare tong openly rehersyd. I wold not that we schold folow theyr steppys. They are yl masturys to be folowyd in gud pollycy. But me thynk, by thys maner, you wold also haue the Gospel and al the sprypt-

ual law put into our tong; and so by that mean you schold see as many errorys among vs here in England, 1 MS. a nyl. 2 In margin of MS. 3 "I vnderstond" marked through and "we haue" written over in MS.
A GOOD WORD FOR LUTHER.

as be now in Almayn among the Lutheranys, in shocrt space. Wherfor, Master Pole, I thynke hyt ys bettur to kepe our old fascyon both in our dyuyne seruyce and in kepyng the law in a straunge tounge, then by such new maner to bryng in among vs any dyuersyte of sectys in relygyon.

105. Pole.—Master Linpset, I se wel in thyss you wyl not be so sone persuadyd, as in other thyngys before you were. You are, me semyth, aferd lest we schold folow the steppys of Luther, whose jugement I estyney veray lytyl; and yet he and hys dyscypullys be not so wykkyd and folysch that in al thyngys they erre. Heretykys be not in al thyngys heretykys. Wherfor I wyl not so abhorre theyr heresy that for the hate therof I wyl fly from the *truth. I alow thyss maner 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 manyst; wych you schal also confesse, I thynk, yf you wyl consydur indyfferently the mater a ltyyl wyth me. And fyrst, thyss ys certayn and sure—that the dyuyne seruyce was ordeynyd to be sayd in the Church for the edfyng of the pepul, that they, herrynq the wordys of the Gospel and the exampullys of holy sayntys, professorys of Chrystys name and doctrine, myght therby be sterryd and mouyd to folow theyr steppys, and be put in remembrance therby of the lyuyng and doctrine of our Master Chryst, Hys apostyllys and dyscypullys, as the chefe thynge of al other to be pryntyd and grauyd in al gud and Chrystyan hartys. Wherfor, yf thyss be true, as I thynke you can not deny, thyss folowyth of

1 In margin of MS.
and must be said in their own tongue, or else we must teach them Latin.

necesstye—that we must other haue the dyuyne seruyse to be sayd in our owne tong commynly, or els to provyd some mean that al the pepul may understond the Latyn commynently; wych I thynke surely was the purpos of the Romaynys, when they fyrst instytytute al dyuyne seruyse to be rehersyd in that tong, euene 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 that thys ys not commynent and skant possybul as the state stondyth, I thynke hyt ys bothe necessary and expedient 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 convyertyd, I thynk of al most expedient 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 cyyyle concord here in thys lyfe and polytyke justyce and vnyte, but also for euerlastyng lyfe and perpetual joy heraftyr to be had by the observatyon therof; and by the brekyng and transgressyon of the same, perpetual damnatyon: and yet to haue hyt closyd in a straung tong, as they pepul were no thyng bounden thereto nor to them wryten? I trow thyse be no reson, but playn madnes and foly. Hyt ys necessary, as I sayd before of the commyn law, to haue hyt convyertyd into our tong; but of the Gospel, surely hyt ys much more necessary and much more expedient, so that hyt were wel translatyd and by wyse counselyl examynyd, that theyr be no errorys therin. For as touchyng the errorys that men run in now-a-days, vndowtydly hyt ys not by the reson of the Gospel put into the vulgare tong, but rather for lake of gud techarys and instructarys therin. Wherfor, that thyng wych commyth partely by the malyce of man, and partely for lake of gud pollycy,* ys in no case to be attrbyutyd to the Gospel iustely; except we wyl-
trybut the cause of warr to wepun, and the cause of al dyseasys to mete and drynde, and so vtturly, therfor, cast away both wepun and mete and drynde. Hyt ys a commyn faute in resonyng, to lay a faute ther as not ys, and to note many thyngys as causys wych indeede are not at al; as, aftur my mynd, in thys our purpos you dow, Master Lupset. For surely thys dyuersyte of opynyons now-a-days reynyng, ys no thyng to be attrybute to the commynyng of the Gospel in the vulgare tong. Of thys dowte you no more. Wherfor let vs wythout feare confesse thys to be a grete faute, and an yl custume vsyd in our Church,—that we haue not the Gospels in our mother tong, and that we haue our servyce sayd in a straunge tong, of the pepul not vnderstond; and much more the maner of syngyng, wych al holly doctorys reprouyd in theyr tyme, when hyt was not so curyouse as hyt ys now. Dow no more but thynke, yf Saynt Augustyn, Jerome, or Ambrose herd our curyouse dysca?ntyng 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 deuotyon.

*and loue of celestyal thyngys, but rather to ster wanton myndys to vayn plesure and wordly pastyme wyth vanye. Of thys, Master Lupset, aftur my mynd, ther ys no more dowte; how thynke you now?

106. Lupset.—Sir, your communycatyon hathe brough[t] me to a depe consyderatyon, wherby, truly, I perceyue wele, 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

1 At the bottom of this page of the MS. the following words are written:—Prouysyon to stoppe folysh wrytarys and lyght bokyys of the gospel.

2 MS. le.
and danger of changes, menny's hertys and myndys, hyt ys hard and ful of gre
difficulty; 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 manyest experience. For, vn-
dowtdly, reson concludyth bothe necessary and expedit-
ent to be, to haue al lawys in the vulgare tong, as hyt
hathe byn always to thys day vsyd in al other cuntryes
and wel instytyute commyn welys; as in Rome, Athenys,
and Lacedemonia. And yet our pepul, beyng long cus-
tymyd to the contrary, wyl not only thynke hyt
strange, but also, at the fyrst begynnyng, schal
juge al relygyon to be turnyd therby vp-so-downe, ye,
and vtturly destroyd; such ys theyr blyndnes and foly
only by long tyme rotyd in hart. Notwythstondyng,
But he agrees with Pole that the service should be in English.

The people having been long used to the old custom, will think the new one erroneous.

1322

The privileges of the clergy ought not to be allowed.

107. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you say wel. But how
say [you] by the pruylegys wych, partely by lawys
and partely by long prescryption of tyme and custume,
are gyuen to the Church and ecclesyastycal personys? Thynke you that thys ys conuenyent, that prestys
scould neuer for no offence be callyd before a secular
juge and punnyschyd temporally, yf they offend in
such fauthys as requyre temporal punnyschment; as rob-
bery, murdur, and theft, and such other lyke casys?

108. Lvpset.—Sir, I wold some thyng schold be
gyuen to the dygnyte of presthode, and that they

L. would yield something to their dignity.

1 MS. a nyl. 2 In margin of MS. 3 MS. he.
ought to be abolished.

schold not be punnyschyd wyth so grete seuaryte as 1345
other be.

109. Pole.—I wot not what you mean by your
gyuyng somewhat to the dygnyte of presthode. Wold
you that therby they schold escape punnyschement
rather then other? Me semyth, contrary, ye 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 louve they can not be inducyd, to dow that
thyng wherein stondith the veray dygnyte of presthode,
and so be worthy to be honowryd indee. For thys ys
sure—that only for theyr vertue they schold be hon-
owryd, and therby from the commyn pepul, as hyt
were, exemptydyd, wych ye they folow, the pepul schal
gyue them gladly al worthy honowrys, and nurysch
them wyth theyr laburys and tranayle, in grete quyetnes
and tranquyllyte; and thys exemptydon indee 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 vtturly 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 louve of relygyon, but for by-
cause, vnder the pretense therof, they may abase them
selfe in al vayn lustys and vanyte, wythout punnysch-
ment or reproue of any degre: such ys theyr priuylege
and exemptydon. How say [you], Master Lvpset, ys
hyt not thys?

110. Lvpset.—Sir, I can not wel tel what I schal say,
your resonys are so probabyl; specyally consyderyng
that, among themselvys and in theyr spiritual courtys,
they have no *punynschement determyd by law con-

P. thinks if they
do amiss they
should be more
severely punished
than others.

[Page 202.]

Priests should
be honoured for
their virtues.

They must not
be allowed to
transgress all
laws.

The evil con-
sequences of their
privileges.

L. confesses that
the spiritual
courts have
failed.

[Page 203.]
uenent to such fautys and crymys of them commytyttd, wych yf they had, yet me thynke hyt schold be more conuenent that their causys schold be intretyd before theyr owne jugys. But now, seyng they are ouer-fauer-abyl therin, I can not but confesse thys prynylege to be pernycyouse, specyally in such a multytud of rybbaudys as be now-a-days in the ordur of presthode. Such prynylege, 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 dysconuenyent.

What about exemption of abbeys, &c., from bishops? Exemption from byschoppys.

1386

1391

111. [Pole.]—And what thynk you by exemptyon of relygyouse housys and collegys from theyr byschoppys to the See of Rome. Ys thys resonabyl?

112. Lvpset.—Syr, yf they byschoppys dyd no offyce therin accordyng to the ordur of the law, as they dow not, wherin lyth a grete faute also, as hyt ys open to euer maunys yes, that thynge were vndowtydly to be reprouyd; but as the world ys, I can not myslyke that at al: for though they be not wel, yet they be inbettur case then they other.

1402

113. Pole.—Thys ys enough that you grant both to be nought.

114. Lvpset.3—That can not be denyd.

115. Pole.—And what thynke you by prynylegys grantyd to churchys and syntuarys? Can you juge them to be comuenyent? Thynke you that hyt ys wel, a man when he hath commytyttd wylful murdur, or outragyouse robbery, or of purpos deceuyyd hys credytorys, to run to they syntuary wyth al hys godys, and ther to lyue quyetly, inyoyn al quyetnes and plesure? Thys thynge, me semyth, ys a playn occasyon of al myschefe and mystery, and causyth much murdur in our cuntrey and natyon. For who wyl be aferd to kyl hys ennemy, *yf he may be sauyd by the prynylege of syntuary?

[* Page 204.]

1 MS. thync. 2 In margin of MS. 3 MS. Le.
116. Lvpset.¹—Syr, to defend thys me thynke ther
ys no reson. How be hyt, for the sauguard of mannys
lyfe, I thynke hyt gud that such holly placys schold
haue priuylege, at the lest that hys ennemy may not
pluke hym out at hys lyberty, nor yet in such place to
venge hys iniury.

117. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, as touchyng that,
we schal see in hys place. Hyt ys enough now that 1423
you se grete mysordur therin.

118. Lvpset.—Yes, surely, that ys no dowte.

119. Pole.—Thys, Master Lvpset, you haue now
hard such mysordurys as come to my remembraunce
now at thys tyme, bothe concernynge 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 communycaton tyl
to-morow, except you remembyr any other wych we
haue not spoken of yet.

120. Lvpset.—Syr, I thynke you haue notyd the
most general *fautys concernyng both lawys and cus-
tume also. How be hyt, bycause we spoke of custume,
ther cummyth to my remembraunce a nother yl custume,
concernyng the thynge wych, by hys propur name, we cal
custume, and, I trow, rysyth nother of law nor yet of re-
sonabyl custume. The thynge ys thys, the grete custume
payd by marchauntys for bryngyng in of commodytes
to our reame. They pay ouer-much, by the reson wher-
of, they haue les wyl to trauayle for the commodyte 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.

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

¹ MS. Le. ² In margin of MS.
merchants. Notwithstanding this was well remembered. Wherefore, if you have any other of the same sort, present them to remembrance.

122. Lveset.—Syr, I remember non other now at this time, and if case be that any come to my memory, this shall be no thing amys to put them forth in our communycation, that we shall have to-morrow, when we shall speak of the restoryng of these faults rehearsed before.

They adjourn.

123. Pole.—Nay, Master Lveset, because this matter is great, let us differ this ij or iij days, that we come somewhat the better instructe to such a great cause.

124. Lveset.—Syr, you say wel, and so let hyt be.

1 MS. Le.
2 The following words are written at the bottom of this page of the MS.:—Abuse in pryntyng of al bokys wyth privylege.
3 Compare “yesturday’s communycation” in line 17 on next page.

[END OF PART I.]
[PART II.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1. [Pole.]—*Master Lvpset,¹ to schow you in the begynnyng 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-day we schal perceyue truth)—that much esyar hyt ys to spye a hundred fautys in a commyn wele, then to amende one; een lyke as hyt ys in mannys body of corporal dyseasys, they wych of euery man may wel be perceyuyd, but of euery man they can not be curyd. 9 Wherfor, Master Lvpset, yf we haue put any dylygence before in serchyng out the nature of a true commyn wele, and they lakkys and fautys therof in ourys, we must now thys day put much more, for as much as the processe of our communycatyon hytherto ys but of lytyl or no value, except we fynd out conuenyent remedys prudetely to be applyd to such sorys and dyseasys in our polytyke body before notyd in yesturday's communycatyon. Therfore, 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 wisdome, made, gouernyth, and rulyth al thyngys, *that hyt may plese Hym so, by Hys Holy Spryte, from whom to mankynd commyth al gudnes, vertue, and grace, to² yllumynate and lyght our hartyys and myndys (wych wythout hym can no truthe perceyue) 25

¹ MS. Lep. ² MS. so to.
A MASS IN HONOUR OF THE HOLY GHOST.

26 that we may see the conuenent 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 thynge but we schal hyt optayne.

2. Lvpset.—Syr, you say ryght wel; for yf the old wrytarys and poetys, in descrybyng of storys and other theyr fansys, callyng to the musys and to theyr godys, 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, surely to trust of succur and ayd; specyally consyderyng 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 vnдовtlydly schal redounde to hys *veray glory and true honowre.

33 remembering the promise of God.

3. Pole.—Master Lvpset, that ys wel admonyschyd of you. Wherfor, Master Lupset, let vs now take thys occasyon wych now ys present. Here in thys chapel by and by schal be a mas sayd in the honowre of the Holy Goste, the wych we may fyrst here, and wyth pure hart and affecte cal for that lyght of the Holy Spryte, wythout the wych mannyays hart ys blynd and ignorant of al vertue and truthe.

38 [*Page 3.*]

4. Lvpset.—Master Pole, so let hyt be; and then, aftur masse, we may retorne to thys place agayne, as I trust, lyghtyd wyth some celestyal lyght to furnysch our profytabul communycatyon thys day instytute.

44 3. Pole.—Now, Master Lvpset, syn we haue hard mas, and aftur that, as I trust, we haue conceuyyd some sparkyl of the celestyal lyght, let vs fyrst breuely declare the ordur and processe of that wych we wyl talke of thys day, that our communycatyon may not vt-
turly be spent in wanderyng wordys and waueryng 61 sentence.

6. Lupset.—Syr, that ys wel sayd; for, aftur myn opynyon, al obscuryte and darkenes, both in wrytyng and in al communycaytion, spryngyth therof.

7. Pole.—Syr, in thys processe we wyl take nature for our examplul, and, as nere as we can, folow hyr steppyys, wych, in the generatyon of the nature of man, *fyrst formyth lys body, wyth al commenyent instrumentys to the settyng forth of the natural bewty convuenyent to the same, and aftur puttyth in the prec[y]ouse and dyuyne nature of the soule—a sparkyl of the godly and eternal reson. So, fyirst, we wyl—receyuyng of nature the mater therof—forme and adorne thys polytyke body wyth al thyngys convuenyent and expedyent to the same; and then, secondaryly, intrete and touch al such thyngys as perternyth to the polytyke govern-ance of the same body;—thys general rule of experte physycyonys, in curyng of bodyly dyseasys, as much as we can, euer observuyng,—that ys to say, fyirst to inserch out the cause of the dyseasys, wythout the wych the applying of remedys lytyl avaylyth.

8. Lupset.—Syr, thys ordur lykyth me wel, wych agreth much wyth our processe before taken; for euen lyke as we haue, observuyng thys ordur, found out the mysordurys in our commynalty, so hyt ys veray convuenyent by the same ordur to reson of the remedys expedyent for the same.

9. Pole.—Wel, Master Lupset, then, let vs procede. Fyrst, ye 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, we agreed that we haue, consyderyng the place and fertylyte therof, grete lake of pepul, the multytude where-

1 In margin of MS.

STARKET.
of ys, as hyt were, the ground and fundatyon of thys our commyn *wele; the wych lake we callyd, as hyt were, a consumptyon of the polytyke body, of the wych now, fyrst, ys requyrtyd to enserch out the cause: the wych, Master Lvpset, schal not be hard for to dow. For thys ys a necessary truth:—in as much as man growyth not out of rokkys nor of tres, as fabullys dowayne, 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 batyl and pestylens, hungur and darth, wych haue in to many cuntres 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 hyt were so in dede, the way and mean to suffyce, multiply, and encresem them agayn to a commenyent nombur, ys only natural generatyon. Thys may not be in any case denyd. How say you, Master Lvpset, ys hyt not so?

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 maz by the course of nature, but al other lyuyng creaturys here apon erth wych are not gendryd by putrefactyon.

11. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, then we must now deuyse the mean for the remouying of such impedymentys and lettys as be to thys cause, and so to allure man to thys natural pro creatyon, after a cyuyle ordur and polytyke fascyon. For though nature hath gyuen to man, as to al other bestys, natural inclynatyon to hys increse; yet, bycause man ys only borne to cyuyllyte and polytyke rule, therfore he may not, wythout ordur or respecte, study to the satysfactyon of thys natural affecte. And for thys cause hyt hath bryn ordeynyd, I trow, from the fyrst generatyon of man, that he schold coupl hymselfe in launful
matrymony, and so therby multyple and increse. So that thys remenyth, Master Lvpset, in thys mater, now specyally to vs, hauyng the lyght of Chrystys Gospel, to deuyse some waye to intyse man to thys laulfal maryage and couplyng togydur. Wherfor, Master Lvpset,1 thys you schal vnderstand and take as a ground for the rest of al our communycatyon of thys day folowyng:—that yf man wold folow euery rght reson and the jugement 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 communalty. But, Master Lvpset, 144 thys hath the beyn 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 ordynance of lawys cyuyl and polytyke, that where as man, blyndyd by affectys and vanytes therof, wold not folow the trade of rght reson, he schold, at the lest by feare of punnyschment, be constraynyd to occupy hymselfe and apply hys mynd to such thyngys as were conuenyent to hys excellente nature and dygnyte; and so at the last, by long custume, be inducyd to folow and 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, custumydyd other for feare of payne or deserue of reward, myght 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

1 MS. le. 2 In margin of MS.
THE LAW OF CELIBACY.

167 Master Lypset, 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 consydur the imbecyllyte of them and wekenes of mynd, and apply our remedye accordyng therto, folowyng the exampl of experte physycyonys, wych 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 communycatyon; euer studying some meane to allure the grosse and rude pepul to the folowyng of that wych we schal juge necessary to be downe for the conservatyon 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 priuylege and payne induce men therto, and study to take away al obstaculys and letys wyth we fynd therto; in the wyth thyng, Master Lypset, let me here some what of your mynd.

12. Lypset.—Syr, bycause you wyl so, thys I schal say, as touchyng the obstaculys and letys wherof you speke. You put me in remembraunce of a thyng wych to you I dare speke; for I wot not whether I may speke thyss a-brode, but in that I submytt myselfe to your jugement. The thyng ys thys:—I haue thought long and many a day a grete let to the increse of Chrystyn pepul, the law of chastyte ordeynyd by the Church, whych byndyth so gret a multytude of men to lyue ther-aftur; as al secular prestys, monkys, frerys, channonys, and nunys, of the wyth, as you know, ther ys no smal nombur, by the reson wherof the generatyon of man ys maruelously let and mynyschyd. Wherfor, except the ordynaunce of the Church were (to the wyth I wold neuer gladly rebel) I wold playnly juge that hyt schold...
be veray conuenient somethyng to relese the band of thys law; speyally consyderynge the dysfyculty of that grete vertue, in a maner abowe nature, for the wych, as I thinke, our mastur Chryst dyd not bynd vs thereto by hys precept and commandement, but left hyt to our ar-bytryment whether we wold study to stryue agayne nature, whose instyncte only by specyal grace we may overcome. Wherfore hyt apperythe to me, to releysse thys law veray necessary.

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 schow you myn opynyon, wych much agreth vnto you. For thys I thinke, Master Lvpset, to be a playn truth:—that euen lyke as thys ordur of chastyte, at the begyynnyng of the Church and settyng forth of Chrystys relygyon, was for that tyme veray expedyent and necessary, so, for thys tyme, al circumsstance consyderyd, hyt ys no lesse conuenyent the rygoure of the same somewhat to relese; for thys ys the nature of al manys ordynance and cyuyle law, that, accordyng to the tyme, person, and place, they be varyabul, and ever requyre prudente correctyon and due reformatyon.

Wherfor in thys mater I thinke hyt were necessary to tempur thys law, and, at the lest, to gyue and admyt al secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberty, consydyrying now the grete multytude and nowmbur of them. But as touchyng monkys, chanonys, frerys, and nunmys, I hold for a thyng veray conuenyent and mete, in al wel-
ordedynd commyn welys, to haue certayn monasterys and abbeys; to the wych al such as, aftur laulful proue He would have abbeys

he would allow secular priests to marry.

and would have it repealed.

P. thinks this law was expedit in the beginning, but that it is not now;

and, as laws may be changed,
REWARDS TO THOSE WHO MARRY.

for such as are inclined to chastity.

of chastity before had, may retire, and from the besynes and vanyte of the world may withdraw¹ themselfe, holly gyuyng theyr myndys to prayar, study, and hye con-
templatyon. Thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from Christyan pollycy, wych ys a grete comfort to many febul and very soulys, wych haue byn oppressyd wyth wordly vanyte. But as touchyng the secular prestys, I vtturly agre wyth you, and so that obstacul to take away, wych lettyth by many ways the increse of our pepul, as many other thyngys dow more 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 to marry conuenently, but lyue alway as commyn corruptaryts of chastyte. Wherfor ther wold be, as I thynke, an ordynance that no gentylmen, nor other of the noblyyte, take to hys seruyce grettur nombr of men then he ys abul to promote and set forward to some honest fascyon of lyuyng and lawful matrymony; and so by thys mean the multytude of them *schold be 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 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 servauntys, theyr heyrys, and assygnys, paying yerly a lytyl portyon as a chefe rent and recognysance of theyr lord. By the wych mean, as I thynke, they grete nombr of them wold be glad to set themselfe to matrymony; and so we schold not only haue the pepul incresyd in nombr, but also the waste groundys wel

¹ MS. wythdray.
occupyd and tyllyd, wych ys in our cuntrey, as we haue sayd before, a grete rudenesse and faute. Thys thynge schold much intyse men to marryage, specyally yf we gaue vn to them also certayn pryugelygys and prerogatyf, aftur the maner of the old and wyse Romanys; as to al such as by matrimony incresyed the pepul wyth v. chyl- dur, that they schold pay nother taske nor talage, ex- cept he were worth a hundred markys in guddy; nor he schold not be constraynyd to go forth to warre, ex- cept he wold of hys owne voluntary wyl, wyth such other lyke immuniytes and pryugelygys, as may easely be founde. And not only aftur thys maner allure them to the procreatyon of chyldur, but also certayn paynys prescrybyng to them wych from matrimony for their plesur wold abstayne. As, fyrste, they schold euer lake al such honowre and exytymatyon as ys gyuere to maryed men, and neuer to here offyce in theyr cyte or towne where they abyde; and, besyde thys, me semyth hyt were a comienyent payne, that euery bacheler, ac- cordyng to the portyon of godys and landys, schold yerely pay a certayn summe, as hyt were of euery pownde xij d., wych yerely cumyth in, other by fe, wagys, or land; and euery man that ys worth in 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 partely to the dote of pore damosellys and vyrgynys. And yf case be that they wych thys abstayne vtturly from marryage dye in that maner, they schold be constraynyd, by ordur of law, to leue the one halfe of al theyr gudys to be dystrybutyd aftur the maner before prescrybyd; and prestys the hole: euer prouysyon made that no- 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 juge.
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 suffycyent.

15. Pole.—Then, Master Lupset, now, consequently, we must seke remedy to the second dysease that we spake of before, wych we resembleyd to a dropcy; for though thys body be weke, sklendur, and lakkyth natural strenghth, yet hyt ys bollen and swollen out 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 mulpily 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 of plesant lyuyng in seruyce wyth the noblyyte, spiritual and temporal; for man naturally euer desyryth plesure and quyetnes. Wherfor an ordynance wold be made, that euery man, vnder a certayn payn, aftur he hathe brought hys chyldur to vij yere of age, schold set them forth other to letturys or to a craft, accordyng as theyr nature requyryth, aftur the jugement and powar of theyr frendys; of the wych mater also the curate of euery parysch schold chefely haue cure, as to one of the pryncypal thyngys perteynyng vnto hys ofyce and duty. And, as I sayd before, also thys hope in lyuyng in seruyce wyth the noblyyte must be cut away by the law befor rehersyd, that no man schold nurysch gretter nombur then he ys abul to nurysch wel, and fynd to them some honest lyuyngys. That law schal helpe much to thys our purpos now, and be the occasyon of mayntenynng of artys and craftys: wherin, also, I wold thynke hyt expedient, that who so euer were in

1 In margin of MS. 2 MS. expedient, 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 craftes gret syngularyte. And thys were also veray conuenyent, that yf any man had no craft at al, but delytyng in idulnes, as a drowne be doth in a hyne, suckyth vp the hummy, that he schold be bannyschyd and dryuen out of the cyte, as a person vnprofytable to al gud cyntyte. 

Idle persons to be banished, as was the custom in Athens.

Athenyens, wych wold suffur no man to abyde in theyr cyte except he professyd some honest craft, or coud make a lawfull rekenyng how he lyuyd in theyr commynalty, 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 avaylyth hyt to increse the nombr of pepul, except prouysyon be made to take away thys idulnes and grete dropecy. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke you not thys?

16. Lupset.—Herin, Syr, you say ryght wel. How be hyt, thys ys a veray schort remedy; you must schow somewhat more at large how the youth schold be brought vp in artys and craftys more partycularly.

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 poyntrys, 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

Premium to craftsmen according to the excellency of their crafts.

L. asks how are the youth to be brought up?

P. says that is not his purpose here.
379 remedye. But of thys we may be assuryd, that yf thes general thyngys before spoken were put in vse and effecte, they schold much remedy thys foule yl and grete dropcy. Let vs, therfor, procede to the other next in ordur to thys ensuyng, wych, I trow, we callyd a palsy; for as much as many ther be wych occupy themselfe besyly, but to no profyt of the commynyalt; of the wych a grete nombur we rekenyd then, as al such wych occupyd themselfys about vayn plesurys and nothyng necessary, as marchautys therof and craftys men, syngarys and playarys apone instrumentys, lyuyng therby; ye, and also a grete nombur of thes wych we cal relygyouse men, and be not indeede. The remedy wherof in general ha?igyth much of the remedy of the dysease before last rehersyd, for as much as the cause of the yl occupying of al such before notyd ys to satysfyf 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 vtturly perysch wyth theyr craftys, yf they were not maynteynyd by thys idul sorte, wych be they hauntarys of thes vayn plesurys 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 plesurys necessary and natural, thys mater wold sone be remedyd. Therfor, as I sayd before, the hedys, offycerys, and rularys, euer to thys must haue theyr yes, to thys they must study; for thys gud educatypon of youth in vertuse exercyse ys the grounde of the remedying 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 poynyt in the cure of them al, as the thyng wyth-

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In margin of MS.
out the wych al other medycys lytyl schal avayle. 414
Wherfor thys ys, as hyt were, the chefe key wherby the rest of our song must be gouernyd and rulyd, and so in thys al dylygence ys requyryd. How be hyt, forbycause that man ys so freyl and gyuen to plesure, be- syde thys educatyon, hyt schalbe necessary to haue some other lawys for the correctyon of thys faute then be yet stablyschyd. As, for examplul, thys, I think, schold be no thyng amys, fyrst, a ordynance to be had, that merchantys *out of straunge cuntreys be cum-
mandyd vnder a certayn payn, not to bryng in any such thyng as schal allure our pepul to vayn plesure and pastyme; among the wych thys grete abundance of wyne brough[t] in ys no smal occasyon of much hurte, by many ways, as hyt ys more euydent then nedyth to be schowyd. Wherfor among the marchauntys an ordynance schold be had to bryng in only a certayn [quantytye] for the plesure of nobul men and thhem wych be of powar; and so in thys poynyt, schortly to say, thys schold also be comprehendyd, that marchauntys schold cary out only such thyngs as we haue grete abundance of, and bryng in agayne thyngys necessary only, or, at the lest, such thyngys as schalbe for the mayntenance of honest plesure, and suche as can not be made by the arte, labur, and dylygence of our owne pepul. Thys schold mynystur a grete occasyon to occupy bettur our idul route that we spake of before. And ferther, for the takyng away of thys yl-occupyd personys in vayn craftys, the same offycerys in euery towne wych schal see [th]at ther be no idul personys wythout cratfe or mean to get theyr lyuyng, schal also take hede that they occupye no vayn and vnproytabul craft to the commyn wele. Thes offycerys schalbe as the Censorys were in the old tyme at Rome, wyche schal see to thys materys, as wel as to the nombur and to the substance of pepul. To them hyt schal perteyne also, 449
450 to ouerse the edeuctyon of vthe. To theyr cure schal
be commyttyd the redresse of many grete dyseasys in
thys polytyke body. But of thys heraufter in hys place,
when we come to speke of the polytyke ordur. And
by thys mean I thinke we schold helpe much to the
gud occupying of our pepul in honest and profytabul
craftys to the commyn wele.

18. Lyvset.—Syr, of thys ther ys no dowte but that
thys 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, thys
relygyouse personys in monasterys and abbeys.

19. Pole.—Surely you say troth. Of them ther ys
a grete nombur and vnprofytabul; but, *Mastur Lyv-
set, as touchyng them, as I sayd before, I wold not that
thys 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 remedye, that
youth schold haue no place therin at al, but only such
men as, by feruent loue of relygyon mouyd therto, fly-
ing the daungerys and snarys of the world, schold ther
daue place. And yf that gape were onys stoppyd, I dare

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 hereafter when we
schal speke of the reformyng of the fauty of the spiry-

478 tualty. 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 ydal, 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 wyll dyffer thys mater, and so go forth
to the next dysease and cure therof ensuyng to thys

485 now spoken of last: and that was, as I remembyr,
A LACK OF JUSTICE AND EQUITY.

wych we then callyd a pestylens reynyng in thys polityke body, by the reson wherof they partyes were not wel knyt togydur, but dyssenedryd 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 ruyn of pollycy, wherof the cuntre of Ytaly ys in our days most manyest exampl, where as by dyscord and diuysyon among themselfe ys brought in much mysery and confusion. Wherfor of thys thyng aboue al other most cure must be had; but, Master Lypset, here you must understand, that euyn 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 poltyke body, a grete parte of the mysordurys therin rysyth of that thyng wych we resemblyd to the mynd in man,—that ys, poltyke 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 perfayt cure; but rather, to say the troth, the cure therof ys sparkylyd in the cure of al other. How be hyt, some peculyar* thyngys perteyne therto, as we schal partely schow now and partely hereaftur.

(19.) And, fyrst, for thys place, seyng the cause of thys dysease rysyth chefely for lake of commyn justyce and equyte,—that one parte hathe to much and another to lytyl of al such thyng as equally schold be dystrybutyd accordyng to the dygnyte of al the cytyzyns,—therfor, aboue al thyng, regard must be had of the prynce and of them wych be in offyce and authoryte, chefely to see that al such thyng may be dystrybute with a cer- tayn equadyte; but how thys schalbe downe hereaftur we schal perauexture somewhat schow. But now, to kepe thys body knyte togydur in vnyte, prouysyon wold be made by commyn law and authoryte, that euer parte and goes on to another disease of the body politic.

That which was called a pestilence.

It arises from a lack of justice and equity.

To remedy this, every man is to mind his own

*Page 15.

Pestylens.¹
LAWS TO REGULATE CRAFTS.

craft, and not intermeddle with another's.

may exercise his office and duty,—that is to say, every man in his craft and faculty to meddle with such thing as pertained thereto, and intermeddle not with other; for this causeth much malice, envy, and debate, both in city and town, that one man meddles in the craft and mystery of another. One is not content with his own profession, craft, and manner of living, but ever, when he saith another more rich than he, and

lye at more pleasure, then he despises his own faculty, and so applyth himself unto the other. Wherefore, a certain payne must be ordained and appointed upon every man that contenteth not himself with his own mystery, craft, and faculty; whereby much shall be streyned the curiosity, a great ruine and destruction to all good and justice. Moreover, to all sedeycouse personys that openly despise their ordur, vnyte, and concord, whereby the party of their body are, as yet were, with sweows and nevs knyt toggyddur, perpetual bannyschment, or rather death, must be by law prescribyd, as to a corrupt membyr of the body, and so to be cut off, for feare lest yet schold infecte the rest, corrupting the hole. And so this compellyng of every man to dow his office and duty, yet dostrilybutying to every man, according to his virtue and dignity, such thing as be to be dyuydyd among the cytyzyns with equity, schal conserve much this body in vnyte and concord; and, I thinke, by processe of tyme, vtturly take away this pestylent dysease and dyuysyon. How be yet, as I sayd before, the perfayt cure therof rysyth and sprynghyth of the cure of all other particular misordurys in pollicy, for as much as thys ys, as yet were, a general ruyne of al cyuyle ordur and poltyke rule. Therfor, Master Lvpset, let vs go forward after this manner, breuely to touche the cure of other, by the reson wher-
so corruptyng the body. Consequently to thys, yf you remember, Mastur Lupset, we found in thys body a grete deformyte, the wych, as we notyd, rysyth of the yl proportion of the partys, some bying to grete and some to lytyl. As, by examplul, the thynge to declare, ther be among vs to few plowmen and tyllarys of the ground, and to many courtarys and idul servantys; to few artysanys of gud occupatyon and to many prestys and relygyouse, ful of vayn superstycyon; and thys of many other ordurys we myght say. But the cause of thys, to touch now to the purpos, after my mynd, ys thys, that euery man naturally ys gyuen to folow plesure, quietnes, and ease, by the reson wherof the most parte fly to the most esy craft, and to such wherof ys most hope specially of gayne, by the wych they may euer theyr pleasure sustayn. Wherfor, to correcte thys faute, breuely to say, thys must be, as hyt apperyth to me, a chefe meane in euery craft, arte, and scyence, some to appoynt, expert in the same, to admyt youth to the exercyse therof; not suffryng euery man wythout respecte to apply themselfe to euery craft and faculty. Thys remedy ys in 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 perfectly felcyte. Thes officerys wych schold be appoyntyd to thys (of whome I wyl spoke more heraftur) schold admyt non, als nere as they can, to any faculty but such wyttys as be apte therto; as, by examplul, to be prestys, clerkys, and lernyd in the law, such only schold be admyttyd as haue electe wyttys, and be of nature mete thervnto. And so lyke of other. And then you schold see how by dylygentoursyght, also, that euery man schold apply hym selfe to hys mystere and craft, or els by the officerys to be excludyd and appoyntyd to other; and so schortly

In margin of MS.
590 schold grow a maruelouse beuty in thys polytyk body, and thys deformyte and yl proportion of partys schold be by thys maner wel taken away.

20. Lvpset.—Syr, thys were a profytabul ordynance, as hyt semyth to me; for by thys mean, also, we schold haue in euery arte, scyence, and craft, more excellent men then we haue now, when no man schold apply themselfe to the same, but such only as be jugyd by nature apte thervnto: for in that thyng *only men profyt commonly, wherto of nature they be inclynyd frely.

600 Thys thyng, I trow, yet was neuer put in executyon in no commyn wele vnyuersally; but, truly, me thynke hyt schold be cause of manyfold profyte, more then I can now expresse.

21. Po/le.—Wel, Mastur Lvpset, let the effecte prowe as hyt schal plese Hym who gouernyth al; and let vs procede ferther in our processe. We notyd also a grete wekenes in thyngs body, in so much that we though[t] hyt was not wel abul to defend hytselv from ytward ennymys; the cause wherof, of the wych we must begin, chefely ys thys, as hyt semyth to me:—that the nobyle,

611 wyth theyr servauntys and adherentys, are not exercysyd in feat of armys and chyualry, but gyue themselyfys to idul gamys, as dysyng and cardyng, wyth such other vanyte; to the wych ensuth, by necessyte, thys gret wekenes of the chefe parte of the body. Wherfor ther must be a prohybytyon set out by commyn authoryte, fyrst, from al such vnprofytabul gamys and idul exercyse to be occupyd commynly, and the nobyle must be constraynyd, by lawful punysshement, to exercyse themselyfys in al such thyngys and featys of armys as schal be for the defence of our reame necessary; the

622 wych they schold dow wyth the same dylygence that the plowmen labur and tyl the ground for the commyn fode. And in thys mater hyt were veray necessary also,

1 In margin of MS.
in euery cyte and gud towne, to haue a commyn place
appoyntyd to the exercyse of vthe, wherin they myght
at voyd tymys exercyse themselfys; the wych among
the Romanys was a commyn thyng, and yet ys observyd
among the Swycys; wych, I thynke, hathe byn the
gretyst cause of theyr gret fame in dedys of armys. Ye
and moreover, in the vyllagys of the cuntrey, when the
pepul are assemblyd togyddur, such exercyse also wold
not be forgot; but how, in what mean, and in what
exercyse, men schold thys occupye themselfys, that we
schal leue to be prescrybyd of them wych be exparte in
feats of armys, and haue byn in vthe exercyseyd therin.
The people now are not valiant, but are too much
given to pleasure. The body must be restored to its
old power.

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 pe-
pul be not now valyant in feats of armys as they haue
byn in tyme past, but, gyuen *to pleasure, lettyth the
world passe in idulnes and vanyte. But thys ys sure
and certayn, ther ys no lesse cure to be had of thys
mater then of cyuyle law and ordur in tyme of peace,
for as much as wythout warre we neuer contyme many
yerys, and so schalbe in daunger of losyng of our cunt-
trey wythout thys prouysyon. Therfor, aboue al, we
must study to restore thys polytyke body to hys old
powar and strenghth, and by such exercyse remoue thys
imbecyllyte and wekenes from the same; the wych yf we
dow, we schal haue our body of our pepul helthy and
strong, abul to defend hytyselfe from al vtward injury.
(21.) And so now you haue hard, Master Lupset,
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
receyue cure and remedy of the partycular dyseasys
reynyng therin, wych euer spryng out of the general,
as you schal perceyue in our communycatyon hereaftur,
when ouer-more the ground of the cure schalbe drawen

STARKEY.
A FRENZY IN THE HEAD.

661 out of thes, of the wych now we haue spoken. For 
euen lyke as the syknes of the partys for the most 
spryngyth\(^1\) of some mysordur in the hole body, so they 
cure of the same must be taken out of the cure of the 
hole.

22. Lvpset.—Syr, thys I see ryght wel, that, euen 
as you say, thys general thyngys wel remedyd schold 
shortly bryng in gud ordur in the partys. Wherfore 
me thynke you passe them ouer-schortly. I wold that 
you schold haue schowyd somewhat more at large and 
partycularly the mean and fascyon of theyr cure and 
remedy.

23. Pole.—Master Lvpset, as touchyng that thyng, 
you must euer remembyr my purpos here intendyd, 
yych ys, as I schowyd before, only to touch certayn 
general thyngys, as by a commentary to conserve and 
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 thys general thyngys of me 
notyd, they may be put in remembraunce of only. For 
yf I schold partycularly prosecute euery thyng at large 
perteynyng to thes materys, we schold not fynysch our 
communycatyon thys xv. days and more; for euery 
mater requyryth almost a hole boke and volume.

24. Lvpset.—Sir, you say therin truthe, wythout 
fayle. I perceyue hyt ys suffycyent for your purpos now 
to geddur certayn *thyngys, wherby pryncys may be ad-
monyschyd to put such other in executyon wych of thes 
may be schortly gedduryd. And therfor let vs go on 
aftur the maner befor vsyd.

25. Pole.—We notyd, yf you cal to remembrance, 
in the chefe parte of the body, that ys, the hede, an 
appropryat dysease, wych we callyd then a frenccey, the 
wych dysease yf we coude fynd the mean to cure, al 
the mysordurys in the rest of the party schold easely

\(^1\) MS. sprynkyth.
be helyd; for al hange apon thys. Therfor the wyse

phylosophar Plato in al hys commyn welth chefely
laburyd to see gud offycerys, hedys, and rularys, the
wych schold be, as hyt were, lyuely lawys; for the wych
cause also, aftur myn opynyon, he thought no thyng
necessary to wryte any lawys to hys commynalty; for

yf the hedys in a commyn wele were both just, gud,
and wyse, ther schold nedde non other lawys to the
pepel. But how myght thyss be brought to passe,

Master Lvpset, in our commyn wele and cuntre?

Thynke you hyt were posseybuls?

26. Lvpset.—I thynke by no manmys wyt. And

erfor Plato imagynyd only and dremyd apon such a
commyn wele as neuer yet was found, nor neuer, I
thynke, schalbe, except God wold send downe hys

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 imposseybul.

27. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, here you must

vnderstond that we loke not for such hedys as Plato
descrybyth in hys pollycy, for that ys out of hope wyth
vs to be found; nor yet for such wyse men as the
Stoykys descriye, and auncyent phylosoph[arys.] But

aftur a more cyuyle and commyn sort, we wyl mesure
theys wysdome of them whome we wold to rule, that

ys to say, such as wyl not in al thyngys nother folow
theyr owne affectyonys, nother yet in whome al affectys
are drownyd and taken quyte away; but, obseruyng a
certayn reasonabul mean, euere haue theyr yes fyxyd to
the commyn wele, and that aboue al thyng euere to pre-
ferre, to that euere redresse al theyr actys, thoughtys,
and dedys. Such men, I say, yf we myght set in our

*commyn wel and pollycy, schold be suffycyent for vs.

[* Page 20.]

28. Lvpset.—Sir, I thynke we were happy yf we
myght such fynd.

29. Pole.—Wel, let vs consydur then, and procede.
WE MUST HAVE A GOOD PRINCE.

732 164 732 732

164

and such might be found.

We must have a good prince to rule; this is the foundation of all good.

Could we find one, he would be a remedy for all disorders.

L. This rests with God alone.

P. True; but God requires diligence, by which we may obtain all things necessary.

30. Lvpset.—Mary, Sir, that ye trothe; but ye shall not haue any thyng perfayte, nor attayne to hys perfectyon, wythout cure and tranayle, labur and dylygence; by the wych, as by money, we may by al thyng of God, who ye the only marchant of al thyng that ye 758 gud.

32. Lvpset.—What mean ye by this? Wold ye that man schold prouyde hym a prynce, and forme hym aftur hys owne fasyon, as hyt were in mazyns powar that to dow, and by dylygence to gyue hym wysdome and gudnes?

33. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset, I mene nothyng so; for hyt ye God that makyth man, and of hym only commyth al wysedome and gudnesse, as I sayd euyn now.

1 MS. le.
But, Master Lypslet, to see what I mean somewhat more clere, let vs consydur thys mater a lytyl hyar. The gudnes of God, out of the wych spryngyth al thynge that ys gud, hathe made man, of al creaturyes in erth, most perfayt, gyuyng vnto hym a sparkyl of his owne dyuynte,—that ys to say, ryght reson,—wherby he schold gouerne hymselfe in cyuyle dyfe and gud pollycy, 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 vycyouse desyrys, by the reson of thys erthly body, that (except man wyth cure, dylygence, and labur, resy[st]te to the same) they ouer-run reson, thys lytyl sparkyl, and so bryng man, consequently, from hys natural felycyte, and from that lyfe wych ys commenyent to hys nature and dygnyte; in so much that he ys then as a brute best, folowynge not the ordynance of God, wych gane hym reson to subdue hys affectys as much as the nature of the body wold suffyr. For yf he had gyuen hym so much reson and wysedom that he schold neuer hae byn ouercome wyth affectys and vayn desyrys, he schold hane made man abone 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 suffyr no thynge to lake to the perfecston therof, who dyd communycat Hys owne gudnes and perfecston to euer thyng accordyng to the capacyte of hys grosse nature. And thys man coude not be made, being by nature in such imperfecston of hys erthly body, to any more perfecston; hys body wold suffyr no more of that celestyal lyght. Notwythstandyng, thys ys true, that to some man thys lyght ys more communycd, to some man lesse, accordyng to the nature of hys body, and accordyng to hys educatyon and gud instructyon in the commun Welth, where he ys brought forth of nature.
And thys ys the cause, as hyt apperyth to me, that one man ys more wyse then another; ye, and one natyon more prudent and polytyke then another. Howbehyt, I thynke non ther ys so rude and bestely, but, wyth cure and dylygence, by that same sparkyl of reson gyuen of God, they may subdue theyr affectyons, and folow the lyfe to the wych they be instytute and ordeynyd of God; the wych ordur when man wyth reson folowyth, he ys then gouvryn by the prouydence of God. Lyke as, contrary, when he, by neclygewce, suffryth thys reson to be ouercome wyth vycyouse affectys, then he, so blynded, lyuyth contrary to the ordynance *of God, and fallyth vtturly out of Hys prouydence, 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 andayne opynyon, wych euere leded hym to hys confusion. Al thys that I haue sayd, I coude confirm, both by the sentence of old phylosophy and holy Scrypture; but, byscale I see here ys not the place now to dyspute, but to take and admytt the truthe tryd by ancient wyttyys and celestyal wysedome and doctryne, I wyl thys pretermytt and set apart.

(33.) And now to our purpos. Euen as euery par
tycular man, when he folowyth reson, ys gouvryn by God, and, contrary, blynyd wyth ignorance by hys owne vayn opynyon; so hole natyonys, when they are governed by God's providence; living in civil order, nations are governed by God's providence; but without good order, by tyrants.
TYRANTS ARE NOT FROM GOD.

ys not God that prouydth tyrannys to rule in cytes and townes, no more then hyt ys He that ordeynyth yl affectys to ouer-rune ryght reson. But now to the purpos, Master Lvpset. Hyt ys not man that can make a wyse prynce of hym that lakkyth wyt by nature, nor make hym just that ys a tyrann for plesure. But thys ys in manys powar, to electe and chose hym that ys both wyse and iust, and make hym a prynce, and hym that ys a tyrann so to depose. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, thys I may truly say, to the wych al thys reson-yng now tendyth,—that yf we wyl correcte thys frenecy in our commyn wele, we may not at a venture take hym to our prynce, what so euer he be, that ys borne of hys blode and cumyth by successyon, the wych, and you remembyr, we notyd befyr also to be one of the greyst fautys, as hyt ys in dede, in our pollycy; the wych faute, onys correcte, schal *also take away thys frenecy.

If we can fynd a way to amend thys, we schal not gretely labur to cure the rest; for as to say, as many men dow, that the prouydence of God ordeynyth tyrannys for the 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 par-tycular man folowyth hys affectys, blyndyd wyth ignor-ance 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 prouy-dence 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, overcome by plesure and blyndyd wyth ignorance, flythe from hyt and slyppyth from hys owne dygnyte. Therfor

1 In margin of MS.
neuer attrbyute tyrannye (of al yl the greyst) to the
prouydence of God, except you wyly, consequently, at-
trybut al yl to the Fontayn of gudnes; wyly ys no
thyng conuenyent, but playn wykydnes and impyety.
But, aftur my mynd and opynyon, you schal attrbyut
thys tyrannye partly to the malyce of man (who by
nature ys ambycyyouse and of al plesure most desyrouse)
and partly to neclygence of the pepul, wyly sufrur
themselfys to be oppressyd therwyth. Wherfor, Master
Lupset, yf we wyly cure thys peryncyyouse frenecy, we
must begyn to take away thys pestylent tyrannye, the
wyly to dow ys no thyng hard for to deuyse.

(33.) But here you must remembyr, Master Lupset
(as we sayd in our fyrst day's communycatyon) that al be
hyt we haue now in our days, by the prouydence of God,
such a pryuce, 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
now (wyhy al such thynys as syldome happun haue
not in consyderatyon, but such thynys only lyke vnto
wyly, 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 ordrur here ys a certayn faute,
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
decess of the pryuce, by electyon of the commyn
voyce of the parlyament assembliesd to chose one, most
apte to that hye offyce and dygnyte, wyly schold not
rule and gouerne al at hys owne plesure and lyberty,
but euery be subiecte to the ordrur of hys lawys. But
here to schow how he schold be electe, and aftur what
maner and fasyon, that we schal leue to partycular
consyderatyon, and *take thys for a sure ground and
foundatyon to deleyuer vs from al confyson; for truly
909 thys ys the fyrst way wyly wel and justely may deleyuer
A COUNCIL OF FOURTEEN.

169

vs out of al tyrany. Thys hath byn euer vsyd among them wych haue euer lyuyd vnder a prynce wyth lyberty, wherby they haue byn gouernyd by lyuely reson, and not subiecte to dedely affectyon. The seconde mean, as me semyth, may wel be thys, yf we wyl that they heyrys of the prynce schal euer succeede, what so euer he be, then to hym must be joynyd a counsele by commyn authoryte; not such as he wyl, but such as by the most parte of the parlyament schal be jugyd to be wyse and mete thervnto.

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.

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 elecyon of our prynce, or els for some other grete vrgent cause concernyng 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 authoryte of the parlyament, wych euer ther schold be redy to remedly al such causys, and represse sedycyonys, and defende the lyberty of the hole body of the pepul, at al such tyme as they kyng or hys conseyl tendyd to any thyngh hurtful and prejudycyal to the same. Thys conseyl and authoryte of parlyament schold rest in thes personys:—

- fyrst, in iiiij of the greyst and ancyyt lordys of the temporalty; ij byschoppys, as of London and Cantorbury; iiiij of the chefs jugys; and iiiij of the most wyse cytyzyns of London. These men, joyntly togyddur, schold have authoryte of the hole parlyament in such tyme as the parlyament were dysso[u]yd. Thys authoryte schold be chefely instytutyd to thys end and purpos,—to see that the kyng and hys propur consele schold do no-
and watch over the laws, and to call the Great Parliament when necessary.

The king to do nothing without the authority of his proper Council, which shall consist of 3 bishops, 4 lords, and 4 learned men.

By their advice all patronage to be bestowed, and all faults corrected,

tyng agayne the ordynance of hys lawys and gud pollycy; and they schold haue also powar to cal the grete parlyament when so euere to them hyt schold seme necessary for the reformatyon of the hole state of the commynalTy. By thys conseyl, also, schold passe al actys of leegys, confederatyon, peace, and warre. Al the rest schold be mynistryd 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 *reme wythout the authoryte of hys propur counseyl appoyntyd to hym by thys authoryte. Thys counseyl schold be of ij byschoppys, iiii lordys, and iiiij of the best lernyd and poltyke men, expert in the lawys, both spiritual and temporal. And so thys conseyl, though we toke our prynce by successyon, for the avoydyng of sedycyon, schold deluyer vs from al tyrauny, settyng vs in true lyberty. And so we schold haue, consequently, the ground of thys frenecy taken away; for, by the counseyl of thos appoyntyd to the kyng, al byschoprykys and grete offycys schold be dystrybutyd and gyuen; and al grete fautys and enormytes openly commyttyd schold be, by theyr prudence, justely punnyshyd. Al other inferyor lordys, knyghtys, and gentylmen, wych dyd not theyr offyce and duty in admynystratyon of justyce wyth equyte toward theyr subiectys in such thyngys as they had jurysdycyon of, schold be callyd to count, and before them gyue rekenyng of al thyngys downe of them, wherof by any man they were accusyd.

(35.) Thys bande of rekenyng before the conseyl of hyr authoryte schold make the vnder offycerys to be ware and dylygent to dow theyr duty; wych yf they dyd, by and by schold folow the correctyon of the other partycular fautys wych we notyd to be in the partys to the fetys and handys of the commyn wele resembllyd; the wych fautys were no thyng els but other neclygence of

1 In margin of MS.
the pepul, or els, at the lest, spryngyng\(^1\) out of the same.

For, as touchyng thys, that the ground lyth so vntyllyd, and craftys be so yl occupyed, here in our natyon, hyt ys of no thynge chefely but of neclygense of the pepul or vayn occupatyon. Wherfor, yf such neclygence, perceuyd and prouyd at courtys openly in euery vyllage and towne, bothe of plowmen and artysanys, were by the ofycers puzynschyd by certayn payn forfytid, prescrybyng the same, you schold haue bothe craftys bettur occupyed, and also the ground more dylygentely tyllyd; especyally yf the statute of inclosure were put in executyon, and al such pasture put to the vse of the plowgh as before tyme hathbyn so vsyd; for in many placys herin ys euydently perceuyd much neclygence and grete lake in the applying of the ground to the plowgh. Thys must be amendyd, and then you schal *se both al thyngys in more abundance and the poly-
tyke body more lyuely and quyke.

(35.) Thys goute, bothe in the fete and handys, schold be much therby easyd, especyally 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 ctyys and townys wych are druzkerys, gyuen to the bely and pleasure therof, cardarys and dysarys, and al other gyuen to ydul gamys, schold be by the same ofycers observyd and puzynschyd. Of the wych thyngys the ofycers schold haue as much regard as of robbiyng and adultery, the wych spryng vndowtydly out of thes fountaynys as out of the chefe and pryncypal causys therof. Wherfor we must study to cut away the causys, yf we wyl remedy, and not only punnysch, the effecte, as we dow commynly. I thynke surely that yf the vnder-offycers 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, MS. spryngyng.

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\(^1\) The ground lies untilled through negligence of the people.

If this were punished, people would be better occupied, and ground better tilled;

especially if the statute of enclosure were put in force.

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*[Page 96.]*
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 glottony of Englund and they idul gamys be no smal occasyon of al adultery, robber, and other myschefe. Therfor, yf the offycerys

1023 in courtys, and curatys also, lokyd and studyd to the remouyng of thos causys dylygently, thyss goute that we spake of schold be vtturly 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

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 neclygence of the pepul? Vndowtydly thys ys the chefe cause therof commynly. Wherfor, fyndyng mean that they pepul may be compellyd to
dylygent *exercyse of theyr offyce and duty, therto

1036 folowyth forth wythal abundance of thyngys necessary; specially yf to that were joynyd a nother ordynance2 (wych, peraventure, schal seme to you but a smal thyng, but in dede hyt ys of gret weyght) wych ys, concernyng the frate of marchandyse; by whome the abunadaunce of al exteryor thyngys may be much forderyd, yf hyt be ordeyrd to the commyn wele, wythout regard of pryuate gayne and profyt apon any parte, wythout equyte. And, concernyng thys mater, thys ys the chefe poynte: that the marchauntys cary out only such thyngys as may be wel lakkyd wythin our owne cuntre, wythout commyn detrayment 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.

1 In margin of MS. 2 MS. nordanance.
WOOL AND WOOLLEN CLOTHS.

Thys thyng, put in vse and in executyon, schold be a grete ground of al abundance and plenty.

(35.) For, fyrst, to begyn wyth thys:—the caryage out of wolles to the stapul ys a grete hurte to the pepul of England; though hyt be profytabul both to the prynce and to the marchant also. For by thys mean the clothynge of England ys in vttur dekey—the gretyst destructyon 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 cloth-yan g set vp in England agayne, thys ys sure:—the com-modyte of our wolles and cloth schold bryng in al other thyngys that we haue nede of out of al other straunge partyss beyond the see. Ye, and though our cloth, at the fyrst begynnynge, wold not be so gud perauenture, as hyt ys made in other partyss, yet, in processe of tyme, I can not see wy but that our men, by dylygence, myght attayne therto ryght wel; specyally yf the prynce wold study therto, in whose powar hyt lyth chefeley such thyngys to helpe. Ther be marchant men that, by the helpe of the *prynce, wyl vndertake in few yerys to bryng clothyng to as grete perfectyon as hyt ys in other partyss, wych, yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the gretyst bunfyte to increase 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 mar-chantys 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

Wool not to be exported;
Clothyng.
Cloths, too, made at home
Wold not at first be so good,
but in a few years would be as well made as the foreign cloths.

1 In margin of MS.
Farmers to be constrained to rear more cattle.

If a merchant must be prohibited to bring in any such things as they may be made by the diligence of our own men. Wyne, ueluetts, and sylks, they may bring in, but not in such abundance as they commonly in do, which causeth much yl, as we sayd before. Wherefore the statute of apparel must be put in execution, and such commyn taverns of wynys wold be forbidden. They cause much yl and misery. But what things may and silks, may be brought in, but not in such abundance as they coramynly do, which causeth much yl, as we sayd before. Wherefor the statute of apparel must be put in execution, common taverns and such commyn taverns of wynys wold be forbidden. They cause much yl and misery. But what things they scbal cary out, and what things bryng in, the officerys appoyntyd to the ouersyght therof must euer prescrybe; for this cannot be determyd but accordyng to the abundance and penury of things prudently consyderyd. Hyt ys to be reseruyd. But thes officerys must be appoyntyd wyse and expert men in euery grete cyte, hauen, and port.

(35.) And here a nother poynt for to ayd the abundance cumyth to my remembrance—I thynke [it] gud and profytabul—wich ys thys: that the vnresonabul custume commynly appoyntyd must [be] abatyd; and specyally to them wich bryng in things necessary, wherby they may be prouokyd more gladly to bryng in. For as the ordyr ys now, the prynce hath more[than]halfe of theyr gayne, wyche thynge gyuyth them lytyl courage to travayle and to take payn. Hyt schold be also no smal furtherance many ways, as I thynke, yf hyt were ordeynyd that our owne marchaunty schold cary out and bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, and not vse the straungerys schyppys as they now dow; by the resoun wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. *A nother grete thynge ther ys, as I thynke, wyche schold much helpe to make abundanse of al thynge necessary for the lyse—to constrayn the plowmen and fermerys to be more dylygent in reryng of al maner of bestys and catayl; for by theyr neclygence vndowtydly ryyth a grete parte of the darth of al such thyngeys as for fode

1 In margin of MS.
RENTS ARE RAISED: FOOD IS DEARER.

ys necessary: for the lake of such thyngys, causyd by such neclygence, ys one chefe cause of the derth therof. And a nother ther ys wych few men observe; wych ys the inhansyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we sayd before; for ys they fermerys pay much rent, and more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of necessyte: 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 England is brought almost to the misery of France.

and a nother ther ys wych few obserue; wych ys the inhansyng of such thyngys, causyd by 1119 such neclygence, ys one chefe cause of the derth therof.

Rents are raised; this is another evil.

ys necessary: for the lake of such thyngys, causyd by such neclygence, ys one chefe cause of the derth therof.

AND a nother ther ys wych few men observe; wych ys the inhansyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we sayd before; for ys they fermerys pay much rent, and more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of necessyte: for he that byth dere may sel dere also iustely.

1125 Wherfor thys ordynance wold be profytabul—that al such rentys as be inhaunsyd by memory of man schold be rebatyd, and set to the old stynt of that tyme when the pepul of Englonde floryschyd; for now they are England is brought almost to the misery of France.

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AND a nother ther ys wych few men observe; wych ys the inhansyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we sayd before; for ys they fermerys pay much rent, and more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of necessyte: for he that byth dere may sel dere also iustely.

And consequently, when vytayl ys dere, then they craftysman must nede sel hys ware affair the same rate; for hyt costyth hym 1139 more in nuryschyng hys famyly and artysycerys 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 dylygence and labur of the pepul.

(35.) Wherfor we may surely conclude, that if these ills were remedied, there would be plenty instead of dearth; I schowyd you before, the rote of al that sorte schold 1153 1 MS. chauce.
1154 vtturly perysch. And as for thos the wych nature hath brough[t] forth impotent, or by syknes are fallen thereto, they schold be but few, and easely schold be nuryschyd, aftur a maner lately deuysyd by the wysedome of the cytyzyns of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundres, the wych I wold wysch to be put in vse wyth vs, or els some other of the same sort. How be hyt, to haue some such as by nature are impotent and pore, I thynke hyt ys the ordynance of God to a gud purpos; for such pouerty exercysyth wel the pytuose myndys of them wych haue enough, and puttyth them in remembrance of the im-
becyllyte of mannys nature. Wherfor hyt may be wel suffryd to haue some to go aboute to prouoke men to mercy and pyte, and to proue and tempt theyr louyng charyte. But to retorne. Thys grete nombur of sturdy beggarys therby schold vtturly be taken away, and also the grete pouerty of the laburarys of the grounde. And thys, Master Lupset, abundance of al thyngs we schold haue in our cuntre.

36. Lupset.—But, Syr, hyt ys not enowh, as we sayd before, to haue thyngs necessary in abundance, but we must haue al commyn ornamentys of our commyn welth also, yf we wyl make the perfayt state before descrybyd.

37. Połe.—Thes ornamentys, Master Lupset, of commyn welys, as gudly cytes, castellys, and townys, wyl some folow ryches and abundance as thyngs annexyd therto, yf ther were a lytyl regard therof and a lytyl more care put thervnto; for wher as ys ryches and abundance, 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 ablyte, to the byldyng and

1 In margin of MS.
reformyn of al such commyn placys in euery grete cyte
and towne. And conuenyent hyt were offycerys to be
appoyntyd to haue regard of the b[e]wty of the towne
and cuntrey, and of the clennes of the same, wych
schold cause grete helth also, and (as I thinke) 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 cunt-
reys, we must *begyn of thys ground. Our gentylmen
must be causyd to retyre to cytes and towny, and to
byld them housys in the same, and ther to see the
gouernance of them, helpynge euery to set al such thyng
forward as perteynyth to the ornamentys of the eyte.
They may not contynuallly dwell in the cuntrey as they
dow. Thys ys a gret rudenes and a barbarouse custumne
vsyd wyth vs in our cuntrey. They dwel wyth vs
sparklylyd in the feldys and woodys, as they dyd before
ther was any cyyle lyfe knowen, or stablyschyd
among vs: the wych surely ys a grete ground of the
lake of al cyyle ordur and humanyte. Wherfor thys
must be amended, yf we wyl euer replenysch our cunt-
rey wyth gud cytes and towny, of the dekey wherof
I thinke thys ys one grete cause and manystym occasion.
Wherfor thys must be remedyd aftur thys maner now
touched—to compel them at the lest to byld ther
theyr housys, and sometynys ther to be resydent. The
gret lordys and gentylmen wych for theyr plesure folow
the court, wythout offyce or dyguyte, must be causyd
to retornne and inhabyte the cytes of theyr cuntreys; by
the wych mean shortly the cytes schold be made
beutyful and fayre, and formyd wyth much cyuylyte. And
so thys our cuntrey schold not only be replenysched
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

GENTLEMEN TO LIVE IN CITIES. 177

CITIES.

Cities and towns
to be kept clean
for the sake of
the public health.

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
beautifiled,
our country
replenished,
and the people
have abundance,

STARKEY. 12
1225 such thyng as by marchauntys schold be brought in out of other partys. And yet, moreover, you schold playnly see, that we schold haue wythal, consequently, al ornamentys conmenyet to the nature of our cuntrey, wych wyl not suffur to be so ornat and so beutyful, in euery dege, as other cuntreys be, as Italy, Fraunce, and Germany. The defecte of nature ys with vs such, by the reson wherof we haue not such thyngys as schold *ornate our cuntrey after such maner, notwyth-

1231 stondyng we haue and may haue by dylygence al such thyng as schalbe requyryd to thys commyn wel, the wych we haue before describyd. Wherfor, Master Lupset, we may now, consequently, procede to correct the faytys wych be in the pollycy and in the maner of admynystratyon of our commyn wele; the wych ys, as hyt were, the soule to the body; for hyther we 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 Lupset, yf you thynke hyt tyme, and except you remembyr any thyng not spoken of wych ys nede apon thys parte, let vs go forward therto.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. Lupset.—Syr, for as much as I remembyr the knot betwyx the body and the soule, and the communyon betwyx them also to be of that sorte that they dyseasys of the one redunde to the other, therfor I thynke such dyseasys of the body (yf ther be any yet left behynd) schalbe curybd 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 schow more at largs how thys body schold be kept and
conservuyl contynuallly in helth, and in thys prosperous state wych you haue descoryd.

2. Pole.—Why, Master Lvpset, dow you not perceyue how that schal folow of necessytye 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 maunys body, to the wych I oft resembyl the same, wherin you see the conservatyon therof? In helth and prosperouse state muche hangyth on the temper-ance 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 themselvy by some exteryor cause manyfest and playn; as ouer much or lytyl exercise, 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 fayty in our pollycy, thys prosperouse state schal surely long contynue, 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 resyn of the gud ordur and pollycy that therin ys vsyd, hath contynuyd aboue a thousand yerys in one ordur and state. Where as the pepul also, by the resyn of they r sobur and temperat dyat, be as helthy and welthy as any pepul now, I thynke, lyuyng apon the erth. Ther-fore, Master Lvpset, by statute made and commynly receuyd concernynyng our dyat, we must be compellyd at the fyrst to folow thes men in soburnes and temper-ance; and then you schold neuer haue any occasyon to dowte therof nor feare the stabyltye of our prosperouse state and gud pollycy. Specyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur and rule, that theyr schal rest no faute theryn; for that ys the sure ground of the conservatyon of the commyn wel in the polytyke

P. answers, health must of necessity follow cure.

In health, much depends on temperance.

Sober men are healthy and wealthy.

[Page 38.]

And so it is in the body politic,

of which Venice is an evidence,

and we by statute made, must follow her example. We must be compelled to practise soborness and temperance.

body may be kept in health.
body. For, as you see manystedly dayly, the ruyne of
rystys, cytes, and townys, rysyth euer of thys ground
commynyly, that ys to say, other of some tyranni, or
sedycyon made by the reson of some mysordur in the
polytyke gouernance and rule.

3. Lypset.—Syr, thys ys troth, no man may hyt
deny. And, therfor (wythout other delay) procede
aftur your maner proposyd.

4. Pole.—For by cause, Master Lypset, tyranni in
al commynaltyys ys the ground of al yl, the wel of al
myschefe and mysordur, the rote of al sedycyon, and
ruyne of al cyuylyte, therfor we must aboue al pro-
uyde that to hyt in our cuntrey be no place at al. For
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 vnruylyd affectys goure
and reyne in hys ordur of lyfe; ye, and the bettur
helth of body and more abundance *of ryches that he
hath and of wordly prosperyte, the more myserabul
he ys, and ful of wrechydnes; so ys a cuntrey, cyte, or
towne, when hyt ys oppressyd wyth tyranni—though
hyt be neuer so wel replenyschyd wyth pepul helthy
and welthy, and ornate wyth the most gudly cytes of
the world, yet most myserabul and wrechyd and ful of
al aduersyte, as we haue before more at large declaryd.
Therfor, Master Lypset, 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
found of such sorte as ys requyryd to a veray true and
prynceyle state,—that ys to say, that passyth al other in
wysedome and vertue, w[h]ose stomake schold be a
lyfely image of justyce and pollycy, and whose lyfe
schold be law to al other and exampul of al huma[n]ity;
—therfor we must, to avoyd al tyranni, wych in al
realmys runnyth in at thys hole (that ys to say, by

1 In margin of MS.
gyuyng authority 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 tyranty, 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 prynceely state, as we haue prouyd before, ys most conuenyent for our cuntrey and to the nature therof most agreabul; and seynge, also, that prynceys 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, consyderyng the nature of prynceys, ye, and the nature of man as hyt ys indeed, affyrme a myxte state to be of al other the best and most conuenyent to conserue the hole out of tyranty. For when any one parte hath ful authority, yf that parte chaunce to be corrupt wyth affectys, as oft we se in every other state hyt dothe, the rest schal suffur the tyranty 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 manyste injury; the wych thyngys the actys of our prynceys in tyme so openly haue declaryd, that hyt nedyth, I trow, no profye at al. I thynde ther ys no man that so lakkyth yes wych thys doth not see.

(4.) But now by what mean thys may be done partely I haue schowyd in the cure of the hede and of the frenecy therof; and the rest now we schal joyne in hys place. Our old aunceturys, the instytutarys of our lawys and ordur of our reame, consyderyng wel thys same tyranty, and for the avoydyng of the same, do not usurp an authority which certain statutes allow, under the pretense of majesty.

\[\text{The wisest men think a mixed government best of all.}\]

\[\text{The authority of the prince must be moderated.}\]
as a counterpoise to the prince; ordeynyd a Connestabul of Englund, to conturpayse the authoryte of the prynce and tempur the same; gyuyng hym authoryte to cal a parlyament in such case as the prynce wold run into any tyranny of hys owne heddy jugement. But forbycause thyss office semyd to the prynce ouer-hye, to haue any one man wyth such authoryte, and so often tyme was cause of sedycyon and debate, in so much that the pryncys of our tyme haue thyss office vtturly suppressyd; therfor, for the office is sup-
122 pressed, a voydyng oi al such occasyon of any dangerouse sedycyon betwyx the pryncys of our reame and hys it would be better to give the authority to several than to one, nobylyte, me semyth much more conuenyent, as I haue schowyd before, to gyue thyss authoryte vnto dyuerse, and not to one; even lyke as the authoryte of the prynce may not rest in hym alone, but in hym, as the hede, joynyd to hys counsel, as to the body. Aftur the same forme, the Connestabul schold be hede of thyss office to hole the body of the pepul without parlyament and commyn counseyl geddryd of the reame. *Concernyng thyss one ynt chiefely:—that ys to say, to see vnto the lyberty of the hole body of the reame, and to resyst al tyrannya wych by any maner may grow apon 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 counseyl 137 I wold haue, as I touchyd befor, of the Constabul as hede, of the Lord Marschal, Stuard, and Chamburleyn of Englund, wyth iij of the chefe jugys, iij cytyzyns of London, and ij byschoppys, London and Cantorbury. Thys counseyl schold euer be occasyon to redresse 142 the affectys of the prynce to the ordur of the law, justyce, and equyte, in case be that he by any mean schold corrupt hys counseyl appoyntyd to hym by the same authoryte. For thyss may in no case be com-
147 1 About half way down the margin of this page, the author has written the words, "the thryd poyt of," but they seem to have no meaning.
The king not to choose his own council.

Thys therfor schould be the second thynge pertaining to thys conseyl and as a lytly parlyament:—to electe and chose euer such men as they schold juge mete to be about a pryncce, and to be veray conseylarys of the commyn welthe, and not to be corrupte by feare or affectyon. Thys conseyl I wold haue to be of x personys: ij doctorys lernyd in dyuynyte, and ij in the law cyuyle, and ij of the commyn law—of the wych, ij I wold schold be appoyntyed to receyve complayntys made to the kyng and to refere that same to the hole conseyl, and one of them to be of the cyuyle and another of the commyn law—and iiiij of the noblyte, expert and wyse men in materys of pollycy. And by thys conseyl al thyngs pertynyng to the pryncely state schold be gouernyd and rulyd; of the wych the kyng schold be hede and presydent when he myght or wold be among them. By them al byschopykys and al hye offfyce of dygnyte schold be dystrybut. The rest the kyng schold dispose, of hys owne propur lyherty, wher hyt schold ples hym. And so by thys conseyl the chefe mater and cause of al sedycyon schold be take *away out of our cuntrey; that ys to say, the inequalyte of dystrybutyon of the commyn offfyceys of authoryte and dygnyte. For thys ys euylent and playn, that the chefe cause of sedycyon rysyth therof. For wher vertue ys not rewardyd worthyly, then hyt rebelllyth sturldly; then rysyth dysdayne and hate; then sprynghyth enuy and malyce. Wherfor, when men be regardyd accordyng to theyr dygnyte, the occasyon most chefe of al sedycyon schalbe take away vndowtydly. Thys conseyl, therfor, schold be a grete and a wondurful stay of the pryncely state and stablyschyng of the true commyn

1 Two pages bear this number.
wele that we so much haue spoken of before. Wher-
for, not wythout a cause I wold thys to be chosen by
the hole parlyament, and afterward euer supplyd by
the electyon of thys counseyl, wych I sayd schold re-
present the hole state commyly. And thys schold be
the second poynyt of thyr authoryte. The thryd
schold be thys:—that the materys of peace and warre,
debatyd by the other counseyl and propyr of the prynce,
schold euer be conffyrmyd by them and authorysyd by
thyr consent. Al other thyngys perteynyng to the
kyng and prynceyly powar, as I sayd befor, to heng
only upon the authoryte of hym and hys counseyl 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-
cessyon of blode. Or els, bycause that maner hath byn
vysyd many yerys, and takyth away much occasyon of
sedycyon, as you thynke, I wyl not stykke wyth you
in that, so that you wyly graunte me agayn hys powar,
aftur the maner before rehersyd, somewhat to be tem-
pryd and brought in ordur.

5. Lvpset.—Yes, Sir; that I must nede graunt, ex-
cept I wold admytt playn tyranny, wych wyl not agre
wyth our communycatyon before had. *But, on the
other parte, I wold not yet haue hym chose by elec-
tyon, but let that powar rest in the aunceynt famyllys,
or els hyt can not be chose but that we schold haue oft
cyyle warre and sedycyon. For euer ym wold
study to attayne therto, and so al schold fal into a
confusyon.

6. Po/ye.—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 ambycyouse desyre to be
ther Duke, because he ys restraynyd to gud ordur and
THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT. 185

polytyke, so wyth vs, also, schold be of our kyng, yf 222
hys powar were temperyd aftur the maner before de-
serbyd. Wheras now euery man desyryth hyt by-
cause he may make hymselfe and al hys frienyds for
euer rych ; he may subdue hys enemys at hys plesure ;
al ys at hys commandement and wyl. And thys hathe
moyrd cyuyle war in tyme past, notwythstondyng thys
ordynance of successyon. But we wyl not entur no
ferther in dysputacyon now, for as much as I remembyr
we haue resouynd apon thys mater before, and playnly
concludyd the best way, yf men wold lyfe in cyuyle
lyfe togyddur, to haue a pryrcce by fre electyon and
chosyng hym among other of the best. But for by-
cause we are barbarouse and rulyd by affectys, for the
avoodyng of gretrur yl wyth wold come among barbar-
ouse myndys, therfor, in the second place, and not as
the best, we thought hyt conuenyent, as you say, now to
take hym by successyon, but temperyng hys powar, as
hyn ys before sayd.

7. Lvpe set. — Thys ys vndowtydly troth. The powar
of the prynee wold, aftur such fascyon, be restreynyd
and brought to ordur ; and, aftur my mynd, hyt ys the
chefe grounde and pryncypal of al thys true commyn
wele, wherof we now speke, consyderyng the nature of
man as hyt ys, wyth ys more commynly rulyd by
affectys then by reson. Wherfor, yf thys ground were
stablysched, and surely set, the cure of al other mys-
ordurys wyth we notyd before wold by and by folow
and easely insue.

8. Pole. — That ys troth, Master Lvpe set, wythout
fayle, as we schal see in our processe more playn. For
as physcyonys say, when they haue remouyd the chefe
cause of the malady and dysease in the body, by lytyl
and by lytyl then * Nature hyrselfe curyth the patyent ;
euen so now in our purpos, thys faute that we haue be-

Now every man desires the office for selfish ends.

A prince elected by the people, the best form of
government.

In all this L. concurs, and
says if this re-
straint were
established, all
disorders would
be cured.
Quod vt pluri-
mum accedit,
considerant
oi vouofera.¹

¹ In margin of MS.
fore spoken of, wych was and ys the cause of many other, onys perfaytly curyd, schal mynystur vnto vs the most conuenyent 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 noblyyte, wych, for the most parte, are nuryschyd wyt[h]out cure, bothe of theyr parewtys being alyfe, and much wers of them in

whose ward commynly they dow fal aftur theyr deth; the wych care for nothyny but only to spoyle theyr pupillys and wardys, or els to mary them aftur theyr plesure, therby the true loue of matrymony was and ys vtturly take away and destroyd; to the wych, as every man knowyth, succede infynyte myserys and mysordurys of lyfe. Wherfore thys thyng must be remedyd, yf we wyl procede to our end and purpos. And, fyrst, as concernyng the wardys; of thys we must begyn al our old Our customs relating to wards barbarouse custumys utterly to abrogate, wythout respecte of the begynnynge in therof, though they appere and abrogated, and those who have care of wards must be bounden to make a rekenyng and count accounts, render before a juge appoyntyd therto, not only of al hys intrate, rentys, and reuenewys, but much more of the orderyng and instytutyon of hys ward both in vertue and lernyng. But here ys, Mastur Lypset, not only in our cuntrey, but also in al other wych euer yet I knew, a gret lake and neclygence of them wych rule in commyn pollycy; and that ys thys:—that in no cuntre ther ys any regard of the bryngyng vp of vthe in commyn dyscyplyne and publyke excercyse. But euer man pryuatly in hys owne house hathe hys mastur to instructe hys chyldur in letturys, wythout any respecte of other exercyse in other featys perteynyng to noblyte no les then lernyng and letturys, as in al featys of chyualry. Therfor ther wold be some ordynance deuysyd for the joynyng of thys bothe *togyddur, wych mygh[t] be

1 In margin of MS.
PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

187

downe after thys maner, lykewyse as we haue in our 292
Vnyuersytes, collegys, and commyn placys to nyrusch
the chyldur of pore men in leturys; wherby, as you
see, commyth no smal profyt to the commyn wele.

(8.) So much more we schold haue, as hyt were,
certayn placys appoyntyd for the bryngyng vp togyddur
of the nobyltye, 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-
fyty. And to thys cumpany I wold haue appoyntyd 301
rularys certayn of the most vertuse and wyse men of the
reame, the wych schold instruct thys wth to whomschold
come the gouvranse aftur of thys our commyn wele.1
Here they schold be instructe, not only in vertue and lern-
yng, but also in al featys of warre pertynyng to such
as schold be hereafter in tyme of warr captaynys and
gouernourys of the commyn sorte. Thys schold be the 308
most nobul instytutyon that euere was yet deuyseyd in
any commyn wele. Of thys surely schold spryng the
fountain of al cyuylyte and poltyke rule; ye, and
wythout such a thyng, I can not tel whether al the rest
of our deuyse wyl lytyl avayle. I thynk hyt wyl neuer 313
be possybul to instytute our commyn wele wythout thys
ordynance brough[t] to passe and put in effect.2 Our
old fatherys haue byn lyberal in byldyng grete abbeys
and monasterys for the exercyse of a monastycal lyfe
among relygyouse men, wych hath downe much gud to 318
the vertuese lyuyng of Chry sty an myndys; whose ex-
ampul I wold that we schold now folow in byldyng
placys for the instytutyon of the nobyltye, or els in
chaungyng *some of thys to that vse, bycaus the schold be

1 To thys vse turne both Westmester and Saynt Alboxys, and
many other.

2 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 refer-
ence mark is supplied to denote where they should be placed,
323 over-many of thys sort now in our days; that, even lyke as thys monkys and relygouse men ther lyuynge to-gyddur, exercise a certayn monastycal dyscyplyne and lyfe, so they nobyllys, beyng brought vp togyddur, schold lerne ther the dyscyplyne of the commyn wele. You see now how they nobullys thinke themselfe borne only to tryumphe and spend such landys, the wych theyr anceturyrs haue prouydyd for them, in theyr wayneplesuryrs and pastymys. They neuer loke to other end and purpos. But here I wold haue them in thys dyscyplyne, 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 pertynyng to the same. Here they schold lerne how and aftur what maner they myght be abul and mete to dow and put in exercyse that thynge wych pertynyth 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 exercyse themselfys in featys of the body and chyualry, no lesse expedyent for tyme of warr then the other exercyses be for tyme of peace. And thys they schold be worthy of the name wych we now vnworthyly gyue vnto them commynly; then they schold be nobullys in dede; then they schold be true lordys and masturys; then they pepul wold be glad to be gouernyd by them, when they peryceuyd so playnly that they regardyd the wele of them no lesse then theyr owne pryuatly. But, Mastur Lvpset, the partycular mean of bryngyng thys mater to passe recuryth, as I sayd before, a hole boke. Hyt ys enough for vs now to schow and touch the maner and mean in general.

9. Lvpset.—Syr, thys schold be a nobul instytutyon, and to such a prynce as schold be in a true commyn 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 doctrine; so that ther schold be wyse men among thys vthe to instytute them in the summe of Chrystys Gospel.

10. Pole.—Yes, Mastur Lvpset,¹ that ys to be vnder-stond; that ys the hede dyscyplyne and publyke that I spake of befor; in the wych, I thinke, 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 soluty de lyfe, wyth hath brough[t] forth, wyth lytly profyt to the publyke state, much superstycyon. Thys vthe, as sterryys, schold lyght in al partys of the reame hereafter, and they schold put in effect that thyng wyth theyr soluty de men dreme of in theyr cornarys.

11. Lypset.—Vndowtydly such an instytutyon schold wel remedy thys mater of the wardys, and bryng in a contrary fame into our cuntrey. For as we be now infamyd therwyth, so we schold be then of al other most praysyd; and not only for the wardys and gud ordur of them, but for the hole educatyon of nobylyte, wyth ys in al placys, as you sayd, more neclecte then of the nobyllys theyr haukys and theyr houndys, of whose educatyon they haue grete cure.

12. Pole.—Syr, you say truth; and specyally 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 wyth we haue spoken of—that ys, the takyng away of al occasyon of tyauny and ordeynyng of gud hedys, and now thys gud educatyon of the nobylyte—had place and effecte, that the remedys of al other mysordurys schold, as I haue oft

¹ MS. le.
AEPEALS TO LONDON ABOLISHED.

394 sayd, shortly be found and put in effect, as al other mysordurdyys of our lawys before notydy. As, fyrst, *re-
mouyng of causys by wryte from schyre townys to
London, wych we notydy a grete abuse, and not wywithout
a cause ; for by that mean euery man of powar vexyth
hys aduersary wywithout cause, and when he knowyth
ryght wel hys mater ys vniuste. Thys thynge, I thynke,
schold be remedyd by and by, wywithout ferther payne or
pynnyschment appoyntyd therto, yf the nobylite and
gentylmen of euery schyre wold consydur theyr office and
duty therin ; wych ys chefely to see justyce among theyr
serylantys 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 gentylmen 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 remyttyd to them by
the gentylmen of the scyre, wych haue authoryte therin
in the sessyonys and syys at scyre townys appoyntyd.
* And moreover they partys both schold be sworne apon
a boke that wyth gud opynyon of justyce they persue
417 and defeande euer theyr ryght, for the avoydyng of al
calumnouse contentyon and wyful vexatyon of theyr
aduersarys. And besyde thys, the party condemnyd by
the authoryte of the hye jugys, schold euer be awardyd
to pay costys and al other damnage 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 gentylmen and of the nobylite
* rulyng in the countrey, and partely by feare of thys
payne, both of periury and of the paying also of costys
and damnage, the controversys of the commynys in euery
schyre schold easelyar be pacyfyd and the commyn

1 In margin of MS.
PUNISHMENT OF ADVOCATES. 191

quyetnes much incresyd; the wych, Master Lypset, now ys much trowblyd by contentious myndys and froward wyttys, not only of the partys themselvys, but also, much more, by the auarycouse myndys and couetouse of the proktorys and attorneys, wych communly regard more theyr owne lucur then the justyce of theyr clentys cause. Wherfor the same othe that ys mynystryd to the clent hymselfe schold be gyuen also to hys proktor or aduocate, and also puynyschement, not only of per-iury, but also of promotyng vniuste causys, wold be joynyd therto. The puynyschement schold be aftur thys sort: bycause he for hys lucur deludyth bothe the partys and prolongyth the controversy by hys crafty wytt, when soeuer hyt myght be manyfestely poynd, and hys couetouse mynd openly declaryd, he schold pay the costys and dammage to both the partys, as wel to the aduersary of hys clent, wych by hys craft was long defraudyd of hys ryght, as to hys owne clent, wych by hys dyssymulatyon and fare wordys was intertelynd in long sute. Thys ordynance, I thynke, wold helpe much to the settyng forth of the justyce of causys; thys schold cause the attorneys and prokturys to refrayne from theyr crafty inuentyonys; the wych ys the ground and the very chefe key of the longe sute of causys in the Court at Westmonastere, wych we notyd and observyd consequently for a nother grete faute and mysordur.

13. *Lypset.*—The couetuse myndys of the mynysturys of the law ys, wythout dowte, a grete parte cause of thes long sutas, wych, I thynk, schold be well redressyd yf thys payne were set apon them before prescrybyd; specyally 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 vertue and honesty and gud lernyng in the law were by 432

Advocates who prolong controversies to be punished, by payng costs and damages to both partys to a suit.

440

446

451

and he would only admit the virtuous and honest to practise;

1 In margin of MS.
many yerys prouyd, schold be admyttyd to practys ye causys; and such as loke not for al theyr lyuyng of theyrs clyentys, but gentylmen, wych haue other lande, ofyce, or fee, suffycyently to maynteyn themselfys wythal, then I thynke ther wold not be so gret robberye vsyd of them as ther ys now, and the sutys schold not be so long interteynyd. How be hyt, you, as I remembyr, 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?

14. Pole.—Yes, Master Lvpsyt, 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-ordurys before rehersyd) we must study to take away, yf we wyl vturly remedy thys faute of vs touchyd, Master Lvpsyt. 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 therin, nor sure stay; but every one that can coloury reson makyth a stope to the best law that ys before tyme de-uyyd. The suttyly of one sergeant schal enerte and de-stroy al the jugementys of many wyse men before tyme receuyyd. Ther ys no stabyl ground in our commyn law to leyne vnto. The jugementys of yerys be infynyte and ful of much controuersy; and, besyde that, of smal authoryte. The jugys are not bounden, as I understond, to folow them as a rule, but aftur their owne lyberty, they haue authoryte to juge, accordyng as they are instructyd by the sergeantys, and as the circumstance of the cause doth them moue. And thys makyth jugementys and processe of our law to be wythout end and infynyte; thys causyth sutys to be long in deecysyon. 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 Romaynyys, to bryng thys infynyte processe to certayn endys, to cut away
thys long lawys, and, by the wysdom of some poly-
tyke and wyse men, instytute a few and better lawys
and ordynanceys. The statutys of kynys, also, be ouer-
many, even as the constytutyonys of the emperorys
were. Wherfor I wold wysch that al thes lawys schold
be brought into some smal nombur, and to be wryten
also in our mother tong, or els put into the Latyn, to
cause them that study the cyuyle law of our reame,
fyrst to begyn of the Latyn tong, wherein they myght
also afturward lerne many thyngys to helpe thyz pro-
fessyon. Thys ys one thyng necessary to the educatyon
of the nobyltyte, the wych only I wold schold be ad-
myttyd to the study of thyz law. Then they myght
study also the lawys of the Romaynys, where they
schold see al causys and controuersys decydyd by rulys
more conuenyent to the ordur of nature then they be in
thyz barbarouse tong and Old French, wych now servyth
to no purpos els. Thys, Mastur Lvpset, ys a grete
blote in our pollycy, to see al our law and commyn
dyscylyne wryten in thyz barbarouse langage, wych,
aftur when the youth hath lernyd, servyth them to no
purpos at al; and, besyde that, to say the truth, many
of the lawys themzelfys be also barbarouse and tyran-
nycal, as you haue before hard. Wherfor, yf we wyl
euer bryng in true cyuyleyto into our cuztrey by gud
pollycy, I thynke we must abrogate of thos lawys veray
many; the wych ys the only remedy to cure such fautys
as we found before in pryuate successyon and intayl-
yng of landys in euery mean house. For as hyt ys in
pryncys housys and lordys conuenyent that the eldyst
sone schold, as chefe hede of the famely, euer succes-
d (alway prouysyon had for the yongur also) so hyt ys
playnly agayne nature in mean famelys commynly;
and, as we sayd and scho[w]yd at large before, occasyon
of much hurte, as many other barbarouse custumys and
ordynance be, of the wych we spake of before; the 535

STARKERKEY.
wych al by thys one remedy schold be amendyd and correct, yf we myght induce the hedys of our cuntrey to admyt the same: that ys, to receyue the cyuyle law of the Romaynys, the wych ys now the commyn law almost of al Chrystyan natyonys. The wych thyng vndowtydly schold be occasyon of infynyte gudnes in the ordur of our reame, the wych I coud schow you many-festely, but the thyng hyt selfe ys so open and playn, that hyt nedyth no declaratyon at al; for who ys so blynd that seth not the grete schame to our natyon, the grete infamy androte that remeynyth in vs, to be in the place of gouernyd by the lawys gyuen to vs of such a barbarouse natyon as the Normannys be? Who ys so fer from rayson that consyderyth not the tyrannycal and barbarouse instytutyonys, infynyte ways left here among vs, whych al schold be wypt away by the receyuyng of thys wych we cal the veray cyuyle law; wych ys vn-
540 dowtydly the most auncyent and nobyl monument of the Romaynys prudence and pollycy, the wych be so wryte wyth such grauyte, that yf Nature schold hyrselfe prescyrbe partycular meanys wherby mankynd schold observe hyr lawys, I thynke sche wold admyt the same; specyally, yf they were, by a lytyl more wysedome, brought to a lytyl bettur ordur and frame, wych myght be sone downe and put in effect. And so ther aftur that, yf the nobyltye were brought vp in thys lawys, *vndowtydly our cuntrey wold shortely be restoryd to as gud cyuyletye as ther ys in any other natyon; ye, and, perauenture, much bettur also. For though thes lawys wych I haue so praysyd be commyn among them, yet, bycause the nobyltye 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 ruyne of al 571 gud ordur and cyuyletye. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, yf
we myght bryng thys ij thyngys to effecte—that ys to say, to haue the cyuyle law of the Romaynys to be the commyn law here of Englund with vs; and, secondary, that the noblyte in theyr youth schold study commynaly therin—I thynk we schold not nede to seke par-
tycular remedys for such mysorduryes as we haue notyd before; for surely thys same publyke dyscyplyne schold redresse them lyghtly; ye, and many other mow, the wych we spake not yet of at al.

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.

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 hytselphe were easyar to lerne then ys ourys in the French tong. Wher-
for 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 particulerly the fautys wych we notyd in the ordur before and pollycy. *And as touchyng the suc-
cessyon and intaylyng of landys, ther must nedys be prouysyon; and aftur thys maner me thynke hyt wold dow wel: that youngur 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 office[r] appoyntyd therto; for hyt ys agayn reson and the ordur of nature that the eldyest 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

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 law.

L. thinks it would be hard to bring this to effect.
P. answers, a good prince would soon bring it about.

He proceeds to discuss the suc-
cession to, and en-
tailing of, lands.

Younger sons should have a portion of the inheritance.

The entailing of lands should be abolished.
608 of al feare and drede of theyr parentys; and much bettur hyt were that the schold stond apone theyr behauyour, and that, wythout they ordryd themyswelfys wel, hyt myght be at the lyberty of the father to dysheryte hys sone yf he wold, proveyng hys cause before a juge; for wythout cause hyt were not mete that the father schold dysheryte hys chyld.

17. Lupset.1—Sir, thys was the ordynaunce of the Romanys, as I remembyr. Wherfor, as you sayd before, a compendious waye for the amendyng of al were to procure the ordur of the cyuyle [law] here in our cuntrey, wych schold be a grete conservatyon of the true cyuyle lyfe and just pollicy.

18. Pole. Ther ys no fayle but yf hyt myght be, that were the best way, as we haue before agreed. But yf hyt wyl not be vnyuersally receyuyd so quykly, yet let vs study to commyn hyt the mean tyme as much as we may in the partycular materys and correctyon therof.

19. Lupset.—Sir, you say wel; and, therfor, go for the; for as concernyng private successyon, intaylyng of landys and long sutys of the law, you haue sayd metely wel.

[CHAPTER III.]

1. [Lupset.]—But now for theft and treason, what wyl you say?

2. Pole. Fyrst (as in the other spoken of before) remoue the cause, and schortly you schal fynd remedy. The cause of theft, chefe and pryncypal, spryngyth of the idul route wych we notyd before, and of yl education of youth. Wherfor, thos ij thyngys correctyd before, the cause of thys grete faute schold wythal be re-

1 MS. Lep.  
2 In margin of MS.
PUNISHED TOO SEVERELY.

If a man fall to picking and stealing, take him and put him to work;

this would be more grievous than death,

which is a punishment over severe for such theft; but high

way robbers and murderers must suffer death;

and so must treason be punished.

Treason.

But even then a portion of the goods should go to the heir,

Take away tyranny, and you shall have little treason.

3. Lupset.—Sir, as you sayd, doubtless the correct-

yng of that faute amendyth, consequently, infynyte

other. I thinke ther be but few fautys in our com-

myn wele but they may be resoluyd to that pryncepal,

or els to the yl educatyon and instructyon of the

nobylyte.

1 In margin of MS.
Plato in his Commonwealth laboured to instruct his governors, because good rulers are "lively laws," and a good prince will soon remedy all things; without one, all counsel is void. Let us now go to the correction of the faults of the spirituality.

4. Polo.—Hyt ys not for nought be you assumyd that the most wyse phylosopher Plato, in hys commyn wel that he deuysyth, laburyth so much to instructe the officerys 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 pryce in a commyn welth set, as I oft reherse, schal schortly bryng in the remedy of al other thyngys, the wych thyng makyth me breuely here to passe such thyngys as els had nede of much delyberatyon and counseyl. How be hyt, wythout that thyng, al conseyly ys voyd and neuer can take place; wythout that ther ys no gud ordynance can be stablyschyd nor grondyd; and wyth thys al thyng perteynyng to the cyuyle lyfe schold se be redressyd and brought to gud ordur; of the wych I thynke now, Master Lypset, we haue here suffycyently spoken, at the lest, of al such thyng as we notyd before in yesturday's communycatyon. Wherfor now let vs go, fynally, to the correctyon of such thyngys as we notyd in the spirituality; and as we dyd in the temporall parte, so in thys let vs begyn of the hede, wher-

67 in we may apply some remedys.

(4.) For as the pryce by prerogatyue and pryyulege brekyth the ordur of the lawys and the knot of al cyuyleyte, so doth the Pope and hede of the Church, vsurpyng authorye of dyspen satyon apon al *the lawys by general counsel decred, wythout communynyg wyth hys counseyl of Cardynallys wych are appoyntyd, ye, and schold be electyd, and not made by the frawyl 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 controversy in any natyon therof, that they schold, hauyng the authorye of the

1 In margin of MS.
general counsel, according to the law redresse such controversys, and by equity and right defyne the same. Wheras, as now, contrary to the instytution and first ordur, the Pope, by his propur authority, usurpyng a certayn clokyd tyranny under the pretext of relygyon, defynyth al, and dyspensyth wyth al at his owne lyberty. Wherfor I wold wysch in no case that we schold hang upon such a hede so much as we dow. I wold not yet but we schold take hym as hede of the Chrystu Church, seing that authoryte ys gyuen to hym by general counseyl; but I wold we schold in our reame gyue so much to his authoryte, leynyng therto as to the jugement of God. Wherfor an ordynaunce must be had, that ther be no cause sewyd out of the reame, except causys of scysme in the fayth wych perteyn to the dyssolutyon of the vnyon of the Catholyke and Chrystyan fayth. Such causys we schold reserve to hym as hed appoyntyd by commyn authoryte; and as for al other controversys, I wold they schold be defynyd at home in our owne cuntre. For thys hath byn a grete dystructyon to our reame, wyth the mayntenynge of thys holy powar vnder pretense of relygyon. Thys hath byn one of the gretyst ruynys that euery hath come to the reame of England, as I coud, by many storys, both old and of late days, playnly declare. But thys ys to no man vniknown. I wyl therof cesse. Wherfor I wold that we schold in no case medyl wyth that authoryte, but only in such case as I sayd before, wych tend to open heresy. And so for the recognysance of thys superyroryte, I wold that our reame schold pay thys Peter pens, releysyng thes annatys, wych ys euer chargebul to our reame, except of the Archbyschoppys, 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 Archbyschoppys here in our owne cuntre, and schold
Archbishops, and have no need to go to Rome.

L. asks what's the difference between sending first-fruits to Rome, and spending them on whores at home?

P. goes on to note a fault in bishops and abbots.

Bishops ought to divide their possessions into parts:
1. To build churches;
2. To maintain poor youths in study;
3. To maintain poor maids;
4. To support themselves.

They should be resident. Abbots and priors should be chosen every 3 years;

not have need to run to Rome for their instytutyon and authority, as they have downe many a yere, payyng therfor the fyrst frutys of theyr bunfycys, 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 dystrybutyd among the pore men of the dyocese here in our owne natyon.

5. Lvpset.—Sir, you say wel; but, I pray you, tel me one thyng that I schal ax of you here. What dyfferens ys in thys mater to send the fyrst frutys to Rome and spend hyt in tryumphe here at home among whorys and harlatys and idul lubburys seruyng to the same purpos in our owne natyon?

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 abbotsys, wych tryumphe no lesse then the temporal lordys, the wych thyngh, 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 iij 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 conventent to hys dygnyte. Other prouysyon then thys nedyth not at al, sauyng that I wold haue them to be resydent apoon theyr sees, except such as were necessary aboute the prynce. And as touchyng abbottys and pryorys in our cuntrey, I wold non other but only the ordur of the monkys of Italy; that ys to say, that euery iij yere to chose theyr abbotys and pryorys, and ther to gyue
rekenyng of their offycys commynly, and to lyue among hys bretherne, and not to triumph in theyr chamburys as they dow; wych causyth al the enuy in the cloystyrys, and ys the occasyon of the grete spens of the intrat of the monastery; for to hys tabul resortyth the idul cumpany dwellynge about hym. Thys maner surely schold be a grete reformatyon in the monasterys of Englonde. 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.

(6.) Aftur thys maner, Master Lypeset, consyderyng that they wych haue grete possessyonys wyl not of theyr fre wyl lyberally spend them accordyng to reson, hyt were veray conuenyent, by ordur of law, to constrayne them therto; for when men priuatly abuse theyr owne godys to the hurte [of] the commyn wele and ordur of the same, hyt ys then mete that the mater schold be had in consyderatyon of them wych bere rule in commyn authoryte. Wherfor the old Romanys made a law agayn prodygalyte, constraynyng men to frugalyte, wych ys to a commyn wele the ground of al other vertues. Therfor, lyke ordynance as ys determyd to byschoppys, wold be proporcyonably apon other inferyor dygnytes of the Church; for as *much as they are only dispens- aterys of the godys of the Church. Therfor, me semyth thys were wel, that euyn lyke as by ordur of law the pore men are bounden to pay theyr tythys to theyr curate, so lyke wyse, they wych are parsonys and curatys schold be bounden to dystrybut that wych they haue superfluose among the pouerty of theyr parreysch; and so they schold also be constreynyd to be resydent apon theyr buynfycys, ther to preche and tech the Gospel of Chryste, and see the dystrybutyon of theyr godys themselfys; except
GOOD SCHOOLS ARE REQUISITE.

except a few in cathedral churches.

hyt were certayn aboute the prynce and also certayn in cathedral churchys, wych I wold not haue to be resydent wyth such an idul cumpany as they dow now, but to be, as hyt were, conseyllarys to the byschope, men of grete lernyng and vertue, helpingy to set ordur in al the rest of hys dyocese; and obseruyng wyth al dylygence that the rest of inferyor prestys dyd theyre offfyce and duty, and to se that non schold be admyttyd but such as in al poynrys were mete for theyr offfyce, both of lernyng and wysdom conmenyent to the same. For the wych I wold admyttyng priests.

None ought to be admitted priests under 30 years of age.

and after proof of virtue. [*Page 55.]

and the ground and mother of al mysordur in the Church and relygyon, as you may se, Master Lvpset, in euery place. Of thyfountayn spryngyth al the sklandur of the Church by mysbehauyour. Wherfor, yf thyf 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 of the hole body; for as much as they commyn pepul loke chefely to the offfyce of prelatys and prestys, takyng theyr exampull of the ordur of theyr lyfe. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, as we dyd schow a general mean of the bryngyng vp of nobilyte wych schold be in the temporalty, rularys, and hedys, so now a lytyl we must touch the bryngyng vp of the vthe determyd to the spiriutalty and exercise 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

Thus the greatest cause of faults would be removed.

He would have schools instituted,
prudent masters and well learned to instruct thy company. Hyt were no thyng amys to put ij or iiiij of these small scolys of xii. a yere togydur and make one good, wyth an excellent master, and in every towne let the prestys instructe them and make them somewhat mete to hys handys; and then, after they had byn brough[t] vp in lernyng a wyle, such as he schold juge mete wyttys, wyth other lernynd men appoyntyd to the juge-
ment therof, schold then be send to vnuersytes, ther to be instructe in the lyberal scyence, and so to be made precharys of the doctrine of Chryst.

(6.) But here, aboue al thyng, the scolemastur must study no les to bryng vp thy the 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 the other. *For the lernyng wythout vertue ys perny-
youse and pestylent. The same ordur must be take in vnuersytes, that thos sedys wych are plantyd by the scolemastur may bryng forthe some gud and perfayt frute. But thyng thyngh in studys and vnuersytes ys neclectyd and despysyd, as hyt ys in grammeryscolys. Wherfor ther must be reformatyyn for that, as in theyr maner of studys wych are confusyd, and by the reson of that, we haue few grete lernynd men in our cunctrey. The ordur of studys in vnuersytes must, breuely, be amendyd, or els al letturys and lernyng wyly fayle. How, and by what mean, I had though[t] before here for to schow; but now, even as hyt was in the educatyon of the noblyte, 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 lernynd men wych haue wryte in the same mater, whose counsayl I wold to God we myght fulfy. 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

223

and thinks it would be better to put several small schools together to make one good one.

228

From such schools those who were found meet should go to the universities.

233

[* Page 56.]

Learning without virtue is per-
nicous.

Virtue in the universities and grammar schools is neglected.

238

The order of study in the universities wants amending,

but the subject is too long to discuss.

246

The Bishop of Carpenteras has written an ex-
cellent book, and our prince should
put his counsel into effect.

261 duty only to persuade our prynce to put thys same hys conseyl in vse and effecte, the wych downe, I dowte not but that we schold haue such prestys in our cuztrey as are requyryd to thys our commyn wele before deuysyd. *And thys, Master Lvpset, I thynke we haue schowyd in general the mean to correct the errorys before of vs obseruyd and notyd, except you remembyr any other.

7. Lvpset.?—Sir, one thyng among other I remembyr 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.

8. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you say veray truth. 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 shortly agre therto. And, Syr, an offycer for that same purpos me seme lakkyth aboue al other; for, albehyt that hyt semyth 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.

9. Lupset.—You say veray wel. Thys offyce was the thyng that chefsely conservyed the state of Rome, and was among the Romaynys of hye authoryte. They callyd them Censorys, as you wold say, jugys of the manerys of al other; in lyke wyse, wyth vs, as you say, such an offycy surely schold conserve the hole state meruelously. Wherfor I wold haue them to be callyd conservatorys of the commyn wele; and lyke as thes conservatorys 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 appoyntyd, who schold haue *regard of such thyng as

1 See note on p. 215.  
2 MS. Le.
perteynyth to the ornamentys of the cyte, and to the
helth of the same, wych as in Rome were calyd Ediles,
as you wold say, gouernowrys of templys and housys,
so wyth vs they schold be calyd ouerseyrys of the cyte.
Of thes ij offycys we haue grete lake: one to se to
the pollycy pryncypally, and another to ouer-se such
thyngys as perteyne 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 perteynyng to
the same. I wold haue no offycer of cyte nor towne to
be exempt from theyr authoryte, but as they myght[,] apon
lawful profys of neclygence of euery one, put them
out of theyr offyce and dygnyte; the wyth thyng schold
cause al vnder offycerys, partely for feare and partely
for schame, to regard such thyng wyth cure and dy-
gence as perteynyth to them; and so, by thys mean, our
polytyke body schold be kept in ordur and rule, aftur
the maner wyth we haue before deuyseyd.

10. [Pole.]—So that, Master Lvpset, now apon thys
poynyt let vs conclude and make an end of our commun-
catyon, that yf we myght now fynd the meane to *correct
thes general errors, wyth we haue notyd, and specyally
by thys gud educatyon of the noblyte 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 descriybyd, or els, at the lest, one
that schold most nere of al other approch thervnto. For
by thys mean we schold haue a multytyd of pepul con-
venyent to the place, floryschyng wyth al abundance of
exteyr thyngys requyryd to the bodyly welth of man;
the wyth, lyuyng togyddur in cyylle lyfe, gouernybyd by
polytyke ordur and rule, schold conspyre togyddur in
amyt and loue, euyry one glad to helpe a nother to hys
powar, to the intent that the hole myght attayn to that
perfection wych ys determyd to the dygnyte of manyns

* Page 57.]

By good educa-
tion of our nobles
and clergy, we
should have a
true common-
wealth, or a near
approach to it:—

a multitude of
people;
abundance of
necessaries;

love one to
another;

and perfection.
nature, by the gudnes of God; the wych ys the end of al lawys and ordur, for wych\(^1\) purpos they be wryt and ordeynyd. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynk you not thys?

11. **Lvpset.**—Sir, thys ys a certayn truthe that you say and concluad now, at the last, aftur our long communycatyon, that, yf we woudd 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 as much as the perfectyon of man stondyth in reson and vertue, by the wych he both knowyth that wych ys truth and gud, and also hath wyl, stabyl and constant purpos, to folow the same, not compellyd by feare of any payne or punnyschement, nor yet by any plesure or pro-fyt alluryd therto; but only of hys fre wyl and lyberty, wyth prudent knolege and perfayt loye mouyd, he euer applyth hys mynd to such thyng as schal bryng hym to hys perfectyon; and to thys me thynke no law ys suffycynt. Wherfor, except we fynd some other mean wherby man may come to thys hys perfectyon, al our communycatyon, me thynke, ys voyd, and al law wyth-out effecte.

12. **Pole.**—Mastur Lvpset, you entur now into a grete mater, the wych, yf you remembyr, we touchyd before. But now here in hys place, bycause you bryng hyt agayn in remembrance, therof hyt schalbe no hurt to make a lytyl more mentyon. Mastur Lvpset, though hyt be so that the law of hyt selfe be not abul to bryng man to hys perfectyon, nor gyue hym perfayt reson and vertue wythal, yet, for as much as hyt ys a mean to bryng man therto, hyt ys not vtturly to be despysyd. For, as Sayn Poule sayth dyemely, hyt ys the pedagogue

\(^1\) MS. thys wych.
of Chryst; that ys to say, hyt prepayrth mannys mynd to the receuyng 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 cyuyle ordur wold dekay, wherof hyt ys the bande and sure grounde, as we haue at large declaryd befor.

And yet thys ys trothe, as you say, hyt ys not suffycyent to bryng maw to his perfectyon, but to that ys requyryd a nother more celestyall remedy, the wych our Master Chryste cam to set and stabilysch in the hartys of Hys electe pepul. He cam to make perfayt man, and supply the defecte 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 communycatyon ys voyd and of lytyl or no effect. Wherfor now remaynyth, aftur that we haue schowyd somewhat how by mannys prudence certayn faultys and mysordurys in the cyuyle ordur, wych ys the mean to bryng man to hys perfectyon, as you see, may be remedyd and redressyd; now I say we must study for the mean to stablysch thys celestyal doctryne, wych our 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 stablysch thys doctryne, hyt ys not the worke of man—hyt ys only the worke of God. Therfor in thyss poynyt how we schal behaue ourselfys I can not tell.

14. Poie.—Sir, as touchyng that, you schal schortly here my mynd therin. Fyrst, thys ys troth, that thys thynge ys the worke of God; hyt ys He that must bryng thys matyr to effect, or els al mannys labur ys spent in vayne, notwythstondyng the prouysyon of God hath ordynyd thys, that man schal haue nothyng that ys gud, Christ only can supply the law's defects; and it is this Man is naturally rude and without perfect knowledge.

L. says yes; but this is the work of God.

God has ordained that man shall have nothing per-
feet without labour.

403 nothyng perfayt, wythout hys owne labur, dylygence, and cure—

Virtute posuere dii labore parandam.

Thys you may see in al thyngys wyhc perteyne to the perfectyon of man; for who ys he that can atayne 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 cure therto? Who can atayne to any excellency in any maner of art or craft, ye, or come to any hye phylosophy, except he wyth much cure, labur, and dylygence excersye 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 affections;

409 Wherfor much more, wythoute lyke dylygence and labur, ther ys no way to atayne thys celestyal doctryne, wyhc ys not inspyryd into neclygents 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 promysyd to al them wych, al wordly thyngys set apart, desyre contynually celestyal. Therfor, be you assuryd, that even as thys celestyal doctryne far excelyth 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 heuene 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 as haue no cure nor regard therof, no more then hyt ys to them wych by theyr owne natural powar, thynke themselvyes abul to optayne and deserve 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 hymselfe and make hymselfe mete to recyue thys heuene doctryne; werhin we must vse other mean then cyuyle ordynance, wherof we haue spoken of before, the wych,
by feare of pyne and desyre of pleasure, mouyth the
cytyzyns to folow vertue.

(14.) *We must now take another way, and, as nere as we may, folow the examplul of our Master Chryst, the wych by no compulsyon instytute Hys law, nor by any drede or fear of anthyng. Two meanys I note He vsyd in the stablyschynge of Hys law at the fyrst begynnynge; the wych yf we folow we may, perauentur, stablysch and confyrne that wych He began, or at the lest schow the way how hyt schold be downe. They ways were thes: examplul of lyfe and exhortatyon. By thes ij meanys Hys dyscypullys 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 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 thys celestyal doctryne stondyth chefely in the offycerys therof; that ys to say, in the precharys, in the 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 sklaundry the word of God, rather then teche hyt, by theyr contrary lyfe.

15. Lvpset.—Syr, you say truthe. No dowte gud precharys schold help to set thys forward wonderfully. But how schold we make *them? Thys ys the handyworke of God; hyt ys not in manyys powar. So al comynyth to one poynyt; that ys, hyt ys not in our powar to bryn£ thys mater to passe that we now speke of.

16. Pole.—Mastur Lvpset, we haue sayd befor, that man alone can not in dede bryn£ thys thyng to passe; but man may make ordynance that such only as God hath made met to prech Hys doctryne schold haue authoryte to exercys the same. Thys man may dow, and not only
473 thys, but ordeyn mean how man schal be brough[t] vp in conuenyent mean mete for the same, as in commyn studys and vnyversytes, and admyt non to that offyce but such as theyr are prouyd, both in lyuyng and in doctrine. But now, to schow the mean how men schold in that study be brought vp, here ys not [the] place; and besyd that, hyt ys wryten in our days of the most famuse dyuyne Erasmus, whose conseyl I wold in our studys we myght folow, that al such as schold prech the doctrine of Chryst schold be instruct wyth such doctrine and maners as he largly schowyth in hys Tretys of the

478 Study of Dyuynyte, and now a late in hys Boke of the Prechar. Thys myght, by poltyke rularys in our com-

[* Page 65.*]

484 The universities are out of order;

490 [be] now so ferr out of ordur, that ther be few men lesse met to prech thys celestyal doctrine then thos be wych professe the same, in whome ys all arrogancy wythout meknes, wyth ys the ground of thys doctrine; in whome al affectys rule and reyne wythout any sparkyl of reson, as experyence schowyth. But I wyl now stond to schow theyr fautys, nor particulyarly schow theyr instructyon and instytyyon, wyth Erasmus, wythe grete eloquence and wysdome, doth at large. As I sayd, we must ordeyne the mean to put hyt in executyon, wyth 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 vndowtylly, wythin few yerys, we schold see precharys of thys doctrine such as schold commyn hyt abrode, and induce the pepul wyth louyng maner to folow the same. How be hyt, as I haue schowyd breuely how, by exampl of lyfe and by gud

495 of them Erasmus has written largely.
exhortatyon of the precharys, thys doctryne must *be
tought so apon the parte of the pepul ther may be cer-
tayn ordynance made wych may make them mete to
here thys prechynge and techyng of theyr masturys and
doctorys. How be hyt, the pryvycal cause lyth in only
God. He must forme and lyght theryr hartyys wyth Hys
grace, or els the prechynge can take lytyl effect. But
the gudnes of God ys such that, al men, what sort so
er euery they be, wych by prayer and by humlyyte, make
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 bright bodys, wych of theyr nature be clere and
bryght, so dothe theys grace and celestyal lyght com-
munycat hyt selfe, by the gudnes of God, to al hartyys
and myndys wych wyl, wyth dylygence and ardent affect,
louyngly desyre hyt. But as touchyng the partycular
maner also how every 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 Chrystuw Man. Wherfor, as concern-
yng thys partycularites, I schal referre you to the same
boke, the wych I thinke veray mete to be put into our
mother tong, to the intent that al such as haue letturys
may be the rather instructe in Chrystuw lyfe and euang-
elical doctryne.

(16.) *And as for publyke ordynance touchyng thys
thyng, I haue thys only to say, that for as much as thys
doctrayne of Chryst ys the end and perfaytnes of al law,
and the veray lyfe of mazyny 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—
pепul 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 therafter. I neuer red in no

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 known, schal make men to forsake the law, and as though the ignorance of the 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 Gospel into our mother tong were a necessary ordynance. Moreouer, hyt were commenyent, aftur my mynd, to make men commynly more apte to receyne thys lyght and grace; to ordeyne al prayerys both pryvatly and commynly in churchys for the pepul rehersyd, to be made in the vulgare tong, and al dyuyne servyce; the wych thyng schold cause dowteles the pepul bothe wyth more effecte themselfe to pray, and wyth more dylygence herken [to] the stories of the Bybul commynly rehersyd, wych are rehersyd only for thys cause, that they pepul heryng them, may be the rather sterryd to folow the exampl of the old fatherys and holy men, whose vertuese are celebrate in our tempullys and churchys. For what avaylyth els thys rehersyng of the legendys and loude syngyng therof now in a straunge tong as they be rehersyd? Hyt ys as you wold tel a tale to a defe man; for dyfference ys non, as touchyng the profyt of the word, betwyx a defe man and hym that vnderstondyth nothyng at al.

(16.) Wherfor, Master Lvpset, breuely to conclude thys mater, thys I thinke, that [if] *they precharys were in
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.

Thus man would be gradually led towards perfection.

Thus you have heard,
1. What is a commonwealth.
2. What our country lacks thereof.
3. How our faults may be corrected.

17. Lvpset.—Sir, I haue no thyng to say but only thyss. Seyng that al men, as you sayd in the beginnyng of the fyrst day’s communycatyon, are bounden as much as they can to ferdur and set forward thyss same true...
617 commyn wele, wych you haue spoken of before, in theyr cuntrey,—I wold that you, wych thyss prudently per- ceyue 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 haue nowsucha prynce as ysto be desyrde; wych nothyng els desyryth, day nor nyght, but to stablysche thyss commyn wele among hys subiectys in thyss our natyon. Wherfor, Master Pole, I wold in no case you schold let thyss occasyon sleype; lest, as I sayd at the begynnynge of our communycatyon, men justely schold accuse you 628 as ingrate to your owne cuntrey.

[^Page 71.]

[*Page 71.*]

P. says he shall be ready when his Prince calls him—till then he "tarrys his time."

18. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, as touchyng thyss, be you assurdy, for my parte, I wyl neuer be slake in thyss behalfe; but when so euere hyt schal *plese the prynce to cal me to thyss purpos, I schal wyth the same mynd be redy to thyss as to lyue, for the wych I lyue, and wythout the wych I wot not why I schold lyue. But in thyss, Master Lypset, I must tary my tyme.

19. Lypset.—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.

20. Pole.—Why, Master Lupset, wold you haue me now to spot my lyfe wyth such ambycyon? Nay, I wyl not dow so, but, as I sayd, I wyl tary my tyme.

21. Lypset.—Nay, but in theys me thynke you are deceuyd, to cal theys affect ambycyon, wych ys then only to be imputyd when men desyre honowere to theyr owne pleasure or profyt; but when men desyre to bere office and to rule, to the intent they may stablysche and set in theyr cuntre theys commyn wele, wych you before haue describyd, hyt ys the hy[e]st vertue that ys in any nobul stomake, and ys a certayn argument of true no- bylyte; for sluggysch myndys lyue in cornarys and

Sluggish minds live in corners,
content themselfys wyth pryuate lyfe. Wheras veray nobul hartyes euer desyre to gouerne and rule, to the 
egommyn wele of the hole multyteude.

22. Pole.—Wel, Master Lwpset, I perceyue wether you go. You wold haue me to schow my mynd in thes other grete questyonyss, 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 noblyyte, 
yl the wych you say so mouyth man to set forward al gud 
and iust pollycy; the wych thyng at another tyme I wyl 
not refuse. But now, bycause hyt ys late, and perteyntyth 
not gretely to our purpos, I wyl dyffer hyt tyl more 
conuenyent lesur; and the mean tyme, of thys be you 
assuryd, in me you schal fynd no faut nor neclygyence; 666 
but that I schal euer, as occasyon mouyth me, be redy 
to dow servyce to my prynce and cuatrey, to God dys 
honowre and glory, to whose gouernance and prouy-
dence, the mean tyme, we schal commyt al; and thus 
mak[e an end of our communycatyon. 671

[FINIS.]

[Note to p. 204. Starkey had written as far as the end of page 60 of the MS. when he remembered that he had omitted 
to discuss the necessity of appointing superior officers and their 
duties. Not having room on page 56 he was compelled to 
commence on page 61, and go on to the end of page 62. He 
has made the necessary reference marks.]
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Many of the words here mentioned occur frequently, but I have thought it unnecessary to give more than one reference except in a few instances. The following abbreviations have been used: B = Bailey’s Dict.; B. B., Babees Boke; C. L., Castel off Loue; Gawayne, Sir Gawayne, ed. Morris; H., Halliwell’s Dict.; L., Levins’s Manipulus; L. S., Latimer’s Sermons; M. A., Perry’s Morte Arthur; P., Philips’s Dict.; P. C., Prick of Conscience; P. P., Promptorium Parvulorum; R. P., Romans of Partenay. 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 dyaf to ham þet him dede a þe rode.
Ayenbite, p. 114.

A, 70/55, of, or on.
þeos sculde a twa haluen:
halden to þan uhete.

Lazamou, iii. 87.

A, a late, 210/484, of late, lately.
Abbey-lubbarys, 131/1079.

Lubber, a mean servant, that does all base services in a house; a drudge, a lazy Drone. P.

Abhorre, 21/727, “abhor from,” to reject or renounce. See K. H. VIII. ii. 4.
I utterly abhor, yea, from my soul Refuse you for my judge.

Adherentys, 77/296, adherents.
Ænnates, 126/895, Annates.

Affecte, 29/77, 31/142, affection; property of the mind.

An affect, affection. L. 47.
Affecte, or welwyllynge. P. P.

Agayne, 18/612, against.
Alowyd, 131/1091, permitted, granted.

Als, 11/357, as.
Altogyddur, 49/790, permitted, granted.

Alye, 114/488, ally. Aye, affinis. P. P.

Alyenat, 151/305, alienated.
Annatys, 126/921, Annates.

Annexyd, 95/916, annexed, joined to.

Antyquyte, 78/327, antiquity.

Apon, 15/502, upon.

Arge, 87/642, argue.

Aryye, 57/1075, arrival.
Whose forests, hills, and floods then long for her arrive
From Lancashire.

Drayton’s Poly. p. 1192, quoted by H.
Artyfycereys, 86/623, artificers.
Artys, 123/808, "lyberal artys," liberal arts.
Asper, 134/1174, rough, uneven.
Auncetury, 84/556, ancestors.
Auncetours, 84/556, ancestors.
God gave him ... more then euer anye of his auncetours had. L. S. p. 71.
Auaunce, 3/61, advance. He ... auaunced hymself ryghte inheritioure to the crowne thereof. Utopia, p. 57.
A-worke, 96/955, at work, to work.
Axa, 130/1057, ask.
Basse, 113/470, base, low.
Be, 153/350, bec.
Bend, 105/160, bent, or bound.
Beryng, 113/464, bearing, conduct.
Bestys, 52/894, beasts.
Besyly, 3/67, busily, earnestly.
Besyge with beveryne lokkes. M. A. 3631.
Besynes, 5/147, business.
Bollen, 152/317, swollen.
The barley was in the ear, and the flux was bolléd. Exod. ix. 31.
Bolsteryd, 117/599, bolstered, upheld, maintained (by unfair means).
Men haue sinnes inough of their owne, althoughte they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines. L. S. p. 155.
Botte, 4/95, boat.
Breue, 126/911, brief.
Broderly, 109/311, brotherly.
Brokarys, 83/519, brokers.
Brokys, 16/533, brooks.
Bunfycyal, 13/427, beneficial.
Bunfycys, 133/1155, benefices.
Bunfte, 14/481, benefit.

Butful, 98/1023, fruitful. Halliwell says batful, meaning fruitful, is used by Drayton. Cp. batten, to fatten.
Byllydyd, 9/280, builded.
Byre, 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 cardyne,
And such other playes. B. B. p. 346.
Ouer night they carded for our english mens coats.
Percy, B. ed. Furnivall, i. 125.
Cauyllatyonys, 10/334, cavillations.
Chamlet, 95/911.
Camlet, a sort of stuff made partly of camel's hair, and partly of silk or stuff. P.
Chanony, 77/295, canons. Chanone, chanoenicus. P. P.
Chepe, gud chepe, 89/725, cheap; bettur chepe, 141/1447, cheaper.
Thyrr diligent use in provision 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.
2. Any thing for sale, a chattel.
3. The price, also cattle, as they were used in barter. Cédipan, To bargain, chaffer, trade, to contract for the purchase or sale of a thing, to buy, to cheape.' 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.
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 counterpoise
The hie planetis.
Qu. Elizabethes Achad. 100/191.
Conuehauns, 93/865, conveyance.
Connuehyth, 43/580, conveyeth.
Connuersant, 23/780, conversant.
Cormorants, 118/644, cormorants (used figuratively).
On couetous and vnsatiable cor-
maraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey may compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers. Utopia, p. 41.
Cornarys, 189/376, corners.
Coud, 73/144, could.
Count, 186/276, account.
Coupwyd, 45/656, joined.
Cumpynable, 13/428, companionable; sociable, friendly.
Companyable, or felawble, or felawly. Socialis. P.P.
Cure, 92/825, cure.
Curypse, 80/412, curious; nice, fastidious, dandified.
Custamably, 30/132, by custom, habitually.
Custamably, Consuete, solite. P.P.
Custumyd, 138/1319, accustomed.
Darth, 87/631, dearth.
Debylyte, 72/103, debility.
Defynyd, 118/641, defined, finished.
Defyne, define. L. 139.
Descanterys, 80/412, composers of music.
Descant, in music signifies the art of composing in several parts. P.
Determe, 105/184, determine.
Detrymentys, 93/858, detriments.
Deuysarys, 80/412, devisers, makers, or inventors.
Deuysys, 80/406, devices, contrivances, conceits, or fashions.
Dome, “rayson dome,” 103/97?
Dote, 151/299, dowry, marriage portion, or endowment. Lat. dos.
Downe, 77/286, done.
Dress, 57/1071, direct.
Men myghte don it wel, that myght ben of power to dresse him thereto. Maundevile, p. 306 (ed. 1866).
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

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 vnystonde. Misticus. P. P.
Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
Dysceyue, 70/64, deceive.
Dysconuenyent, 140/1391, inconvenient.
Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit.
Exhereder, to disherit, or disinherit. Cotgr.
Dyssymylyng, 91/787, dissimulating.
Dissimulings, dissemblings. H., who refers to Chaucer.
Dysyng, 77/287, playing with, dice.
Enerte, 192/484, to render incapable of action; to inert.
Enyoy, 67/1429, enjoy.
Escheuyng, 71/70, eschewing.
Ether, 32/183, easier; A.S. edS, easy.
SiJ>en god so feire clojms hâp. bat hâp no feir Colour to day,
And schal to Morwe beo lad a way,
How muchel more may he ow clefê?
As hos seip, bat may he don epe. Vernon MS. fol. 206 b. col. 3.
Note. In Starkey’s MS. this word is written “other.”
Extyme, 14/471, esteem.
Exystmatyon, 151/287, reputation, 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.
Fangulyd, new fangulyd, 80/410, newangled.
Gape not nor gaze not at every newe fangle. 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, trifling.
Ande this knyght weddide a fair woman, 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.
Foulys, 78/315, fowls.
Frank, 53/936, free.
Frate, 172/1040, freight.
Freythe of caryage (freyt, freight, or cariage). P. P.
Frayle, 57/1064, frail.
Frenesy, 86/615, frenzy.
Fruth, 134/1184, fruit.
Fullarys, 95/914, fullers.
Fuller, one that fulls, mills, or scours cloth. P.
Fundatyon, 37/382, foundation.
Fustyanyys, 95/912, fustians.
Fustian, a kind of stuff made of the down of a certain fruit growing in Egypt. P.
Fyne, 98/1047, fine, a payment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fyschys</td>
<td>fishes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gape</td>
<td>gap; <em>vacuum, internallum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gardyng</td>
<td>cote; <em>Laciniatus</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Geddur</td>
<td>gather; more commonly <em>gader</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Geddur</td>
<td>gather; <em>obtain</em></td>
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<td>Godys</td>
<td>goods</td>
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<td>Goo</td>
<td><em>ago</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gost</td>
<td><em>ghost, spirit, conscience</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Grauyte</td>
<td><em>gravity</em></td>
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<td>Grettur</td>
<td>greater</td>
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<td>Groundly</td>
<td>firmly</td>
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<td>Gruge</td>
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<td>Gud</td>
<td><em>good</em></td>
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<td>Gyrdyllys</td>
<td><em>girdles</em></td>
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<td>Habundaunce</td>
<td><em>abundance</em></td>
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<td>Harduos</td>
<td><em>arduous</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Harp</td>
<td><em>string, phrase, meaning to repeat</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haukyng</td>
<td><em>hawking</em></td>
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<td>Hauntarys</td>
<td><em>haunters, frequenters</em></td>
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<td>Huyn</td>
<td><em>haven</em></td>
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<td>Hayre</td>
<td><em>heir</em></td>
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<td>Heddy</td>
<td><em>heady, headstrong</em></td>
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<td>Henge</td>
<td><em>hang</em></td>
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<td>Her</td>
<td><em>hear</em></td>
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<td>Heyrys</td>
<td><em>heirs</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hole</td>
<td><em>whole, entire</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Preche</td>
<td><em>to preach</em></td>
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<td>Holly</td>
<td><em>holy</em></td>
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<td>Holy</td>
<td><em>wholly</em></td>
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<td>Ile</td>
<td><em>isle</em></td>
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<td>Imbecyllte</td>
<td><em>imbicility</em></td>
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<td>Impedymentys</td>
<td><em>impediments</em></td>
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<td>Indeuer</td>
<td><em>endeavour</em></td>
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<td>Ingrate</td>
<td><em>ungrateful</em></td>
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<td>Inhabytans</td>
<td><em>inhabitants</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Iniust</td>
<td><em>unjust</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inserech</td>
<td><em>ensearch, examine</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inserchyng</td>
<td><em>examine</em></td>
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<td>Insewyth</td>
<td><em>ensues</em></td>
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<td>Intendyng</td>
<td><em>intending to</em></td>
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<td>Intrate</td>
<td><em>income</em>; <em>intro</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inuentyon</td>
<td><em>invention, discovery, bringing out</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inyoy</td>
<td><em>enjoy</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jaggyng</td>
<td><em>cut, or slashed</em> (applied to garments)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Additional notes:

- "Endeavour myself," to consider myself in duty bound.
- "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.
- Whosoever for any offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde. Utopia, p. 100.
- Insewyth, 19/649, follows, ensues.
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.
Knys, 94/865, knives.
Knyle, 58/1095, knit.
Laburyd, 73/155, laboured, tilled. Labour, to cultivate the earth. H.
Laburyd, 92/383, "byn laburyd," have had experience.
Lake, 72/125, lack.
Lakkys, 91/774, lacks, hindrances, wants.
Leegys, 170/951, leagues.
Legys, 103/106, leagues.
Leen, 84/529, yield, give, produce.
Cp. I shine e a bowe that is up in the eye tour.
Havelok, 2072, ed. Skeat.
Let, 36/332, hindered.
Leyster, 1/16, leisure. Leysere, oportunitas. P. P.
Long, 173/1058, belong.
Lubbur, 139/1370. See Abbey-lubbur.
A lubber, mediastinus, tardus. L. 75. See Utopia, p. 102.
Lude, 139/1369, lewd.
Lyktyth, 71/99, likes, suits, pleasures.
Lykkun, 83/490, liken, to liken, to
Lykkynnyd, 83/492, compare. Likenyd, assimilatus. P. P.
To whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may be like? Isa. xlvi. 5.
Lyne, 212/545, lyne of theyr lyfe, the course of their conduct; the guide of their life.
Lyst. 124/836, like, choose.

Lyth, 33/209, lieth.
Lyue, 78/338, life.
Lvuely, 63/1291, living.
Lvvely, or quyk, or fulle of lyff. Vivax. P. P.
Stif contemnars of gods lyuelie wourd.
Magnyfycal, 176/1185, magnificent, splendid.
Melancolyk, 58/1099, melancholy.
Melancholy . . . a disease which proceeds from the overflowing of black choler. P.
Met, 6/186, meet, worthy.
Mete, or fyt, or euene. Equus. P. P.
Metely, 122/783, meetly, worthily. Mo, 59/1132, } more.
Mow, 191/580, }
Mouabul godys, 151/295, moveable goods.
"The term 'moveable' included not only corn, cattle, and merchandise, but money, fuel, furniture, wearing apparel, &c." P. M. Gazette, April 12, 1870.
Mumbling, 132/1114, repeating inaudibly. To mumble, murmure. L. 188.
Musys, 144/33, muses.
Mynyschung, 52/1133, diminishing, diminishing.
Mysordurys, 69/20, disorders.
Mystere, 158/526, mystery. Mystery, or preyte, Misterium. P. P.
Any particular art, trade, or occupation is termed a mystery. P.
Naroly, 23/804, narrowly.
Neclecte, 27/17, neglect.
Neclygence, 18/615, negligence.
Nonage, 115/516, the time of being under age. Nonage, anni pupillares. L. 11.
Nother—nor, 38/411, neither—nor.
Nother — nother, 42/556-8, neither—nor.

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 Layamon, ii. 421, 478.

On, 33/235, one.
On couetous and vn satiable cor maraunte . . . may compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers. Utopia, p. 41.

Onys, 186/258, once.
Oode, 12/386, wood; mad, foolish.
Optayn, 23/782, obtain.
Ornate, 178/1229, ornate.
Ornate, 178/1233, to adorn. The word is used by Latimer, according to Webster.

Other—or, 9/270-1, either—or.
Ouer comyn, 43/574, overcome.
Ouer-lyye, 182/122, over high.
Ouer layd, 74/191, overlaid, overstocked. Ovyr leydn, or oppressyn. Opprimo. P. P.

Ouere, 156/450, oversee.

Parreysch, 201/183, parish.
Partyes, 2/29, parts, regions.
Pastur, 74/191, pasture.
Pastymys, 77/288, pastimes.
Pattur, 132/1113.
To pater and pray, to repeat many Pater-Nosters. B.

Paysybly, 56/1024, peaceably.

Pedagoge, 206/364, pedagogue.

Perauentur, 19/660, peradventure.

Percase, 146/111, per chance.
Percase, fortés. 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.
Peters pens, 199/109.

“Peter pence, called also Rome Scot, was a levy of a penny on every house wherein there were 30 pence viva pecunia, to be collected and sent to Rome, one half of it went for alms to the English school at Rome, and the other half to the pope's use.” B.

Phlegmatyk, 58/1099.
Pine, 164/734, pin, or peg (fig.).
“'To hang upon one pin,' to depend upon one point.
Placardys, 102/76, proclamations.
Placard, (among the French) a table wherein laws, orders, &c., are posted, or hung up. P.
All former Placards granted by the King for shooting . . . shall be void. Statutes, 14, 15 H. VIII. c. 7. See also Ibid., 25 H. VIII. c. 17.
Pollyng, 127/942, spoiling.
To poll, pil, spoliare. L. 160.
He could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie. Utopia, p. 62.

Populos, 74/178, populous.

Pre tense, 67/1445, pretence.

Pretermyt, 8/244, neglect; to leave undone.

Propertyonabul, 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. 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... (Description of unclean living.) Thirty-Nine Art., xvii.
Redunde, 178/4, redound.
Refrayne, 120/713, refrain, restrain. To refrayne, refrenare. L. 201.
Relere, 149/202, relax. Relece, or for-jeunesse, relaxacio. P. P.
Reproue, 139/1374, reproof.
Repugnyng, 14/464, "repugnyng to," repugnant to.
Resemblyd, 85/571, compared.
Reuene wys, 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.
Rotyd, 13/445, rooted.
Route, 129/1025, a multitude, or throng of people.
Royalty, 79/355, dignity, strength, magnificence. See B. B. 175/858.
Now haue y shewyd yow, my son, somewhat of dyuerse Testis pat ar remembred in lorde court/here as all rialle restis.
Rustycyte, 70/62, rusticity.
Ruynate, 70/39, ruined, in ruins, or reduced to ruins.
Ryse, 130/1042, risen.
Sanguyn, 58/1090, sanguine.
Full, or abounding with blood, being of a complexion, wherein that humour is predominant. P.
Saue, 67/1416, safe.
Sauenguard, 141/1417, safeguard.
Sayntuary, 140/1410, sanctuary.
Say, a thin sort of stuff. P.
Scaseness, 47/714, scarceness.
Cp. More's Utopia: All the resy-dewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they esteme her scasely be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face). p. 124.
Schrode, 79/357, shrewd.
Shrewd, prauus, malignus. L. 49.
Schypcotys, 72/133, sheep cots.
Schypmen, 43/576, sailors.
Scolastycal, 69/17, scholastical.
Scyre, 190/408, shire. Hu he sette sciren. Lazamon, iii. 287.
Scysme, 199/93, schism.
Secondary, 195/574, secondly.
Sellarys, 94/886, cellars.
Semblably, 46/691, similarly.
Senyor, 130/1055. Seignior, or Signior (Ital.), Lord, Master. P.
Serch, 50/822, examine, search into.
Seruytute, 114/496, servitude.
Skabe, 98/1024, scab, a disease to which sheep are liable. Ye scab of sheepe, mentigo. L. 1.
Skant, 74/189, scant, scarce.
Skase, 87/650, scarce.
Sklender, 27/6, slender.
You shall haue but sclender fare, one dish and that is al. L. S. p. 89.
Sklendurnes, 76/248, slenderness, leanness.
Sklendurly, 90/738, slenderly.
Slo, 79/377, slow.
Slomeryng, 5/135, slumbering.
And fore slewthe of slomowre one a slepe fallis. M. A. 3222.
Slype, 40/484, slip, pass by.
Slyppyng, 72/113, slipping.
Smatteryng, 17/583, smattering.
Smellyth, 116/566, savours.
Solne, 79/379, 384, swollen.
Sonar, 26/902, sooner.
Sounderly, 46/689, separately.
Sounyth, 63/1281, soundeth.
Sowne, 101/33, "to sowne to" = to sound like.
Sparkul, 12/409, sparkle.
Sparkylyd, 177/1205, sprinkled, scattered.

The chyldys clothys, ryche and gode,
He had sparkylede with that blode. H.

Spens, 201/154, expense.
Spot, 214/642, to spotte, maculare. L. 176.
He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be spotted with it. L. S. p. 151.
Spottyd, 198/50, spotted; corrupted, disgraced, or tainted.
S pryte, 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, established.
Stabul, 67/1449, stable, establish. And stables the hert thare it restes. H.
Stabullys, 72/133, stables.
Stabyl, 99/1077, established.
Stapul, 173/1053, staple.
Staple, a city or town, where merchants jointly lay up their commodities for the better uttering of them by the great. P.
Stond, 39/433, stand, consist.
Story, 209/449, history.
Strayte, 120/685 ; strayttur, 120/688, strict, severe.
Streght, 38/395, correct.
Studys, 203/243, places of study.
Styffe, 100/1092, stiff, stubborn.
Stynt, 175/1128, stint, limit in amount.
Subrogate, 169/922, to put in the place of another.
Succur, 144/34, succour, help, aid.
Sundurly, 6/195, separately.
And to vchone sunderyng
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.
Eor in him, Es seldom sen any mekenes.
P. C. 260.
Syngular, 57/1065, singular, individual.
Sysys, 190/414, assizes.
Talage, 151/278. A tribute, impost, toll, or tax. P.
Taske, 151/278, labour due to a superior.
A taske, taxatio. L. 35.
Tasck, an old British word signifying as much as tribute. P.
Tempur, 120/713, to temper, moderate.
Tenantys, 72/123, tenants.
Theft, 79/361. "By them ys nuryschyd the commyn theft," i.e.
By them the system of universal robbery is maintained.
They, 11/351, the.
Thought, 7/199, though.
Thynkys, 56/1038, things. This form occurs in Leland's Itin.
according to H., but a wrong reference is given.
Thys, 8/254, thus.
Togydur, 11/353, together.
Trade, 65/1345; 203/237, path, practice, or course. But see trade
in Glossary to the Minor Poems of William Lauder, E. E. T. S.
Translated, 92/833, translated: removed, carried away.
By turninge, translating, and
remouinge thies markes into other places they may destroye their enemies nauies. Utopia, p. 73.
Tryfullys, 80/415, trifles.
Tryumphe, 78/319, triumph; pomp, pride, or show.
Tukkarys, 95/914. tuckers. Fullers. H.
Tucker, a fuller of cloth. P.
Oterey water is devidid . . . to serve Grist and Tukking Milles.
Leland, It., iii. 55.
Tyllarys, 49/785, tillers.
Tyranne, 115/541, tyrant.
Vncomly, 52/903, uncomely, uncivilized.
Vnlusty, 79/377, unlusty, weak, powerless.
Vnsure, 39/440, uncertain. Vn-
sure, incertus. L. 83.
Vnweldy, 79/377, unwieldy
Vnyte, 54/983, unity.
Vnyte, 57/1094, united.
Vp so downe, 67/1427, upside down. thai be turned up-swa-doune.
P. C. 7230.
Vth, 164/736,  }
Vthe, 161/636,  }
youth.
Vtward, 49/783, outward.
Vtylyte, 10/339, utility.
Vade, 35/315, fade.
All as a slope, and like the grasse
Whose bewty sone doth vade. H.
Venge, 141/1421, avenge; Fr.
venger.
Tell you the dauphin, I am coming on,
To venge me as I may, and to put forth
My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause.
King H. V., i. 3.
Veray, 33/218, very.
Vytayl, 74/195, } victuals, food.
Vytel, 74/188, }
Weddur, 90/752, weather.
Welthys, 88/685, wealthiest.
Wor[ldly matters, Utopia, p. 15, 
and Wordleliche binges in Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 164.
Wornyth, 76/256, wasteth, 
weareth. For-weornian, to grow 
old, wear away. Weran, to wear. 
Bosworth.
Worstyd-makyrs, 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 thargh þair knawyng. 
P. C. 5727.
Wyttys, 26/911, intellects, 
minds; wits. He ȝaf 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.
GENERAL INDEX.

ABBREY-LUBBERS, 131.
Abbeys, exemption of, from bishops, 140; for such as are inclined to chastity, 149, 150; not to be suppressed, but reformed, 156; who should be admitted to, 156; have done good, 187; to be changed into seats of learning, 187.
Abbots, election of, 131; faults in, 200; how to be chosen, 200.
Abundance of friends requisite to the good of a country, 50.
Active life, the, 4, 5.
Adversity, felicity to be obtained in, 44.
Advocates, dishonest, to be punished, 191. See Lawyers.
Agreement, no, between classes, 82.
Albans, St, to be converted to educational purposes, 187, note.
Almayn. See Germany.
Ambition, the desire to govern, not, 214.
Ambrose, what he would think of our church music, 137.
Annates, the law of, 126; to be abolished, 199. See Note.
Apparel. See Dress.
Appeals to Westminster, 117; to Rome, 125; to the Abp. of Canterbury, 127; to the Court of Arches, 127; to London must be abolished, 190.
Arable lands enclosed, 96.
Archbishops to be elected at home, 199.
Archery. See Arms.
Archies, appeals to the Court of, 127.
Aristotle, on poverty and philosophy, 7; controversy between, and Plato, 28; his opinion of the vicious, 30; in what wealth and prosperity consist, 32; one of the chief of philosophers, 44; his opinion of fortune, 61.
Arms, youth to be exercised in, 79, 161. See Note.
Artificers, too few, 84; negligent, 86, 87.
Artisans, too few, 159.
Asia an evidence of decay, 76.
Athens had its laws in the vulgar tongue, 138; idle persons banished from, 153.
Augustine, St, what he would think of our church music, 137.
Authority usurped, or by prerogative, is pernicious, 104; the Pope's, whence derived, 124; not to be usurped, 181.
Bachelors to be taxed, 151.
Beggars, the multitude of, 89; might be diminished, 175.
Beggary proves idleness, not poverty, 89.
Bible, advantage of having it translated, 136, 211, 213.
Bishops spend too much, 77; the selfishness of, 85; election of, 131; how to be instituted, 199; faults in, 200.
Blindness and ignorance of men, 66.
Body and mind, perfection of man's, 34, 35; must flourish together, 41.
Bounteousness of the earth, 77.
Breeding of cattle little regarded, 98.
Bribery in courts of law, 86.
Building, excess in, 96.
Eysham, the place where Pole and Lupset are, 1. See Note.
Cæsar, his war with Pompey, 22.
Canterbury, appeals to, 127; prerogative court at, 127; the Bishop to be a member of the Great Council, 169, 182.
Captains, fewer good, than formerly, 84.
Cardinals, the college of, 124; to be elected, 198.
Carpentras, the Bishop of, 203, 210. See Note.
Cattle, scarcity of, 89; exported, 93; breeding little regarded, 98; more, to be reared, 174.
Causes not to be taken out of the realm, 199.
Celibacy should be abolished, 128; in the Church, 148; the law to be relaxed, 149.
Censor, a, needed, 204.
Censors to be appointed, 155; their duties, 159.
Changes, difficulty of making, 138.
Chastity, the law of, in the Church, 148.
Children and friends, advantages of, 36; to be put to a craft or letters at seven years of age, 152; curate, the, his duties in this, 152; their training, 152, 153, 154.
Christendom, the state of, the best yet devised, 60.
Church, evil customs in the, 131; music in, 134.
Churches have given place to sheepeots and stables, 72.
Cities and towns, in ruin, 70; have been better inhabited, 72; untidiness and decay of, 92; to be kept clean, 177.
City life less virtuous than country life, 9.
Civilization, how men were brought to, 53.
Civil law, varies in various countries, 15; differs from natural law, 15; and natural laws, obedience to, will save man, 19.
Civil life, what it is, 9, 20.
Civil order, what is meant by, 51.
Civil wars, danger of, when princes are elected, 106.
Cleanliness to be enforced, 177.
Clergy, education of the, 132; vices of the, 132; their influence over the people, 133; non-resident, 133; privileges of the, not to be allowed, 138; to be resident, 201. See Priests.
Clerks, good, too few, 83.
Cloths to be made at home,—the advantages therefrom, 173.
Commonwealth, what is a true, 26; Plato's, 26, 163, 198; the neglect of the, arises from ignorance, 27; when a, is most prosperous, 56; a, compared to a ship, 57
the prosperity of, stands in the prosperity of all, 57; the, how it may be reformed, 68; faults in the, 69; evidences of its decay, 70. See Country.
Complaints general, 89, 90.
Constable, a, of England, 181.
Contemplative life, the, 4, 5.
Corn, scarcity of, 89, 91; exported, 93.
Costs in suits, payment of, 190.
Council, a, of fourteen, 169; its duties, 169, 170; a, of ten, 170; its duties, 170; king not to choose his own, 182; how constituted, 183; of the parliament to confirm decisions of king's council, 184.
Country, better to help one's, than to know the secrets of nature, 7; the, compared with times past, 74; our, compared with other countries, 75; a dearth in the, 87; poverty of the, 88; the, poorer than it was, 91; rude to live in the, 177. See Commonwealth.
Courtiers too numerous, 159.
Courts, spiritual, have failed, 139.
Crafts have decayed, 73.
Craftsmen too few, 84.
Customs' dues excessive, 141, 174.
Dearth in the country, 87.
Decay of the commonwealth evident, 70. See Cities and Towns.
Delays in justice, 118.
Diet, excess of, 95.
Difficulties stated, 143.
Dignity, all nations agree in what concerns man's, 19.
Diligence, the necessity of, 208.
Discord and division in the realm, 157; whence they arise, 157.
Diseases among sheep, 98.
Dispensations of the Pope, 102, 123.
Dress, vanity in, 80; extravagance in, 95. See Note.
Drunkards to be punished, 171.
Drunkenness among the people, 94. See Note.
Ediles, 205. See Note.
Education, the evils of bad, 18; of the nobles bad, 129; of the priests, 132; influence of, 165; advantages of, to all classes, 205.
Egypt, an evidence of decay, 76.
Election, the free, of a prince, 58, 101; of princes a source of civil war, 106; by ancient nations, 107; of Church dignitaries, 131.
Emperor, his duty to the Church, 126.
Enclosing of arable lands, 96.
Enclosure, the Statute of, 171. See Note.
England, succession by blood most suited to, 107.
English, the Bible to be in, 136, 211, 213.
English, Laws to be in, 193. See Note.
Englishmen, the rudeness of, 110.
Entailing of lands, the, 112, 113; to be abolished, 195.
Equity and justice, a lack of, 157.
Erasmus, his books referred to, 210, 211. See Note.
Errors in religion, the source of, 136.
Evil, man's power to avoid, 30.
Exports, and imports, 93, 97; to be regulated, 155; to be restricted, 172.
Extravagance of the nobility, 130.
Farmers to rear more cattle, 174.
Fashions, vain, 80.
Faults, common, must be searched out, 69; are easily found, 69; particular, are endless, 71.

Felicity springs from virtue and prosperity, 41; may be attained in adversity, 44; are there degrees of, 45.

Firstfruits, to Rome, 126; their use, 126; how spent at home, 200.

Flanders, the population of, 75; its beautiful and clean cities, 92; its provision for younger sons, 113; Ypres, a city of, 176.

Food, insufficient for population, 74; what it proves, 75; scarcity of, 87; general dearness of, 175.

Forests and parks untilled, 73.

Fortune, does she play any part in affairs? 60, 61, 63.

France, population of, 75; conquered by England, 85; diligence of plowmen in, 87; poverty of the people in, 90; its beautiful cities, 92, 178; provision made for younger sons, 113; its serving men, 130; England brought almost to the misery of, 175.

French language, laws written in the, 122, 136.

French, Old, a barbarous tongue, 193.

Friars, young, 127.

Frugality to be insisted upon, 201.

Gain, every one seeks his own, 85.

Gamblers to be punished, 171.

Gambling, 77, 172. See Note.

Gentlemen, leave the cities, 93; to build in cities, 177.

Germany, the population of, 75; the Lutherans in, 135; beauty of its cities, 178.

Gluttony, of the people, 87, 95; and its results, 172. See Note.

Gold, use of, in ornamenting houses, 96.

Good, what a knowledge of, would do, 30; what things are necessary to individual, 34.

Gospels, the, to be in English, 136, 211, 213.

Government, various kinds of, 53; when it becomes tyranny, 53; the form of, of no moment, 53, 54; a mixed, thought best, 181.

Greece, its present condition, 76.

Greek and Latin the ground of learning, 202.

Greeks did not regard chastity, 17.

Hanging, punishment of theft by, 119.

Hawks and hounds, 189.

Health, bodily, 34, and strength, 35.

Heaven, all men may get to, 64.

Homer, his saying about idle men, 78.

Hope, perfect and sure, a man with, may attain heaven, 42.

Husbandmen, scarcity of, 159.

Idleness, a certain cause of decay, 74, 75; a third of the people live in, 77; man not born to live in, 78; the mother of many vices, 80; of the people, 87; the cause of, must be removed, 152; punishment for, 153; the only cure for, 154.

Idle people, a great number of, 75, 76, 77.

Ignorance, evils of, 27, 28; the cause of vice, 31; cannot excuse a man, 32.

Ill-occupied people, 76, 77, 80, 81.

Imported, various articles, 93.

Imports and exports, 93, 97; excessive charges on, 141, 174; of luxuries must be regulated by law, 155; restrictions upon, 172.

Instruction, virtue depends upon,
29; the power of, over the mind, 31; of a Christian man by Erasmus, 211.

Ipar, 176. See Ypres.

Italy, the number of people in, 75; diligence of husbandmen in, 87; the misery and poverty in, 90; provision for younger sons in, 113; gentlemen have more followers here than in, 130; the consequences of discord in, 157; beauty of its cities, 178; how the monks of, are chosen, 200.

Jerome, what he would think of our church music, 137.

Jews, the, think their law best, 11; and their policy also, 18; they may be saved, 19.

Judges, good, too few, 83; are bribed, 86.

Justice delayed, 118; and equity, a lack of, 157.

Justinian and Roman law, 192.

King, a, the heart of a commonwealth, 48; the, to do nothing without his council, 170; to preside in his council, 183. See Prince.

Knight's service, lands held by, 114.

Knowledge of less importance than justice, 6; without the application of it, of little avail, 8.

Labour, a severe punishment for the petty thief, 197.

Labourers have to fight, 79.

Lacedemon had its laws in the vulgar tongue, 138.

Land lying waste and untilled, 70, 73, 87.

Land, the, is not barren by nature, 73.

Lands, entailing of, 112, 113; held by knight's service, 114.

Latin, Church laws in, 123; divine service in, an evil, 134, 136; its usefulness, 193; the ground of learning, 202.

Law, kings above, 101; the Roman Civil, should be adopted, 194; the, cannot bring man to perfection, 206.

Laws, nature's and man's, 4; civil, 15; binding only on such as receive them, 17; diversity of sects and, not to trouble us, 20; and order must be good, 50; and ordinances, the origin of, 52; originally made for the people, 110; common, are written in French, 123; Church, are in Latin, 123; confusion in the, 192; how to be improved, 192; to be written in English or Latin, 193; are written in Old French, 193.

Lawsuits, delays in, 118.

Lawyers, too many, 83; covetousness of, 191; who should be, 192.

Lead, exported, 173.

Learning pernicious without virtue, 203.

Liberty of the will, the, 30.

Licences granted by the king do harm, 192, 103.

Life, active and contemplative, 4; future and present, to be regarded, 65.

Life, civil, what it is, 9, 20.

Livy, on discord and debate, 83.

London, removal to, by writ, 125, 190; the Bishop of, to be a member of the Great Council, 169, 182; four citizens of, to be members of the Great Council, 169, 182.

Lords, the selfishness of, 85. See Nobility.

Lubbers kept by prelates, 131.

Luther, his judgment esteemed but little, but he does not err in all things, 135.

Lutherans, their manner of conducting Divine Service, 134, 135.
Luxuries, what, may be imported, 174.
Lycurgus, his example, 2.

Malice, faults attributed to, 28.
Man, his laws less esteemed than those of God and nature, 4; his perfection, wherein it stands, according to Aristotle, 5; was once more virtuous than now, 9; his abuse of good things, 10; his duty is to remedy evils, 10; his dignity, his works, his laws, his divine nature, 12; his virtues, temperance, courage, reverence for God, are universal, 13; his mind, its first condition, 28; his ability to perceive good and evil, 30; in his most prosperous state, 39; what is, 40; the state compared to a, 45; in his uncivilized state, 52; his weakness of mind, 148; superiority in creation, 165.

Manners and customs of different countries, 15.
Marriage, how to entice man to, 146, 148; hindrances to, 148, allowed to secular priests, 149, 150; rewards for, 150; tax those who abstain from, 151.
Merchandise, the carriage of, 172.
Merchants, how they are ill-occupied, 80.
Mind, the, of man when most perfect, 7; the first condition of, 28; the virtues of the, excel all other virtues, 37; and body must flourish together, 41.
Misery of England, the, almost equals that of France, 175.
Money, scarcity of, 89.
Moors, the, allow polygamy, 17; they may be saved, 19.
Murderers, how to be punished, 197.
Music in churches too elaborate, 134.

Natural and civil law, they who keep, will not be damned, 19.
Nature, the law of, common to all nations, 14; requires man's aid, 15.
Nature's laws, better to be known than man's, 4; unvariable, 16.
Negligence of the people, 171, 172.
Nero, a cruel tyrant, 22.

Nobility, the idle rout they keep, 77; the princely courts they keep, 129; their bad education, 129; their extravagance, 130; their idleness, and its consequences, 150; their duties, 160; a fault in their bringing up, 186; ought to send their children to school, 187; their prodigality, 188; how they would be improved, 188; their care for hawks and hounds, 189; their want of attention to their children, 189; their duties, 190; should be better brought up, 194, 197; should study the laws, 195.

Normans, our subjection to, 123; why they wrote all laws in French, 136; the, are barbarous, 194.

Obedience to law a virtue, 17; to civil and natural laws will save a man, 19; the necessity of, 51.
Officers to see how people are employed, 155.
Opinion, false, a source of ill, 66.
Oppression makes a people wretched, 180.
Order, civil, what is meant by, 51.
Ornaments of the country, how to be provided, 176.

Palsy, the ill-occupied compared to a, 82.
Papal authority, 198.
Pardons granted by princes, 121.
Parliament, government by, 102;
authority of, deputed to a council, 169; should elect princes, 168.
Pasture farms get into the hands of a few, 98.
Pastures, necessity for, 97.
Paul, St, his conduct in reference to secret things, 20; his perfection, 39; quoted on the law, 206.
Peace and war debated in the council of the king, 184.
People, ill manners of the, 70; weakness caused by lack of, 72; who are ill-occupied, 76, 80; gluttony of the, 87; idleness of the, 87; fewness of the, and its remedy, 146; less valiant and given to pleasure, 161; election by, of a prince, 185.
Perfection to be the aim of every man, 5; bodily, in what it consists, 34, 35.
Personal goodness necessary, 33.
Pestilence, want of agreement compared to a, 83.
Peter pence to be paid, 199. See Note.
Peter, St, the authority given to, 124.
Philosophers, ancient, their opinion of laws, and their preference for learning, 4; ancient, their neglect of public duties, 6; they cannot be excused, 8; ancient, not to be followed, 8.
Philosophy is better than riches, 7.
Pius, Pope, on celibacy, 128.
Plato, his example, 2; Sicily in his time, 22; his Commonwealth, 23, 26, 163, 159; a controversy between him and Aristotle, 28; on ignorance, 29; on the soul, 44; his instruction of officers, 198.
Plenues and profits, selfish, too often considered, 66.
Plowmen, have to fight, 79; are negligent, 86, 87; too few, 159.
Plutarch, a comparison of, 22.

Pole, reference to his studies and learning, 2; the duties he owes to his country, 2, 214; his apparent indifference to his country's wants, 3; will carry his time, 214.
Policy, what is meant by, 51; good, what it might accomplish, 67.
Pompey and Caesar, obstacles to Tully's influence, 22.
Poor, the, suffer from excess of pasture land, 98.
Pope, the, and his dispensations, 102, 123; his usurped authority, 198, 199; how his pomp is maintained, 200.
Population, a sign of prosperity, 46; a lack of, a source of decay, 72, 76; examples of a lack of, in other countries, 76; mischiefs where the, is idle, 79; hindrances to an increase of, 148, 150.
Poverty, the cause of many miseries, 36; is the mother of envy and malice, 50; of the realm, 88, 91, 92; and its cause, 172.
Prayers, public and private, to be in English, 9.
Preachers, how they are to establish Christ's law, 209; counsel of Erasmus respecting, 210; advantage of having good, 213.
Prelate, the, selfishness of, 85.
Prelates, idle persons kept by, 131.
Premiums to craftsmen, 153.
Priests, too numerous, 83; are too young, 127; the celibacy of, 128; bad education of the, 132; non-resident, 133; secular, too many, 149; too many superstitious, 159; at what age to be admitted, 202.
Primogeniture, the law of, 108; its injustice, 109; the law of, its advantages, 110; how it should be limited, 112; the law of, convenient for a few, 193.
Prince, the, should be chosen by
free election, 58, 101; a good, a remedy for all diseases, 164; a, elected by parliament, 168; the, should be subject to the laws, 168; a, how his authority is to be curbed, 181.

Princes, the selfishness of, 85; with absolute power, 100; unworthy, are common, 102; may pardon, 121; perfect, cannot be found, 150.

Prior, election of, 131.

Privilege of sanctuary, the, encourages to crime, 140.

Privileges, of the clergy, 138; their ill consequences, 139; to those who marry, 150, 151.

Proctors, too many, 83.

Property of unmarried persons, 151.

Proportion, a want of, 83.

Prosperity, the, of an individual, and of the commonwealth identical, 32, 33; hard to use it well, 42; signs of, 58, 59; a country not perfect which lacks, 61; well used, increases happiness, 62; to be carefully used, 65.

Providence, evidences of God's, 166.

Public good, but rarely considered, 66; the, should be in every man's heart, 66.

Public life not always to be entered upon, 21.

Punishment, the fear of, its influence for good, 147; for idleness, 153.

Punishments, severity of, 119, 197.

Reason and its powers, 165, 166.

Religious, extravagance of the, 77.

Religious men are numerous, 156.

Remedies proposed, 143.

Rents, raised, 98; the mischiefs arising thence, 175.

Retinues of nobles, 129.

Retirement from the world, 43.

Riches, the advantages of, 35; what they are for, 37; without religion they do not profit, 38; they do not exclude man from heaven, 42.

Robbers, highway, how to be punished, 197.

Romans, their ancient laws drawn from nature, 112; their purpose in performing Divine Service in Latin, 136; their practice in feats of arms, 161; Justinian and their law, 192; their laws to be studied, 193; and followed, 195; their civil law, 194; their prudence, 195; their law against prodigality, 201.

Rome, the profit it might have had from Tully, 22; the See of, 124, 127; appeals to, 125; first-fruits to, 126; its laws in the vulgar tongue, 138; Censors of, 155; bishops need not go to, for institution, 200; the office of Censor in, 204; Ediles of, 205.

Ruin, causes of, 180.

Rulers, why they are maintained in pomp, 55; to see people are instructed and justice administered, 55; good, save the State, 67; necessity for good, 163.

Sanctuary, the privilege of, is wrong, 140.

Saracens, the, defend their own policy, 11; judge it best, 18; allow polygamy, 17; may be saved, 19.

Schism may be referred to Rome, 199.

Schools, public, to be established, 187; good, to be founded, 202; small, to be united, 203.

Scotland subdued by England, 85.

Sects, diversity of laws and, ought not to trouble us, 20.
Self-government needed in those who would rule, 3, 6.
Selfishness destroys all public good, 65.
Seneca under Nero, 22.
Servants, too many, 84.
Service, Divine, in Latin, 134; advantage of having it in English, 213.
Serving-men, are too many, 78; do not marry, 150.
Sheep die of scab and rot, 98.
Sicily, its condition in Plato's time, 22.
Sick persons to be cared for, 176.
Silks and says for the nobility, 94.
Singing men, 80.
Soberness to be followed, 179.
Socrates, on false opinion, 27; on the influence of instruction, 29; says ignorance is the fountain of vice, 31.
Solon, his example, 2.
Songs, devisers of new, 80.
Sons, younger, in England, 111; in France, 113; younger, to be provided for, 195; power to disinherit, 196.
Soul, and body make man, 41; civil order compared to the, 46.
Spain, the diligence of plowmen in, 87; the poverty of the commons in, 90; gentlemen have more followers in, than here, 130.
Spiritual, courts have failed, 139; faults, 132.
Spirituality, faults of the, and how they are to be corrected, 198.
State, the, compared to a man, 45.
Statute, the, of enclosure, 171.
Statutes made by kings, too many, 193.
Stoics, 61; the wise men described by the, 163.
Succession, of princes, the, 101; generally abuse their power, 105; by blood, most suited to England, 107; the laws of, 195.
Suits, in law, delays in, 118; long, caused by lawyers, 191.
Swiss, practice in arms among the, 161.
Taverns to be forbidden, 174.
Temperance, advantage of, 33; health dependent on, 179.
Theft, punishment of, 119; a new punishment for, 196.
Theophrastus, his opinion of fortune or chance, 61.
Thieves, might be diminished, 175.
Tillers of the soil too few, 84.
Time and place ought to be considered before entering upon public life, 22, 23, 214.
Tin, exported, 173. See Note.
Towns not well kept, 92.
Trades to be kept separate—no man to interfere with another, 158.
Trajan, a noble prince, 22.
Treason, punishment of, 120; accusing of, allowed too easily, 131; punishment of, 196; a result of tyranny, 197.
Trifles, makers of, too many, 84.
Tully, why Rome did not profit more by, 22.
Turks, the, their opinion of their own life, 11; do not abstain on Fridays, 17; they allow polygamy, 17; they judge their own policy best, 18; they may be saved, 19.
Tyranny, when government becomes, 53; the greatest of all ills, 168; the root of all ills, 180; how to avoid, 184; is the cause of treason, 197.
Tyrants not sent from God for man's punishment, 167.
Universities, studies at, to be improved, 203; the, out of order, 210.

Venice, the policy used in, 179, 184.

Vessels, English, to be employed, 174.

Vice, most men follow, 18; caused by ignorance, 31; and error, what is the foundation of, 66.

Villages have decayed, 72.

Virtue, more, in the country than in cities and towns, 9; the fault is in men, 10; all nations think they live in, 11; stands not in opinion, but in nature, 11, 16; dangers to, 15; stands by nature and opinion, 17; and vice, the difference between, 17; on what it depends, 29; and ignorance, 29; what it alone can do, 38; does it keep a man from misery? 39; and worldly prosperity the most perfect state, 44; the end of politic rule, 54; should be rewarded, 183.

Virtues of the mind, the, 36.

War, civil, danger of, 106.

Wards, power over, 114; treatment of, 186.

Waste lands, 70, 73, 87.

Weakness of the country, 84.

Westminster, removal of causes to, 117, 191; its Abbey to be converted into a school, 187, note.

Will, the liberty of the, 30.

William the Conqueror, his institution of knight's service, 115; a tyrant, 115.

Wine imported, 94; evils of, 94; to be imported for noblemen, 94; brought in from other countries, 155.

Wool, advantages of having plenty of, 97; not to be exported, 173.

World, those who leave it blamed, 43.

Writ, removal of causes by, 117; where the fault lies, 117.

Writers, foolish, to be stopped, 137, note.

Yeomanry, the, are not exercised in war, 79.

Young, the, badly trained, 152.

Youth to be exercised in arms, 161.

Ypres, a method of nourishing the sick at, 176. See Note.
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Miscellaneous Miracle Plays.

Sir Gowther.

Dame Siris, &c.

Orfeo (Digby, 56).

Dialogues between the Soul and Body.

Harlaam and Josaphat.

Amis and Amiloun.

Ipenecod.

Sir Generides, from Lord Tollemache’s MS.

The Troy-Book fragments once said Barbour’s in the Cambr. Univ. Library and Douce MSS.

Gower’s Confessio Amantis.


Carols and Song.

Burgh’s Cato.

Memorialis Credencium, &c., Harl. 2398.

Book for Recluses, Harl. 2372.

Lollard Theological Treatises, Harl. 2343, 2330, &c.

H. Sciby’s Northern Ethical Tract, Harl. 2388, art. 20.

Hilton’s Ladder of Perfection, Cott. Faunt. B 6, &c.

Supplementary Early English Lives of Saints.

The Early and Later Festivals, ab. 1400 and 1440 A.D.

Cotton, Claud. A 2; Univ. Coll. Oxf. 102, &c.

Select Prose Treatises from the Vernon MS.

Jn. Hyde’s MS. of Romances and Ballads, Balliol 354.

Metrical Homilies; Edinburgh MS.

Lyrical Poems from the Fairfax MS. 16, &c.

Prose Life of St. Audry, A.D. 1595, Corp. Oxf. 120.

English Miscellanies from MSS., Corp. Oxford.

Miscellanies from Oxford College MSS.

Disease, Jesus Coll. Oxf. 39; Bodl. Lau 99.

Alain Chartier’s Quadrilogue, &c., Univ. Coll. Ox. 85.

Mirror of the blessed Ijth of these Cryst, Univ. Coll. Oxf. 123, &c.

Poem on Virtues and Vices, &c., Harl. 2260.

Mandeveyle’s Legend of Gwydo, Queen’s, Oxf. 383.


Adam Loutjut’s Heraldic Tracts, Harl. 6149-50.

Rules for Gunpowder and Ordinance, Harl. 6555.

John Watton’s English Speculum Christiani, Corpus Oxf. 155, Lau 12, Thoresby 530, Harl. 2250, art. 20.

**EXTRA SERIES.**

Erle of Tolous.

Sir Eglamoure.

Lyrical Poems, from the Harl. MS. 2253.

Le Morte Arthour; from the unique Harl. 2252.

Sir Tristrem; from the unique Anichieke MS.

Miscellaneous Miracle Plays.

Sir Gowther.

Dame Siris, &c.

Orfeo (Digby, 56).

Dialogues between the Soul and Body.

Harlaam and Josaphat.

Amis and Amiloun.

Ipenecod.

Sir Generides, from Lord Tollemache’s MS.

The Troy-Book fragments once said Barbour’s in the Cambr. Univ. Library and Douce MSS.

Gower’s Confessio Amantis.


Carols and Songs.

Song of All Souls; from Harl. MSS. 2256, 753, Egerton 1995, Bodl. 3562, E. Museo 124, &c.

Octavian.

Ywain and Gawain.

Libera Desconus.

Avnturs of Arther.

Avowyng of King Arther.

Sir Perceval of Gallas.

Sir Isunbra.

Partonope of Blois, Univ. Coll. Oxf. 188, &c.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Queen’s, Oxf. 357.

Other Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Harl. 2233, &c.

Hore, Penitential Psalms, &c., Queen’s, Oxf. 207.

St. Brandon’s Confession, Queen’s, Oxf. 310.


Stevyn Strype’s Doctryne and Wysedom of the Auncyent Philosophers, A.D. 1450, Harl. 2266.

The Founder and Director of the E. E. T. Soc. is Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3, St. George’s Sq., Primrose Hill, London, N.W. Its Hon. Sec. is W. A. Dalziel, Esq., 67, Victoria Road, Finsbury Park, London, N. The Subscription to the Society is 21s. a year for the Original Series, and 21s. for the Extra Series of re-editions.
The Subscription, which constitutes membership, is £1 ls. a year [and £1 ls. additional for the Extra Series], due in advance on the 1st of January, and should be paid either to the Society’s Account at the Head Office of the Union Bank of London, Princes Street, London, E.C., or by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. Dalziel, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N., and post 'Union Bank of London.' (United-States Subscribers must pay for postage 1s. 4d. a year extra for the Original Series, and 1s. a year for the Extra Series.) The Society’s Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists.

**ORIGINAL SERIES.**

**The Publications for 1896 (one quire) are:**

107. The English Conquest of Ireland, A.D. 1166-1189, 2 Texts, about 1425, 1440. Part I., ed. Dr. Furnivall. 15s.
108. The Publications for 1897 (one quire) are:
111. The Old-English version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, re-edited by Dr. T. Miller. Pt. II. § 1. 15s.
112. The Old-English version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, re-edited by Dr. T. Miller. Pt. II. § 2. 15s.
114. Queen Elizabeth’s Engdishings of Bocchus, Plutarch, &c., ed. Miss Pennington. 15s.
115. The Publications for 1900 will be:

**The Publications for 1901 and 1902 will be chosen from:**

**Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.** Part I., ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall. [At Press].
Vices and Virtues, from the unique MS. ab. 1320 A.D., ed. Dr. P. H. Hailstone, Part II. [At Press].
An Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, edited from the 4 MSS. by Dr. C. Hotzfeld. [At Press].
Sir David Lyndsey’s Works. Part VI., and last. (Editor waited.) [At Press].

**EXTRA SERIES.**

**The Publications for 1896 (one quire) are:**

LXIX. Lydgate’s Assembly of the Gods, ed. Prof. Oscar L. Triggs, M.A., Ph.D. 15s.
LXX. The Digby Plays, edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. 15s.
LXXI. The Townley Plays, re-edited from the unique MS. by G. England; Esq. and A. W. Pollard, M.A. 15s.
LXXII. Hoccleve’s Regiment of Princes, 1411–12, and 14 Poems, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall. 15s.
LXXIII. Hoccleve’s Minors Poems, II., from the Ashburnham MS., ed. L. Gollancz, M.A. [At Press].
LXXIV. Secreta Secretorum: three prose Engdishings, ab. 1440, ed. R. Steele, B.A. Part I. 20s.
LXXV. Speculum Guidonis de Warwick, edited by Miss G. L. Morrill, M.A. 10s.
LXXVI. The Publications for 1899 and 1900 will be chosen from:

Melusine, the prose Romance, from the unique MS., ab. 1500, ed. A. K. Donald, B.A. Part II. 10s.
Lydgate’s Dance of Death, edited from the MSS. by Miss Florence Warner.
George Ashby’s Active Policy of a Prince, A.D. 1463, ed. Miss Mary Bateson. [At Press].
The Craft of Nomenclage, the earliest English Treatise on Arithmetic, ed. R. S. Steele, B.A. [At Press].
The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, London, MS. ab. 1425, ed. Dr. Norman Moore. [Set].
The Chester Plays, Part II., re-edited by Dr. Matthews. [At Press].
Michæl Gilds, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall; Introduction by Prof. E. C. K. Goner. [Text done].
Alexander Scott’s Poems, 1568, from the unique Edinburgh MS., ed. A. K. Donald, B.A. [Set].
John Hart’s Orthographic, from his unique MS. 1531, and his black-letter text, 1569, ed. Prof. Otto Jespersen, Ph.D.
John Hart’s Methods to teach Reading, 1570, ed. Prof. Otto Jespersen, Ph.D.
Extracts from the Rochester Diocesan Registers, ed. Hy. Littlehales, Esq.
The Owl and Nightingale, 2 Texts parallel, ed. G. F. H. Sykes, Esq. [At Press].
The Three King’s Sons, Part II, French collation, Introduction &c., by Dr. L. Kellner.
Lydgate’s Delightfull’s Pilgrimage, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
Robert of Brunne’s Handlyng Synne (1393), and its French original, ed. Dr. F. J. Furnivall.
The Coventry Plays, re-edited from the unique MS. by Dr. Matthews.

*30* The Large-Paper Issue of the Extra Series is stop, save for unfinished Works of it.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENT, TRÜBNER & CO.
BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 13, UNTER DEN LINDEN.
A Supplication for the Beggers.
Written about the year 1529 by Simon Fish.
Now re-edited by Frederick J. Furnivall.

With
A Supplicacion to our moste Souernigne Lorde Rynge Henry the Eght
(1544 A.D.),

A Supplication of the Poore Commons
(1546 A.D.),

The Decaye of England
by the great multitude of shepe
(1550-3 A.D.),

Edited by
J. Meadows Cowper.

London:
Published for the Early English Text Society
By Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.,
57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
1871.
Price Six Shillings.
Reprinted 1891.
Half the Publications for 1866 (13, 14, 15, 18, 22, as well as 24 for 1867) are out of print, but will be gradually reprinted. Subscribers who desire the issue for 1866 should send their guineas at once to the Hon. Secretary, in order that other Texts for 1866 may be sent to press.

The Publications for 1864-1871 (one guinea each year, save those for 1866 now out of print, two guineas are):

1. Early English Alliterative Poems, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d.
4. Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, ab. 1360, ed. Rev. Fr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d.
5. Hume’s Orthographic and Conjugati of the Britian Tongue, ab. 1617, ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s.
7. Genesis & Exodus, ab. 1250, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 8s.
8. Sir Gawain and Arthure, ab. 1440, ed. E. Brook. 7s.
9. Thynne on Spight’s ed. of Chaucer, A.D. 1599, ed. Dr. G. Kingsley and Dr. H. B. Wheatley. 2s. 6d.
10. Merlin, ab. 1440, Part I., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 2s. 6d.
12. Wright’s Chasie Wife, ed. 1426, F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 1s.
13. Skirle Marherete, 1200-1330, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. 10s. 6d.
16. The Book of Quinte Essence, ab. 1460-70, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s. [In print.]
17. Parallel Extracts from 45 MSS. of Piers the Plowman, ed. Rev. W. W. Skeat. 1s. [In print.]
18. Halie Meidenhad, ab. 1290, ed. Rev. O. Cockayne. 10s. 6d.
19. Lyndesay’s Monarchie, &c., Part II., ed. J. Small, M.A. 3s. 6d. [In print.]
21. Merlin, Part II., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. [In print.]
23. Dan Michel’s Ayenbite of Invyt, 1340, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s. 6d. [In print.]
24. Hymns to the Virgin and Christ; the Parliament of Devils, &c., ab. 1490, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s.
25. The Stationes of Rome, the Pilgrims’ Sea-voyage, with Gene Maydenedh, ed. F. J. Furnivall. 1s.
29. Old English Homilies (ab. 1220-30 A.D.), Part I. Edited by Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 7s.
31. Myre’s Duties of a Parish Priest, in Verse, ab. 1420 A.D., ed. E. Peacek. 4s.
32. Early English Meats and Manners: the Boke of Nourthe of John Russell, the Bokes of Keruynge, Curtsaye, and Demeanor, the Babes Book, Urbanitatis, &c., ed. F. J. Furnivall. 12s.
33. The Knight de la Tour Landry, ab. 1440 A.D. A Book for Daughters, ed. T. Wright, M.A. 8s.
34. Old English Homilies (before 1600 A.D.), Part II., ed. R. Morris, LL.D. 8s.
35. Lyndsey’s Works, Part III. The Historie and Testament of Skuyer Meldrum, ed. F. Hall. 2s.
40. Pastoral and Augustan Poems, ed. T. Wright, T. B. Smith and Lucy T. Smith, with an Essay on Gilds and Trades-Unions, by Mr. L. Brentano. 21s.
42. Bernardus De Orae Rei Familiaris, Early Scottish Prophecies, &c., ed. J. R. Lumbly, M.A. 2s.
46. Legends of the Holy Road, Symbols of the Passion and Cross Poems, ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. 10s.
47. Sir David Lyndesay’s Works, Part V., ed. Dr. J. A. H. Murray. 3s.
48. The Times’ Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., 1616; ed. by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s.
Besides the Texts named as at press on p. 4 of the Cover of the Early English Text Society's last books, the following Texts are also at press or preparing for the Society:

**ORIGINAL SERIES.**

Thomas Robinson's Life and Death of Mary Magdalen, from the 2 MSS., ab. 1620 A.D. **(Text in type.)**

Queen Elizabeth's Translations, from Boethius, Plutarch, &c., edited by Miss Pemberton. **(At Press)**

George Ashby's Poems, 1463-75, ed. from unique Cambridge MSS. by Miss Mary Bateson. **(At Press)**

Vices and Virtues, from the unique MS. ab. 1200 A.D., ed. Dr. F. Holthausen, Part II. **(At Press)**

Bp. Nicholls' Hours, re-edited by I. Gollancz, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Anglo-Saxon Glosses to Latin Prayers and Hymns, edited by Dr. F. Holthausen. **(In Preparation.)**

An Anglo-Saxon Martyrology, edited from the 4 MSS. by Dr. G. Herzfeld. **(In Preparation.)**


All the Anglo-Saxon Homilies and Lives of Saints not accessible in English editions, including those of the 10th century, by Prof. Napier, M.A., Ph. D. **(In Preparation.)**

The Anglo-Saxon Psalms; all the MSS. in Parallel Texts, ed. Dr. H. Logeman and F. Harsley, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Beowulf, a critical Text, &c., ed. Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D. **(In Preparation.)**

Byrhtferth's Handboe, edited by Prof. G. Hemp. **(In Preparation.)**

Early English Homilies, 13th and 14th cent., M. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. **(In Preparation.)**

The Rule of St. Benet: 5 Texts, Anglo-Saxon, Early English, Caxton, &c., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. **(In Preparation.)**

The Seven Sages, in the Northern Dialect, from a Cotton MS., ed. Rev. Dr. R. Morris. **(In Preparation.)**

The Master of the Game, a Book of Hantuynge for Hen. V. when Prince of Wales, ed. Mr. T. Austin. **(In Preparation.)**

Aired's Rule of Nuns, &c., edited from the Vernon MS., by the Rev. Canon H. R. Bramley, M.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Beauchamp's Life of St. Edmund, from the MSS., edited by Dr. Axel Erdmann. **(In Preparation.)**

William of Nassington's Mirror of Life, from Jn. of Waldby, ed. Sidney J. Herbage, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

A Chronicle of England to 1327 A.D., Northern verse (32,000 lines), ab. 1400 A.D., ed. M. L. Perrin, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

More Early English Wills from the Probate Registry at Somerset House. **(Editor Wanted.)**

Early Lincoln Wills and Documents from the Bishops' Registers, &c., ed. by Dr. F. J. Furnivall. **(In Preparation.)**

Early Canterbury Wills, edited by William Cowper, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Earl Norwich Wills, edited by Walter Rye, Esq. **(In Preparation.)**

The Cartularies of Osney Abbey and Godstow Nunney, English ed. ab. 1450, ed. Rev. A. Clark, M.A. **(In Preparation.)**

The Three Kings' Sons, edited from the unique Harl. MS. 326, ab. 1600 A.D., by Dr. Leon Kellner. **(In Preparation.)**

The Macro Moralia, edited from Mr. Gurney's unique MS., by Alfred W. Pollard, M.A. **(In Preparation.)**

A Troy-Book, edited from the unique Laund MS. 595, by Dr. E. Wulling. **(In Preparation.)**

Alliterative Prophecies, edited from the Mss. by Prof. Brandl, Ph. D. **(In Preparation.)**

Miscellaneous Alliterative Poems, edited from the Mss. by Dr. L. Morsbach. **(In Preparation.)**

Bird and Beast Poems, a collection from the MSS., ed. by Dr. K. Büdelbrin. **(In Preparation.)**

Seire Mori, &c., from the Lichfield MS. 16, ed. Miss Rosa Elverson, LL.A., and Miss Florence Gilbert. **(In Preparation.)**

Nicholas Trivet's French Chronicle, from Sir A. Acland-Hood's unique MS., ed. by Miss Mary Bateson. **(In Preparation.)**

Horns of the Virgin, from the Addit. MS. 27,302 in the British Museum, ed. G. N. Currie, M.A. **(At Press.)**

De Guillelmi's Pilgrimage of the Sowle, edited by G. N. Currie, M.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Stories for Sermons, edited from the Addit. MS. 24,719 by Dr. Wicke of Coblenz. **(In Preparation.)**

**EXTRA SERIES.**


Hoccleve's Minor Poems, from the Phillipps MS., ed. F. J. Furnivall, M.A., Ph.D. **(At Press.)**

A Parallel-text of the 6 MSS. of the Ancien Riwle, ed. Prof. Dr. E. Köbling. **(In Preparation.)**

The Segge of the Passion of the Virgin, re-edited by Dr. R. von Fleischhack. **(In Preparation.)**

Bunel's Dialogue against the Fever Pesteilence, 1664, 1673, 1578, ed. A. H. and M. Bullen. Pt. II. **(In Preparation.)**

The Romance of Bocute and Sidrac, edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Büdelbrin. **(In Preparation.)**

The Romance of Clariscus, re-edited by Dr. K. D. Büdelbrin. **(In Preparation.)**

Sir Amadas, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. K. D. Büdelbrin. **(In Preparation.)**

Lamentations from the MS. by Dr. K. Lucek. **(In Preparation.)**

Robert of Brunne's Chronicle of England, from the Inner Temple MS., ed. by Prof. W. E. Mead, Ph.D. and Maundeville's Voyle and Traible, re-edited from the Cotton MS. Titus C. 16, &c., by Miss M. Bateson. **(In Preparation.)**

Arther and Merlin, re-edited from the unique MS. by Dr. K. D. Büdelbrin. **(In Preparation.)**

Guy of Warwick, Condil's version, edited by Prof. Zupitza, Ph.D. **(In Preparation.)**

From Text A, edited from the Mss. by Dr. F. Kopka. **(In Preparation.)**

Liber Fundacionis Ecclesie Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum: the 13th century englising in the Cotton MS. **(In Preparation.)**

Vespasian B x, ed. Norman Moore, M.D. **(In Preparation.)**

Awdelays Poems, re-edited from the unique MS. Douce 302, by Dr. E. Wuffling. **(In Preparation.)**

Angilam of Shoreham's Works, re-edited by Professor Konrath, Ph.D. **(In Preparation.)**

The Wych Chylde and other early Treatises on Education, ed. G. Collart, B.A. **(In Preparation.)**

Caxton's Playe of Styles and Sayenges of Philosophers, 1477, with Lord Tollemache's MS. version, ed. S. I. Butler, Esq. **(In Preparation.)**
Jan. 1891. For this year the Original-Series Texts are now ready: No. 96, Part II of the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, re-edited by Dr. T. Miller, and No. 97, Part I of the Earliest English Prose Psalter, edited from its two MSS. by Dr. K. D. Buelbring. For the Extra-Series 1891, the first Text has been long ready,—No. 59, Part III of Prof. Zupitza’s edition of the Romance of Guy of Warwick from the Auchinleck and Caisu MSS., and the second Text is nearly ready: Dr. J. Schick’s edition of Lydgate’s Temple of Glass, with a full discussion and classification of its MSS., and a chronological arrangement of all Lydgate’s chief works, with some account of his best poem, still in MS., ‘Reason and Sensuality.’ As Dr. Schick’s book is so nearly finished, the issue of the three others for this year will probably be put off till the Temple of Glass is ready, so that all the 1891 Texts may go out together.

The Original Series Texts for 1892 will be chosen from Prof. C. Horstmann’s edition of Capgrave’s Life of St. Katherine; his first volume of the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., of both of which the text is all printed; and Mr. Gollancz’s re-edited Exeter-Book—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—Part I, of which the Text, with a modern rendering, has been long in type. Of the two concluding Parts VI and VII of the Cursor Mundi, by Dr. Haenisch, Dr. Kaluza, and Dr. Hupe, the German workers’ portion is all printed, and the Parts need only for issue short Forewords by the editor, Dr. Richard Morris. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker has in the press—text nearly finished—a treatise perhaps more valuable for Dictionary purposes than any yet issued by the Society, an English Lanfranc’s Origine, about 1400 a.d., which takes up Chaucer’s death the whole class of surgical and medical words (besides many others of common speech) which we before had only from the black-letters of Queen Elizabeth’s time. The Editor is collating the English text with its Latin; and he shows how largely our first printed Anatomic (Vicey’s) is borrowed from it. Some of these Texts will form the issues for 1892, 1893 and 1894. Members are therefore asked to send Advance Subscriptions, in 1891 for 1892 and 1893, in order that the 1892-3 books may be issued to them as soon as the editions are finished. The Society’s experience has shown that Editors must be taken when they are in the humour for work. All real Students and furtherers of the Society’s purpose will be ready to push-on the issue of Texts. Those Members who care only a guinea a year (or can afford only that sum) for the history of our language and our nation’s thought, will not be hurt by those who care more, getting their books in advance; on the contrary, they will be benefited, as each successive year’s work will then be ready for issue on New Year’s Day. Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years’ work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years’ work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print.

For the Extra Series of 1892, Mr. Donald’s edition of the prose Romance of Melusine, ab. 1500 A.D., Prof. Ingram’s, of the first Englishing of Thomas a Kempis’s De Imitatione Christi, ab. 1440-50, and Dr. Debling’s re-edition of The Chester Plays from the latest and best MS., are almost all in type. Dr. Mary N. Colvin’s edition of Caxton’s Godfrey of Bologna has several chapters and all the Introduction in type. It will therefore be necessary to ask Members for advance Subscriptions in order that the Books for 1892 and 1893 may be issued when they are ready in 1891. During 1891 the Extra Series books for 1892 are almost sure to be ready.

Mr. G. N. Currie—besides editing the Hours of the Virgin now at Press—is preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville’s Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, with the French prose version by Jean Galloppe, from Mr. Henry Huck’s Gibbs’s MS., Mr. Gibbs having generously promis to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Sens, wrote his first verse Polerinaige de l’Homme in 1330-1 when he was 36. 1 Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, and this is the only one that has been printed. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-I, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburgh Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Univ. Coll. and Corpus Christi, Oxford; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John’s Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited by Mr. Sidney J. Herteg for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensd and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library; 3 "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoele, whose copy was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655. This last copy may have been read by, or

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1 He was born about 1265. See Abbé Gouyer’s Bibliothèque française, Vol. IX, p. 73-4. —P. M.
2 These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.
3 Another MS is in the Pepys Library.
its story reported to Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his Pilgrim’s Progress. It will be edited by Mr. Currie for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Heritate’s edition of the Gesta Romanorum for the Society. In February 1463, Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville’s first verse Pelervinaige into a prose Pilervnage de la vie humaine. By the kindness of Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibbs, as above mentioned, Gallopes’s French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society’s edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville’s *Pelervinaige de l’Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was Englished in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate’s poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-508). This MS. leaves out Chaucer’s Englishing of Deguilleville’s *A B C or Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro’ the alphabet; and it has 2 gaps, of which most of the second can be filled up from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. The rest of the stopgaps must be got from the original French in Harleian 4999, and Additional 22,987 and 25,594 in the British Museum. Lydgate’s version will be edited in due course for the Society.

Besides his first *Pelervinaige de l’Homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, “de l’auez separée du corps,” and a third, “de nostre seigneur Jesus.” Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilervnaghe of the Soul* (perhaps in part by Lydgate), exists in the Egerton MS. 615, at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, Caïus), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton’s edition of 1483. This version has ‘somewhat of addicions’ as Caxton says, and some shortening too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier Englisher’s interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose Englishing of the *Soul* will be edited for the Society after that of the *Man* is finished, and will have Gallopes’s French opposite it, from Mr. Gibb’s MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his Oldest English Texts for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine’s Canterbury Psalter. Dr. Logeman then raised the question of how the other MSS. should be treated; and he was authorised to prepare a Parallel-Text edition of the first ten Psalms from all the MSS., to test whether the best way of printing them would be in one group, or in two—in each case giving parts of all the MSS. on one page—under their respective Roman and Gallician Latin originals. If collation proves that all the MSS. cannot go together on successive pages, there will be two Parallel-Texts, one of the A.Sax. MSS. following the Roman version, and the other, of those glossing the Gallician; but every effort will be made to get the whole into one Parallel-Text. This Text will be an extravagance; but as the Society has not yet committed one in Anglo-Saxon, it will indulge in one now. And every student will rejoice at having the whole Psalter material before him in the most convenient form. Dr. Logeman and Mr. Harsley will be joint editors of the Parallel-Text. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

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

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

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English Lives of Saints, under the editorship of Prof. Carl Horstmann. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints’ Lives will be found interesting incidental details of our forefathers’ social state, and all are worth’ ful for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints’ Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. The differences between the foundation MS. (the Laud 108) and its followers are so great, that, to

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1 According to Mr. Hy. Hucks Gibb’s MS.
2 These were printed in France, late in the 16th or early in the 16th century.
3 16th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.
4 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ’s.
5 16th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l’Âme*; both incomplete.
6 Ab. 1450, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.
prevent quite unwieldy collations, Prof. Horstmann decided that the Laud MS. must be printed alone, as the first of the Series of Saints’ Lives. The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes. The Glossary to the whole set, the discussion of the sources, and of the relation of the MSS. to one another, &c., will be put in a final volume.

When the Saints’ Lives are complete, Trevisa’s englising of Bartholomaeus de Proprietatis Rerum, the mediaeval Cyclopedia of Science, &c., will be the Society’s next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe’s edition of Ælfric’s prose, Dr. Morris’s of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat’s of Ælfric’s Metrical Homilies. Prof. Kölling has also undertaken for the Society’s Extra Series a Parallel-Text of all the six MSS. of the Ancren Riwet, one of the most important foundation-documents of Early English.

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

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

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

Among the MSS. and old books which need copying or re-editing, are:—

**ORIGINAL SERIES.**


**EXTRA SERIES.**


The Founder and Director of the E. E. T. Soc. is Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3, St. George’s Sq., Primrose Hill, London, N.W. Its Hon. Sec. is W. A. Dalziell, Esq., 67, Victoria Road, Finsbury Park, London, N. The Subscription to the Society is 2s. a year for the Original Series, and 2s. for the Extra Series of re-editions.

1 Of these, Mr. Hardey is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe’s book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock. Of the Verceil Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattansi.
Four Supplications.
1529—1553 A.D.

Early English Text Society.
Extra Series. No. xiii.

1871.
BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 5, UNTER DEN LINDEN.
NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & Co.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOFF & CO.
A Supplicacyyon for the Beggers.
written about the year 1529 by
Simon Fish.

Now re-edited by
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

With
A Suppylication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde
Lyngge Henry the Eght
(1544 A.D.),

A Supplication of the Poore Commons
(1546 A.D.),

The Decaye of England
by the great multitude of sheye
(1550-3 A.D.),

Edited by
J. MEADOWS COWPER.

London:
Published for the Early English Text Society
by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.,
57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
1871.
[Reprinted 1891.]
Extra Series, XIII.

R. CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.
FOREWORDS.

When trying to get together some evidence on the Condition of England in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reigns for the Introduction to the Ballad of *Now a Dayes* (?ab. 1520, a.d.) for my first volume for the Ballad Society, I was struck by the difficulty of finding out what tracts and books on the subject there were, and how few of them could be easily got at, much less bought at any reasonable price. But when I did get hold of some of them, I found them of such interest and value that I resolved to reprint such of them as I could, and one of the earliest is now before the reader.

The second in date, the celebrated *Supplication for the Beggers*, is however the first in importance, from its influence on Henry VIII and the Reformation, and its calling forth an answer from Sir Thomas More, his *Supplication of Soulys* (in Purgatory), which gave rise to his controversy with Tyndal. I therefore give Foxe's full account of the whole matter from the third edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, a.d. 1576, pp. 986—991.

1 Roy's *Rede me and be not wroth* is the earliest, and was in print by 1527 or -8, says Mr Arber. Mr Hazlitt dates Roy, 'Wormes 1526': but query. It is not in Foxe's list of Forbidden Books in 1526 (p. xii., below), though it is in that of 1531, printed in my *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, 1866, p. 34: 'The burying of the masse in English yryme.' Of Roy's other book in that list, '13. A Boke made by freer Roye aynest the seyn sacraments,' I know of no copy. Bohn's edition of Lowndes says of the 'Rede me and be not wroth', "in the Roxburgh Sale Catalogue this piece stands entitled 'The Buryinge of the Mass, a Satire'." Can Foxe's 'M. Roo' on the next page be William Roy?

SUPPLICATION.
Before the tyme of M. Bilney, and the fall of the Cardinall, I should haue placed the story of Symon Fish, with the booke called "the Supplication of Beggars," declaryng how and by what means it came to the kynges hand, and what effect therof followed after, in the reformation of many thynges, especially of the Clergy. But the missyng of a few yeares in this matter, breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here [under the year 1531] which should haue come in sixe yeares before. The maner and circumstaunce of the matter is this:

After that the light of the Gospel, workyng mightely in Germanie, began to spread his beames here also in England, great styrrre and alteration folowed in the harts of many: so that colored hypocrisie, and false doctrine, and painted holynes, began to espyed more and more by the readynge of Gods word. The authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and the glory of his Cardinals, was not so high, but such as had fresh wittes sparceld with Gods grace, begane to espy Christ from Antichrist, that is, true sinceritie from counterfait religion. In the number of whom, was the sayd M. Symon Fish, a Gentleman of Grayes Inne. It happened the first yeare that this Gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1525. that there was a certaine play or interlude made by one M. Roo of the same Inne, Gentleman, in which play partly was matter agaynst the Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take vpyn them to play that part, whiche touched the sayd Cardinall, this foresayd M. Fish tooke vpyn him to do it; wherupon great displeasure ensued agaynst him, vpyn the Cardinals part: In so much as he, beyng pursued by the sayd Cardinall, the same night that this Tragedie was playd, was compell'd of force to voyde his owne house, & so fled ouer the Sea vnto Tyndall: vpyn occasion wherof, the next yeare folowyng this booke was made (beyng about the yeare .1527.) and so not long after, in the yeare (as I suppose) 1528. was sent ouer to the Lady Anne Bulleyne, who then lay at a place not farre from the Court. Whiche booke, her brother seyng in her hand, tooke it and read it, & gaue it her agayne, willyng her earnestly to giue it to the kyng, which thyng she so dyd.

This was (as I gather) about the yeare of our Lord .1528. The kyng, after he had receaued the booke, demaunded of her, who made it. Wherunto she aunswered and sayd, a certaine subiect of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the Realm for feare of the Cardinall. After the kyng had kept the booke in his bosome iiij. or iiiij. dayes, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was giuen by the kynges servantes to the wife of y^e sayd Symon Fishe, y^e she might boldly send for her husband, without all
perill or daunger. Whereupon, she thereby beyng encouraged, came first, and made sute to the kyng for the safe returne of her husband. Who, vnderstardyng whose wife she was, shewed a marvelous gentle and chearefull countenaunce towards her, askyng where her husband was. She aanswered, if it like your grace, not farre of. Then sayth he, fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without perill, and no man shal do him harme; saying moreover that hee had much wrong that hee was from her so long: who had bene absent now the space of two yeares and a halfe. In the whiche meane tyme, the Cardinall was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and M. More set in his place of the Chauncellourshyp.

Thus Fishes wife, beyng emboldened by the kynges wordes, went immediately to her husband beyng lately come ouer, and lying priuely within a myle of the Court, and brought him to the kyng: which appeareth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530. When the kyng saw him, and vnderstode he was the author of the booke, he came and embraced him with louing countenaunce; who after long talke, for the space of iij. or iiij. houre, as they were ridyng together on huntyng, at length dimitted him and bad him take home his wife, for she had taken great paynes for him. Who aanswered the kyng agayne and sayd, he durst not so do, for feare of Syr Thomas More, then Chauncellour, & Stokelsye, then Byshop, of London. This seemeth to be about the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The kyng, takyng his signet of his finger, willed hym M. Fishe rescued to haue him recommended to the Lord Chauncellour, by the kyng. charyng him not to bee so hardy to worke him any harme. M. Fishe, receiuyng the kynges signet, went and declared hys message to the Lord Chauncellour, who tooke it as sufficient for his owne discharge, but he asked him if he had any thyng for the discharge of his wife; for she a little before had by chaunce displeased the Friers, for not suffering them to say their Gospells in Latine in her house, as they did in others, vnlesse they would say it in English. Whereupon the Lord Chauncellour, though he had discharged the man, yet leanyng not his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appeare before hym: who, had it not bene for her young daughter, which then lay sicke of the plague, had bene lyke to come to much trouble. Of the which plague her husband, the sayd M. Fish, deceasing within halfe a yeare, she afterward maryed to one M. Iames Baynham, Syr Alexander Baynhamssonne, a worshypful knight of Glostershyre. The which foresaid M. Iames Baynham, not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the processe of this story, shall appeare.

And thus much concernyng Symon Fishe, the author of the booke of beggars, who also translated a booke called the Summe of the Scripture, out of the Dutch. The summe of the scripture translated by M. Fishe.
Now commeth an other note of one Edmund Moddys, the kynges footeman, touchyng the same matter.

This M. Moddys beyng with the kyng in talke of religion, and of the new bookes that were come from beyond the seas, sayde, if it might please hys grace to pardon him, & such as he would bryng to his grace, hee should see such a booke as was manuell to heare of: The kyng demaunded what they were. He sayd, two of your Marchauntes, George Elyot & George Robinson. The kyng poyned a tyme to speake with them. When they came afore his presence in a priyue closet, he demaunded what they had to saye, or to shew him. One of them sayd yt there was a boke come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace. When he saw it, hee demaunded if any of them could read it. Yea, sayd George Elyot, if it please your grace to heare it. I thought so, sayd the kyng, for if neede were, thou canst say it without booke.

The whole booke beyng read out, the kyng made a long pause, and then sayd, if a man should pull downe an old stone wall and begun at the lower part, the vpper part thereof might chaunce to fall vpon his head: and then he took the booke, and put it into his deske, and commaunded them vpon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man, that he had sene the booke. &c. The Copie of the foresayd booke, intituled of the Begghars, here ensueth.

[The booke of Begghars follows here in print.]
Purgatory, calling this man foole so oft as they haue done, do bryng themselves therby out of Purgatory fire, to the fire of hel, by y° just sentence of the gospell: so that neyther the v. woundedes of S. Fraines, nor all the merites of S. Dominick, nor yet of all the Friers, can release them, poore wretches. But yet for so much as I do not, nor cannot thincke, that those departed soules, eyther would so farre ouershoote themselves if they were in Purgatory, or els that there is any such fourthe place of Purgatory at all (vnlesse it be in M. Mores Vtopia) as Maister Mores Poeticall vayne doth imagine. I cease therfore to burden the soules departed, and lay all the wyte in maister More, the authour and contriuer of this Poeticall booke, for not kepyng Decorum Personae, as a perfect Poet should haue done. They that gene preceptes of Arte, do note thys in all Poeticall fictions, as a speciall observation, to foresee and expresse what is conuenient for eyery person, accordyng to hys degree and condition, to speake and ytter. Wherefore if it be true that maister More sayeth in the sequele of hys booke, that grace and charitie increaseth in them that lye in the paynes of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that such soules, lying so long in Purgatory, should so some forgette their charitie, and fall a rayling in their supplication so furnishly, both agaynst this man, with such opprobrious and vnfittynge termes, and also against Iohn Badby, Richard Howndon, Iohn Goose, Lord Cobham and other Martirs of the Lord burned for hys worde: also agaynst Luther, William Tindall, Richard Hunne and other mo, falsly belying the doctrine by them taught and defended: which is not lyke that such charitable soules of Purgatory would ever doe; neyther were it conuenient for them in that case, which in dede though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more encrease of their payable. Agayne, where the B. of Rochester defineth the Angels to be ministers to Purgatory soules, some wyll thinke peraduenture maister More to haue missed some part of his Decorum in makying the euill spirite of the authour and the deuill to be messenger betwene middle earth and Purgatory, in bringing tidinges to the prisoned soules, both of the booke, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the maner how this deuil came into Purgatory, laughyng, grynnyng, and gnashyng his teeth, in sothe it maketh me to laugh, to see y° mery Antiques of M. More. Belike then this was some mery deuil, or els had eaten with his teeth some Nastureciunm before: which conming into Purgatory to shew the name of this man, could not tell hys tale without laughyng. But this was (sayth he) an enmious & an enuious laughyng, ioyned with grynnyng and gnashyng of teeth. And immediately vpon the same, was contriuer this scoffing and raylyng supplication of the pewlyng soules of Purgatory, as hee hym selfe doth terme them. So then here was enmyng, enmyng, laugh-
ing, grinning, gnashyng of teeth, pewlyng, scoffing, rayling, and begging, and altogether to make a very blacke Sanctus in Purgatory.

In deede we read in Scripture, that there shall bee wepyng and gnashyng of teeth in hell, where the soules & bodyes of men shall be tormented. But who would have haue thought before, that the euill aungell of this man that made the booke of Beggers, beyng a spirituall and no corporall substance, had teeth to gnashe, & a mouthe to grynne? But where then stode M. More, I meruell at this meane while, to see the deuill laugh with his mouth so wyde, yt the soules of Purgatory might see all hys teeth? Belyke this was in Vtopia, where M. Mores Purgatorye is founded. But because M. Moore is hence departed, I will leaue hym with his mery Antiques. And as touchyng hys booke of Purgatory, whiche he hath lefte behynde, because Iohn Frith hath learnedly and effectuously ouerthrowne the same, I will therfore referre the reader to hym, while I repayre agayne (the Lord willyng) to the historye.

After that the Clergye of England, and especially the Cardinall, vnderstode these booke of the Beggers supplication aforesayd, to be strawne abroade in the streetes of London, and also before the kyng, the sayd Cardinall caused not onely his seruauntes diligently to attend to gather them vp, that they should not come into the kynges handes, but also, when he vnderstode that the kyng had receaune one or two of them, he came vnto the kynges Maiesty saying: If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books conteyning manifest erroors and herisies; desiring his grace to beware of them. Wherupon the kyng, putting his hand in his bosome, tooke out one of the booke, and deliered it vnto the Cardinall. Then the Cardinall, together with the Byshops, consulted how they might prouide a spedy remedy for this mischief, & therupon determined to gene out a Commision to forbid the readyng of all Englishe booke, and namely this booke of Beggers, and the new Testament of Tyndals translation: which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstall, Byshop of London, who sent out his prohibition vnto his Archdeacons, with all spede, for the forbiddynge of that booke and diuers other more; the tenor of whiche prohibition here foloweth.

¶ A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his dio-
cesse, for the calyynge in of the new Testaments translated into English, with diuers other bokes: the Cataloge wher-
of hereafter ensueth.

\[ Wthbert by the permission of God, Byshop of L[ondon, vnto our wellbeloued in Christ, the Archdeacon of London, or to hys Officiall, health, grace, and\]

\[ A prohibition against English booke.\]
benediction. By the duety of our pastorall office, we are bounde diligently with all our power, to foresee, prouide for, roote out, and put away, all those thynges which seeme to tend to the peril & daunger of our subiectes, and specially the destruction of their soules. Wherefore, we, haung vnderstandyng by the report of diuers credible persons, and also by the euident apparaunce of the matter, that many children of iniquitie, maintayners of Luthers sect, blynded through extreme wickednes, wandringyng from the way of truth and the Catholicke sayth, craftely haue translated the new Testament into our English tongue, entermedelyng therwith many hereticall Articles & erroneus opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducyng the simple people, attemptyng by their wicked and peruerse interpretations, to prophananate the maiesty of the Scripture, which hetherto hath re- mained vndefiled, & craftely to abuse the most holy worde of God, and the true sence of the same; of the which translation there are many bookees imprinted, some with gloses and some without, containyng in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poyson dispersed throughout all our diocesse of London in great number: which truly, without it be spedyly foreseene, wythout doubt, wyll contaminate and infect the flock committed vnto us, with most deadly poyson and heresie, to the grieuous peril and danger of the soules committed to our charge, and the offence of gods diuine maiesty. Wherefore we, Cuthbert the bishop aforesayd, greuously sorowying for the premisses, willyng to withstand the craft and subtiltie of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care, to take hede vnto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to prouide spedy remedies for the premisses, do charge you ioynedly and seuerally, & by vertue of your obedience, straighly enioyynge and commaunde you, that by our authority you warne or cause to be warned all & singular, aswel exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your Archdeaconries, that within .xxx. dayes space, wherof .x. dayes shalbe for the first, .x. for the second, & .x. for the third and peremptory terme, vnder payne of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresie, they do bryng in, and really deliuer vnto our vicare generall, all & singular such bookes as conteyne the translation of the new Testament in the Englishe tongue; and that you doe certifie vs, or our sayd Com- missarye, within ij. monethes after the day of the date of these presentes, duely, personally, or by your letters, together with these presentes, vnder your seales, what you haue done in the premisses, vnder payne of contemt, geuen vnder our seale the .xxiiij. of October, in the v. yere of our consecration .an. 1526."

¶ The lyke Commission in lyke maner and forme, was sent to the three other Archdeacons of Middlesexe, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, vnder the Byshops seale.
THE NAMEs OF THE BOOKES THAT WERE FORBIDDEN AT THIS TYME, TOGETHER WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Supplication of beggers. (2)
The revelation of Antichrist, of Luther. (3)
The new Testament of Tindall. (22)
The wicked Mammon. (23)
The obedience of a Christen man. (24)
An introduction to Paules Epistle to the Romanes. (22)
A Dialogue betwixt the father and the sonne. (1)
Oeconomicæ Christianæ. (6)
Vnio dissidentium.
Piae precationes. (5)
Captitnitas Babilonica.
Ioannes Hus in Oseam.
Zwinglius in Catabaptistas.
De pueris instituendis.
Brentius de administranda Republica.
Luther ad Galatas.
De libertate Christiana.
Luthers exposition vpon the Pater noster.

The editor of the reprint of the Supplicacyon in 1845 refers also to Strype's Memorials, i. 165, and says that Wilkins (Concilia, 3. 706) gives us this edict or injunction [of Tonstall's, above] issued by the authority also of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Again, in the year 1530, a public instrument agreed upon, says Wilkins (3. 728), in an Assembly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham and others, by order of King Henry the Eighth, was put forth "containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions selected from various books, which had been considered and condemned." One of those is from the Supplication, and is the passage [on Purgatory] beginning, "There be many men of great literature, &c." [p. 10, below, l. 21], and ending, "in all holy Scripture." And, once more, in the same year (Wilkins, iii. 737), or, with less probability, in 1529 (Strype, i. 165), a Royal Proclamation was published "for resisting and withstanding of most damnable heresies sown

1 These numbers refer to those in the 'List of Books proscribed in 1531' printed in my edition of Political, Religious, and Love Poems, for the Society, 1866, p. 34-5, in which nine books in Tonstall's 1526 list are repeated. (The Pre of No. 5 there should be Pic.)
within this realm by the disciples of Luther, and other heretics, per-
verters of Christ's religion;" at the end of which, with some other
books, "the Supplication of Beggars" is strictly prohibited. Mr
Arber tells me that Foxe's list of books on the opposite page is
a spurious one, because it contains the names of several books
not publish'd till after 1526,—among them our *Supplication of
Beggars*, which can be proved to have been publish'd late in 1528
or early in 1529¹;—that the *Unio dissidentium* is by H. Budius;
and that *Piae Precaziones, Captivitas Babylonica*, and *De Libertate
Christiana*, are Luther's.

Wood's account of Fish, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, is taken from
Foxe, but he notes also what Sir T. More, in his *Apology* (*Works,
&c*, ed. Rastell, 1577, p. 881), says of Fish: that he "had good
zele, ye wote well, when he made the Supplication of beggers. But
God gaue hym suche grace afterwarde, *that* he was sorry for that good
zeale, *and* repented hymselfe, and came into the church agayne; and
forsware and forswore all the whole hill of those heresyes, out of
which the fountain of that same good zeale sprange."

"In More's *Supplication of Souls*, written to counteract the
effect of Mr Simon Fish's *Supplication of Beggars*, More continually
calls Fish 'this beggar's proctor,' and represents one of the souls in
purgatory as saying of him, 'He is named and boasted among us by
the evil angel of his, our and your ghostly enemy, the devil; which,
as soon as he had set him at work with that pernicious book, ceased
not to come hither, and boast it among us: but with his envious and
envious laughter, gnashing the teeth and grinning, he told us
that his people [*i.e* the reformers] had, by the advice and counsel of
him, [*i.e* the devil] and of some heretics almost as evil as he, made
such a book for beggars, that it should make us beg long ere we got
... was originally transmitted to England from the Continent,
whither Fish had fled; so that More would suppose that Tyndale
and Joye were privy to its composition."—Parker Soc.'s *Tyndale's
Works*, iii. 268, note. In the Parker Society's Tyndale's Works,
ii. 335, Tyndale, in his tract on *The Practice of Prelates*, again makes
mention of Fish's *Supplication*, "which secretary (Thomas More) yet
must first deserve it with writing against Martin [Luther], and

¹ See Mr Arber's Preface to his facsimile reproduction (1871) of Tyndale and Roy's first printed English New Testament, Cologne-Worms 1525, 4to.
against *The Obedience and Mammon*, and become the proctor of purgatory, to write against *The Supplication of beggars*.

Bishop Tanner ascribes to Fish 'The boke of merchants' rightly necessary to all folkes, newly made by the lord Pontapole,' and 'The spiritual nosegay.'

That he translated from the Dutch the *Sum of the Scriptures* Foxe has already told us in the last lines of page vii above.

Fish was living at his house at Whitefriars in 1527-8. See Necton's Confession. *Strype*, I. ii. 63, ed. 1822. (Arber.)

No new facts about Fish are given in any modern biographical dictionaries that Mr W. M. Wood has searched for me. Foxe, as we have seen (p. vii, above, l. 9 from foot), says that Fish died of the plague about 1530; and the way that Sir Thomas More speaks of him seems to assume that he died before 1533.

The reader will notice how the *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546, refers, on p. 61-2 below, to the *Supplicacyon of Beggers*, and its influence on Henry VIII.

F. J. F.

The second and third *Supplications*, printed from the original black-letter editions now in the British Museum, are anonymous. The dates of their publication are 1544 for the second, and 1546 for the third. It is useless to guess who was the author (I believe the two proceed from one pen), but I have not much hesitation in suggesting Henry Brinklow ('Roderyck Mors'), who was busy at this time. Brinklow's two tracts will as soon as practicable be included in this series, and then our readers will be able to judge for themselves. The same vehement language, and unqualified abuse of the clergy and all who were not of his way of thinking, will be observed throughout. The references to certain topics of the day cannot be

1 Lond. Jugge, 1547, 12mo.—Lowndes.
2 Mr B. Brock read the proofs with the originals.
3 'The Complaynt of Roderyck Mors . . . for the redresse of certen wicked lawes, euel customs, and cruel decreys, 1536'; and 'The Lamentacyon of a Christen Agaynst the Cytye of London, for some certayne great vyces vsed therin, 1545.'
reckoned on to weigh much with regard to the question of authorship in a case like this, else we might direct attention to several such in this Preface. Three must suffice:

The Lamentacyon of a Christen.

And I thinke within fewe years they will (wythout thy greate mercy) call vppon Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall, & vpon the unholy (I shulde saye) holy Mayde of Kent. I. 4.

Accordlyng to there office they barked vppon you to loke vpon the poore, so that then some relefe they had; but now, alas, ye be colde, yea even those whiche saye they be the favorers of the Gospell. I. 9, bk.

London beyng one of the flowers of the worlde, as touching worldlye riches, hath so manye, yea innumerable of poore people forced to go from dore to dore, and to syt openly in the stretes a beggynge, and many . . . . lye in their howses . . . . and dye for lacke of ayde of the riche. I. 9.

Ye abhorre the remedy ordainyd of God [marriage], and mayntayne the remedy of Sathan. I. 22, bk.

These are not worth much, but they may serve as a hint to those who care to go further in this direction.

The subjects embraced by the second and third Supplications are such as to justify their being placed in the same volume as Fish's more famous tract.¹ That gained its celebrity as much from its early appearance in the great struggle, and the notice taken of it by the king, as by its own intrinsic merits. More than this, Foxe embalmed it in his

¹ When the Supplication of the Poore Commons first appeared, it bore on its title page "† Whereunto is added the Supplication of Beggers." This is now omitted, as the Supplication of Beggers contained in the present volume is printed from a copy of the original black-letter edition in the British Museum.
pages, so that while the *Supplication to the King* and the *Supplication of the Commons* have not been reprinted for more than 300 years, and are unknown except to a few, the *Supplication of the Beggers* has been reproduced as often as Foxe's own immortal work.

The ignorance and immorality of the clergy are commented upon in severe terms. They, as usual, are charged with being the authors of every crime either by the suppression of the Bible, or by their false teaching. Their want of faith and neglect of preaching are said to be the cause of insurrections, commotions, popish blindness, idolatry, hypocrisy. It is said that many of the Abbots of the suppressed monasteries were admitted to have the cure of souls to the increase of all ignorance and to the damnation of those committed to their care. Of course. Having turned out these men, how could the virtuous patriots of the day do less than persecute them to the death? They had voluntarily or involuntarily resigned their livings into the hands of the Royal Defender of the Faith, and were willing to conform to the new order of things; but this was not enough. It was held that no good thing could come out of the Church as it existed a few years before, and so these men must submit to every indignity and be taxed with every crime. It was even considered dangerous to admit a man to the ministry who had studied the decrees and laws of the Church of Rome (p. 46).

But Church matters are not the only ones which gain attention. We hear of the extravagance which prevailed in fashions—now the French, now the Spanish, then the Italian, and then the Milan (p. 52), till many were brought to poverty by the foolish fancies and vain pride of men and women. The crimes of the rich make the writer apply Hosea's words to his own country—"There is no truth, no mercy, no knowledge of God in earth; cursing, lying, murder, theft, adultery, hath broken in"—and yet, notwithstanding all this, "doo owre shepherdes holde theyr peace."

The miserable poverty of the people, who expected great things from the expulsion of the monks, is clearly expressed. Under the old order of things there was some relief (p. 79), but under the new, instead of the monk there was the "sturdy extortioner." The people
could get no farm, not even a cottage. Rents were raised, abbey
lands bought up, and the old leases declared to be void. Altogether
the picture is anything but a cheering one, and makes us curious to
know in what part of England "free fare and free lodging, with
bread, beef, and beer," were to be had, and no questions asked.¹

The last tract in this volume was copied from one then in the
Lambeth Library, but as that was mislaid when we went to press, our
text has been made to correspond² with the copy of another edition
in the Cambridge University Library. The date³ of this "Sheep-
tract" must be 1550-3 A.D.; but the name of its author is unknown.
It, too, is in the form of a petition or supplication, which seems to
have been a favourite mode of exposing the grievances under which
the people groaned. A noteworthy circumstance in connection
with this tract is that the clergy are not even mentioned! It
deals with rural troubles only. In cities men saw and perhaps
envied the rich; in large centres of population also, just as in our
own day, the clergy were the especial objects of the attacks of "re-
formers;" but this writer, whose style is far less effective than that
of the Supplications, confines himself solely to the misfortunes which
resulted from excessive pasture farming. His references to North-
amptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, lead us to believe
that his lot was probably cast in one of these counties. The com-
plaint is made in very homely language and manner, but they give to
it an air of truthfulness.

The calculations as to the losses sustained by the country are very
interesting. A single plow, it seems, was calculated to keep six
persons and leave thirty quarters of grain for sale annually.

¹ For further information on the subjects of these Supplications the reader
is referred to the Introduction to Ballads from MSS, vol. i. by Mr F. J. Fur-
nivall, and to the Preface to England under Henry VIII., a Dialogue, &c.,
by Mr J. M. Cowper.
² Mr Denis Hall of the Camb. Univ. Library collated the proofs with the
original.
³ Hugh Singleton's print of The vocacyon of Johan Bale is dated 1553, and
he died between July 1592 and 1593. Herbert gives the date of Singleton's
ed. of Fox's Instruction of Christen Fayth as 1550. (Dibdin's Ames, iv. 290.)
The copy of the Sheep-Tract mentioned in Ames as among the Harleian
pamphlets is not now in the British Museum. It was the same edition as the
missing Lambeth copy, having an e in onely and housholde in the title.—F.
THE EFFECTS OF SHEEP-FARMING.

Put into figures, the first calculation (p. 98) will stand thus:—

40 plows decayed in each county:

1 plow = 6 persons. :: 40 plows = 240 persons.

In addition each plow yielded 30 qrs. corn. :: 40 plows = 1200 qrs. Allowing 4 qrs. to each person, this shows a further loss of 300 persons.

Total in each county 540 persons.

But if there be 80 plows less in each of these shires, "as we do think" (p. 99), this number will be doubled, and in each county 1080 persons are deprived of their means of support.

In the writer's own touching language we may say, "Now these persons had need to have living: whither shall they go? into Northamptonshire? And there is also the living of an equal number of persons lost. Whither shall then they go? Forth from shire to shire, and to be scattered thus abroad, within the King's Majesty's Realm where it shall please Almighty God; and for lack of masters, by compulsion driven, some of them to beg, and some to steal" (p. 98).

These Reformation Tracts are submitted to the careful attention of all who wish to study this period of our history, in the firm belief that the only way in which Englishmen can form a correct estimate of the wonderful change the country then went through, the causes which led to it, and the means by which it was brought about, is by placing in their hands all the contemporary documents which are within our reach.

J. M. Cowper.

1 The calculation on p. 101 suggests a condition of things too frightful for belief:

1 Plow kept besides producing corn sufficient for 50,000 plows × 13½ = 675,000 persons

thrown upon the country; which, supposing the population to have been 5,000,000, would be one-eighth of the whole population, and reveals a state of things worse than that which exists at the present day, when every twentieth person receives parish relief, exclusive of the "beggars" who swarm on our highways, tramping from Union to Union because they can't sleep in the same "house" two nights together.
A

Supplicacyon for the Beggers.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 1529,

AND (AS IS BELIEVED) BY

Simon Fish.

NOW RE-EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.
TO THE KING OVR souereygne lorde.

Most lamentably compleyneth theyre woful mystery vnto your highnes, youre poore daily bedemen, the wretched hidous monstres (on whome scarcely for horror any yie dare loke,) the foule, unhappie sorte of lepers, and other sore people, nedy, impotent, blinde, lame, and sike, that live onely by almesse, howe that theyre nombre is daily so sore encreased, that all the almesse of all the weldisposed people of this youre realme is not halfe ynough for to susteine them, but that for verey constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischifes is comen vppon youre saide poore beedmen, by the reason and there is, yn the tymes of youre noble predecessours passed, craftily crept ynto this your realme an other sort (not of impotent, but) of strong, puissaunt, and counterfeit holy, and ydell, beggers and vacabundes, whiche, syns the tyme of theyre first entre by all the craft and wilinesse of Satan, are newe encreased vnder your sight, not onely into a great nombre, but also ynto a kingdome. These are (not the herdes, but the raunious wolues going in herdes clothing, deuouring the flocke,) the Bisshoppes, Abbottes, Priours, Deacons, Archdeacones, Suffraganes, Prestes, Monkes, Chanons, Freres, Pardoners and Somners. And who is abill to nombre this idell, supplication.
who work not, but have the third of the land in their hands;

with the tithe of corn and wool, &c.,

and of every servant's wages,

as well as the good-woman's eggs, or else she has no Easter rights.

Then, they gain much by probates, private tithes and masses,

for which dead men's friends must pay; and from confessions (which they divulge), from cursing and absolving.

Then again, how great is the number of the begging Friars.

In England are 52,000 parish churches, 10 households in each parish;

from each household the ruinous sort, whiche (setting all laboure a side) haue begged so importunatly that they haue gotten ynto theyre hondes more then the thred part of all youre Realme. The goodliest lordshippes, maners, londes, and territories, are theyrs. Besides this, they haue the tenth part of all the corne, medowe, pasture, grasse, wolle, elotes, culues, lambes, pigges, gese, and chikens. Ouer and biside, the tenth part of every servauntes wages, the tenth part of the wolle, milke, hony, waxe, choose, and butter. Ye, and they loke so narowly vpon theyre proufittes, that the poore wyues must be countable to theym of euery tenth eg, or elles she gettith not her ryghtes at ester, shalle taken as an heretike. hereto haue they there foure offering daies. whate money pull they yn by probates of testamentes, priu tithes, and by mennes offeringes to theyre pilgermages, and at theyre first masses? Every man and childe that is buried, must pay sumwhat for masses and diriges to be song for him, or elles they will accuse the dedes frendes and executours of heresie. whate money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions (and yet they wil kepe therof no councelye) by halowing of churches, altares, superaltares, chapelles, and belles, by cursing of men, and absoluing theim agein for money? what a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a yere? Howe moche money get the Sommers by extoreion yn a yere, by assityng the people to the commissaries court, and afterward releasing thapparance for money? Finally, the infinite nombre of begging freres: whate get they yn a yere? Here, if it please your grace to marke, ye shall se a thing farre out of ioynt. There are withyn youre realme of Englond .lij. thousand parisshe churches. And this stonding, that there be but tenne houshouldes yn euery parisshe, yet are there five hundreth thousand and twenty thousand houshouldes. And of euery of these houshouldes hath euery of the
five orders of freres a penny a quarter for every ordre, that is, for all the five orders, five pence a quarter for every house. That is, for all the five orders xx. d., a yere of every house. Summa, five hundred thousand and twenty thousand quarters of angels. That is cclx. thousand half angels. Summa cxxx. thou and angels. Summa totalis xlvii. thousand poundes and cccxxxiij. li. vi.s. viij. d. sterling. whereof not foure hundredth yeres passed they had not one penny. Oh grousous and Tourffighness's predecessors did peyniull exactions thynery to be paid from the not pay this, and whiche the people of your nobill predecessors, the kinges of the auncient Britons, euer stode fre. And this wil they haue, or els they wil procure him that will not give it theim to be taken as an heretike: whate tiraunt euer oppressed the people like this cruell and vengeable generacion? whate subjectes shall be abill to helpe their prince, that be after this facion yerely polle? whate good christen people can be abill to socoure vs pore lepres, blinde, sore, and lame, that be thus yerely oppressed? Is it any merueille that your people so compleine of pouertie? Is it any merueile that the taxes, fiftenes, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly of great compassion hath taken emong your people, to defend theim from the threatened ruine of their comon welth, haue bin so sloughtfully, ye, painfully leuied? Seing that almost the utmost peny that mought haue bin leuied, hath ben gathe ed bfore yerely by this rauinous, cruell, and insatiabill generacion. The danes, nether the saxons, yn the time of the auncient Britons, shulde neuer haue ben abill to haue brought their armies from so farre hither, ynto your lond, to haue conquered it, if they had had at that time suche a sort of idell glotons to finde at home. The nobill king Arthur had neuer ben abill to haue caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines, to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure, if suche five orders take, 20 pence a year, or in round numbers, £43,553 6s. 8d.

Your Highness's predecessors did not pay this, and no subjects can help their king if they are so fleeced; and none can give alms to us.

How will the taxes, which you have so tenderly taken, be levied? for these raveners have got all beforehand.

Neither Dane nor Saxon could have won Britain, if they had had such a brood at home.

Nor could Arthur have resisted Lucius, with such extortioners
among his people, nor the Greeks besieged Troy, yeuely exactions had ben taken of his people. The grekes had neuer ben abill to haue so long continued at the siege of Troie, if they had had at home suche an idell sort of cormorauntes to finde. The auncient Romains had neuer ben abill to haue put all the hole worlde vnnder theyre obeisaunce, if theyre people had byn thus yeuely oppressed. The Turke nowe, yn youre tyme, shulde neuer be abill to get so moche grounde of cristendome, if he had yn his empire suche a sort of locustes to demoure his subsaunce. Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme, that ye may se whether it drawe nighe vnnto the half of the hole subsaunce of the realme or not: So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue. Nowe let vs then compare the nombre of this vnkind idell sort, vnnto the nombre of the laye people, and we shall se whether it be indifferently shifted or not that they shuld haue half. Compare theim to the nombre of men, so are they not the .C. person. Compare theim to men, wimen, and children; then are they not the .CCCC. parson yn nombre. One part thersore, yn foure hundreth partes deuided, were to moche for theim except they did laboure. whate an vnequal burthen is it, that they haue half with the multitude, and are not the .CCCC. parson of theire nombre! whate tongue is abill to tell that euer there was eny comon welth so sore oppressed sins the worlde first began?

And whate do al these gredy sort of sturdy, idell, holy theues, with these yeerely exactions that they take of the people? Truely nothing but exempt them silues from thobedience of your grace. Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordishippe, auctorite, obedienece, and dignite, from your grace vnnto theim. Nothing but that all your subiectes shulde fall vnnto disobedience and rebellion ageinst your grace, and be vnnder theym. As they did vnnto your nobill predecessour
SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

king Iohn: whiche, forbicause that he wolde haue punished certeyn traytours that had conspired with the frenche king to haue deposed him from his crowne and dignite, (enowg the whiche a clerke called Stephen, whome afterward ageinst the kinges will the Pope made Bisshoppe of Caunterbury, was one) enteredite his Lond. For the whiche mater your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stooed tributary (not vnto any kind temporall prince, but vnto a cruell, deuelishe bloudsupper, dronken in the bloude of the sayntes and marters of christ) ever sins. Here were an holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly coude punisshe suche a righteous kinde, all his realme, and succession, for doing right!

¶ Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that coude thus enteredite an hole realme, and plucke awaye thobedience of the people from theyre naturall liege lorde and kinge, for none other cause but for his righteousness! Here were a blissed sort, not of meke herdes, but of bloudsuppers, that coude set the frenche king vpon suche a righteous prince, to cause hym to lose his crowne and dignite, to make effusion of the bloude of his people, oneles this good and blissed king of greate compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the bloude of his people then the losse of his crowne and dignite, agaynst all right and conscience had submitted hym silf vnto theym! O case most horrible! that euer so nobill a king, Realme, and succession, shuilde thus be made to stoupe to suche a sort of bloudsuppers! where was his swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become, wherby he mought haue done justice yn this maner? where was their obedience become, that shuld haue byn subiect vnder his highe power yn this mater? Ye, where was the obedience of all his subjectes become, that for maintenaunce of the comon welth shulde haue holpen him manfully to haue re-

King Iohn, when one of them interdicted the land;

and from that time the land has been tributary to a devilish blood-supper.

A holy sort of prelates to treat a righteous king so!

Holy men were they! hating one who more feared to shed blood than lose his crown;

but they had translated all power to themselves.
THE LUST AND BAWDRY OF THE MONKS, ETC.

sisted these bloudsuppers to the shedinge of theyre bloude? was not all to-gither by theyre polycy translated from this good king vnto theym? Ye, and what do they more? Truely nothing but applie theym silues, by all the sleyghtes they may, to haue to do with euerie mannes wife, euerie mannes daughter, and euerie mannes mayde, that cukkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all emong your subjectes, that nomaz shulde knowe his owne childe, that theyre bastardes might enherite the possessions of euerie man, to put the right begotten children clere beside their inheritaunce, yn subversion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by their absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people, wherby all the realme at length, if it shulde be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable.

But for them, 100,000 women would have lived honestly.

They carry disease from one to another, and boast of their success.

They draw women from their husbands.

1 Sir Thomas More points out the seeming contradiction between this sentence and the last: for if the monks were such good begetters of bastards, they would increase the population, rather than diminish it. But this is answered in the next page here.
SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

man, wife, and children, to ydelnesse, theft, and beggeri.

Ye, who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles oceean see, full of euilles, that this misc- cheuous and sinful generacion may lauffully bring vpon vs vnponisshed ? where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignite become, that shuld punisse (by punisshemenf of deth, euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murdres, and treasons committed by this sinfull generacion? where is theire obedience become, that shulde vnder your Grace vnto theim ?

Why should you not punish them as you do other men?

Evils numberless they bring on us.

Why should they not be married like other men?

What woman will work for 3d. a day, when she may get 20d. by sleeping with a monk?

How many men marry priests' ladies, just to get a living by it?

Who is she that wil set her hondes to worke, to get .iiij. d. a day, and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day, and may haue at lest .xiiij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sort are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies, but to cloke the prestes yncontinency, and that they may haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for theire laboure? Howe many thousands doth suche lubricite bring to beggery, theft, and idelnesse, whiche shuld haue kept theire good name, and haue set theim silues to worke, had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man? Oh the greuous shipwrak of the comon welth, whiche yn auncient time, biforn the coming yn of these rauinous
There were but few thieves, few poor, and those had given to them enough without asking.

Why wonder, then, there are so many beggars, thieves, &c.?

You cannot make laws against them. They are stronger in Parliament than you.

Who dare lay charges against them?

If any one does, he is accused of heresy:

Wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but fewe theues! ye, theft was at that tyme so rare, that Cesar was not compellid to make penalite of deth vpon felony, as your grace may well perceyue yn his institutes. There was also at that tyme but fewe pore people, and yet they did not begge, but there was given theim ynough vnaxed; for there was at that time none of these raunious wolues to axe it from theim, as it apparith yn the actes of thappostles. Is it any merueill though there be nowe so many beggers, theues, and ydell people? Nay truely.

¶ What remedy: make lawes ageynst theim? I am yn doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your owne parliament house then your sifte? what a nombre of Bisshopes, abbotes, and priours, are lorde of your parliament? are not all the lerned men in your realme in fee with theim, to speake yn your parliament house for theim against your crowne, dignite, and comon welth of your realme; a fewe of your owne lerned counsell onely excepted? whate lawe can be made against theim that may be aduaylable? who is he (though he be greued never so sore) for the murдр of his auncestre, rauisshement of his wyfe, of his daughter, robbery, trespas, maiheme, dette, or eny other offence, dare ley it to theyre charge by any wey of accion? and if he do, then is he by and by, by theyre wilynesse, accused of heresie. ye, they will so handle him or he passe, that except he will bere a fagot for theyre pleasure, he shal be excommunicate, and then be all his accions dasshed. So captuyue are your lawes vnto theym, that no man that they lust to excommunicat, may be admitted to sue any accion in any of your courtes. If eny man yn your sessions dare be so hardy to endyte a prest of eny suche cryme, he hath, or the yere go out, suche a yoke of heresye leyd in his necke, that it maketh him wissh that he had not done it. Your
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

grace may se whate a worke there is in London, howe the bisshoppe rageth for endytynge of certayn curates of extoricion and incontinency, the last yere in the warmoll quest.† Had not Richard hunne commenced ac-
cyon of premuuriire against a prest, he had bin yet a-
lyue, and none cretik, a tall, but an honest man.

† Dyd not dyuers of your noble progenitours,—
seyng theyr crowne and dignite runne ynto ruyn, 
and to be thus craftely translated ynto the hondes of 
this myscheuous generacyon,—make dyuers statutes for 
the reformacyon therof, emong whiche the statute of 
mortmayne was one? to the intent that after that tyme 
they shulde haue no more gyuen ynto theim.

But whate avayled it? haue they not gotten ynto 
theyre hondes, more londes sins, then eny duke ynto 
ynglond hath, the statute notwithstanding? Ye, haue 
they not for all that translated ynto theyre hondes, 
from your grace, half your kyngdome thoroughly? The 
hole name, as reason is, for the auncientie of your kyng-
dome, whiche was before theyrs, and out of the whiche 
theyrs is grown, onely abiding with your grace? and 
of one kyngdome made tweyne: the spirituall kyng-
dome (as they call it), for they wyl be named first, 
And your temporall kyngdome. And whiche of these 
ij. kyndomes (suppose ye) is like to overgrowe the 
other? ye, to put the other clere out of memory? 
Truely the kyngdome of the bloudsuppers; for to theym

† There is a custome in the Cytye, ones a yeare to haue a 
quest called the warmall queste, to redress vices; but alas,
to what purpose cometh it, as it is vset? If a pore man kepe 
a whore besides hys wife, & a pore mans wyfe play the harlot, 
they are punished, as well worthie. But let an alderman, a 
Ientleman, or a riche man, kepe whore or whores, what punish-
ment is there? Alassse, this matter is to bad.—The Lamenta-
cyon of a Christen against the Cyte of London (by Henry 
Brinklow, A.D. 1542), ed. 1548, sign. b. vii. back.

Quest or Quest Men, Persons who are chosen yearly in 
every Ward, and meet about Christmas, to enquire into Abuses 
and Misdemeanours committed therein, especially such as re-
late to Weights and Measures.—Kersey's Phillips, ed. 1706.
is gien daily out of your kingdome. And that that is
ones gyuen them, comith neuer from them again.
Suche lawes haue they, that none of them may nether
gyue nor sell nothing.
Whate lawe can be made so stronge against them
that they, other with money, or elles with other policy,
will not breake and set at nought? whate kingdome
can endure, that euer gyuith thus from him, and re-
ceyueth nothing again? O, howe all the substance of
your Realme forthwith, your swerde, power, crowne,
digniite, and obedience of your people, rynneth hedlong
ynto the insaciabill whyrlepole of these gredi goulafres,¹
to be swalowed and devoured!

Nether haue they any other colour to gather
these yerely exaccions ynto theyre hondes, but that
they sey they pray for ys to God, to delyuer our soules
out of the paynes of purgatorie; without whose prayer,
they sey, or at lest without the popes pardon, we coude
neuer be deliuered thens; whiche, if it be true, then is
it good reason that we gyue them all these things, all
were it C times as moche. But there be many men of
greate litterature and judgement that, for the love they
haue ynto the truth and ynto the comen welth, haue
not feared to put them silf ynto the greatest infamie
that may be, in abiection of all the world, ye, yn perill
of deth, to declare theyre oppinion in this mather,
whiche is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a
inguened by the couitousnesse of the spiritualtie,
onely to translate all kingdomes from other princes
vynto them, and that there is not one word spoken of
hit in al holy scripture. They sey also, that if there
were a purgatory, And also if that the pope with his
pardons for money may deliuer one soule thens; he
may deliuer him aswel without money: if he may

¹ Fr. Gouffrey, Gouffre: m. A gulf; whirlepoole, deepe
hole, or unmeasurable depth (of waters) that swallowes vp
whatsoever approaches, or comes into, it.—Cotgrave.
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGERS.

Again, they pray only for those who give them money.

They who cannot pay, are called heretics, and are burnt.

Christ, on the contrary, upheld powers, and paid tribute, which is their reason for withholding the New Testament in the mother tongue;

for they seek their own honour, not Christ's.

deliuer one, he may deliuer a thousand: yf he may deliuer a thousand, he may deliuer theim all, and so destroy purgatory. And then is he a cruell tyraunt without all charite, if he kepe theim there in pryson and in paine, till men will giue him money. ¶ Lyke wyse saie they of all the hole sort of the spirueltie, that if they will not pray for no man but for theim that gyue theim money, they are tyrautes, and lakke charite, and suffer those soules to be punisshed and payned vncheritably, for lacke of theyre prayers. These sort offolkes they call heretikes, these they burne, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make theim bere fagottes. But whether they be heretikes or no, well I wote that this purgatory, and the Popes pardons, is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes; wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaue more to the temporall kingdome, he hym silfe paid tribute to Cesar, he toke nothing from hym, but taught that the highe powers shuld be alweys obeid: ye, he him silf (although he were most fre lorde of all, and innocent,) was obedient vnto the highe powers vnto deth. This is the which is their great scabbe why they will not let the newe testament go a-brode yn your moder tong, lest men shulde espie that they, by theyre cloked ypochrisi, do translate thus fast your kingdome into theyre hondes, that they are not obedient vnto your highe power, that they are cruell, vnclene, vnmerciful, and ypochrites, that thei seke not the honour of Christ, but their owne, that remission of sinnes are not gien by the popes pardon, but by Christ, for the sure feith and trust that we haue in him. Here may your grace well perceyue that, except ye suffer theyre ypocrisie to be disclosed, all is like to runne vnto their hondes; and as long as it is couered, so long shall it seme to every man to be a greate ympiete not to gyue theim. For this I am sure
All are of my opinion, Lords, Knights, and yeomen; else the statute of mortmain robs us of salvation.

And one offender paid only £500 fine; your grace thinketh, (as the truth is,) I am as good a man as my father, whye may I not aswell gyue theim as moche as my father did? And of this mynd I am sure are all the loordes, knightes, squire, gentilmen, and yemen in england; ye, and vntill it be disclosed, all your people will thinke that your statute of mortmayne was never made with no good conscience, seing that it taketh away the libert of your people, in that they may not as laufully by theire soules out of purgatory by gyuing to the spiritualte, as their predecessours did in tymes passed.

Wherfore, if ye will eschewe the ruyne of your crowne and dignite, let theire ypocrisye be vthered; and that shalbe more spedfull in this mater then all the lawes that may be made, be they never so stronge. For to make a lawe for to punisshe eny offender, except it were more for to giue other men an ensample to beware to committe suche like offence, whate shuld yt avayle? Did not doctour Alyn, most presumptuously, nowe yn your tyme, ageynst all his allegiaunce, all that ever he coude, to pull from you the knowlege of suche plees as long vnto your hyghe courtes, vnto an other court, in derogacion of your crowne and dignite? Did not also doctor Horsey and his complices most hey-nously, as all the world knoweth, murdre in pryson that honest marchaunt Richard hunne? For that he sued your writ of premunire against a prest that wrongfully held him in ple in a spirituall court, for a mater wherof the knowlege belonged vnto your hyghe courtes. And whate punissshement was there done, that eny man may take example of to beware of lyke offence? truely none, but that the one payd fine hundreth poundes (as it is said) to the bildinge of your sterre chamber; and when that payment was ones passed, the capteyns of his kingdome (bicause he faught so manfully ageynst
A SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGgers.

your crowne and dignite,) have heped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded tenne tymes as moche. The other (as it is seid) payde sixe hundreth poundes for him and his complices, whiche, forbycause that he had lyke wise fought so manfully ageynst your crowne and dignite, was ymmediatly (as he had opteyned your most gracyous pardon,) promoted by the capiteynes of his kingdome with benefice vpon benefice, to the value of .iiij. tymes as moche. who can take example of this punisshement to be ware of suche like offence? who is he of theyre kingdome that will not rather take courage to committe lyke offence, seyng the promocions that fill to this men for theyre so offending? So weke and blunt is your swerde to strike at one of the offenders of this croked and peruers generacyon.

¶ And this is by the reason that the chief instrument of your lawe, ye, the chief of your counsell, and he whiche hath youre swerde in his hond, to whome also all the other instrumentes are obedient, is alwayes a spirituell man, which hath euere suche an inordinate loue vnto his owne kingdome, that he will mainteyn that, though all the temporall kingdoms and comonwelth of the worlde shulde therfore vtterly be vndone. Here leue we out the gretest mater of all, lest that we, declaring suche an horrible carayn of euyll ageinst the ministres of iniquite, shulde seme to declare the one onely faute, or rather the ignoraunce, of oure best beloued ministre of rightousnesse, which is, to be hid till he may be lerned by these small enormites that we haue spoken of, to knowe it pleynly him silf. But whate remedy to releue vs your poore, sike, lame, and sore, bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely. The moo the worse; for euere the fatte of the hole foundacion hangeth on the prestes berdes. Dyuers of your noble predecessours, the other, £600; and each has received many times over what he was fined, from pluralities. Thus others will be encouraged to commit like offences, so weak is your power to strike the offenders.

The reason is that your Chancellor is a priest, who loves only his own kingdom.

Many hospitals will not help us, for the priests will get the best part, as they have done with your ancestors gifts.
MAKE THE STURDY LOOBIES WORK.

They are paid for masses, yet never say one.

Your Grace should build us a sure hospital, and send these loobies to work for their living.

Genesis iii. 19.

Whip them at the cart's tail that they take not our alms; so shall we decrease, and your power not pass from you;

Your people will obey you, the i the work, people marry, be rich, have the gospel preached, none beg,

kings of this realme, haue gyuen londes to monasteries to give a certein somme of money yerely to the poore people, wherof, for the aunciente of the tyme, they giue neuer one peny: They haue lyke wise giuen to them to haue a certeyn masses said daily for them, wherof they sey neuer one. If the Abbot of westminster shulde sing euery day as many masses for his founders as he is bounde to do by his foundacion, M. monkes were to fewe. wherfore, if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs, all your poore bedemen, so take from theim all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world, to get theim wiues of theire owne, to get theire liuing with their laboure in the swete of theire faces, according to the commaundement of god, Gene. iiij. to gyue other idell people, by theire example, occasion to go to laboure. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about every market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they, by theyre importunate begging, take not awey the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vunto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen. Then shall, aswell the nombre ofoure forsaid monstrous sort, as of the baudes, hores, theues, and idell people, decrease. Then shall these great yerely exaccions cease. Then shall not youre swerde, power, crowne, dignite, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you haue full odedi-

ence of your people. Then shall the idell people be set to worke. Then shall matrimony be moche better kept. Then shal the generation of your people be encreased. Then shall your comons encrease in richesse. Then shall the gospell be preached. Then shall none begge our almesse from vs. Then shal we haue ynough, and more then shall suffice vs ; whiche shall be the best hospitall that euer was founded for vs. Then shall we
daily pray to god for your most noble estate long to endure.¹

Domine salus mea.

¹ Sir Frauncys Bygod, about 1534, in his Treatise concerning the profytes of benefices thus supports the last remedy of the Beggers Supplicacyon:

But & as man might (sausing their pacynce) be so bolde with them / what mater were it (vnder correction I speke) if all these improytable sectes / and strange sturdiye route of idle paunches were a lytell poorer / to thende that the trew relyingon of christ might thereby somethynge be sette vp and avaunised / and syffycynt company of the ministers of goddes true worde prouyded for in all partes. I praye you / what an idle sorte be fouunde and brought vp in Abbeyes / that neuer wyll laboure whyles they ben there / nor yet when they come thence to other mens servyce / in so moche that there goth a comen proverbe: That he which hath ones ben in an abbey, wyll euer more after be slouthefull / for the whiche cause they ben called of many men / Abbey loutes or lubbers. And some saye that many of our holye fathers spende nat a lytlet vynt my cosyn Iane / Elsaabeth and Marget (ye knowe what I meane) inso-moche that / that euer they be most popysshed of all / & knowe none other god almost than the grete drasacke of Rome / can nat deny this to be trew.

Page 6. Priests' immorality. The women were occasionally to blame. In a story told by the author of the Monagier de Paris, a young wife married to an old husband from whom she gets no solace, thus answers the question of whom she will love: "Mère, j'aimeray le chapellain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieux craignant honte, et sont plus secrets. Je ne vouldroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tôt, et gaboroit de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages* à engager." Compare Robert de Brunne's complaint in his Handlyng Sygne of these women who will have priests. But the lechery of the monks, &c., is continually complained of throughout Early English Literature; see the series of extracts on this subject in my Ballads from Manuscripts, p. 59—86 (Ballad Soc. 1868), and The Image of Ypocrcye, ib. p. 194-5, &c.

Page 6. Check to the increase of Population by the not-marrying of the Clergy. This is complained of in the Record-Office MS Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupton, written by Starkey, one of Henry VIII's chaplains, which Prof. Brewer has recommended us to print, and which we have had copied. Lupton is made to say: "I haue thought long & many a day a grete let to the increse of chrystian pepul, the law of chastye ordeyned by the church, whych byndyth so gret a multytyde of men to lyue therafter, as, a secular prestys, monkys, frerryes, channonyes, & nunnyes, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal nomber; by the reson wherof the generacyon of man ys maruellouly let & mynyshyd. Wherfor, except the ordynance of the church were, (to the wych I wold neuer gladly rebel,) I wold playnly Iuge that hyt schold be veray conuenyent somethynge to relese the band of thys law; specially consydering the dyffyculty of that grete vertue, in a maner aboue

* Peut-être faudroit-il bagues, effets, joyaux.—J. Pichon.
nature..." Pole answers "... in this mater I thynke hyt were necessary to tempur thys law, and, at the lest, to gyue and admyt al secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberly, coysedyryng now the grete multytude and nowmubr of them. but as touchyng monakys, chanonyys, freyys, and nunysys, I hold for a thyng veray conuenyent and mete, in al wel-ordeynyd commyn welys, to haue certayn monasterys and abbesys, to the wych al such as, after laulful proue of chastyte before had, may retyrre, and from the besyynes and vanyte of the world may wythdraw thenselvhe, holly gyuyng theyr mydys to prayer, study, and hye contemplepayyon, thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete comfort to many febul and very soulys, wych haue bryn oppressyd wyth worldly vanyte. but as touchyng the secular prestys, I vitturly 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 also; among the wych a nother chefe, aftur my mynd, ys thys:—that grete multytude of servyng men, wych in servyce spend theyr lyfe, neuer fyndyng mean to marry conuenyently, but lyue alway as commyn corruptarys of chastyte."

Page 7. The good luck of a wench who is taken as a priest's concubine is, noticed in the Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II. (Camden Soc. Political Songs, 1839; Percy Soc. 1849), "And well is hire that first may swich a Parsons kacche in londe," ib. p. 62.

Pages 9 and 12. Richard Hunne's case. "In the year 1514, a citizen of London, named Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor, fell into a dispute with the parson of a country parish in Middlesex, about a gift of a bearing-sheet, which the clergyman demanded as a mortuary, in consequence of an infant child of Hunne's having died in his parish, where it had been sent to be nursed. Hunne made some objection to the legality of the demand; but it is probable that he was secretly inclined to the new doctrines, and that this was the true cause of his refusal. Being sued in the spiritual court by the parson, he took out a writ of premunire against his pursurer for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign jurisdiction, the spiritual court sitting under the authority of the pope's legate. This daring procedure of the London citizen threw the clergy into a fury, and, as the most effectual way of crushing him, recourse was had to the terrible charge of heresy, upon which Hunne was apprehended and consigned to close imprisonment in the Lollard's Tower at St Paul's. After a short time, being brought before Fitzjames, bishop of London, he was there interrogated respecting certain articles alleged against him, which imputed to him, in substance, that he had denied the obligation of paying tithes,—that he had read and spoken generally against bishops and priests, and in favour of heretics,—and lastly, that he had 'in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.'* It appears that Hunne was frightened into a qualified admission of the truth of these charges; he confessed that although he had not said exactly what was asserted, yet he had 'unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which,' he added, 'I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my Lord's charitable and favourable correction.' He ought upon this, according to the usual course, to have been enjoined penance and set at liberty; but, as he still persisted in his suit against the parson, he was the same day sent back to his prison, where, two days after, namely, on the 4th of December, he was found

* Foc., p. 737.
suspended from a hook in the ceiling, and dead. The persons in charge of
the prison gave out that he had hanged himself; but a coroner's inquest came
to a different conclusion. According to the account in Burnet, the jury 'did
acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge
of that prison;' and, by other proofs, they found the bishop's summer* and
the bellringer guilty of it. It may be suspected that the excited feelings and
strong prejudices of the coroner's jury had perhaps as much share as the
weight of circumstantial evidence in winning them to the belief of this not
very probable story; but, be that as it may, the violence and indecency
shown on the other side were fully equal to any they can be thought to have
displayed. While the inquest was still going on, the Bishop of London and
his clergy began a new process of heresy against Hunne's dead body. The
new charges alleged against Hunne were comprised in thirteen articles,
the matter of which was collected from the prologue or preface by Wycliffe to
the English Bible that had been found in his possession. He, or rather his
dead body, was condemned of heresy by sentence of the Bishop of London,
assisted by the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and by many doctors of
divinity and the canon law; and the senseless carcase was actually, on the
20th of December, committed to the flames in Smithfield. This piece of
barbarity, however, shocked instead of overawing the public sentiment. The
affair now came before the parliament, and a bill, which had originated in
the Commons, was passed, restoring to Hunne's children the goods of their
father, which had been forfeited by his conviction. This, however, did not
put an end to the contest. When the Bishop of London's chancellor and
summer had been charged on the finding of the coroner's jury as both
principals in the murder, the convocation, in the hope probably of drawing off
attention to another part of the case, called before them Dr Standish, who had
asserted the claims of the civil power in a debate before the king, and put
him upon his defence for what he had said on that occasion; and an appeal
was made to the conscience of Henry, that he would not interpose to shield
the delinquent from justice, as he regarded his coronation oath, and would
himself escape the censures of holy church. Henry's headstrong and despotic
character had scarcely yet begun to develop itself; his pride as a true son of
the church had received no check from coming into collision with any of his
other selfish and overmastering passions: when the convocation, therefore,
assembled him in this manner on the one hand, and the parliament on the other
likewise addressed him 'to maintain the temporal jurisdiction, according to
his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies,' he
was thrown into great perplexity. So, to free his conscience, he commanded
all the judges, and the members both of his temporal and his spiritual councils,
together with certain persons from both houses of parliament, to meet at
Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. This was done accordingly; and
the discussion was terminated by the unanimous declaration of the judges, that
all those of the convocation who had awarded the citation against Staudish had
made themselves liable to a prenuirre. Soon after, the whole body of the
lords spiritual and temporal, with all the judges and the king's council, and
many members also of the House of Commons, having been called before the
king at Baynard's Castle, Cardinal Wolsey, in the name of the clergy, humbly
begged that the matter should be referred to the final decision of the pope at
Rome. To this request, however, Henry made answer, with much spirit, 'By
the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings

* Or summer, the officer employed to cite parties before the ecclesiastical courts, more commonly called the apparitor.

SUPPLICACYON FOR THE BEGGLERS.—NOTES.

SUPPLICATION.
of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time.' The renewed solicitations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the matter might at least be resitted till a communication could be had with the court of Rome, had no effect in moving the king from his resolution; and Dr Horsey, the Bishop of London's chancellor, against whom warrants were out, on the finding of the inquest, for his trial as one of the murderers of Hunne, seemed to be left to his fate. At this point, however, the clergy, or perhaps both parties, saw fit to make advances towards an accommodation: it was agreed that Horsey should surrender to take his trial; that he should not stand upon his benefit of clergy, but plead not guilty: and that, satisfied with this concession, the attorney-general should admit the plea, and the prisoner be discharged. This form was gone through, and Horsey immediately left London, where, it is said, he never again showed his face. Dr Standish, however, was also, by the king's command, dismissed from his place in the court of convocation, so that the issue of the business by no means went altogether against the clergy. But, besides the augmented popular odium to which they were exposed, from the strong suspicion that was entertained that Hunne had been murdered, a heavy blow had been undoubtedly dealt at their favourite pretension of exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts in criminal cases."—Macfarlane's Cab. Hist. of England, vol. VI., p. 113—116.

Page 12. Doctor Alyn. By the sayd power Legantine, he [Wolsey] kept also generall visitations through the Realme, sending Doct. John Alein, his Chaplein, riding in his gowne of Velvet, & with a great traine, to visite all religious houses.—Foxe, 1576, 3rd edit., p. 960.

Page 2. The tenth part of every servuante's wages. "Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative; is that not much through the realm in a year? There is no servant but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages."—Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian Man, Parker Soc.'s edit. of Tyndale's "Works," vol. I. p. 237.
A Supplycation

to our moste Soueraigne Lor-
dej Hung Henry the Eght, Hung of En-
gland, of Fraunce, and of Irelande, & moste
ernest Defender of Christes Gospell: Supre-
me Heade under God here in Erthe,
next & immediatly of his Chur-
ches of Englande and
Irelande.

(Matthi. iv.

The harwaste is greate, but the laborers are fewe. Wherefore praye the
lorde of the harwaste to sende forthe laborers into his harwaste. . . . . .
A Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght, Kynge of England /, of Fraunce /, and of Irelande, &c.

M Ost dreade Soueraigne Lorde & most Christen Prynce, / when I remembre the lamentable & wonderfull great blyndnes wherein the most parte of all Englande, not onely of the layete, called the temporaltie /, but also of the clergie, / haue pytuousely erred and wandered many hundereth yeres /, acceptinge /, reputynge /, & most vngodly, / erronyously /, and blyndely /, estemynge the bysshop of Rome to be supreme head over & aboue all Christen congregations; and in dyuener other poyntes suche as be touchynge the necessarye articles of our faihte; I coulde not but meruell how, and by what meanes, suche pestilent errores and horrible darke blyndenes coulde, or myght, ente /, invade, & ouerflowe this your realme /, & to contynewe so longe in the same /, not espied /, perceyued /, nor repelled. Consideringe, that by all that tyme and space, this your realme (as the most parte of men dyd then judge and esteame) was well endowed /, replenyshed /, and furnyshed with many profounde lerned clerkes /, wherof some were bysshops, arche-deacons /, deanes /, prebendaries /, parsons /, doc-tours /, bachelars in deuinite /, & other profounde

When I remem-ber the blind-ness in which the clergy and laity of England have wandered many hundred years,

I can but marvel why such errors have been allowed to continue.

Considering the number of learned men in this realm,

clerks of both universities,

A six-line ornamental initial letter in the original.
lerned clerkes in bothe the Vniuersytees, which were / grave /, sage /, & auncyent fathers. Contemplatinge and reoluungse these things in my mynde—not a lytle /, troubled /, and vexed with the same /—I applied me with all my powre & dyligence, exquysytely to serche & to knowe the originall grounde & cause therof. And, in conclusyon, amongst other things it chaunced me to reade in the .v. chapter of Ezay a proposition that mucche lamenteth the captynuite and bondage which commeth & groweth to all people for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde /; sayeng /, “Therfore commeth my flocke also into captynuite /, because they haue not understandinge /; their glory is famysched with hunger /, & their pryde marred with thyrst'e. Therfore gapeth hell and openeth her mouthe meruelously.” By this text, gracious Lorde, it appeareth that all myserable blyndenes, captynuite, & bondage vnder synne /, commeth for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde. I had forgotten, at that tyme /, that Christ reproued the Pharasees /, sayeng /, “You erre not knowinge the Scriptures;” which reprove and re-buke shulde haue ben a suffycient admonycon and doctrine to me, and to all other; wherby we myght haue knownen that all errore commeth for lacke of understandinge & knowleage in the Scriptures. But by what reason, then, could there be suche errore and blyndenes for lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde in this your realme, most grauyeuse Lorde /, seing there were suche profonde clerkes, & auncyent fathers /, bysshops, and studentes in the same /, which dyd teache & preache vnto the people continually? The Apostle Paul, in the .vi. chapter to Timothe, descrybeth two kyndes of doctrynes /; the one he calleth a godly doctrine & a doctrine of helth /; the other he calleth a proude doctrine, full of vnprofitable questions /, struyynge more for wordes than for godly knowleage /;
WANT OF KNOWLEDGE.

"wherof spryngeth envy/, stryffe/, raylings/, euyll surmysyngs/, & vayne dysputacions of men with corrupte myndes, destytute of the trueth/; which thinke that lucre is godlynes." This kynde of lernynge and subtle dysputacyons vnto this daye we call scole_—f. in the latter we must separate ourselves.

This kynde of lernynge and subtle dysputacyons vnto this daye we call scole_/ the latter matters/; from the which Paul commaundeth all Christyans to separate them selues. Soche clerkes, sayeth y. Ti. iij. Paid_/ be "euer lernynge/, but neuer atteyne 

lie knowleage of the trueth." With suchewayne, vngodly, and vnprofitable lernmge/; this your realme, most re

ungodly learning, and this comes: If the preaching and teaching of suche scole men & subtyll disputers/; otherwise called deceuyers. Which was one of the causes of our myserable blyndnes/, and of dyuere errors and abuses spronge vp and crept into this your Graces realme. For certeynely, if the clerkes, of this your Graces realme/, had bene endowed with true knowleage of Gods Worde/, and had also syncerely preached the same/, although the clerkes, of this your realme/; yet they shulde haue so longe con-

tynewed in the same/, but we shulde haue bene delyuered through the Worde cleery from them. As Christe saieth: "If you continue in my wordes/, then are you my very discipes/; shall knowe the trueth/; & the trueth shall delyuer yow/; and make you free." Threfore, most dread Soueraigne Lorde/, seinge that all erroure/, spyrytuall blyndnes/, myser-

able captyuite/, and seruyle bondage vnto synne, commeth for lacke of knowleage and syncere vnderstandinge in the Holy Scriptures/; and, of the contrarye partes/, through the knowleage & syncere vnderstandinge of the Holy Scriptures, we knowe God our Father and his Sonne, Ihesus Christ, our Lorde/, which is eternall liffe/; we be also become free from all condempnation of synne. And through the syncere and true know-

There is too much vain, ungodly learning, and this comes: If the preaching and teaching of the Schoolmen, for which the clergy are to blame, because they do not sincerely preach God's word. 

As all errors spring from a lack of knowledge of the Scriptures, and through the knowledge of them we know God, Io. v. Io. xviij.
and become His children, nothing is so necessary as God's Word.

Treason, murder, theft, adultery, and such, trouble nations;

Prover. xiiiij. and these the faithful try to avoid and abolish,

Gal. v. endeavouring to crucify the flesh, and by faith to do all good works.

Rom. v. God's Word is the comfort of the Christian, who has no refuge, no help but this.

Mat. iiiij.

Roma. xiiiij.

Heb. xi.
men maye well perceyue / that, by the lawes, and by the iuste execution of them /, although synne maye be for a tyme cohybyted and restrayned /, yet it can not be suppressed and abholyshed /, but onely through fayth. For there was neuer more godly lawes made for the punyshmente of synne /, nor neuer more iuste and godly executyon of lawes admynistred /; and yet there was neuer more synne raygynyng. For cyuyle lawes made by man / can not be of greater eff:ecyce or strength /, nor worke greater perfectyon, vertue, and good wyll in man /, than the lawe of God: but the lawe of God not onely worketh no obedience or vertue /, but rather, through occasyon taken of the in-firmyte of the fleshe /, steareth vp synne, / as sayeth Paul: "I knowe not what iuste dyd meane /, except the lawe had sayed, thow shalte not luste. But synne toke an occasyon by the meanes of the commandemente /, and wrought in me an maner of concepiscence:/ for verely, withoute the lawe, / synne was dead." "I ones," sayth Paul /, "lyued without lawe ; but when the commandement came /, synne reuyued, / and I was dead /: and the very same commandement, which was ordeyned vnto lyffe /, was founde to be vnto me an occasyon of deathe." But nowe, gracious Lorde /, for asmoche as it appeareth / that the lawe of God was not geuen to take awaye synne /, but rather to declare and to punyshe synne ; moche lesse any lawe made by man / can auoyde and put away synne. But fayth is the true instrument appoynted by God /, wherby synne is overcomen & exiled. As the Scripture sayeth /, that "God through faiithe / dothe puryfye & make cleane all hartes." Also Christ sayeth /: "Nowe are yow cleane /, by the meanes of the wordes / whiche I haue spoken vnto you." This faythe shall cause /, noryshe, and breade / true obeydycence /, and all other vertues, in your Graces subiectes hartes /; wherby they shall be

Sin cannot he suppressed except through faith.

There never were more godly laws made, and laws never were better enforced than now; and yet there was never more sin.

God's law does not bring obedience, but rather stirs men up to sin, as St Paul says it did with him. 

Re. viij.

Re. viij.

The Law of God was given, not to take away, but to punish, sin.

Act. xv.

Io. xv.

Faith will produce and nourish true obedience to the laws of God and man.
enforced to labour, not only to observe & kepe Godes lawes /, but also all your Graces ordnances, commandementes, and lawes /, without grudge or murmuracyon. This faythe, as the Apostle sayeth, "commande the by hearinge" of Gods Worde preached /; wherof byshops, parsons /, vicars /, & suche other, called to haue spirituall cure /, be, or shulde be, dylygent mynisters /; to whose vocatyon instely parteyneth to declare and publyshe Gods Worde, synerely & truely, / to all the people commytted to their spirituall charge. Most myghty Prynce, wherfor, if the pastours appoynted to preache & teache Gods Worde /, within this your Graces realmne, / doo not dyligently instructe & teache the people commytted to their spirituall charge with the sayd Worde, / accordinge as they be commanded in the Scriptures, Act. xx., i. Pet. v., and Malache. ii.¹; all kynde of synne shall increase and abounde, / & the people vytterly be devyded. As sayeth the Holy Ghoste: “When the worde of God is not preached, the people perysheth.” Also the Wyse Man sayeth: “All men be vayne in whom there is not the knowleage of God.” Wherfore, without any doubt, the wante and lacke of preaching of Gods Worde sychere and truely hathe bene the very originall grounde and cause of all the insurrection, / commotion /, [and] dyscention /, which hathe rysen, or begone, within this your Graces realme, or any parte thereof. For through the want of preacheyng of Gods Worde sychere, have entered in all popishe blyndenes /, vayne & dead ceremonyes /; memes tradycyon be crept into the conscientes of the symple innocentes, in the steade of the lawe of God. Yea, ydolatrye, and all hypocrysye, with detestable superstycyon, for lacke of the lyght of Gods Worde /, is become Gods servyce. And yet, notwithstandinge this wante & lacke of knowleage in Gods Worde & the

¹ Orig. xx.
Many monks are admitted to the cure of souls, having neither learning nor godly qualities; some of them never knew what a soul is, and certainly were never able to have cure of souls. This increases ignorance and sin, and leads to the damnation of the souls committed to their charge. Patrons and incumbents do not regard God’s threatenings Ezek. xxxviii.¹

¹ Orig. xiiiij.
You have eaten the fat, but the flock you have not nourished."

One shepherd cannot attend two or three flocks, especially when they are far distant.

And to adventure his life for the defence of the sheep.

i. Pe. v.

His example, his pains and labours,

his humility, his love and care, should be seen by all men.

shulde not the shepherdes feade the flocke /? yow haue eaten vp the fatt, / yow haue clothed yow with the wolfe /, the best fedd haue yone slayne /: but the flocke haue yow not noryshed/.” Heauen and erthe shall muche rather perishe /, than these wordes, wherwith God threatened suche pastours, shalbe found vntrue /; that is /, “I will requyre my flocke of the handes of the shepherde.” Suerly, most myghty Prynce, it is to busye an office /, to muche and laborouse, for one spirituall shepherde, (although he were very expert and connynge) to guyde, ordre /, and kepe /, two or thre flockes of shepe /, specially beyng so farre dystant one from an other /, that the sayd shepherde can not be dayly present with them /, to se the governance of them /, whose nature is dayly to falle into dyuere offences and spirituall dyscases. For the office of a good shepherd is, not onely to feade his shepe in good pasture /, but also to seke the lost shepe /, to call agayne the strayed shepe in-to the ryght waye /, to salue and to make hole the broken which is broken by aduersyte /, the weake and sycke shepe in the faythe /, with the comfortabe promyses of God /, declared in the Gospell /, to make stronge & constant; and, in conclusyon, to aduenture his liffe (if neuer requyre) for the defence of his shepe /.

Ever circumspecte, lyeng in wayte / to resyst the roringe lyon /, whiche neuer slepeth /, "goinge abowte and seakynge whome he maye devour." Suche, I saye, shulde be their diligence and dayly cure over their flocke shewed /, that, not onely their shepe /, but also all other /, seing and perecyvinge¹ their greate paynes and labours sustayned and taken for the helpe and counforte of their shepe /, the gentle enterlayninge with all pacyence /, humlyyte, & meakenes /; the fatherly love /, cure /, and affeccion, which the said byshops and other pastours shulde

¹ Orig. scing and preecyvinge.
daylye shewe /, exercyse, & practyse towards Christes flocke, commyttted to their spirituall charge; shall iudge them, not onely good shepherdes, which enter in by the dore, / but also shall receyue & take them to be most gentle /, prouydent, kynle, / & lovinge spirituall fathers. But, most prudent Gouernoure, how shall this fatherly cure /, love /, zeale /, & affection /, be shewed by the pastoure to his spirituall shepe, which daylye cowcheth and wayteth in your Graces householde and courte /, and in other noble & worshipfull meanes howses /, attendinge to please men whych is called onely to serue God? And, not withstandinge his callinge to be a shepherde to feade Christes flocke, / yet he will scase se and visyte them ones in the yere. And when he visyteth his shepe /, what ghostely coun-cell he geveth them /, God knoweth. But, for the more parte /, he loketh more to his owne profett than to their wealthe. Alas! the ambicyouse appetyte & burnyng covetuouse desyre of the yere ly commodities /, profettes, and advauntages of the benefyces /, hathe vttterly extynguished and supped vp the spirituall love /, zeale, and affeccion which ought to be in the spirituall shepherdes. So that nowe it is straunge and wonderfull to se, or knowe, one iustely to execute his office. Is this the honowre of any kyng, or of any other gouernowre /, that, vnder the cloke and colour of hys servyce /, a byshope or pryste, called to feade the flocke of Christe /, shall leuue the same vntaugeth /, and so transgresse the commaundement of Christe for the pleasure of men? Haue not kynges and other rulers suffcient to endowe their chapelaynes /, without retayninge suche which haue receyued lyuinge and stypende to be in their churches feadinge Christes flock? This is tomoche dishonoure to the higher powers /, agaynste Goddes commaundement & word, to retayne an other mans servaunte. But certenly although he does not visit his flock above once a year, and when he does what counsel he gives them, God knows. It is wonderful to fid one sheperd who does his duty. Should a king so transgress for the pleasure of men? Kings and rulers keep chaplins who have other livings, which is a great dishonour to the commands of God.
The Privileges of Chaplains.

Anno xxi. Henrici xij.

Chaplains to the Royal Family and others may hold two livings, and every duke, marquess, earl, viscount, archbishop, bishop, and others, may keep two chaplains.

Chaplains may be non-resident, and so may pilgrims.

If there had been godly shepherds we never should have agreed to this statute.

Are benefices nothing but your Highnes, or other rulers, wolde nether call nor retayne suche ambycious and blinde guydes and couteouse pastours, yet they their selfe will, by their fynydes, make importunate sute, and laboure to be in service with youre Magestye, and with other rulers. The cause is thys (one inconuenyence graulted, many folowe): there is a lawe made in this your noble realme, that all spirittuall parsons of youre counsell maye haue thre benefyces with cure. And all the chaplaynes of the Kynge, Queene, prynces, or of any of the Kyngs children, brethren, sisters, vncles and auntes, maye haue lycence to haue two benefyces with cure. Every duke, marques, erle, vycounte, archebysshope, bysshope, with dyuers other estates, aswell men as women, maye haue two chaplaynes which maye haue two benefyces with cure.

And also dyuerse other degres of scole maye haue evry one two benefyces with cure; so that ouer one of his cures, although he take the profytes, yet from that he muste neades be no resydent; and, peraduenture, to bothe he wilbe no feader nor teacher. And also, in the same statute, all attendaunce in the courte and all other attendaunces vpon suche noble and worshipfull men which be lycenced to haue chaplaynes, maye be not resydent; yet yea, pylgrymes, in the tyme of goynge and commynge from their pylgrymage, be by that statute dyspenced to be non resydent. O Lorde, where was the light of thy worde, which shulde haue bene written in the hartes of the makers of that statute? If there had ben godly shepherdes, which had dyligently executyd their office and callynge, we had neuer wandered so blyndely to agree or consent to the makynge of any suche estatute. Doo we, which thinke vs Christen men, esteame spiritual benefyces to be nothinge els but lyvings to be geuen at owre pleasure to prystes for seruyce done? Is not the benefyce geuen...
PATRONS NEGLECT THEIR DUTY.

in respecte of a spirituall offyce to be executyd & done? Doth not God commaunde straytely shepherdes to feade their flocke dyiligently? Can man, or any lawe made by man, dyspence with Gods commaundement? O Lorde, in thy handes be the harte of all kynges and other rulers /; enlyghten theyr harte, Lorde, with the light of thy worde, that they maye knowe and see this pestylent yll blyndenes /, which so longe hathe caused thy shepe to wander in darckenes. And, when they perceyue it, they maye haue grace and tyme to reforme the same, to thy glory and the helpe of this realme. And I shall euer desyer of God, and wishe in my harte, to all suche as be called to be attendaunte nere youre Magestie, and all other gouernowres /, that for any carnall lone /, fanoure /, or affectyon whiche they beare to any man for kyndred /, friendshipe /, luker /, or otherwise /, they doo not make any suche vngodly suytes, petycions, or requestes to your Highnes, or to any other gouernoure, for any parson to be ad-mytted to any offyce, other spirituall or temporall /, whome they doo not certeynly knowe, by most certeyne and sure proves and witnesses /, to be apte /, meate /, and conuenyent, aswell in lernynge as in condycions /, to excercise, vse, and to occupye suche offyce and rome /, wherunto he, by suche their sute m[ade] /, shulde be called /, appoynted, and admytted (not onely for the shame, rebuke, and troble whiche, vpon dewe examynacion had, and founde contrary to their vntrewe sute) myght come and growe to them /; but also for the euyll incommodyte and pestilent myschef which shall ensewe to all suche which shalbe commytted to his or their gouernaunce & charge. Alas, that euer amongst the Chrysten flocke, shulde be knownen or sene that suche office, which in Christes churche shulde be the most godly /, most necessary /, most spirituall, and most pro-fytable, bothe to the bodye and sowle /, nowe is become

living to be given at pleasure? God commands shepherds to feed their flocks, and man’s law cannot dispense with God’s.

I desire that patrons present only such to any temporal or spiritual office as are well known to them to be fit for the duties required, because of the mischiefs which may arise from such wrong appointments.

Alas, that the most godly office should become one of honour and lordly dignity,
IGNORANT MINISTERS

and the possessor have neither virtue nor godliness!

It is needful to be circumspect in the choice of ministers,

and to deprive such as are unfit, because they either cannot or do not execute their office,

and put others into their places.

Such as do not their duty

are images, bearing only the name and appearance of bishop or pastor,

a worldely honowre, a lordely dygnyte, a riche, carnall, prowde lyuinge, estate, and countenance; and the possessor thereof, hauninge onely the name of a spirituall minyster, but no vertue nor godly qualyte, which of right ought to be in every suche minister. If this be well pondered and remembred, most mercyfull Gouvernowre, it is most to be lamented. But seynge this blyndnes hathe so longe contynewed, & somoch ewill hathe ensewed & folowed therof, in the defaulte of godly pastours; it is not onely nedefull aboue all things to be circumspect in chosyng ernestly tryed, experte, and well lerned ministers to preache Gods worde sincerye, but also to compell the same to be demurante, abydinge, and resydent vpon their cures. And all suche whiche be crepte into benefices for luker & aduauntage, vpon vntrewe suggestion and false fayned sutes made, which can not or doo not feade their flocke, to depryue them of suche benefyces, because they other can not or doo not execute the offyce to that belonginge. Suerly no wyse man lyghteth a candell and putteth hym vnder a bushell. And if he set vp a candell (which, other for lacke of talowe or for other cause, can not geue light) shortly he taketh hym downe and putethe an other which can geue good light in his place. So all godly wyse men will order all spirituall lightes, which in dede can not geue godly lighte for lacke of spirituall grace which shulde be in them. For byshops and other pastors, which be chosyne & instytuted contrary to the ordynaunce appoynted & prescribed by Gods Worde, which other doo not or can not execute the offfyce perteyninge to his or their callynge, be not godly & trewe byshops, but rather images & idolles, hauninge and bearinge onely the name and outwarde appearance of a byshoppe or pastor. But as concernynge the lernynge, vertue, &

1 Orig. postours.
MUST BE DEPRIVED.

other godly qualitie whiche parteyme & be of greate necessitye and iustyce requysyte to be in every godly pastor, / they haue nothinge lesse. For if Christ (which sayed to Peter "from henceforth the I make the a fysher to catche men") do not endowe the offficer wyth lernynge /, grace, / power, & good will to preache his worde, before patrons present hym to any suche spirituall office; / the electe and admytted, notwithstandinge the admyssion and patrons presentment, / shall contynually abyde and remayne an hypocryte /; and suche one, which dothe not enter in by the dore /, but presumeth to enter withowte a weddynge garment, / whom Christ condempneth to outwarde darkenes /, and also calleth the hym a thief /, whose rewarde, withowte doubt /, shalbe, at the daye of the laste judgement, with thefes /; if he repent not, and reasygne vp hys offfyce, which he can not execute, fulffyll, and perfome. Wherfore I mystruste not but that all suche which haue power to present and to admytte theyr clerkes to spirituall offfyces, readynge this lytyle boke for the dis-charge of theyr conseycyee, and for the glory of God /, the commoditye and vtylite of the common wealth (which will ensewe the godly presentacyon and admys-son of well lerned /, approued, & godly clerkes to spirituall offfyces) will, from thenceforth, applye and conforme them to the forme and maner of electyon of spirituall mynysters appoynted, prescrybed, and lynytted by Godes Worde /, which is this:—That every man chosyn to vse any sprywtuall offfyce /, shulde be fyrste well proved, aswell for theyr lernynge as also for theyr other vertuouse condycions. Fyrst for theyr lernynge, wherwith they muste not onely be able to enstructe and teache the people commytted to theyr spryrytal charge /, but also able to reproue other which resyst the same doctrine /, with many other godly qualitie. As it appereythe in the fyrste Epistle SUPPLICATION.
of Paul to Tymothe and also to Tytc. Nowe, moste myghty Defender of the Christyan religyon /, seinge that Godds Worde hathe prescrybed and declared that every man, which shalbe called and appoynted to be a spyrirituall mynister, muste fyrste be proved and knowne howe godly and spirytually he hathe enstructe and taughte the people /; what lernynge he hathe in the Scriptures /, and not in the lawes /, to reproue errours and to condempne heresyes ; what paynes he hathe taken in preachynge Godds Worde /; and also whether he hathe geuen good example of lyuinge accordinge to his doctrine. In this maner every Christian ought to proue his clerke before he other present or admytt hym. But nowe also, moste benyngne Lorde /, cousydre of Remember why your ancestors gave byshopries, and other patrons gave livings. Kings have given bishoppes to chancellors' chaplains, to almoners, clerks of the closet, and others; while God's Word disapproves of all such gifts. Noblemen have followed their example, and to have given good example of living. Remember why your ancestors gave bishoppes, and other patrons gave livings. Kings have given bishoppes to chancellors' chaplains, to almoners, clerks of the closet, and others; while God's Word disapproves of all such gifts. Noblemen have followed their example,
HAVE BESTOWED LIVINGS.

sonages, & vicarages /; gening them to their chap-
laynes /, or to other, for kyndred in bloude, or for
alyannce; / or els to suche as have ben surveyours of
thier landes, / receynoures of their rentes /, stuardes of
their housholde /, faconers /, gardyners, or to suche
other whom they faunoure for suche worldely service &
qualytes. To suche they geue their benefyces as re-
wardes or wagies to hyrelynges, for suche service done /,
or to be done /; hauinge lytle or noo regarde to the
great charge and spirituall cure which, by Goddes
Worde, belongeth to all suche spirituall offices. For
kynges and rulers, in tymes paste, had noo lesse know-
leage of any thynge / then of Godes Worde, which the
subtyll byshopes & crafty prystes were ener studiouse
and desyrouse to kepe secrete from the hygger powers.

For so longe as Godes Worde was kepte secrete and
hyden from gouernours /, so longe the clergye dyd
leade, not onely the kynges /, but also, all gouernowres
& the commons, whyther they wolde. Thys was the
crafty polycye of the clergye /, to kepe the knowleage
of Gods Worde from all men /, that they myght un-
lawfully and unworthely be promoted to spirituall
cures / and vse the profettes of them vngodly /; and
that they myght also continually exercyse their lustes
and iniquyties. As Paul saythe: "They be agaynste
all men; forbyddinge vs to speake to the people
wherby they myght be saued /, that they myght fulfyll
their iniquyte and synne continually." Haue not some
of the byshopes, with their retynewe, at this daye prac-
tysed their olde polycye to extingyuyshe the light through
all Englande /, that they myght ones agayne leade vs
quetyly in darckenes? Is not there a lawe made,
through their crafte & subtylte, which geueth power to
certayne commyssioners, wherof the byshoppes chaun-
celer or commyssarye shalbe named to be two of the
commyssioners /, which shall haue full power to take

and have pre-

sentedy livings
to surveyors,
receivers of rents,
falconers,
gardeners, and
such like, as
wages to hireling?,
or as rewards.

Kings and rulers
were ignorant of
God's Word in
times past; the
bishops were
ever anxious
to keep it secret.

This was the
policy of the
clergy to keep
this knowledge
from all men
in order that
they might be
promoted to
spiritual cures.

A law is made
through their
craft appointing
commissioners
to receive & burn all books which are contrary to the Six Articles, according to their discretion.  

The intention is to take away all books against the primacy of the Pope, because no one can write against this without touching some of the Six Articles. They punish all who have any learning, calling them heretics, lest the iniquity of the clergy should be known.

No man who knows the Scriptures will marvel at this, Ioan. iij.

because he who does evil hates the light.

And since they have contrived to into their custodye all suche books wherein is conteyned any clause or artycle repugnaunte to any of the Syx Artycles, / and the same books to burne and dystroye, as to the discretion of thre of them shalbe thoughte expedient? Marke well what they purpose by this estatute. Are there any books which write agaynste the Popes prymacie /, but they also write agaynste some of the Syx Artycles? Their colour is to take awaye all bookes which wryte agaynste the Syx Artycles /; but their very intente, purpose, and meanyng is to take awaye all bookes, whiche conteyne any godly lernynge, that write agaynste the Byshop of Romes prymacy. Howe cruellly doo the byshops punyshe all them which pretende to haue lernynge, and specially in Gods Worde? Suche they call heretyques, and persecute with puttynge them to open shame /, with enprysonmente /, and, in conclusyon, with death the most fearefull and paynefull. All this they doo to dyscourage all men from the studye of Gods Worde / fearinge leaste that, by suche studiouse braynes which learne Gods Worde and publyshe the same, their iniquyte shulde be made manynest. What studye and paynes they take to kepe the light from the people! But no man, which knoweth the Scriptures, will meruell of this their policye and crueltye. For Saynt Iohan declarethe thei practyse playnely, sayenge: “He that doth euyll hateth the light” /; and why? because his workes, whiche be euyll, shulde not be reproved by the light. And, forasmuche as oure byshops countenaunce of lyuinge /, their great possessyons /, and lordely domynyons in them, agreeth with Gods Worde /, as death with lyffe /, God with the deuill /, light with darckenes /; therfore they hate the light which declarethe the same /, and studye to suppresse the same by all craft and polycye. And, seinge they can so craftely juggle, and haue suche frendshipe
and Fauloure\(^1\) to conuey /, [&] brynge to passe / that all bookes shall come into their handes vnder the coloure of the Syx Articles /, it is to be feared that, shortly, they will, by lyke crafte, subtylte and frendshipe, procure the Byble in Englyshe to be taken from the layete /; & then we shalbe ledd in darckenes by our byshops and other blynde gydes, and not pastoures, at theyr pleasure and will /; whiche is the effecte of all theyr study, laboure, and purpose. Nowe, most valcareant Defender of Christ /, it appeares the playnely howe many myseryes we be wrappe in /, through the vngodly electyon of suche as be admytted to haue spirytuall cure and office to teache Godds Worde /; whiche not onely haue lytle lernynge /, but also they be enemies to all men whiche can and doo preache Gods Worde sy[n]cerely and trewly, / because they lyue contrarye to the same /, as I haue before declared /. And this is the origynall grownde and cause of the abundance and increase of darckenes and of synne /; as also of the longe contynuaunce of popishe blyndnes whiche hathe raignd in this realme so longe. Wherfore, yf the byshops, and other elected and appoynted to be shepherdes accordinge to theyr vocatyon and callinge /, be not fyrste knowen and well proued to haue suche knowlage & godly doctryne /, so that they can, & also doo, instantely & dylygently preache Gods Worde, whiche is the light expellinge all darckenes of synne /, then muste nedes synne encrease & abounde, without any restraynte or brydle. “For if the light whiche is amongst yow be darckenes /, howe muche shall the darckenes be!” Youre Grace and your cyuile power doo punnyse synne /, when it is done and commytted /, accordinge to the iustyce of lawes /, as to your vocatyon & office of right belongethe to doo. But the office and dewtye of the pastor is to preache Goddes Worde /,

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\(^1\) Orig. fououre.
disposed to commit sin;

so that, through him, there is less sin,

the higher powers have less occasion to execute the justice of the law, and men's lives are preserved.

Wherefore it appears the good order of the realm depends upon the ministers of religion.

It behoves patrons to be very careful in the bestowal of their patronage.

If they present unfit pastors, such as do not feel the flock committed to them, *Ezech. xxxiiij.*

they consent to the death of souls,

wherby he shall convert the hart of the synner /, which is willinge & disposed to doo synne /, so that he shall not breake fourth to doo synne in the acte /, which the cyyle powre, for the example of other, by equyte and iustye is bounde to punyse. Therfore the dyligent executyon of the office of the pastoure shalbe the pryncipall meane and occasyon that lesse synne shalbe commytted; / and so the higher powers shall haue lesse occasyon to execute the extreame iustye of lawes /, and, consequently, many mens lyues, whiche nowe for lacke of the knowleage of Godes Worde shuld be loste for commyttinge murder /, felonye /, and suche other offences, / shall then be preserved that they shall not commyttte suche offences /, which the hygger powers, by the lawes of equyte & iustye, be compelled to condempne and to punyse with death. Wherfore, the godly tranquyllyte, reste, and peace of all this your realme, soueraygne Lorde /, and the good order of the same, hangeth and resteth moche vpon the godly and dyligent executyon of the office of pastors and of the spirituall shepherds, dewly called and admytted accordinge to Godes Worde. Therfore it be-houeth the presenter of the clercke to a benefyce and cure of sowles, to be cyrcumspect and well ware what clerke he doth present /; and that he haue good knowleage, experience, and prove of his clercke before he present hym. For, if a pastour doo not feade the flocke of Christe commytted to his charge /, the death of their sowles shalbe required of his handes. As the prophete Ezechiel sayeth in the .xxxiiij. chapi.: And if the patron willingly /, other for kyndred /, fauoure /, frenshippe /, service, or money /, present a clerke which he knoweth not to be so lerned in Gods Worde /, that he be able to instructe and teache the people commytted to his charge, bothe with the lawe of God and with the Gospell /, every suche patron consenteth to
the death & damnacion of the sowles commytted to
the charge of suche vnlearned preste. And therefore
suche a patron shall also be punyshed with lyke
payne /; whiche is eternall /, as the Apostell sayeth:
"Not onely they that doo euill /, but also they whiche
consent therunto, shalbe punyshed with lyke payne."

What wyse man liuynge wolde hyer a shepherde to
gouerne hys beastly & worldly shepe, which nother
wolde nor coulde feade /, handle /, salue, nor ones see
his shepe commytted to his charge? Suche a wyse
shepherde wolde shortly make his masters profet come
to lytle advauntage. Surely, a wyse man wolde chose
no suche shepherde. And if he were deceived through
the persuasyon of some of his frendes /, yet, when he
hathe proued that he hathe no comnyng nor dyligence /,
he will shortly dyscharge hym of his cure and seruice.

Shall we be estemed Christen men whiche hauye more
tender loue and affectyon to owre corruptible profett /,
than we hauye to the honowre of God & the eternall
wealthe of the immortall sowles of owre Christen
bretheren /, whom God commaundeth [vs] to lone as
owre selue? Christ ded not commytt to Peter the cure
and charge of his shepe, before he asked thryse of
Peter whethere he longed hym. As who shulde saye, I
wolde not commytt my best beloved ioywell and treas-
ure vnto the /, vnlesse thoue lone me hartely. I
wolde wyshe that all gouernowres and rulers in this
case wolde take example and folowe Christ, whiche,
knowynge the good wyll of Peters harte /, yet as one
ignorante therof, ded demaunde this question of Peter
before he ded commytt the cure of his flocke to hym /;
therby to gene example & common doctrine to all his
faythfull folowers, that they shulde haue suche tender
and feruent loue towards the Christen sowles /, that
they wolde not commytt the gouernance and cure of
them to any man /, but vnto suche of whom they haue

and will be punished with eternal pain.

Rom. i.

What man would hire a shepherd who
would not feed his sheep?

If a wise man
were deceived
by his friends'
persuasion, yet
he would soon
discharge him
from his service.

Io. xxv.

Christ asked
Peter whether he
loved Him, before
He committ
His sheep to
his charge;

He knew Peter's
good will, but
He asked the
question to give
example to all
His faithful
followers.

and patrons
should follow
this example.
prone & sure knowleage; that, aswell by their preaching & syncere teachinge of Gods Worde; as also by their vertuouse lyuinge consonante to the same Worde, they had vnfaynedly a faythefull harty loue towards Chrystes flocke. A blynde eye, which can not dyrecte and leade the bodye, is a blemyshe and a burden to the naturall bodye; and noo commodyte. In lykewyse a man, chosen to be a spyrytuall pastour, which hathe not the knowleage and grace to preache the lawe and the Gospell, is but a blynde eye, not able to dyrecte and leade the spyrytuall bodye. Wherfore, if any patron chose any such ingnorante man to be a pastoure, a spirituall eye and light to leade the spirituall sowles; he not onely deceyueth them, but also, as moche as lyeth in hym, kyllethe the bodye and dothe greate iniurye to Christes bloode. Now it maye please yowre Highnes to note and marke what myschef and inconuenyence folowe the electyon and admysson of an ingnorante pastour.¹ Fyrste, if an ingnorante byshope in Gods Worde be admytted, he can not execute his office because he knoweth not the Scryptures whiche teacheth hym what shulde perteyne to his owne office. And as the byshop is ignorant in Gods Worde, so he admytteth suche as be vnlerned in Gods Worde; evyn suche as by noo possybylite can execute the office of their callinge; idle parsons, vnhappy dromckerdes, swerers, common players at all vnthryftye games, in whom there is no chastyte, noo humylyte, iustye, nor temperance. For a conclusion, suche they admyte in whom there is noo holynes, godly doctrine, nor good example of lyuinge. To suche they commyte the healthe of sowles, the flocke of Christe, dearely bought with his bloode; by suche ydle and wicked harlottes the enheritaunce of Christe is troden vnder fote. All euyll condycions, maners,

¹ Orig. postour.
and doctrines by them be taught; so that in the stead of Holy Scripture is crepe in the doctrine of liyes, all supersticious, dead & vayne ceremonyes, and lyence to doo all kynde of synne. Some of the blynde ignorante pres tes teache the people that God is honowred, and sonles releued of their paynes, through the rynginge of belles, painting of postes, and settynge vp tapers and candelles before the sayd postes, whom the blynde pres tes doo bothe sence & spryncle with holy water. An other sorte of blynde shauelings teache the people to gett heuen with fastynge; this by fasting on this or that day, this or that daye, with trentalles and masses of scala cel i, with forbearinge of bodely wor kes & kepinge ydle holy dayes. They pr eache much holyne s and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle, holy creame, holy water, holy asshes, hallowed bedes, mumblynge of a numbere of psalmes in Laten, keapinge of church ales, in the whiche with leappynge, daunsynge, and kyssynge, they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke). And thus the blynde leadeth the blynde, that both fall hedlonge into the lake of eternall brenninge fyer. What naturall harte is there which will not lamente the misery, yea the dampan cion, most certe nly threatened by Gods Worde vnto all ignorante, and neglygent bysshopps, and other spiryttuall shepherdes, which doo not dylygently execute theyr office and vocation? What honest louinge harte doth not bewayle the habundaunce of synne, the longe myserable blyndnes, wherin this realme hath ben ledd and wrapped in through the ygnorancye and neglygence of suche blynde guydes? But is there any Chrysten harte which can forbere contynuall syghinge and mornynge, remembringe the multytude, yea, the infynyte numbere, of sowles (whiche without the greete mercye of God, passinge all his workes) through ing-

Some of them teach that souls are relieved by the ringing of bells, painting of pillars, setting up candles.

by fasting on this or that day, and keeping Holy Days. They say much holiness stands in holy oil, holy chrism, holy water, and such like, and in keeping church ales.

Thus the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the ditch.

Such things make all Christians mourn when they remember the huge number of souls which are utterly damned.
The country is overburdened with priests of one sort or another.

These idle parsons are no good.

but a harm to the State; they are robbers of the king’s subjects, who are deprived of the alms of many in the hope that prayers avail for the dead.

Many are encouraged to live wickedly by an ungodly trust in masses and dirges.

norancye & negligence of suche blynde shepherdes, be utterly cast awaye & dammed? What good cyuyle harte wolde not, I saye, lament and bewayle the greate burden wherwith this your realme (gracyouse Lorde) is ouercharged through the greate multytyde of chauntery prestes, soule prestes, chanons, resydensaryes in chathedrall churches, prebendaryes, muncke pen-cyons, morowe mas prestes, vnlerned curattes, prestes of gyldes and of fraternytees, or brotherhedes, rydinge chaplaynes and suche other ydle parsons; whyche yf they be well noted, and also what frute spryngethe of them, indyfTerewtly valewed, con-sydered, and pondered; it will appere manystely to all reasonable and godly wyttes, that they do brynge noo maner commodyte, profett, or vtylyte, other spirit-uall or temporall, to this your publycke wealthe. No, no! They be not onely no commodyte nor profett to the common wealthe, but rather moche hynderance. And truly no lytle wasters, spoylers, and robbers; and that of the most poore, indygen, and neadye of youre louinge subieetes, which be most craftely, subtelly, and vnrightuously depyued of the charytable succoure and almes of many symple, vnlerned innocentes, through a vayne hope and false confydence that theyr sowles shulde be releued and released of theyr paynes and tormentes dewe for theyr synnes, when they be departed this worlde, by the longe prayers of prestes. And (the more it is to be lamented) noo lytle nombre of your subieetes, through suche vngodly truste and confydence in masses and dyryges to be songe and celebrated for them when they be dead, be greatly encoraged to lyue both wickedly towards God, and also vnfrutefullly towards the worlde; lytle remembrynge and estemynge their vocacion & callinge, wherin God hath appoynted them to walke, and moche lesse the extreame necessitye of
AN IGNORANT PRIESTHOOD.

their Christen bretheren. This vayne hope in the longe prayers of prestes (no doubt, gracieouse Lorde) is a greate occasyon of moche pouerthe amongst the poore and needy of this yowr realme. For the spedy remedy of this pouerthe amongst your lounge subiectes /, and the vtter suppressyon of suche vayne hope in the prayers of prestes to be made for your subiectes when they be deade /, which is the greate cause of this myserable pouerthe /, it may please your Magestye, of your accustomed goodnes, to call to your gracieouse remembrance that all the people, of this your regyon, be subiect vnto yowr graciously power /, rule /, and dominion, as vnto their supreme hedd and gouernowre, dewly by God appointed to gouerne them onely durynge their naturall lyues /; but when it pleaseth God to take their sowles owt of this myserable worlde, / than yowr Grace is dyscharged of all gouernance /, cure, & charge over them /, as of suche which, after their death, doo not appertayne to yowr Grace /, nor be of your kyngedome /; but onely of the kyngedome of God /, vnder his gouernance, prouisyon, and rule. Into the whiche kyngedome, nother your Grace nor noo other ethely prynce, maye lawfully vsurpe or take any rule, prouisyon, care or gouernance /, for the sowles entered therunto. Seinge that your Grace haue no auctoryte nor power over the sowles departed /, yow be not onely dys-charged to gouerne, to care, or to prouyde for them, beinge deade /; but moche rather to prouyde that they maye not be deceyued so vnder the coloure of longe prayre /, but that they maye be taught syncrely Godds Worde, whyle they be lyuinge vnder your subiection, so that they maye beleue constantly and lyue godly /; and then, by Christes promesse, hell gates shall not prevayle agaistnste them /; moche lesse they shall haue any neade of suche straunge succoure and helpe of men /, nothinge appointed nor tawght by Godds Worde,
When you treat for the reformation of abuses, reform all which have no strength in God's Word.

All lands and possessions taken from religious houses should be given to support common schools, and to relieve the poor while they live under the king's subjection.

This would be better than to allow these possessions to be used under a pretence of relieving departed souls.

to be profitable or necessary for their souls after their death. Wherfore, I mistrust not but that your Magestye, when you shall next intreate for the reformation of the enormythes & abuses sprongen vp in the Christen religion /, yow will godly reforme suche abuse and dissembled covetousenes /, and certynely beinge no godly remedy nor helpe for souls departed, which hathe noo strengthe nor efficacy of Gods Worde /, which is the very trew foundacion of all the Christen religion and helpe for souls. And, in the meane season, I doo no lesse thynke, and also pray hartely to God, that your Magestye will provide and make ordinance /, that all suche landes and possessyons, whereupon so many ydle hypochrytes and deceyuers be greate burdeyn & charge to your realme /, which hytherto haue lyued vngodly and vnprouitabley /, maye, from henceforth, be partly converted to the supportation and mayntenaunce of common scoles /, wherby errours crepte vp through ignoraunce maye be through knowledge repressed /, and godly lernynge and knowlagement more pleantuously planted and admynistred /; and partly that your poore louing subiectes maye be more mercyfully releued & succoured /, whyle they lyue vnder your subjection, charge, and gouernaunce. This godly dystrybution (most prudent Soueraigne) of the landes and possessions, ordyned and appoynted for the counforte, socouere, and helpe of yowr poore louinge and lyuonge subiectes /, is moche more consonante and agreeable to Godds Worde, and more certyne dyscharge of your Graces conseyence, then to suffer the same possessyons to be vngodly caste awaye and consumed vnder suche false colowre and pretence to releue souls departed /; of whom your Magestye haue nother cure nor charge /, nor can not assure to them, by Godds Worde, through suche longe prayers of prestes, relese of paynes after their death /, or any other ayde, coun-
If prayers for the dead had been necessary, Christ would have said so.

Doctrin of Purgatory.

forte, or succoure. For, with owt any doubt (grayouse Lorde) yf suche hyred prayers had ben godly and necessary for the sowles departed /, other Christ or his Apostelles wolde haue taught it /, or, at the leaste, haue praysed or practysed it /; & not so manifestly reproned & threatened it /, sayeng:—“Beware of them whiche denoure wyddowes howses, vnder coloure of longe prayers /; theyr judgment shallbe moche longer.” In all the Newe Testament there is no mencyon made of any suche officer, nor offfyce instytuted, nor appoynted, to praye for the deade. And yet all men, I thynke, will confesse that the truethe of Godes Worde was most syncerely set forthe and preached in the tyme of Chryste & of his Apostles /; in whose tyme there was no suche craftye lemynge publyshed nor tawght by them /, nor longe tyme after. But then men stablysshed and grounded their religion and hope of healthe vpon Godds Worde /, which teacheth vs that who so beleueth not /, shallbe condempned. Betwene these extreame contraries there is no meane /; as Saint Augustijn saieth. Wherfore I exhorte all them (whiche contrary to all Holy Scriptures) truste to the thyrde place, and there to haue release of paynes through the longe prayers of prestes; / that they wolde geue ouer suche fayned fantasye of mea (subtylly ymagined only through insaciable couetuousenes of ambitcious prestes, to gett mony therwith to mainteyne their vngodly lustes /, and to lyue ydelye and delyclately) and to truste rather to the sure and infallably trewthe of Godds Worde /, which, withowt doubte, is to repent and beleue /, and vtterly to forsake all synne /; and than constantly to trust to Goddes promesse of mercy. Here manifestly apperethe, soueraygne Lorde /, in what miserable blyndnes the most parte of this your realme haue longe tyme be[n]
led /, yea, and almost drowned, through the longe custome vsed theryn. Who is it that can not lament (I saye) this deplorate & miserable sorte of blynde shepherdes? Be not they bowght with the same pryce wherwith we be bought, to be members of one bodye, wherof Christ is heade? If we be members of one bodye, certenly we can not then but taste and feale, not onely their euill /, but also the lamentable estate of al other caste awaye through them. Lorde, I truste the punyshemenst is past wherwith thow haste threatened the worlde to be punished with hunger and thriste; not with hungre and thriste of breade and drincke /, but for lacke of hearinge thy Worde. Yt is nowe tyme, Lorde, to shewe thyne accustomed goodnes & mercye /, for the whiche we doo dayly and hartely praye /, sayenge: "Through the tender mercy of God, wherwith he hathe vsyted vs /, gene light to vs which sytt in darcknes and in the shadowe of deathe /, to guyde our feate into the waye of peace." Also it is a daunger-ouse thinge to admitte one to be a spirituall pastoure, whose professyon and study all his youthe hathe ben in decrees and popishe lawes. For suche a study, for the most parte, ingedereth a popishe harte. If any suche be admitted to be a pastoure /, he shall not onely, other secretly in confessyon or by some other crafty means /, poysen his flocke with mans tradycio«s & popishe doctrine /, but also shall augment the popishe power /; for the abrogacion *wherof your Grace and your honorable Councell haue taken greate paynes & travayle. Nowe, eftsones, I truste that all men, which reade this lytle boke, shall perceyue therby what in-conuenyence & dampaunle eyyll ensweth the vngodly presentacyon and admysyon of the vnlernd in Godds Worde /, and carnall prestes to sprytuall offices.\footnote{1 This page is transposed in the orig., and stands where the next one should be.}  

\footnote{2 Orig. officers.}
And although such patrons have little zeal, yet for the
synguler and carnall love which they beare to their
clerkes (whom they addycte and bynde surely to
eternal damnacion , if they gene them suche spiri-

tuall offyces , whiche they neyther can nor will execute
and perfourme) or for the tender zeal and love which
they haue to the sowles so derely bought tyith
Christes bloode , they wyll, wyth all circumspection, prove
theyr clerkes that they be not onely well lerned in
Gods Worde , but that they also haue taken greate
paynes in preachynge the same , and that they haue
also lyued accordinge to their preachynge. Suche
expéryment and proue was commanded to be made of
weddowes , before they were admytte to lyue vpon
the charge of the congregacyon, as it appeareth in
Tymothy. *Muche more than eydent and sure proue
of pastours (whose offyce is soo necessarie) shulde be
hade and made before they be admytte to their spiri-
tuall offyce and charge. And, although the election of
the byshop and of other spirituall pastors in euery
poynte be hade and done accordinge as I hawe before
wryten , yct (most drede soueraigne Lorde) I see two
fowle deformytes and grete lamentable myschefes
annexed to the vocacyon & offyce of byshops , which,
not reformed, will poysyn and vtterly corrupte the
godly vocacion and electyon of the sayd byshops. The
one infection and pestylent poyson is there greate lord-
ships and domynions, with the yerely prouentes of
the same. Whiche hathe so fasshyoned them in proude
countenaunces and worldely behauoure , that nowe
they be moste lyke to heathen prynces, and moste vn-
lyke vnto Christe , although[ h ]e they wolde be esteamed
of all men to be his trewe successours ; yet poore Christ

1 This page from here is transposed; in the original it pre-
cedes the one just given.
sayethe:—“The foxes have hooles/, the byrdes of the 
ayre haue neastes/, but the sonne of man hathe not 
wherin to laye his head.” Butoure byshops haue 
gorgeous & sumptuouse buylded howses, maners, & 
castelles, pleaasuntely set abowte with parckes, well 
replenished with deare/; warrens swarmininge full of 
conyes/, and fyshe poole's well stored with dyuere 
kyndes of fyshes. And not onely these commodities 
and pleasures/, but also diuere other pleasures. Howe 
this lordely and worldely byshoplike estate agreeth 
with Christes wordes/; I thinke a man can not reason-
ably conyecture or ymagen, by theyr countenaunce and 
lyuinge/, that they be Christes trewe discipes. The 
2. They have too 
many cures and 
too much worldly 
business. They manage 
their estates in 
all their details; 

must hear testa-
mentary causes, 
divorce suits, 

and suche other 
matters not 
belonging to their 
vocation. My lord is so 
occupied with 
these things that 
he cannot find 
time to study or 
to preach.

Mat. vi[.] 

Art. vi.
that he hath exactly done his office. From these
greate maners commeth yere, greate rentes, pleasures,
& profettes /; which, althowgh the they be the good crea-
tures of God /, yet thabundaunce of them (beinge
where they be more impedyment than helpe) be a
greate occasyon of corruption in the vser of them.
And, peraduenture, they wolde allure and intyse
a byshops harte to truste in them and so corrupte hym /,
as the Scripture sayeth :— "Blessed is the ryche,
which is founde without blemyshe, & hath not gone
after golde, nor hoped in money and treasures /; where
is there suche a one and we shall commende hym and
call hym blessed /; for greate things dothe he amonde
his people." And if my Lorde Bysshoppe shulde
the superfluyte of his goodes to the poore (whose
goodes iustely they be) as the prophete Ezay sayethe /,
than my Lorde shulde lacke them to furnyshe his
lordely countenaunce /; and so my Lorde shulde loose
his lordely honoure and prayse of the worlde. Where-
fore, as these superfluyse possessions be annexed to
estates of bysshopps, by mans vayne fantasye and not
by Gods Worde /, so my Lorde Byshoppe wyll other
keape them to make hym more fryndes/, remembrynge
that "ryches makethe many fryndes /, but the poore
is forsaken of his neyghboure" /; or deuyse the exspence
of them contrary to Godes Worde /, other to make
sure fryndes in the courte aboute the kyngge, to obtayne
more promocions & benefices /, or in curiouse byyl-
inge /, sumptuouse and dely cate fare /, well appareled
seruauntes /, tryme decked horses, to ryde pompecusely
lyke a lorde. Althoughe there were no auctorite to
proue this /, yet the lordely countenaunce & fasshyon
of byshops /, yea, their common exercyse and also
practysye, can well proue and testyfye this playnely be-
fore the face of all men, which knoweth the lordely-
nes of bysshoppes. As the prophete Ezay sayethe :— *Esa. iiij.

The bishops use
their riches to
make friends,
or to bribe those
about the court;
or else in building;
fine living,
erservants, horses,
and riding like
lords.

His great income
might entice his
heart to trust in
it and so corrup-
him.

"Blessed is the
rich who is
found without
blemish, and has
not gone after
gold:

for he does
great things
among his
people."

Esa. iiij.

As the prophete Ezay sayethe :— *Esa. iiij.
"The chaungynge of their countenaunce bewrayeth them /, yea they declare theyr owne synnes them selfes as Sodomytes /, and hyed them not."  Doo not these thinges fayntely agree with the sayenge of theyr predecessor, Paule the Apostle, which sayeth:—"When we haue foode and raymente we muste be contented ?"  Is not this lوردely honoure dyrectely agaynste Chrystes wordes /, which sayethe:—"The kynges of nacyons raygne ouer them / and they that haue auctorite ouer them are called graciose lordes.  But yow shall not be so."  Also Peter speakethe to his trewe successors sayenge:—"Feade yow Christes flocke as-muche as lyeth in yow /, takynge the ouersyght of them ; not as compelled thernunto /, but wylyngelye /, after a godly sorte /; nor for the desyer of fylthy luker /, but of a good mynde /; not as thoughe yowe were lordes ouer the paryshe /, but that yowe be an example to the flocke /, and that withe good will."  But owre lوردely byshops estate, and proud countenaunce of lyuyng (as it is nowe vshed) is contrayre to Godes Worde /, as it appeareth by these worde:—"But yow shall not be so."  And also by these sayengs:— "Not as thoughe yow were lordes ouer the paryshe."  And Chryst sayethe:—"He that is not with me /, is agaynste me."  Wherefore, so longe as they raigne so lordely in the clergie, contrary to Godds Worde /, so longe be they against God.  And so longe as they be agaynste God /, they be not sente from God /, and then can they not preache trewly and sincereely his worde.  "For howe can they preache excepte they be sente?"  sayeth Paul.  Christe was sente to preache, as it appeareth.  Marc. i., Luue. iiij., and Ezaye. lx.  And Christe sayeth to all his trewe dyssiciplcs:—"As my Father sente me /, so I do sende yow."  And commaundeth also all his Apostles, & trewe successors of the Apostles, to

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\(^{1}\) Orig. s.j.
preach the Gospell to the holle worlde, and not lordely to raigne in the cleryge. Whom Paul teacheth to be as mynisters /, sayeng: "Lett a man this wise esteame vs /, euyn as the mynisters of Christe and the stuardes of the secretes of God." To preach the Gospell therefore (most graciously and prudente Lorde) is the trewe vocacyon and offfyce of all godly byshops /, parsons /, ycars, and of other shepherdes /; and not to be enbasadowrs to prynces, / nor to be iudges to here matters of contencyon, / testamentarye causes /, dyuorses /, sclaunders, / bawdery /, and suche other. Your Grace hathe, of your laye fee, suffycient bothe in lerninge, and wysedome, and of good conscyence, to here and iudge suche causes and varyaunces /; remyttynge byshops to attende their offfyce and vocacyon by God (and not by man) appoynted. And therfore they shulde not exercyse any other offfyce than God hathe appoynted to them. For "no man can serue two masters." And if byshops and other pastoures wolde dyligently execute theyr vocacyon and offfyce /, moche fewer of these matters of contencyon shalbe in vre and experience, other to be hardle or iudged. Seinge the Scriptures commannudeth so ernestly every man to walke as he is called, many Christen men meruell gretyly why the byshops deseire and procure so greadely to exercyse the offfyce perteyninge to an other vocacyon /, and to leue their vocacyon and offfyce (appoynted by God to them to be exercysed) not executed nor performed and done.

Verely bycause they loue the glorye of men / more then the glorye of God. And surely even as Cayphas and Annas, beinge byshops, and exercysynge the offfyce of seculer and temporall iudges, ded iudge Christ to be crucified /, so owr byshops, so longe as they, contrarye to their callynge, doo exercyse the offfyce of temporall iudges /, so longe shall they persecute Christe and his

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i. Cor. iiiij.
To preach the gospel is the vocation of all bishops and parsons, and not to be ambassadors or judges.

There are plenty of lawyers, learned and wise enough to hear and judge such causes, leaving bishops to attend to their own duties.

Mat. vi.

Men marvel why bishops strive after other offices, and leave their own vocation unperformed,

Joan. xii.¹
Verily it is because they love the praise of men more than the praise of God.

¹ Orig. ix.
There is business enough to employ them in their own office.

Sin reigns everywhere.

Costly apparel and change of fashions have made men who once could maintain 20 or 30 yeomen, and comfort many poor, now scarce able to maintain their own households.

These two things, costly apparel and varying fashions, especially of the women, are the chief cause of this altered state of things.

Men are compelled to sell their lands, or get in debt.

They have to burden their lands with provision for children who should have been provided for during life.

membres/, and study to suppress his worde/, and not to preache the same. Haue not they busynes suffycyent, wherwith to occupye them in their owne office? If they wolde loke well therunto/, doo not they see on every syde detestable synne raigne through-owt all this your realme? Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparell/, bycause of dyuersyte and chaunge of fashyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowwmen/, a good plentiful full howsholde for the releys and counforte of many poore and neadye/; and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes/, his wiffe/, her gentle woman or mayde/, two yowmen/, and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell/, and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fashyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe/, somtyme hoode/; nowe the Frenshe fasshyon/, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon/; than the Italiany fasshyon/, and then the Myllen fasshyon/; so that there is noo ende of consummyng of substance, and that vaynely, and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womens fantasye. Hereof spryngethe the great myserye and neade. The fathers consummyng theyrr goodes in vayne/ pryde/, and wanton lustes (called vpon by your Grace to serue yourr Magestye for the defence of this yourr realme) haue not to doo their dewtye/; wherby they be compelled to sell theyrr landes/, or els to bundeyne their fryndes/, or els to daunger them selfe in dette to many. Hereof rysethe it that the father is compelled to declare his will vpon hys landes to be executed after his death (when he can not occupye the same hym selfe) for the adaunauncement and helpe of his children, and the pay-ment of his dettes/, whom easly he myght in his lyffe
Vices among the People.

haue aduaunced, holpen, and dyscharged /, yf suche ryotuouse expenses had ben auoyded. The prophete Osee sayethe :—"There is noo treuwe the, no mercye, no knowleage of God in earthe /; cursyne, lyenge /, murede, thefte /, adulterye, hathe broken in" /; and yet doo owre shepherdes holde theyr peace. What commessacyon /, dronckenes /, detestable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorné "huntinge othes") extorcyon /, pryde /, couteuousenes /, and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /; agaynste the whiche owre byshops, and other pastoures, shulde continually crye owt /, as the Prophete sayeth:—"Crye nowe as lowed as thow canste /, leaue not of /, lyfte vp thy voyce lyke a trompett /, and shewe my people their offences, and the howse of Iacob their synnes." But, alas! they be bothe blynde and dome /, as the Prophete sayd:—"His watchmen are all blynde; they haue all together noo vnderstandinge /, they are all dome dogges, not able to barcke /; they are slepye /, folyshe are they, and lye snortinge /. They are shameles dogges that be neuer satysfyed. The shepherdes also in lyke maner haue no vnderstandinge /; but every man turnethe his owne waye /, eyrey one after his owne couteuousenes, with all his powre." What is the cause that they doo not execute this their offyce? Other bycause they can not /, or bycause they haue someche wordely busynes that they will not, apply them selfes to perfourme bothe. Or els they be afrayed to speake the twethe /, lest they shulde dysplease men. Whom Paul reproueth sayenge: "If I shulde please men, I shulde not be the seruaunte of Christe." Also the Prophete sayethe :—"God breakethe the bones of them whiche studye to please men /; they be confounded /,

1 Orig. v.  
2 Orig. lxvi.  
3 53rd in A. Version.
They love their possessions;

they will not displease men;

they will maintain their pride, and will continue in it;

_Esa. [lv]vj._

and so long as they continue in wealth and honour they will not do their duty, but rather persecute the Bible which declares what their duty is.

When the Pope was first endowed with great possessions, a voice was heard—

"Now poison is cast into the Church of God."

So long as honour and wealth are annexed to bishoprics, because the Lord dispyseth them." Notwithstanding, our byshops loue so well their greate domynions, whereby they maynteyne their lordely honoure /, that they will not dysplease men with preachyng the treuth /, lest they shulde then loose their greate possessyons /; and, consequently, their lordely glorye. But surely as longe as they possesse theyr greate domynions /, so longe they wyll contynewe and maynteyne their pryde. And so longe as they contynewe in pryde /, so longe they shall not recyue the Holy Ghoste /, whiche shall teach them to speake the treuth. "For vpon whom shall my Sprete reaste" (sayeth the Prophete Esaye) "but vpon the meake and lowely /, and vpon hym which feareth my sayengs." Also the Prophete sayeth: "God resysteth the prowde /, and vnto the meake and lowely he genethe his grace." Wherfore, so longe as the byshops contynewe in this worldely wealth and honowre /, so longe will they neuer do their dewtye and offyce /; but rather persecute the Worde of God whiche declarethe and shewethe what is their offyce and their dewtye. And so longe as they do not exercise their offyce and vocacyon /, but do persecute the Worde and suche as syncererely preach the same /, so longe shall synne increase. "For if the eye be wicked /, all the body shalte full of darcknes." For euyn as at suche tyme when the Byshoppe of Rome was fyrste endowed with greate possessyons /, a voyce was harde /, seyng:—"Nowe venome and poyson is caste and shed forthe into the churche of God." In lykewyse, no doubt, most godly Gouernoure /, semblable voyce and sayenge maye be veryfied in and vpon all the churche of Englande /, sythen yowr byshops were endowde with so greate possessyons and lordely domynions. No doubt, gracyous Lorde /, so longe as grete lordely domynions /, worldely honours and wealthe /, be anexed and knyt to the vocacyon and
offyces of byshops and other pastours /, these myscheues & inconuenyences shall euer ensue & folowe. Fyrste the moste prowde and ambycyouse /, the moste courtuouse and wycked, / which other by money, frendshyp, or flattery, can obtayne the benefyce /, wyll laboure with all study and polycye to geth the benefice, / only for the worldely honoure, and not for the zeale and loue which he shulde haue to enstructe and teache the people commytted to his cure and charge. And for the profett which belongethe and apperteynethe to the same benefyce /, they wyll dysssemble humlyyte and despeceyon of all worldely profettes and pleasures /, so colorablye and subtelly /, that yt shall be very harde for youre Magestye, or any other hauynge authorthyte, to gene benefyces, to perceyue them. And when they haue obteyned the benefyce /, than euer Christen man shall well perceyue that he hathe not entered in by the dore ; that is, for the zeale and loue, to doo and execute the offyce /, but hathe clymmed vp and assended by a nother waye ; / that ys, for the luker and honoure annexed to the offyce. And than certeuly, whosoeuer assendeth and enterethe in by a nother waye /, can not be but a thefe /, by daye and by nyght / ; whose study and laboure muste be to steale /, kyll /, and to destroy. As Christe (whose wordes muste euer be true) sayeth: —“The thefe commethe not but to steale, / to kyll /, and to destroye.” So that, so longe as so moche worldely profett and honoure belongethe to the benefyce, so longe wyll he that, for wante and lacke of lernyngge can not doo the offyce /, and also the moste coutuouse and proude, / wyll laboure to haue the offyce /, whereby the people commytted to his cure /, shall not onely be vntawght1 /, and not lerned in Gods Worde /, but also all they which can preache and teache Gods Worde and loue the same, / by suche

1 Orig. vntawght.
will be persecuted and tormented. a worldly wolfe, shall be extremely persecuted and tormented. For he can not but steale, kyll, and destroy, and utterly abhore, and hate the godly, as Christe sayeth:—"Yf you were of the worlde, the worlde wolde loue his owne. But because you be not of the worlde, but I haue chosen you from the worlde, thercfure the worlde dothe hate you." No doubt a man shall moche rather vpon thornes gather grapes, and vpon brambles and bryres gather fygges, than of soche greedy theues to haue any Chrysten relygyon, other setforthe, preached, or stablyshed. Wherfore (moste redoubted Prynce) seinge that theyr greate possessyons, ryches, worldlyl offyces, cures, and busynes, be the impedyment and let that they do not execute theyr vocacyon and offyce, which is so godly, profyt-able, and necessarie for this yowr common wealth;/ yowe beinge owr soueraigne Lorde and Kyng (whom God hathe called to gouerne this yowr realme, and to redresse the enormytes and abuses of the same), by all iustyce and equyte are bounden to take awaye from byshoppes and other spirytuall shepherdes suche superfluys of possessyons, and ryches, and other seculer cures, busynes, and worldlyl offyces, which be the cause of moche synne in them: and no lesse occasyon whereby they be letted to execute their offyce, to the greate losse and hynderance of moche faythe, vertue, and goodnes, which myght be admynistred to your subiectes, through the trew preachynge of Godes Worde. And that done, than circumspectly to take heed that none be admytted to be pastoures, but suche as can preach, and haue preached syncrely Godes Worde. And all suche as will not, to remoue them from theyr cures. This godly ordre observed in the electyon of spirittuall pastoures, and the pestylent poyson moued and taken away from theyr vocacyon, faiyte shall increase, and synne shall decrease;
obedience shall be observed wyth all humylite, to your Magestye and to the hygher powers by your Grace appoynted in office.

Cyuile quyetnes, reste, and peace shalbe stablyshed /, God shal be feared, honoured, and loued /, whiche is theeffecte of all Chri-sten lyuin-

ge.

O Lorde, saue our moste soueraygne Lorde, Kynge Henry the Eyght /; and graunte that he may ones throughly feale and perceyue what myserable calamyte, sorowe, & wretchednes we suffer now in these dayes a brode in the countre /, by these vnlerned /, popyshe /, and moste cruel tyrauntes /, even the very enemyes of Chrystes crosse /; whose payne shall be without ende /, when we shall lyue in ioye for euer. Graunte yet ones agayne, I say, goode Lorde, and moste mercyfull Father, through thy Sone Ihesus Christe /, that whan his Grace shall knowe and perceyue (by thy gyfte & goodnes) theyr most detestable wayes in mysusynge thy heretage /, that he wyll ernestly go a boute to se a redresse a monge them /; and to the penytent and contryte in harte to shewe his accustomed goodnes /, and to the other his iustycye /, accordinge to Saynt Paules doctryne /, and his Graces lawes.

And, moste dreade Soueraygne (with all humylyte and humblenes of harte), I beseeche your Grace / (accordinge to your accustomed goodnes), to take this my rude
I SPEAK FOR THE GLORY OF GOD.

as a fruit of my obedience,

and not of malice to any spiritual shepherd.

supplycayon to the beste /, as a frute of my obedy-
ence /, wheryn I haue not dyssembled /, but haue
opened fully vnto your Grace the grounde and very
botome of my hart ; / not of any grudge, euyll wyll, or
malyce that I beare to any spirytuall shepherde (God I
take to recorde), but onely for the glory
of God /, the honoure of your Gra
ce /, and the wealthe and profett
of your moste naturall
and louinge
subie-
tes.

FINIS.

¶ Enpynted in the yeare of our
Lorde .M. CCCCC. xliij.
in the moneth of
Decembre.

(EATURE )
A Supplication of the Poore Commons.

Proverbs xxii. Chapter.

Who so stoppeth his care at the crynge of the poore, he shall crye hym selfe, and shall not be heard.
To the most victorious Prynce Henry the viii. by the Grace of God Kyng of Englaunde, Fraunce, & Ireland; Defender of the Fayth, and Supreme Head of the Churche of England, and Ireland, immediatly next vnto God: his humble and most faythfull Subiectes of the Realme of England, wysh lyfe euerlastyng.

Pitously complaineth the pore commons of this your Maiesties realme, greatly lamentyng their owne miserable pouertie; and yet muche more the most lamentable and more thea wretched estate of their chyldren and posterite. Whose myserie, forsene and throughly considered, is and ought of very nature, to be more dolorous and sorowful vnto euerye naturall hert then that which we our selues feale and sustayne. Not many yeres tofore, your Highnes poore subjectes, the lame, and impotente creatures of this realme, presented your Highnes with a piteful and lamentable complaint, imputyng the head and chiefe cause of their penury and lacke of reliefe, vnto the great & infinite nombre of valiant and sturdy beggers which had, by their subtyll and crafty demaner in begging, gotten into their handes more then the third

The commons complain of their miserable condition, especially of their extreme poverty.

Some years ago the poor, lame, and impotent presented a petition against valiant and sturdy beggars, who had got into their hands more than a third of
part of the yearly reueneuwsse and possessions of this your Highnes realme. Wher vpon (as it semed) your Hyglines (sekynge a redresse and reformation of thys greate and intollerable enormitie,—as a mercifull father ouer this your natural country; moued wyth pitie towards the miserable and pitifull nombre of blind, lame, lazare, & other the impotent creatures of this your realme) hath, wyth most ernest diligence, supplantled, and, as it were, weeded out, a greate nombre of valiaunt and sturdye monckes, fryers, chanons, heremites, and nunnnes. Which disguised ypocrites, vnder the name of the contemp of this world, wallowed in riches, and removed many gilded beggers, whose holines was held in such esteem that we reverenced them as gods.

When they were abolished, like children,

we fell into an uproar, and, forgetting our obedience to the king, we behavied as the Ephesians did to S. Paul,

and the Jews to Stephen, when he said God dwelt not in temples made with hands,
on your parte, in appeasing that sturdy thronge, this realme had, euene then, ben like to haue bene utterly decayed. For euene those whome your Highnes had called to-gither to assiste you in that daungerous tyme, were (for the moste parte) so bente to the opinion of the other, that many of them woulde not stike to say, "When we shal come to the battaile,—we know what we haue to do." But nowe (the Lorde be thanked therefore) that your Highnes hath finished that your godly purpose, without bloudshed of your poore commones, and that the Worde of God hath ben so set furth & taught by your command[men]t, that euery man that lusteth may therin learne his dutie and office; we are fully perswaded, that all such as resiste the pours, whome God hathe ordeyned and appoynted to rule & gouerne the multitude of thys worlde, do not resyste man, but God. Be you certayne therefor (most graciose Prince) that we (your most obedient subiectes) walking in the fear of the Lord, wyl not from hense forth (so long as the knowledge of Godes Worde shall reigne amongeste vs) attempt any such so diuilish enterprise, as to rebel agaynst your Highnesse, our most natural Souerayne and Leage Lorde; either for our for-fathers popyshe tradicions, or other oure owne fantastical dreams; not withstandyng that the remenaunt of the sturdy beggers (not yet weaded out) do daylye, in theyr writynges, counsels, and preachynges, stere vs thereunto. For what meane they in their sermons when they lament the greate discord and myserable estate of this our tyme, wishyng that all thynge were nowe as it was .xx. yeares since, but that they woulde haue a Pope, pardons, lightyng of candels to images, knockyng and knelyng to them, with runnyng hither and thither on pilgremage; besides the infinit number of purgatory horseleches, on whom the vengeance of God is so manifestly declared for their beastly buggery, But you finished your purpose without bloodshed of the commons, and now we are convinced that to resist the powers is to resist God; and, so long as we are taught by God's word, will never rebel again, though we be tempted thereto by the beggers not yet weeded out.
They tell us that vice has prevailed since we had the Scriptures in English,

but their aim is to make us abhor the Bible.

They would have us as blind as we were when we would have fought against our king, for the maintaining of their popish traditions.

They have procured a law that none shall have the Bible in his house, unless he can spend £10 a year, but they only wish to famish men’s souls by withholding spiritual food.

Are the rich only in possession of souls? Christ said the Gospel was preached to the poor, and the Gospel, which they would shut

that the very places where thei dwelt, ar not thought worthy to be the dwellings of men, but the causes of bruit bestes and venemous worms? Thei tell vs what vice, vncharitablenes, lacke of mercy, diuercite of opinions, and other lyke enormites, haue raigned euer sence men had the Scripture in Englyshe. And what is thys other then to cause mens consciens to abborre the same, as the onely cause and originall of all thys? Thei say that it sufficeth a laye man to beleue as thei teach, and not to meddle with the interpretation of the Scriptures. And what meaneth that, but that thei would haue vs so blynd agayn, as we were when we would haue fought agaynst ours naturall Prynce, for the mayntenaunce of their popyshe traditions and purgatory patrimony? Thei cannot abyde this name, "the Word of God;" but thei wold haue the Scripture called the commanuement of God. And what meaneth this, but that thei are the same enemies of God, whom that two edged sword shall destroy? Finally, thei haue procured a lawe, that none shal so hardy haue the Scripture in his house, onlesse he maye spend x. pound by yere. And what meaneth this, but that they would famysh the soules of the residue, withholdayng theyr food from them? We appeale to your Highnes judgement in this behalfe, whither this lawe be indifferent or not. If none should be alowed meat in your Highnes house, but suche as were clothed in veluet, with chaines of gold about theyr neckes, what seruauntes wold your Maiestie haue shortly? What sternelynges would your seruauntes be aboue all other! For no man within your realme may refuse to do your Grace seruyce.

Hath God put inmortal soules in none other but in such as be possessioners of this world? Did not Chryst send word to Ihon the Baptist that the pore receyued the Gospel? And the Gospel that thei shutte vp from vs, was it not the writynges of poore fysher men and
symple creatures, even taken for the dregges of the world? Were not the setters furthe of it and the prophets also, persecuted, tormented, and slayne? And why do these men disable them for readers of the Scriptures, that are not indued with the possessions of this world? Undoutely (most gracious Souerayn) because they are the very same that shut vp the kyngdome of God before men; thei enter not them selues, nother suffer thei them to entre that wolde. They are lyke to a curre dogge lyying in a cocke of haye. For he wyll eate none of the heye hym selfe, nother suffer any other beast that commeth to eate therof. But some wyl peraduenture say, they were not all sturdy beggers that were in the Parlament when this lawe was established. For many of them, and the most parte were seculer men, and not of suche habilite that this lawe would permty them to haue the Scripture in their houses. Wherfore, this lawe is in-different, and taketh not the Worde of God from vs; but we wyth oure ful consent haue committed it to them, in the sayde lawe limyted. Where vnto we aunswer, that, if we haue geuen it ouer from vs to the possessioners of this worlde, we may well be lykened to the Gedarites, Marke v., which desired Christ to departe from theyr coutry, and the lurking night birds, which can not abyde the bryghte beames of the sou. We may boldly affirme that what man seuer doth wyttyngly and willingly forsake the knowledge of the lyuely Worde of God (the foode of our solles, and lyghte of oure footesteppes,) is none of the flock of Christ, forasmuch as his shepe heare his voyce, & reioyce in the same. Did thei that toke their names of anye philosopher, shut vp theyr masters doctrine from them selfe? Did thei not thynke them selues vnworthy to be named after their masters, vnlesse thei knewe their preceptes and rules? Did not the monks, friers, and other the supersticioys religious, employe all theyr

MAY READ THE BIBLE.

up, was written by poor fisher-men.

Those who preached it were persecuted and slain.

These men are like the dog in the manger.

But many who made this law were seculer men, and not rich enough to benefit by it.

The law is indifferent.

We answer, If we gave it away from ourselves to the possessors of this world, we are like the Gadarines.

We boldly affirm that whosoeuer forsakes God's word is none of His.

Those who took the name of any philosopher, studied his teaching; and thought themselves unworthy of him unless they knew his precepts; and the monks

SUPPLICATION.
studye to knowe their rules and statutes? Do not the Coelginers at this daye set the boke of theyr statutes at libertie, streightlye commaundyng eche felowe vnder payne of punishemente to employ them, to haue the through knowledge of the same? And shold we glory to be the flocke of Chryst, and to be called of him Christians, when we do willyngly and wittyngly exclud our selfe from the knowlege of the rule which he bathe commaundad vs to folowe, on payne of dampanation of oure soules? Would your Hyghnes thinke that man were willyng to do your commaundement, that would not diligently reade ouer your Highnes letters sent from you to certifie hym of youre wyll and pleasure in hys office? And what other thynge is the whole Scripture then the declaratioun of the wyl of God? Wer it lykely therfore, that we, excludyng oure selues from the knowledge therof, shold be willyng to do his wyl? If we haue therfore reected this mercifull profer of our moost mercifull Father, when he use youre Hyghnes, as hys instrumente, to publyshe and set forthe hys moost lyulycke Worde, wherin is declared the inestimable loue that he beare towards vs, in that he gane hys onelye Sonne to be an acceptable sacrifice for our synnes; and the vnspeakeable mercy which caused him to accept vs as iust, euyn for his Sonnes sake, without our workes or deseruenges; let vs now humbly fal downe prostrate before his Maiestye, wyth perfecte repentance of this, the contemplte of his mercifull gyfte; moost humbly besekinge hym, of his infinyte goodnes, tenderly to beholde the doloures of our hertes, for that we neglected so mercifull a profer; and to forget oure obstinacie ther in, geuynge your Hyghnes suche desire of oure saluation, that you wyll as fauorably restore vnto vs the Scripture in oure English tonge, as you dyd at the fyrst translation therof set it abrode. Let not the aduersaries take occasion
to say, the Bible was of a traytours settinge forthe, and not of your Hyghnes owne doynge. For so they re-
porte, that Thomas Cromwell, late Earle of Essex, was the chyfe doer, and not youre Hyghnes, but as led by
him. All thyse thei do to withdraw the mindes of vs (your Hyghnesses subjectes) from the readyng and study therof. Which thyng doth easely appere by the diligence they shewe in settyng furth and execution of
your Hyghnes proclamations and iniunctions concern-
yng the same. For when youre Highnes gaue com-
mandeuent that thei shoulde se that there were in
every parysh churche, within thys your Highnes realme, one Byble at the least set at libertie, so that
every man myght frely come to it, and read therin,
suche thynges as should be for his consolation, manye
of this wicked generation, as well preystes as other
their faughtful adherentes, wuld pluck it other into the
quyre, other elles into som pue, where pore men durst
not presume to come. Yea, ther is no smale numbre
of churches that hath no Byble at all. And yet not
suffised with the withholdyng of it from the pore of
their owne parishes, they never rested tyl they had a
commandeuent from your Highnes, that no man, of
what degree so euer he wer, should read the Bible
in the tyme of Goddes servise (as they call it); as though
the hearyng of theyr Latin yles, and coniurynge of
water and salte, were rather the servise of God, then
the study of his most Holy Worde, the onelye fooe of
our soules, and lyght of our fote steppes; wythout
whiche no man can walke vpyghtly in perfect lyfe,
worthy our name and profession.

This was theyr diligence in settyng forthe the
Byble at your Hyghnesse commandeuent. But when
your Highnesse had diuised a proclamation for the
burnynge of certen translations of the Newe Testament,
they were so bold to burne the whole Bibles, because

Bible was set forth by the traitor Thomas
Cromwell, and not by your Highness, except as led by
him.

Your proclama-
tion commanded
that a Bible
should be placed
in every church
throughout the
realm, so that every
man might
read it,
but many wished
to put it into the
choir, or into a
pew where the
poor man dare
not come;

and they never
rested till it was
decreed that no
man should read
it during God’s
servise, as they
call it.

When your
Highness gave
orders for
burning
certain trans-
lations of the
New Testament,
they burnt the whole Bible because the same men translated it.

See how they play bo-peep with your Highness's command, suppressing, where they dare, what you have allowed.

They wished the Bible called in, and promised a new translation in seven years.

In this they were like the criminal who saved his life by promising to teach an ass to dance in 14 years.

They trusted that in that time your Highness would be dead, or the Bible forgotten.

they were of those men's translations. And if your Hyghnesse would enquire of them whoe toke the paynes in translatinge the Great Byble that your Highnes hath authorised, we thynke they could not, for verye shame, denye, but, euen agaynste theyr wylles, graunt, that those poore men, whose paines & greate trauayle they haue rewarded with fire and banishment, were the doers ther of. See, gratious Prince, how they play bopipe with your Highnes commandementes, suppressinge, in al that they dare, the thynge that your Highnesse hath authorised; euen as it were men that loked for a faire daye, which we trust, in the Lorde Iesu, they shall never see. As we herd say, they proffered your Highnesse, that if it wolde please you to call in the Bible agayne (for as much as it was not faithfully translated in al partes) they wold ouer see it, and with in .vii. yeres set it forth agayne. A wiles; we think they haue red the story of a certen man, who, beyne condemned to die, proffered that, if he might haue his life, he would doo his prince such a pleasure as never man dyd, for hee wolde, wythin the space of .xiii. yeres, teach him an ase to daunce. Where vpon he had his lyfe graunted him, vpon condition that if he dyd not performe his promessd enterprise, that then he shoulde never the lesse suffer deathe. Thys done, he was demaundd of one of his familiers, why he was so madde to take vppon him such an enterprise, so farre beyonde all reason and possiblytie? He answered, "my frend, hold the content; I haue wrought wysly, for wyth in these .xiii. yeares, other the kynge, I, or the ase, shalbe dead; so that by thy meanes I shall escape thys reprochfull and shamfull death." So your byshope (most victoriouse Prince) if they might haue gotten in the Bible for vii. yeares, they wolde haue trusted that by that tyme, ether, youre Highnes shoulde haue ben dead, or the Bible forgotten, or els
they them selues out of your Highnes reache, so that you should not have had like power ouer them as you have nowe. Wel, go to, we trust ere the vii. yeres be past, God shall reuaile vnsto your Highnes much more of theyr subtyll imaginations then we are worthy to know of. Moreover, wil your Highnes se howe faithfullly they dyd youre commandement, when you appoynted two of them to ouer loke the translation of the Bible? They sayd they had done youre Highnes commandement therin, yea, they set their names there vnsto; but when they sawe the worlde som what lyke to wrynge on the other syde, they denied it, and said they never medeled therewith, causyng the prynter to take out theyr names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certifie all men that thei had diligently persued it according as your Highnes had commaunded. One other poynt of theyr diligence your Highnes may note in the settynge furth and vsyg of youre Hyghnes Primer both in Englysh and Latin. And in the diligent readyng vnto the people, the exhortation to prayer, which you ordeyned and commaunded to be redd alwaies before the Prosseasion in Englysh. We thynk no man can blameles say, that euer he heard one of them reade it twyse ouer. Yea, when your Highnes was returned from youre victory done at Bullyn, they dyd what they coulde to haue called it in agayne. In so much that they caused all such parishes as they myght commaunde, to vse theyr olde Kyre Eleyson agayne. And yet to this daye, thei vse, on solempne feastes, to folow theyr olde ordinary, not withstandyng your Highnes commaundement. But when thei katch any thyng that soundeth to the contrary, it shall not escape so, we warrant you. It shalbe swynged in euery pulpyt wyth, "this is the Kynges gratious wyll; and yet these heretickes wylbe styll doyng in the Scriptures. A shomaker, a cobbler, a tayler, a boy not or themselves out of your reach.
yet xx. yeres of age, shal not stycke to reproue that a
lerned manne of xl. yeares studye shall affyrme in the
declaration of Gods Word. O how godly wer the
people disposed, when thei knew nothyng of the
Scripture, but as thei were taught by profound clerkes
and well lerned men! Then were there hospitals
buylde for the poore. Then wer there colleges buylde
for the maintenaunce of lernyng." Yea, if they durst
they would say, "Then were abbayes & chauntries
founded for the realyfe of the pore soules in the bitter
payns of Purgatory. Then were our purses filled with
the offerynge of the denout people that vsed to seke
the blessed images, and relickes of our Sauior Christ, &
of his Blessed Mother Mary with the residue of his
saints." If your Highnes would rayse vp but one abbe,
chaunter, or pilgremage, you shuld easely perceiue
which way thei are bent. We doult not but for these
vii. yeres folowyng, masons occupation, with other be-
longyng to buylde, would be the best handy craftes
within this your royalme. We praye God their subtil
imaginationes maye alwaies come to lyghte before thei
preual to the hinderance of Gods veritie. And that it
may please hym alwaies to assist your Highnes in the
defendyng and settyng furth of the same, to hys glory,
and the soul helth of vs, your Highnes most faithful &
obedient subiectes. And that you leaue not of, tyll you
haue roted out al these sturdy beggers, that the pore
members of Christ may haue that porsion to lyue vpon,
which was from the beginnyng apointed for them.
We meane the x. part of euery mans yerly increase.
For though, at the commyng of Christ, and long before,
these tenthes were geuen to the pristes of the lawe, yet
was it not so from the beginnynge; for at the fyrste,
because the world was not so replenished with people,
but that euery man was a great possessioner, it was
thought good to take of the best of their increase and

They say how
well disposed the
people used to be;

how many
hospitals were
built, and colleges
founded;

and would add, abbeys and
chantries were
then founded, if they dare.

If they had their
way, building
would be the best
trade going.

We pray that
their subtleties
may always come
to light before they prevail;

that these sturdy
beggars be rooted
out;

and that the
tenth of every
man's increase
may go to the
poor, as it was long
before Christ, and long before
the Law.
to offer it to the lyuyn God in sacrifice, as it appereth by the storie of Abel and Cain. But whan the people grewe to so greate a numbre that euerye man could not haue a sufficient porsion to lyue vpon, vnlesse he were able to laboure and tyll the grounde; then was it prouided that every possessor shoulde set the tenth of his yearely increase in the porche of hys house, that the lame, blinde, sycke, and diseased, myght be there relened. This order continued tyl the time that Moyses, by the commandemement of God, gaue a lawe to the Israelites, and appoynted that a certayne kynred amongst them, that is, the Leuites, shuld be alwayes theyr priestes, and mynisters of the Tabernacle; vnto whom he appoynted certayne parts of every sacrifice, that they myght lyue therby. For as yet there was no tenthes to be paied, for then they were in their iorney from Egypt, which iorny continued ful xl. yeres; but after that they wer once settled in the Lande of Promesse, and gathered the fruytes of the grounde, they thought good to geue the tenthes of theyr increase to the priestes that ministred in the Tabernacle, that they myght lyue ther vpon, accordyng to the wordes of the prophet Mal. iii:—"Bring in euery tenth into my barn, that ther may be meat in my house." But then ther was an other prouysion for the poore, Leui. xxiii. For no man myght lease, rake, or gleane his grounde after he had gathered of his croppe. Noo, they myghte not gather their grapes nor frutes twyse, but must leue the latward fruit, with the scateryng of theyr corne, for the poore to gather, that they myghte haue some reluye therby; this order continued to the commyng of Chryst.

After whose commyng, the Christian sort had all thynges commune, so that no man knewe of any increase, for as much as no man toke anye thynge for hys owne, Actes iii. But when the numbre of Christians increased so muche that they possessed hole ctytes,

At the first every man offered his sacrifice to God, as we learn by the story of Cain and Abel.

Then Moses gave a law, commanling a certain family to be priests, who were to receive a part of every sacrifice.

When they were settled in Canaan, tenths of all increase were given to the priests, who ministered in the Tabernacle.

Other provsion was made for the poor, so that they might have some share in the produce of the earth.

After Christ, the Christians had all in common.

This did not answer when they increased in number.
But no tenths were paid to the ministers.

After this, when the Christian religion was established, and men spent their time over the Scriptures, it was thought good to provide for the poor, by reverting to the old law.

In the apostles' time, deacons were appointed to distribute to the poor, according to their need; and these deacons received the tithes.

countreys, & kyngdomes, it was thought good that every man should knowe hys owne, to the intent that such as other wyse woulde haue lyued ydly shoulde therby be prouoked to laboure, as appeareth by the rule that Saint Paul gaue to the Tessalonians, ii. Tessaloni. iii.¹, which was thys:—"Who so laboureth not, let hym not eat."

Yet was ther no tenthes payd to the ministers, for Paul wrytinge to the Corinthians, i. Corin. ix., desireth them to be good to such as laboure in the ministration of the Gospell, affirminge that it is but mete that suche as serue the aulter, should haue a liuynge therby; and that it were farre undesent to musell the oxe that trauaylleth all the daye in treadyng the corne out of the strawe, Deutro. xxv. Which thinge he neded not to haue done, yf the tenthes of ech mans encrease had as than ben geneu to them; for that myght haue sufficed them well ynough (onlesse they had ben as gredye as oure ministres bee, whiche be neuer satisfied²).

Yet after thys, whan the Christian religion was thorowly stablyshed in many congregations, & many men had laboured ouer the Scriptures, they thoughte good to pro-uide for the poore impotent creatures accordigne³ to the example of the auncient fathers of the olde lawe. And bycause they were persuaded that Christ, offering vp him selfe vpon the crosse, had ended all sacrifice, Hebre. x., so that the ministers amonge them neded not to bee pestered with any other thing then preaching, they agreed to adde vnto the preachers an other sort of ministers, which myght supplie the office of holy Steuen, and the other which, in the primatiue church, were appointed to distribute the goodes of the congregation, accordinge as euerye man shoulde stand in neade, Actu. vi. To these men they gaue the tenthe of theyr yerly encrease, to the intent that they shoulde there vpon

¹ Orig. iii. ² Orig. satisfieth. ³ Orig. accordigne.
in the early church.

But after that persecution began to cease, & the preachers of the word of God lived in peace, and that the people were fully bente to learne & followe the doctrine of Christe; they dyd by the preachers, as the Israelites wolde haue done by Christe, when he had fede so many of them wyth so lytle bread, Iohn vi. They made them theyr rulers, thinkynge that those men which had brughte them out of the darkenes of errore, and instructed them in the true knowledge of God, coulde best gouerne the publike 1 weale. And woulde walke most vpryghtly in example of lyfe, compellinge the people ther by, to embrace all godlye & honest lyuinge, and to detest and abhore the contrari. This was their intent (most gracious Prince) when they gaue rule to the preachers of Goddes truth and verite. And in very dede the thynge proued according to their expectation, for a season.

But alasse, after the true shepherdes were departed out of thys lyfe, there entred into the fould most rauening wolffes, of whom Saint Paule gaue vs warnyng, whan he said “I know for a certenty, that immediatly after my departinge from you, there shall enter in amonge you certen in shepapes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolves,” Act. xx.

The lyke thynge dyd Sainte Peter forsee, when he premonished the elders, that they shold not behaue themselues toward the people, as men hauing dominion ower them, i. Pe. v.

These hierlinges intended not to maintain & increase the spiritual treasure of the congregation, but to fyl their owne coffers with golde and vayne treasure; to bringe them selues aboue kinges and emperours, yea to be taken for Goddes vicars vpon earthe. And

1 Orig. publike.
They promised to keep hospitality for the poor,

and the people not only gave them tenths, but possessions also, that they might be more hospitable.

Then came traditions, or church laws, which were supposed to have as much authority as the commands of God.

Now they may command us to build churches with high steeples and bells;

to believe their masses,

and Pope's pardons;

that they myght the soner bringe this their purpose to passe, they persuaded the people that it should be much more conuenient that they had the tenthes & patrimony of the church (as they cal it) then the deacons, whom the people had elected there vnto. And that it should be more beseaming that the deacones were at theyr fyndinge, then that they shoulde be at the deacons findinge; for they woulde kepe hospitality for the poore, accordinge as the institution of the Apostles was that they should; whiche thynge they could not do onles they had wher withal to maintaine it. By these meanes were the people sone persuaded to gene vnto them not onely the tenth, but certein possessions also, to thentent thei might maintayne the more liberal hospitality for the relieue of the poore. This done, all theyr study was to set them selues so hyghe in the conscience of the people, that they shoulde take all theyr traditions to be of no lesse authoritie then the commaundement of God. To do this they could find none so ready a way as to name theyr traditions the lawes of the church. For yf we beleue that Christe is the heade of the churche, and that he is God; then muste we neades graunt that the lawes of the church be Goddes lawes. O diuелиsh subtiltie, more then serpентical! What subtyl fouler could haue diuised a more subtyl trayne to bringe the poore, simple byrdes into his nette? Certes, yf al the deuels in hell had ben of theyr counsel (as we thinke they were) they could not haue concluded vpon a more subtil imagination. Now haue they ynough, what neadeth them to seke any further? Now may they commaundde vs to buylde them goodly churches with hyghesteaples, & greate belles to ryng our e pence into theyr purses, when our frendes be dead. Nowe may they make vs beleue that theyr masses be helpful sacrifices, both for the quick and the dead. Nowe must we beleue that the Popes pardons do re-
lease vs both from Payne and faute, but Christ releaseth the faute only. Now must we beleue they can make of two creatures one, that is to say, conjure water and salte that it be made a medicine both for bodye & soule; and of such force that it may be able to roote out the deuell him self with all hys aungels and ministers. Nowe must we beleue that repeuntaunce auayleth vs not, onles we declare all our synnes, with the circums-taunce therof, to one of them, and do such satisfaction as they shall appoint vs to do. Now can we not deny but that the outragiouse belonging to a sorte of sodomi-ticall bulbs, myngled with the proud piping of organs, is the service of God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng and preching of Gods Worde. Now must we beleue that God wyl not heare our prayer onles we be in fauoure with some of the deade saintes which wyl be our advocate. Now must we beleue that the making and gilting of ymages, building of abayse, churches, chauntries, gyldes, hermitages, and gyuinge of boke, bell, candelsticke, basen, yower, crwetes, pax, chalyse, corporace, vestimentes, aulter clothes, curtens, hanginges, towels, torches, tapurs, shewe, sensoures, pixese, coopes, cannebes, & runnyng on pilgrimage, is more acceptable to God then the vii. workes of mercy. Now must we beleue that they can not erre, though they set vp the bloude of a ducke to be honored for the verye bloude of Christe, though they made the Roode of Kente to wagge hys yes, though they were baudes & fornicators with the holy whore of Kent. We maye not thinke they ought to marye wyues, though we take them dayly abusinge other mens wyues. We muste not saye that they are rauenynge woules, but the true shepherdes of Christ; although we see them bothe bye & sell the congregacions of Christ; & when they haue them, loke for nought els but what yearelye rentes may

that holy water may become a medicine for body and soul;

that repentance avails nothing, unless we confess to a priest.

We must believe that church music is the service of God;

that He will not hear our prayers unless we are in favour with certain saints.

We must believe that the gilding of images, the building of religious houses, the giving of ornaments and vestments to the churches, is more acceptable than works of mercy;

we must have faith in the infallibility of the clergy, though they set up the wrinking roof of Kent.

We must think celibacy is right;

we must not say priests are wolves, though we see them lay and sell the congregations of Christ.

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1 Orig. af.
Your Highness knows their desire to feed the flock;

how a law was passed compelling them to preach four times a year.

But they pleaded for the chaplains of your Majesty, and the law was relaxed for all such as held office, either under the king or the nobles.

We are compelled to forget we are your subjects, and claim to be brothers with you in God's household.

Ahab when he intended to go against Ramoth, consulted the four hundred false prophets,

and they told him he should prosper;

be clearlye reased therof. Youre Hyghnes knoweth ryghte well what desyre they haue to feed the flocke, for it is not yet many yeares sense youry Hyghnesse, in your hygh Courte and Parliament, was, by theyre negligence, constrayned to establishe a lawe, that, vnnder payne of a forfayte, they shoulede preache in euery of theyr paryshes foure tymes in a yeare at the lest, and that none shouulde haue moe benefices then one, when-pon he shouulde be reasident. But here they put your Highnes in mynde of all such chapelyns as do service to youre Hyghnes, and to other your nobles of this your realme, besides other, certein graduates of the vnuersities. Wherevpon it was prouided, by the author-ite of the sayd parliament, that euery such chaplayn myght haue many benifices, and be non residence, to lye at the vnuersitie, or els where, at his pleasure, so he wer in any of your nobles seruice. Oh gratious Prince, here are we, your natural, and most obeisant leage people, constrayned to forget (with all humble subiection we speke it) that we are of nature & by the ordinaunce of God your most bounden subiectes, and to cal to remembraunce that by our second byrth we ar your brothers and felowe seruauntes (although in a much inferior ministery) in the housholde of the Lorde our God. Most humble beseking your Highnes to for-get also in thys poynte that you are our Leage Lorde and Souerayyne, taking our wordes as a token of the feruent desire that we (your most faithful subiec) haue of your solles saluation. Achabe kyng of Israel, whan he intended to make a viage, and to take by force the country and inhabitanstes of Ramoth Giliade, he caused hys prophetes, to the nombre of CCCC. false prophetes, to be brought before him, that he might know by them whether the Lord wolde prosper his iorney or not. These false prophetes, standing in the syght of the kyngge, & beinge demanded of him.
whether he sholde make expedition against Ramoth or not, answered with one voice, "Make expedition, the Lord shal gue it into the handes of the king," iii. Reg. xxii. 1 In lyke maner (most dread Souerayne) your Hyghnes & youre most noble prodicessours, haue alwaies consulted a great nombre of false prophetes, which, as Aehabes prophetes dyd, prophesied vnto you lies; wringyng & wrestynge the Scriptures to stablishe your Hyghnes in all such thynges as they perseyued you bent vnto. And if at any tyme anye true Micheas haue prophesied vnto you the trueth of Gods Worde, one Sedechias or other boxeth him on the cheke that he renneth streight into the fyre. So that hitherto Your Highnesse they haue led your Highnes in this detestable erroure, to giveto these that you thyncke it lawfull for you and your nobles, to reward those false flattering Babilon[i]call prophetes wyth that porcion which, by the ordinauce of God, is due to the poore impotent creatures, the lame, blynde, lazer, & sore membres of Christe. We beseke you (most deare Soueraine) eu^n for the hope you haue in the redemption by Christ, that you call to remem-braunce that dreadfull daye, whan your Highnesse shall stande before the judgement seat of God in no more reputation then one of those miserable creatures which do nowe daylye dy in the stretes for lack of theyr dwe porsion, wherwith you & your nobles do reward those gnatonical elbowhangers, your chaplaines. Yf theyr ministrie be so necessary to your Highnes that you can not lacke them, yet let not the unsasiable dogges deuour the bread that was prepared for the children; let them be appoynted lyungenes worthy their ministration. What reason is it that a surueyer of bildinges or landes, an alckmist, or a goldsmith, shoulde be rewarded with benefice vpon benefice, which of very reason oughte to be committed to none other but such

1 1 Kings xxii. in the Authorised Version.
which ought only to be given to godly and learned men? as, through godly learning and conversation, were able, and would apply them selves, to walk among their flocks in all godly example and purity of life? Howe give a number is there of them that, under the name of your chaplaines, may dispense yearly by benefices, some one C., some CC., some CCC., some CCCC., some CCCCC.; yea, some M. markes and more! It is a common saying among us, your Highness pore commons, that one of your Highnes chaplaine, not many yeres synce, vsed, when he lusted to ride a bode for his repast, to cary wyth hym a scrowle, wherein were written the names of the parishes wherof he was parson.

As it fortuned, in his journey he aspied a churche standyng vpon a fayre hyll, pleasantly beset with groues and playn feldes, the godly grene medowes lying beneath the banckes of a christalline ryuer garnished with wylouse, poplers, palme trees, and alders, most beautiful to behold. This vigilant pastoure, taken with the syghte of this terestial paradise, sayd vnto a seruaunt of his (the clerke of his signet no doubt it was, for he vsed to cary his masters ryng in his mouth) "Robin," sayd he, "yonder benefice standeth very pleasantly, I would it were myne." The seruaunt aanswered, "Why, syr," quoth he, "it is your owne benefice;" and named the parish. "Is it so?" quoth your chaplen. And with that he pulled out his scroule to se for certentie whether it were so or not.

Se (most dread Souerayn) what care they take for the flocke. When they se theyr parysh churches they knowe them not by the situation. If youre Highnes had so manye swyne in youre royalme as you haue men, would ye commyt them to the kepyng & feyding of such swynherdes as did not know theyr swynsecotes when thei sawe them? Oh mercifull God, how far wide is this our tyme from the primatue church! Defer not (most deare Soueraine) the reformation of this
myssë; for the day of the Lord is at hand, and shall come vpon vs as a thefe in the nyght, ii. Peter iii. Disciue not your selfe through the false gloses of these flatteryng ipoerytes. Turne them out after theyr brethren, the pyed purgatory patriarkes; and restore to the poore members of Christ theyr due portion, which they trusted to haue receiued, when they sawe your Highnes turne out the other sturdy beggers. But alas! thei failed of theyr expectation, and are now in more penurye then ever they were. For, although the sturdy beggers gat all the denotion of the good charitable people from them, yet had the pore impotent creatures some reliefe of theyr scrappes, where as nowe they have nothying. Then had they hospitals, and almeshouses to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and storue in the stretes. Then was their number great, but nowe much greater. And no merueil, for ther is in sted of these sturdy beggers, crept in a sturdy sorte of extorsioners. These men cesse not to oppresse vs, your Highnes pore commons, in such sort that many thousandes of vs, which here before lyued honestly vpon our sore labour and tranayl, bryngyng vp our chyldren in the exercise of honest labore, are now constrainued some to begge, some to borowe, and some to robbe & steale, to get food for vs and our poore wiues & chyldren. And that which is most lyke to growe to inconuenience, we are constrainued to suffer our chyldren to spend the flour of theyr youth in idlenes, bringyng them vp other to bear wallettes, other eles, if thei be sturdy, to stuffe prisons, and garnysh galow trees. For such of vs as haue no possessions lefte to vs by oure predicesours and elders departed this lyfe, can nowe get no ferme, tennement, or cottage, at these mens handes, without we paye vnto them more then we are able to make. Yea, this was tollerable, so long as, after this extreme exaction, we wer not for the residue of our yeares oppressed with

1 Orig. thye.
rents are raised much higher than they were.

Abbey lands are bought of the king, and the buyers compel us to bring in our covenants, and take new leases, telling us that all our former writings are void, when we ought to hold for two or three lives longer.

We cannot send our children to school, they must labour to help pay the rent.

much greater rentes then hath of ancient tyme bene paid for the same groundes; for than a man myght within few yeres be able to recover his fyne, and afterwarde lyue honestly by his travel. But now these extorsioners haue so improued theyr landes that they make of xl. s. fyne xl. pounde, and of v. nobles rent v. pound, yea, not suffised with this oppression within theyr owne inheritaunce, they buy at your Highnes hand such abbay landes as you appoint to be sold. And, when they stand ones ful seased therin, they make vs, your pore commons, so in dout of their threatynges, that we dare do none other but bring into their courtes our copies taken of the couentes of the late dissolved monastaries, and confirmed by youre Hygh Court of Parliament, thei make vs beleue that, by the vertue of your Highnes sale, all our former writynges are voyde and of none effect. And that if we wil not take new leases of them, we must then furthwith avoid the groundes, as hauyng therin none entrest. Moreover, when they can espy no commodious thyng to be boughte at your Highnes hand, thei labour for, and optayne, certayne leases for xxi. yeres, in and vpon such abbay landes as lie commodiously for them. Then do they dashe vs out of countenaunce with your Highnes authorite, makyng vs beleue that, by the vertue of your Highnes leas, our copies are voyde. So that they compell vs to surrender al our former writinges wherby we ought to holde some for ii. and some for iii. lyues, & to take by indenture for xxi. yeres, oueryng both fyenes & rentes, beyonde all reason and conscience. This thinge causeth that suche possessioners as here tofore were able and vsed to maintain their owne chyldeyn, and some of ours, to lernyng and suche other qualites as are necessarie to be had in this your Highnes royalme, are now of necessite compelled to set theyr owne children to labour, and al is lytle inough to pay the lordes rent,
MEN LOOK FOR THE KING'S DEATH.

& to take the house anew at the ende of the yeres. So that we your poore commons, which haue no groundes, nor are able to take any at these extorsioners handes, can fynd no way to set our chylde on worke, no, though we profer them for meat & drynk & poore clothes to cover their bodies. Helpe, mercifull Prynce in this extremite; suffer not the hope of so noble a realme utterly to perysh, through the vsatiable desire of the possessioners. Remember that you shal not leave this kyngedome to a straunger, but to that child of great towardnes our most natural Prince Edward; employ your study to leave hym a Commune Weale to gouerne, and not an iland of brute beasts, amongst whom the strongest deuour the weaker. Remembre that your office is to defende the innocent & to punysh the oppressar. God hath not suffered al your nobles to distayne their consciences with this most vngodly oppression. If your Highnes would take in hand the redresse of these great oppressions, dout ye not you could lacke no ayde, for he is faythfull that hath promysed to prosper al them that seke his glory and the welth of his pore membres in this church mylitant. Contrariwyse, if you suffre his pore membres to be thus oppressed, loke for none other then the ryghtefull judgement of God, for your negligence in your offyce and mynistery. For the bloud of all them that, through your negligence shal perysh, shalbe required at your hand. Be mercifull therfore to your selfe, & vs your most obeisant subiectes. Indanger not your solle by the sufferynge of vs, your poore commons, to be brought all to the names of beggers & most miserable wrecches. Let vs be vnto your Highnes, as the inferior membres of the bodye to their head. Remembre that your hore heares are a token that nature maketh hast to absolu the course of your lyfe; preuente the subtile imaginations of them that galpe, and loke after the crowne of

Help us in our extremity, and do not suffer the hope of the realm to perish!

Study to leave your son, Prince Edward, a Commonwealth, not an island of beasts. Remember you are the defender of the innocent, and the punisher of the oppressor.

If you will redress our grievances you are sure of aid;

If not, the blood of those who die by your negligence will be required at your hands.

Remember your hoar hairs are a token that your life must soon end, and prevent the imaginations of
Simony has lost its name, and usury is lawful gain. Unless these things be redressed, they will bring the wrath of God upon us. By our example we are worse than Jews or Mahometans.

Vice is rampant in the land.

Simony, usury, and vice. this realm after your daies. For what greater hope can thei haue as concerning that\(^1\) detestable and deuylysh imagination, then that they might wynne the heretes of vs, your Hyghnes commons, by the delieryng vs from the captiuite and mystery that we are in? We beseke God, your Highnes maye lyue to put awaye al such occasions, and to se the confusion of all suche trayterous heretes; and that youre Grace may se that worthy Prynce Edward able to gouerne and defend this your realme, vanquishyng all his enemyse, bothe far and nere, as your Highnes, by the ayde of Almighty God, hath done hitherto. Defer not, most dread Souereayne Lorde, the reformation of these so great enormities; for the wound is euyn to death, if it continue anye whyle longer. A prynce welbeloued of his people is muche more ryche then he that hath houses full of gold. And yet is he much more ryche that is beloued of God. For if God bee on your part, who can preuayle agaynst your Hyghnes? By thyss we meane the great and myghtie abomination of vyce, that nowe rayneth within this your Highnesse realme this day. For hordome is more estemed then wedlocke, although not vniuersally, yet amongst a great number of lycensious persons. Simoni hath lost hys name, and vsery is lawfull gaynes.

These things, onlesse they be redressed, wyl bringe the ire of God vpon the realme. For what doth it lesse then declare vs to be cleane fallen from the doctrine of Christ, who taught vs to lende, lokinge to haue no gayne therby? What example of lyfe is in vs this daye to declare, that we rather bee the people of God then the Iewes or Maometanse? Certes (most renomed Prince) none but that we confesse hym to be God. And that were sufficient, yf our deedes dyd not denye him. Yf the rulers haue geuen the occasion of these thynges, alas for them; they had ben better to haue had mylstones hanged about theyr neckes, and haue

\(^1\) Orig. than
HOW PRELATES ACT.

83

ben cast into the sea. But if the people have taken it of them selues, and be not punished of the rulers, but be permitted frelye to vs it; the blud of them that perish shalbe requered at the watchmans hand, Ezechi. xxxiiii. Thus princes are punished when the people offende. But now (most deare Souerayne) your Highnes may in this matter try your prelates whether they be of God or nat; for yf they were of God, they woulde, accordinge to the wordes of the prophet, neuer sease, but openly and with a criyng voyce, declare vnto the people theyar faultes, Esai. lviii, and not be hushed wyth an acte in parliament; for that declareth them to be the setters forthe of mans tradicyons and not of Godes lawes, so that this saying of our Saviour Christ is verifiyd in them:—"This people honoreth me with theyr lyppes, but their herte is fare from me: they teache the doctrines and commaundementes of men," Math. xv. But here they thynke to stop our mouthes wyth the feare of youre Highnesse displeasure; they say youre Highnes lawes are Godes lawes, & that we are as moch bounde to obserue them as the lawe of God genen by Moyses. Trueth it is (most deare Lorde), that we are bounde by the commaundement of God, to obey your Hyghnesse, & all youre lawes set forth, by your Hygh Court of Parliament, but yf they dissent from or be contrary to anye one iote of the Scripture, we muste, with Ihon & Peter, say, Actu. iiiii, "Judge you whether it be better for vs to obeye God or man." We speake not this because we think by this, that we may rebel agaynst you, our naturall Prince. But that yf youre Hyghnes would enforce vs by a law to do any thing contrary to that God hath commaunded vs, that then we ought manfully to cleane to the truth of Godes word, boldly confessing the truth therof, fearing nothing the death of this body; and yet moost humble submithinge oure selues vnto you, redy to abyde and pacientlye to suffer what kynde of torment so euer

If the prelates are of God,

they will tell the people of their faults.

They tell us we must keep the laws of the king as we would keep the laws of God.

True; but if they dissent from God's laws,

we must act as John and Peter did.

We don't say this because we think we may rebel, but if you would enforce us to anything contrary to God's law,
we must submit to punishment.

But these dumb dogs only fawn upon their masters.

Before the law allowed 10 per cent., they could preach against usury.

but now they are silent.

A grievous burden on the city of London are the extortionate charges which are made on every man in respect of tenths.

should be leyd vpon vs, knowing for certenty that we are happy when we suffer persecution for the truths sake, and that he is faythfull that hath promessd to be renengd of oure injuries. But these dombe dogges haue lerned to faine vpon them that vse to bringe them bread, and to bee wonderful hasty when they be mantayned and cherished; but yf they be but ones byde cowche, they know their liripope so well that they draw the tayle betwine the legges, and gette them selues streyght to the kennell. And then come who so wyll, and do what they wyll, these dogges wyll stere no more tyll they heare theyr maister saye, "hye cut and longe tayle." So frayd they are of stripes, and lest they shoulde be tyde vp so short that they myght not raynge a brode and worry now and than a simple lambe or two. Before it was passed by Acte of Parliament that men myghte take x. li. by yeare for an hondreth pound lone, how vehement were they in the matter? All theyr sermons were lytle other then inuertiues agaynst vsery. Then they could alleage both Christ and the Psalmist to proue that Christere men ought to lende what they may spare, & to loke for no gaynes therof. But nowe they do not onlye holde them selues stylly as concernyng thys matter, but also they endeoure to imitat, yea, and to passe the example of the extorsyoners and vserers. For euen the laste yeare they opteyned by theyr importune sute, a graunte whych, yf it be not reuoked, wyll in continuauance of tyme be the greateste impourerishment of vs your poore commons (and chyfly in the citie of London) that euuer chanced sence the fyrst beginnyng therof. They haue obtayned, and it is enacted, that euery man wythin the sayd cytie, shall yearly pay vnto them accordyng to the rentes they are charged wyth xvi. d. ob. of euery x. s. So that yf the lordes of the groundes do double & triple the rentes (as they do in dead) then most the pore tenantes paye
also double & triple tenthes as dwe encresse of their riches: this is not vnlyke vnnto that which is practised in the contry amongest vs your Highnes poore com-
mones. For when it hath pleased God to punish vs with
the rot of our shepe, so that perhappes some one of vs
hathe hylded C. shepe, then have some of the persons
constrayned vs to geue them x. of the felles, for they
cal it increase so longe as we sell them. And therefor
must they (as Godes debities) take the tenth thereof.
Hawe compassion vpon vs (most gracius Soueraine);
suffer not these vnsatiable dogges thus to eat vs out of
al that we haue; considere that it is against al reason &
conscience, that we, your pore commones, should be
thus oppressed; that where the landlorde taketh of vs
duble & triple rent, that then we shall pay also to the
person duble or triple tenthes. But see (moost dere
Souerayne) howe craftely they haue wronghte thys
feate; they requyre not the tenthes of the lande lorde
that haue the increase, but of the tenauntes, whych of
necessitye are constrayned to pay to the lordey thyr
askynge, other elles to be without dwellinge places.
They know right well that yf they shoulde haue
matched them selues with the landelordes, they hap-
pelye shoulde haue bene to weake for them at the
lengthe. But they were in good hope that we (your
poore commons) shoulde never be able to stande in
theyre handes, as in verye deed we shall not onles your
Hyghnes wyll voultsafe to take our cause in hand; for
yf we haue not wherwith to pay thym, they mai, by
the vertue of the acte distresse suche implementes as
they shal fynde in our houses. They know our con-
ditions of olde, sence they toke theyre mortuaries. We
had rather, in maner, famysh oure selues for lack of fode,
and to make right harde shyft besydes, then that we
woulde be troubled for anye suche thyng. And doubt-
lesse (most renomed Prince) yf the oppression were not

It is as bad in
the country.

If 100 sheep
die of rot,
the persons
compel us to
give them 10
of the skins:
they call it all
increase.

Don’t let us be
thus oppressed,
to pay double
or triple tenths,
on double or
triple rents.

We cannot stand
against the
priests, unless
you take our
cause in hand.

We would rather
starve than
trouble your
Highness,
and if the
oppression had
not been so unreasoneable, we should have borne it.

We would rather fast three days a week than seem slack in keeping the law.

People beg at Easter to pay for the Sacrament;

they beg to bury the dead.

A naked corpse was carried to be buried in the city of London,

and sent into the street again till the poor could beg enough to pay the priest's due.

The men who profess to teach the ignorant, and to be the light of the world, act thus,

and call the laity brute beasts.

to moch beyond all reason and conscience, we woulde neuer haue troubled youre Highnes with all. Yea, yf there were any hope that they would be satisfied by this, we woulde rather fast iii. dayes every weake, then we woulde seame to be slack in doyng all such thynges as the lawe byndethe vs to. But we se daylye so great increase of theyre vnsatiable desire, that we fear lest in processe of time they wil make vs all begge an[d] brynge to them all that we can gette. It is no rare thinge to se the poore impotent creatures begge at Easter to pay for the Sacrament when they receaue it. And it is no lesse commune to se men begge for such dead corpses as haue nothinge to paye the pristes duitie.1 Yea it is not longe sence there was in your Highnes cytie of London a dead corps brought to the church to be buryed, beyng so poore that it was naked wythout any cloth to cover it. But these charitable men, whiche teache vs that [it] is one of the workes of mercy to bury the dead, woulde not take the paynes to bury the dead corps, onlesse they had theyr dutye, as they call it. In fyn, they caused the dead corps to be caryed into the strete agayne, and there to remayne tyll the poore people, whych dwelled in the place where the poore creature dyed, had begged so moch as the pristes call theyr dwe. O mercifull Lord, who can be able worthily to lament the miserable estate of thyf tyme? When those men whiche in all thyng professe to be the light of the worlde, the teachers of the ignoraunt, & the leaders of the blynd, are so fare withoute mercy, (whyche Christe preferred before sacrifice) that they wyl not do so moch as wast a lytle of theyr breathe in readinge oucr a fewe psalmes at the buryall of one of the poore membres of Christ, onlesse they haue money for theyr laboure! And whan those persons whom the other, called spiritual, do compt but as brute beastes, callynge them temporall, shall showe more mercy, the badge of

1 Orig. diuitie.
the Christian soldiers, towards the poor members of Christ, then they which glory to be the true prophets of Christ, and successors of the Apostles! Yea, when those painted sepulchres be so merciles that they pity not them, whom the verye infidelles woulde pity! Wher is theryr so little mercy showed as amongst them? In so much that theyr covetousness has grown into a proverb: "No penny, no pater noster." For they wyl not do that thyng whych euery Christian is bounde to do for other, onles they may be waged for money; they wedde and bury, and syng ful mery, but all for money. If your Highnes would call a compt of them, and cause them to showe the bokes of the names of them that haue ben buryed & maried with in this yeare, conferringe that number wyth the summe of money they take for euery such burial & mariage, you should easily percewe howe lytle neede they haue to oppresse vs with double & triple tenthes. Iudge then (most victoryouse Prince) what an unreasonable summe the whole & grosse summe of these enhanced tenthes wyth other theyr pettys bryburrye, draweth to. They receaue of euery hondreth li. xiii. li. xv. s., & of the thousande, one hundreth, and xxxvii. li. x. s. Then may youre Highnes soone be certified what they receyue of the whole rentes of the citie. No doute (gracyouse Prynce) they receyue of vs yearely moore then your Hyghnes-dyd at anye tyme when you were besette on euery syde wyth mortall enemies. And yet theyr conscience woulde serve them wel ynowgh to take three tymes as moche as they do, yf your Hyghnes woulde suffer them. For they use to saye that, for as moche as it is established by a lawe, they may, wyth good conscience, take it yf it were more. Yea yf your Hyghnes woulde suffer them, theyr conscience woulde serve them to lye wyth our wiuws euery tenthe nyghte, other els to haue euerye tenthe wyfe in the paryshe at theyre
TENTHS AND SEVENTHS.

Before long they will endeavour to make your Highness pay tithes; as they compel us, not only to pay them, but the seventh penny of our rents also. They will require your Highness to pay the tenth of the spoils of your enemies, as Melchisedec did to Abraham.

Let Paul's order take effect, and allow none to eat who will not work.

Let not Christ's lambs be given into the care of wolves.

pleasure. But our trust is that your Hyghnesse will tye them shorter, and to saye the true the it is tyme; for ye you suffer them a while they will attempt to make your Highnes pay the tenthes vnto them as longe as they haue payed them to you. For they have alreadie soughte owt our ware houses, store houses, stables, warffes, and barnes, causynge vs to paye, not onely the tenthe for that we never payd before; but also the vii. peny of the whole rentes, raised throughout the whole cytie. Who can judge other therfore (moost dreae Souerayne) but that they wold, ye they wist how, cause your Highnes to pay vnto them not only the tenth of your yerely revenues, but also the tenthe peny of all such spoiles as youre Highnes shall take in warres; for they carp moch vpon Abrahams geuinge of the tenth of his spoile to Melchisedech. Wherfor most merciful Prince, consider with mercy this pitiful complaint of vs your most faithful subiects, deliueringe vs from the mouthes of these vnsaciable beastses, which do daylye employ them selues to deuoure vs, our wyues and chil- derne, even as we were fode prepared for them to deuoure. Let the order that Paule toke wth the faythe- full of the primatique church, take effect in these our days, the last days of this miserable world. Let none eat that laboureth not, ii. Thessa. iii.1 Let them also that be called to be preachers, haue the rewarde of preachers; ouerlode them not with the possessions & ryches of this world, for the cares therof do choke the worde. Let not eche rauenyngge woulfe that conmeth wyth a shepshoke in hys hande be recuued as a shep- herde. Let not the simple lambes of Christ be com- mitted to the tuition of these so raueninge woulfes. Let not the porcion of the poore be committed to them that distribute not, but rather gather and heape vp, coumptynge all fyshe that cometh to the net. Let the

1 Orig. iii.
worthy prophetes that walke diligently in theyr vocation, be called to the gouvemance of the spiritual flocke of Christ, and let them be repelled that come vncalled, we meane suche as sue to beare the name of youre Hyghnesse chaplaynes, onelye because they trust to optayne therhy lordlyck liuinges out of the possession of the poore. Take pity (mooste mercifull Prince) vpon vs youre poore, and faythful leage people; take pity vpon youre owne soule, which shall at the laste daye be charged wyth all abuses that your Hyghnes suffereth friely to raygne. Beleue not those gnatonicall adherentes that wyll not sticke to affirme and denye, so that they may trust to please you therby. Let them not perswade your Highnes that al is good that is concluded in your Hygh Court of Parliament. Remember, O, howe they ledde your Hyghnes whan you sent forthe your letters vnder your broode seale, streyghtly commauadinge every and singular your Highnes subjectes, vnder payne of youre Highnes displeasure, to ayde, supporte, and forther all and singular prockters & pardoners. Remember in what case they had brought iour Highnes whan you thought it godlynes to viset in your owne parson the graves, images, & relics of dead saints, doing to them diuine honour & reverence. Let them not perswade you that God is or can be better serued in the Latine tong then in the Englysh; consider what great folly Saynte Paull counteth it for men to pray, which is to talke wyth almighty God, in a tong they understand not, i. Corin. xiii. Yea and how much greater folly it is to thyncke holynes in hearynge a tale told in a straunge tong. Your Hyghnes commauanded that none should receaue the Sacrament at Easter, but such as coulde and dyd vs the Lordes prayer wyth the articles of the fayth in the Englysh tong. But they byd vs vse that which is most ready to vs.

1 Orig. stickt. 2 Orig. Erster.
They baptize in Latin, making us say 'Volo,' and 'Credo,' when we don't know what is asked of us, and know not what we profess.

If a child receives any hurt, we blame the priest, and say that member was not well christened,

applying that which is spiritual wholly to the flesh.

The oath of obedience to your Majesty is in English, that we may know what is our duty.

Why then should not the oath which we take to God be in a language which we can understand?

We pray God to preserve your

They baptize our chylderne in the Latyne tonge, beding vs say, 'Volo,' and 'Credo,' whan we know not what it is that they demande of vs. By this meane is it broughte to passe that we know not what we professe in our baptisme, but superstitionously we think that the holynes of the wordes whych sound so straungly in oure eares, & of the water that is so oft crossed is the doyng of all the matter. Yea we thyncke that yf our chyl- 
dren be well plunged in the founte they shalbe health-full in all theyr lims euer after, but yf they, by any misaduenture, receyue any hurtes in any of theyr membres, incontinent we ley the faute in the prist, sayinge, that member was not wel christened. Oh mercifull God, what hert can be able worthely to lament this more then Iewdaical superstition? The thing that is mere spirituall, we applye whollye to the flesh. Was there euer any vayne ydolatours that woulde honour theyr goddes in a language they vnder-stode not? Were the monckes, friers, and chanons, wyth other superstitious religions, professed in a straungge tong? Is not the othe of obeysaunce that we your leage people take vnto you, ministred in the English tonge? And for what other purpose but that we may therby knowe our mooste bounden deuinitie toward yououre naturall Prince and Leage Lorde? Is it then besamynge that we, takynge an othe of obey- saunce to the Kyngge of all kynges, the God of all the world, and Maker therof, shulde not know what is demaunded of vs nor what we answere agayne? Yf we hold vs styll as concerning thys more then hell darkenesse, the very stones of your pallayce woulde make exclamation. Preuent therfore, most gracious Prince, the yre of God whiche hangeth ouer thys your royalme. Remember that his long sufferance shalbe recompensed wyth the extremitie of the punyshment. Wherfore, most worthy Prince, we humbly beseeke oure heauenly
Father, the Governor of all goodnes, even for the Lord
Iesu Christes sake our Saviour and Redeamer, that
he preserve you alwayes, geuinge you grace to walke
circumspectly in your vocation and ministery, that, at
the last day, you may receaue the incorruptible crowne
of glory, and regnue with our Elder Brother the first
cpogotten Sonne of God the Father Almighty; to whom
wyth the Holy Goost be all honore and glory
for euer and euer. All true
Englysh hertes saye,
Amen.

Psalme. xli.

Happy is the man that pitieth the poore: for in
tyme of trouble the Lord shall deliver hym.

Thus haue we (your most obeisant subjectes) de-
clared the fervent desire we haue not only of your
prosperous succes in the affaires of this life, but also of
your eternal reign with the Lord Iesu in the celestial
kingdom, of whose fayth ye are, in earth, Defender,
and of the faithfull congregation, in thys lytle angle
of the earth congregate, the Supreme Heade immediatly
nexte vnto him, by whose mighty hand you haue
hytherto vanquished, not onely the externe enemies of
this most noble royalme, but all such as haue most
duyilishly yimagined, conspired, & attempted treason
against youre Hyghnes, theyr most naturall Leage
Lord and Gouernour. What histories should we reade
to know of so many and so daungerous conspirations,
so wonderfully detect & auoyded? Who myghte so
sone haue wrought the most detestable purpose of
treason, as she that slept in your bosom? What mighty
princes haue ben betrayed by them that they haue
loued aboue all creatures? And howe wonderfullye,
euen at the verye poynt, and in the time of most

¹ xli. in Au. Ver. ² Orig. yoynt.
MAY THE OLD TIMES NEVER RETURN.

daunger, hath the myghtye hande of the Lorde de-
lyuered you? Besydes this, that moost abominable
ydoll of Rome, which sate so hygh not only in the con-
sciences of vs your most bounden subiectes & poore
commons but also your nobles (euen from the highest
to the lowest) were all hys faythfull adherentes; in so
moche that som of them would not styck to sheade the
best bloude of theyr bodyes in hys quarel. And yet
how wonderfully hath the Lord our God, made him
iour fote stole? Reioye (deare Souerayne) reioyce. The
Lord is your right hande, he hath found you faythful
in a lytle, & shall ordeyne you ouer moch more. Onely
beware that you, puttyng your hande to the ploughe,
do not loke backwarde. Go forthe manfully to con-
quere, and turne not agayne tyll you haue purged this
vineyard of the Lorde, so that there remayne not one
lytle impe besydes those that our Heauenly Father hath
planted. Let not that noble Prince Edward be
oppressed in the dayes of hys youth, with the combrouse
weadynge oute of suche rotten and fruyteles trees, lest
perchaunce they take deeper roote then that his tender
youth e may be able to moue. Forget not your owne
youth, when these adulterine trees were to stronge for
you. Thynke not but that you shall leaue behynd you
a great nombre that wolde be glad to se the old stompes
of these fruitles trees sypynge agayne. The Lord bringe
them all to confusion, geuyng your Highnes long lyfe,
with assistance of hys grace, to performe that whyche
you hane begonne. The wysdom of the Lorde oure
God leade you into all trueth. Amen.

† Your moste faythfull and
obeysaunt subiectes, the Pore
Commones of the Royalme
of Englande.

Anno. M. ccccc. xlvi.
Certayne

causes gathered together,
wherin is shewed the decaye
of England, only by the great
multitude of shepe, to the bet-
ter decay of household keping,
mayntenaunce of men, dearth
of corne, and other notable
dyscommodityes approved by syre olde
Proverbes.

Prover. 20

A Kyng that sitteth in judgement, and loketh well about
him, dryueth away all cuell.

[The title of the Lambeth copy had Causes, onely, multytude, housholde
kepyng, Kynge, euyll.]
To the Kynges moste honorable Counsell,  
and the Lordes of the Parlayment house.

The fyrst Article & poynyt, as we do thinke, it is\(^1\) great pyttye (so the will of God it were) that there is not\(^2\) corne ynoogh within this Realme of Englaunde, at all tymes necessary to certyfy & suffye the Kynges subjectes for the space of one yere, two, or thre, yf there were no corne sounen in this Realme by the sayde space.

We do saye that the Kinges Maiestie, mercifully hearing the peticiow of these his graces poore subjectes, maye al tymes remedy it, when it shall \(^*\)please his Maiestie, being for a common wealth for his graces subjectes, & to the greate encrease of this noble realme of England.

We saye, as reason doeth leade vs, \(\text{that} \) shepe & shepemasters, doeth cause skantyte of corne, whiche we do thynke\(^3\) it maye be well approued, by reason of six prouerbes ; for \& yf all our lyuynges, and all our commodities, were diuyded in partes, by reason of the same syx prouerbes, we that be the Kynges Maiestyes poore subjectes, do lose syx of our commodityes, then haue we thre losses, which make nyne; by reason of the same thre losses, we, the Kynges Magestyes subjectes, do lose the third part of our lyuynge, then haue we the tenth part, which we cal a remedy, beseeching your noble grace, to remedye when your Maiestye shall please.

\(^1\) is it—C(ambridge copy).  \(^2\) no—C.  
\(^3\) thincke—Lambeth copy; and with a c elsewhere.  
\(^4\) mayestyes—C.
Concerning the first proverb.

In the 1st proverb the complaint is from Oxfordshire, Bucks, and Northamptonshire.

We desire you to pardon our ignorance, but to consider what we advance, seeing it is done for the good of the realm.

In these 3 counties are many landowners who set no store by tillage, nor yet by breeding and feeding cattle, but stock their land with sheep.

As touchyng the fyrste prouerbe of the syx, we do thynke

The more shepe, the dearer is the woll.
The more shepe, the dearer is the mottone.
The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate.
The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.*

In the fyrst prouerbe, the more shepe, the dearer is the woll. Our Complaynt is for Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre; and as for all other shyres, we refer it to the playntyues 1.

We shal desyre you, and al other that reade and see the true ententes & meanynges of this our doinges, to pardon our ignorance; yet not withstanding, we desyre you sumwhat to attender the premisses, seinge it is done, and put forth, for the commodyte of the Kinges Majesties realme, and for the welth of his graces poore subiectes.

In the sayde Oxford-shyre, Buckyngham-shyre, & Northampton-shyre, there be many men of worship dwelling within the sayde thre shyres, and hath great landes to lyue vpon, the which we praye to God to geue them ioye of, and well to occupye it. Many of these worshipful men, sette no store, nor pryse, vpon the mayntenaunce of tyllage of theyr landes, as before tyme hath been vsed, neyther breadyng nor feadynge of catle, but many of them doeth kepe the most substaunce of theyr landes in theyr owne handes 2. And where tillage was wont to be, nowe is it stored wyth greate vmberment of shepe: & they that haue great vmberment of shepe, muste nedes haue greate store of woll, and we cannot thynke † who shulde make the pryse of woll, but those that haue great plentye of shepe. And we do partly knowe that there be some dwellynge

1 playntyues—C. 2 L(ambeth copy) repeats des by mistake.
within these thre shyres, rather then they wyll sell theyr woll at a lowe pryse, they will kepe it a yere or twayne, and all to make it deare, and to kepe it a deare pryse. And by this meanes the fyrst proverbe to be true: The more shepe, the deare is the woll.

In the seconde proverbe, as we do thynke: The more shepe, the deare is the moton.

As by reason, the most substaunce of our feadynge was wont to be on beffe, and now it is on mutton. And so many mouthes goith to mutton, whiche causeth mutton to be deare.

In the third proverbe, as we do thinke: The more shepe, the deare is the beffe.

As by reason that bredyng and fedyng, is not set by as it hath bene in tymes past; and where as shepe is kepte vpon the pasture groundes where bredyng & fedinge of beffes was wont to be kept1, And now there is nothyng kept there but mutton.

The fourth proverbe: The more shepe, the deare is the corne.

By reason tyllage is not vsed, occupyed, and mainteyned as it hath bene before tyme, but shepe kept vpon the grounde, where tyllage was wont to be kept and mainteyned.

The 5th proverbe: The more shepe, the skanter is the weyte meate.

By reason tyllage is not vsed, occupyed, and mainteyned, nother mayntenaunce of houses and hospita!tyte, where as catle was wont to be fede and brede; by reason of kepyng of catle, shulde increase whyt meate; and now there is nothyng kept there but only shepe.

The syxte proverbe: The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

1 The Cambridge copy repeats ' & where as shepe is kept vpon the pasture groundes, where bredyng and fedyng was wont to be kept."

SUPPLICATION.
Poultry was bred by cottagers; now there is nothing but sheep.

Thus the six proverbs are true.

Three losses which make nine.
1. Fewer plows by forty in Oxfordshire.

Each plow kept six persons.

Now there is nothing but sheep.

These 240 persons must live—where shall they go?

Some of these are driven to beg, some to steal.

2. Besides keeping 6 persons, every plow gives 30 quarters of grain a year to sell, and 40 plows, each yielding 30 quarters, make 1200 quarters in each county.

By reason cottages go downe in the centre, where as pultrye was wont to be breade and fedde, nowe there is nothyng kept there but shepe, which cause the egges to be solde for fower a penny.

Thus be the syx proverbes true, as we do thynke, desyrynge you to geue hearynge vnto them, and that it may be wel amended, for the common welthe of the Kynges poore subjectes.

Then have we thre losses, that maketh nyne.

The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupied and mainteyned within Oxforthshyre as was in Kyng Henry the Seventh tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl. plowes, every plough was able to kepe vi. persons, downe lyinge and vprisynge in hys house, the whiche draweth to twelf score persons in Oxfordshyre.

And where that the sayde twelf score persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God & to our Kyng, now there is nothyng kept there, but onlye shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had neede to haue liuing:—whether shal they go? into Northhamptonsyre? and there is also the lyuinge of twelf score persons loste: whether shal then they goo? forth from shyre to shyre, and to be scathered thus abrode, within the Kynges maiestyes Realme, where it shall please Almighty God; and for lacke of maisters, by compulsion dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

The seconde losse, as we do thinke: That there is neuer a plough of the xl. plowes, but he is able to tyll and plowe to certifie syx persons, and euery plough to sell .xxx. quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yl paye, syx, seuen, eyght poundt by the yeare. xl. plowes, .xxx. quarters euery ploughe, draweth to two

1 This "two hundreth" must mean twelve hundreth: 40 \times 30 = 1200.
hundred quarters in Buckingham shyre, two hundred quarters in Oxfordshire, & two .cc. quarters in Northampton shyre, & so forth from shyre to shyre in certaine shires within the Kinges Maiesties Realme of Englande. what shall the twelf two hundred quarters of corne do in Oxfordshire? we do thynke it wyll mainteyne the Kynges markettes, and sustayne the Kynges subjectes; and lykewyse in Buckyngham shyre, & also in Northampton shyre and so from shyre to shyre, in certaine shires wythin the Kynges Magestyes Realme. Furthermore it is to be considered what thys twelf hundred quarters of corne is able to do within Oxfordshire, it is able to certifye & sufﬁce xv. score people by the yeare, bread and drynke, & allowe to every person ij. quarters of weate, and two quarters of malt, by the yere; where as in the fyrst the hole lyuings of twelf score persons, meate, & drynke, and rayment, vprys- yng & downe lyinge, payinge skot and lot to our God, and to our Kyng. And the seconde losse, bread and drynke for .xv score persons by the yeare, whiche the hole nombre draweth to .v. hundreth and .xl. persons in Oxford shyre; and so in Buckyngham shyre, & so lykewyse in Northampton shyre, and so forth from shyre to shyre wythin the Kynges Maiestyes Realme. And yf it be as we do thinck, that there be .iiiij. score plowes in euery one of these shires les then there was, then is there the lyuyng lost of a thousand & .iiiij. score persons in euerye one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse, as we do thynke, and call for remedy for it.

The thirde losse, as we do thinke: We do lose in the sayd thre shyres kepyng of houshold and hospitalitye, & maintayning of tyllage and houshold kepyng ; we do lacke corne, and also lese our cattell; for where any housholde is kept, there is kept kyne

1 C omits ‘and’.

These 1200 quarters of corn would keep 300 persons a year.

The whole second loss in Oxfordshire draws near 540 persons.

It is thought there are 80 plows lost in each shire.

3. The third loss is in households, hospitality, and tillage.
100 THE REMEDY. TWO MORE LOSSES TO THE KING.

and calues; and of our kine there commeth mylke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties subjectes; and for thyse we have nothyng but shepe.

And furthermore, where householdes be kept, there
hoggis, poultry, and other commodities,
for which we have only sheep.

The 10th point, the Remedy.

A hundred times
as many plows should be kept,
and as many households as in Henry VII's time,
then there would be enough.

Two more losses.

1. In Householdes, Tillage, and Shooters.

Shepherds are but ill archers.

2. The king loses in provisio[n for his household,

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The .x. is, which we do cal for remedy, and we
desyre of God and the Kynges Maiestye, yf it shal
please his Highnes to be so good & gracyous vnto his
poore subiectes, that there might be in euery shyre &
hundred, as many plowes vsed, occupyed, and maynte-
yned, *as many housholds kept, as was by king Henry
the Seuenth tyme, fyrst commynge. And then vnfaigned,
as we do thynke, we sholde haue come ynough, cattell
ynough, and shepe ynough; then wil shepe and well be
in more mens handes; we shal have also white meate
ynough, and all thynges necessary. And thus Iesu pre-
sere our dreade soueraingne Lorde and Kynge!

As we do thynke, we haue two losses more that we
haue not spoken: The firste losse is for lacke of hous-
hold kepynge & mayntenaunce of tyllage. It is great
decay to artyllary: for that do we reken that shepe-
herdes be but yll archers. And as we do further thynke,
it leseth the kings Maiesty in provision for his noble
householdes, that is to saye, in wheat, malt, benes,
mottons, veles, hay and otes, and pultry, & all manner
suche provisions that belongeth to hys Maiestyes hous-
holde, as we do thynke, v. thousande markes by the ycare with the left. In a trial as we do thynke, yf it
shuld please the Kynges Maiesties officyers to call in
hys graces purueyers, & examyne them where they
haue had within their tyme for his graces provisions of his warres, & for his Maiestyes housholde, where as there is nowe nothyng to be gotten: for they that kepe the sayde landes, hath put the foresayde landes to pastures, *themself byeth all maner of grayne & corne to kepe theyr housholde with all.

Furthermore, yf it shall please the Kinges Highnes, and hys noble counsell, for to haue a further tryall of thys matter, and to assure it to be true, take al craftes men dwelling in cyties & townes, daye laborers that laboreth by water or by lande, cottygers & other housholders, refusyng none, but only them that hath al this aboundaunce, that is to saye, shepe or wellmasters, and inclosers, the lamentacions of the Kinges Maiestyes subiectes will make any true herted body to seke & call for remedy, whiche we beseeche the Lorde to amende. Amen.

Furthermore, as we do thinke, this Realme doeth decaye by thys meanes: It is to vnderstande and knowen, that there is in England, townes and villages to the nomber of fifty thousand & vpward, & for euerie towne and vyllege,—take them one with an other throughout all,—there is one plowe decayed sens the fyrste yeare of the raigne of kynge Henry the Seuenth. And in som townes and vyllages all the hole towne decayed sens that time; and yf there be for euerie towne and village one plough decayed, sens the first yeare of the raigne of kyng Henry the Seuenth, then is there decayed .1. thousande plowes and vpwarde.

The *whiche .1. thousande plowes, euerie ploughie were able to mainteine .vi. persons: That is to saye, the man, the wyfe, and fower other in his house, lesse and more. .1. thousande plowes, six persons to euerie plough, draweth to the nomber of thre hundred thousand persons were wont to haue meate, drynke, and rayment, vpyrsing and down lyinge, paying skot and

Those who keep the lands, and have put them to pasture, [* sign. li. &.] buy grain to keep their household.

Take all crafts-men, and all labourers, and their lamentation will make a true man call for remedy.

In each of 50,000 towns, one plow is decayed since the 1 Hen. VII,

[* sign. B. liij.] which 50,000 plows represent a loss of 390,000 persons,

who paid scot and
lot to God, & to the Kyng. And now they haue nothynge, but goeth about in England from dore to dore, and axe theyr almose for Goddes sake. And be-
cause they will not begge, some of them doeth steale, and then they be hanged, and thus the Realme doeth decay, and by none other wayes els, as we do thynke. Besechynge your Hyghnes (of your moste noble grace) and honourable lordshyppes, the premisses tenderly considered before you in examinacion vpon the premisses, that we may haue a remedy in this behalf. And we shall dayely praye for the conservacion of your Highnes, and for your ful noble lordshyppes.

Finis.

¶ Imprinted at London in Poul's churche yearde at the sygne of Saynt Austen by Heugh Syn- gelton¹.

¹ Dibdin's Ames gives dates for Singleton from 1553 (or 1550 according to Herbert's notes), and says that Singleton died in 1592-3. The date of the present tract cannot therefore be ear-
lier than 1550, or later than 1553, when Edward VI, to whose Council it is evidently addrest, died.—F.
NOTES.

p. 36. Six Articles.—These celebrated Articles are found in the "Bloody Statute," 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. They run:—1. That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest) is present really under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, but the Substance of Christ God and Man.

2. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem by the law of God to all persons: and that it is to be believed and not doubted of, but that in the flesh under the form of bread is the very blood, and with the blood under the form of wine is the very flesh as well apart as though they were both together.

3. That priests, after the order of priesthood received as afore, may not marry by the law of God.

4. That vows of chastity or widowhead by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without that they might enjoy.

5. That it is meet and necessary that private Masses be continued and admitted in the King's English Church and congregation, as whereby good Christian people ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolation and benefit; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

6. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.—Statutes at Large, ii. 149, ed. 1811. Commissions were issued to the Archbishops, Bishops, &c., to execute the Act, and to them powers were given to take and burn books containing matters contrary to it. The Act was to be read quarterly in all churches.

p. 62. Outbreak in 1536-7.—On the 2nd of October, 1536, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were to hold their visitation at Louth,
they found a great body of peasantry in arms, clamouring for their holidays; and proclaiming that they were gathered together for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed. So far from Henry having finished his "godly purpose without bloudsride" of his "poore commons" (p. 63) he "wrote to Norfolk on the 22nd February, to 'cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practis any like matter.' A priest and a butcher at Windsor were hanged for expressing sympathy with the Northern rebels."—Knight's Crown Hist. of Eng., p. 198, 200. pp. 64—68. The Bible.—It was in 1536 that the Vicar-general's injunctions directed every parish priest to place a copy of the whole Bible in his church. These copies were all based upon Tyndal's translation. The bishops, although they had undertaken to supply a version which should suit Catholic orthodoxy, left their work untouched. In 1539 Taverner's Bible appeared. This contained a summary of things in Holy Scripture. "The priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs." This led to the sale of unauthorized editions being forbidden, and after some discussion "a temporary limitation was imposed, perhaps wisely, upon its indiscriminate use." "It was wrangled over in ale-houses and tap-rooms. It was disfigured 'in rhymes, printed ballads, plays, songs, and other fantasies.' Scandalous brawls and controversies disgraced the churches where it was placed for the people to read."—Froude, iv. 288—291. In the 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, the Bible was forbidden to be read in English in any church. Women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen; husbandmen, and labourers, might read the New Testament in English. Nothing was to be taught or maintained contrary to the King's Instructions.—Stat. at Large, ii. 201. p. 67. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.—It was "with the private connivance of Cromwell" that "other editions" of the Bible than those authorized were put in circulation (Froude, iv. 289), and this was not forgotten when he stood attainted of treason. Not only was he accused of having "been the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign," but it was alleged that "he being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, [the Bible probably being one,] particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament." On the day of his beheading, 28th July, 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard.1 Six years later one of the very party, to serve which he had risked (and lost) so much, was found to brand him as "a traytoure!"

p. 69. Boulogne.—On the 18th of September, 1544, Henry made his solemn entry into Boulogne.—Knight, p. 211. See also Froude, iv. 352.

1 Knight's Crown Hist. of Eng., p. 206.
NOTES.

p. 75. The Holy Maid of Kent. Elizabeth Barton.—"About the time of Easter, in the seventeenth yeere of the Reigne of King Henrie the Eight, it hapned a certaine maiden . . . . servant to one Thomas Kob . . . to bee touched with a great infirmitie in her bodie, which did ascende at divers times up into her throte, and swelled greatly" (Lambarde’s Perambulation, p. 170, rep.). Her history is well known. "In the ende her dissimulation was deciphered, her Popish comforters were bewraied, the deceived people were well satisfied, these daungerous deceivers were worthely executed, and the Devill their Master was quite and cleane confounded."—Ib. p. 175.

p. 75. The Rood of Kent was at Boxley. It is thus described by Lambarde (p. 205):—"It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the warres betweene us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliveraunce) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting togither fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellencie, that it not onely matched in comelynesse and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sorte; but in straunge motion, variety of gesture, and nimblenes of ioints, passed al other that before had been seene: the same being able to bow down and lift up it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: byting the lippe, and gathering of a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and shewing a most milde, amyable, and Smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it woulde seeme to be well pleased."

p. 91. Queen Catherine Howard.—In 1541, Henry solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in the society of this his Fifth Queen. On the 12th of February, 1542, she and lady Rochford were executed.
Abbey lands, how bestowed, 80.
Abbeys have become "caves of beasts," 64.
Allen, Dr, his conduct, 12, 18.
Apparel, costliness of, 52.
Archery decays, 100.
Articles, the Six, 36, 103.
Ass, the man who would make one dance, 68.
Beef is dearer, 97.
Beggars, 8.
Beggars, the Supplication of, given to the King, vi; cast about London streets, x; referred to, 61.
Bible, the, may be taken from the laity, 37; by whom it might be read, 64; to be placed in churches, 67; to be called in, 68; translation of, 69.
Bishoprics, how bestowed, 34.
Bishops' negligence, the consequences of, 37, 40, 41, 53; possessions of, 47; their worldly business, 48; how they use their riches, 49, 50; the offices they seek, 51, 54, 55; they must be taken away, 56; how they might be tested, 83.
Boleyn, Lady Anne, gives Fish's book to the King, vi.
Books in English forbidden, x; list of, xii; contrary to the Six Articles to be burnt, 36, 103.
Boulogne, capture of, 69, 104.
Brinklow, R., may have written Supplications, xiii
Buckinghamshire, decay in, 96, 99.
Bysgod, Sir F., quoted on idleness in abbeys, 15, note.
Cattle-breeding neglected, 96.
Celibacy, 75.
Chaplain, the, with numerous livings, 78.
Chaplains, the numbers of, 29, 30; privileges of, 76.
Children can't be sent to school, 80.
Church, the, what it teaches, 74.
Clergy, abuse and treatment of the, xv; conduct of the, 1; gains of the, 2; ignorance of, 21, 27, 32, 33; cause of ignorance in others, 23, 35; fees received by the, 87; what they would tithe if they dare, 87; sevenths paid to, 88.
Commission to forbid the reading of English books, x.
Corn, deficiency of, 95.
Cottages go down, 79, 97.
Craftsmen and labourers, lamentation of, 101.
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, 67, 104.

Dates of 2nd and 3rd Supplications, xiii.

Dead, prayers for the, 44, 45.
Drunkenness, 53.

Eggs are dearer, 97.
Elyot and Robinson introduced to the King, viii.

English, service in, 89.

Fashions, extravagant, xv, 52.

Fees received by the clergy, 87.

Fish, Simon, the story of, vi; Wood's account of, xiii; introduced to the King, vii; dies of the plague, vii.

Fish's wife persecuted by Sir T. More, vii.

Friars and monks, numbers of, 2, 4, 42; the money and property they receive, 3, 4, 9, 42; their rebellious conduct, 4, 5.

Frith's answer to Sir T. More's Purgatory, x.

Heresy, men accused of, 8.

Horsey, Dr, his conduct in Hurne's case, 12.

Hospitality, decay of, 99.

Hospitals are abused, 13.

Howard, Queen Catherine, referred to, 91, 105.

Hurne, Richard, his life and death, 9, 12, 16.

Kent, the Holy Maid and winking Rood of, 75, 104, 105.

Kine kept in every house, 99.

King, the tokens of his end, 81.

Kings, how they have bestowed bishopricks 34.

Latin, service in, 89.

Laws, good, made, 25.

Lawyers, plenty of, 51.

Learning in England, 21; what sort of, 23.

London, a grievous charge on, 84.

Losses sustained by the country by the change in farming, xvi, 97—100.

Maid of Kent, the Holy, 75, 104.

Masses paid for, but unsaid, 14.

Meat, white, is dearer, 97.

Moddys, Edmund, the King's footman, talks of religion and the new books, viii.

Monks, their lust, 6, 9, 15; ought to be married, 7; their prayers, 9, 10; how they ought to be treated, 14, 15; their idleness, 15, note: possessions of, 61.

Monks and nuns "weeded out," 62.

More, Sir T., his Supplycacyon of Sonslys, v, viii; answered by Frith, x; his Utopia, ix; persecutes Fish's wife, vii.

Mortmain, statute of, 9, 12.

Music, Church, 75.

Mutton is dearer, 97.

Non-residence and pluralities, 28, 29.

Northamptonshire, decay in, 96, 99.

Oxfordshire, decay in, 96, 98.

Parishes and parish churches, number of, in England, 2, 101.

Pater noster, No penny, no, 87.

Patronage, abuses of, 77.

Patrons are negligent, 27; and bestow livings on the undeserving, 35; warned, 31, 33; their duties, 38.
Plow, how many persons one would keep, 98.
Plows, more to be kept, 100; how many less, 101.
Poor, numbers of, 8; ought to be relieved, 44; the, how to be provided for, 70; the, were better off under the old condition of things, 79; the, how they are oppressed—some beg, some steal, some are hanged, 79; driven to beg or steal, 98, 102.
Population, checks to increase of, 6, 15.
Poultry scarcer, 98, 100.
Poverty of the people, xv; 1, 43, 61.
Preaching, the want of, and its results, 26.
Pride, 53.
Proverbs, six, 95, 96.
Purgatory, 10, 45.

Rebellion referred to, 64, 103.
Rents are raised, 79.
Rich, the conduct of the, xv.
Robinson and Elyot have an interview with the King, viii.
Roo, M., his play or interlude, vi.
Rood of Kent, the, 75, 105.
Roy, William, v, note.

Sacrament, people beg to pay for the, 86.
School, why children cannot be sent to, 80.
Schools should be founded out of abbey funds, 44.

Scriptures, ignorance of the, 22.
Service in Latin and English, 89.
Sevenths paid to clergy, 88.
Sheep and sheepmasters, 95, 96.
Sheep Tract, subject of, xvi; date of, 103.
Shepherds and archery, 100.
Simony, 82.
Six Articles, books contrary to, to be burnt, 36, 103.
Supplications, authorship of, xiii; subjects discussed in, xiv.
Swearing, 53.

Tenants of Abbey-lands, how treated, 80.
Testament, the New, forbidden, x, xi; translations of the, 67, 104.
Thieves, 8.
Tillage not attended to, 96.
Tithes, origin and history of, 70—74; payable on sheep dying of rot, 85.
Tonstall's prohibition of English New Testaments, x.
Traditions of the Church, 74.
Tramps, then and now, xvii, note.

Unemployed, the numbers of, then, xvii.
Usury, 82, 84.
Utopia of Sir T. More, ix.

Vice is rampant, 82.
Vices which are prevalent, 53.

Wood's account of Fish, xiii.
Wool is dearer, 97.
Glossarial Index.


My best thanks are due to the Rev. Dr Rock and the Rev. W. W. Skeat for their valuable assistance in the explanation of certain words in this Glossary.

Addyce, 47, to give over to.
Aduaylable, 8, available.
Adulterine, 92, adulterate, counterfeit, corrupt.
Alckmist, 77, alchemist.
Amners, 34, almoners.
Artchers, 100, archers.
Artillery, 100, artillery, the art of shooting with bows and arrows.
Assityng, 2, to ascite, to call, to summon.
Attender, 96, to attend to.
A wiles, 68. In the mean time.
Axe, 101, ask.


Bloudsupper, 5, a murderer, a bloodsucker. "Poor creatures that should be killed by these unsaciate blood-soupers for his truth's sake." Bp Bale, p. 324.
Bopipe, 68, bo-peep.
"Some of the byshoppes at your injunctions slepe, Some laugh and go bye, and some can play boo pipe,"
Bale's Kyng Johan, p. 97.
Brenninge, 41, burning.
Brui, 64, brute.
Bryres, 56, briers.
Buggery, 63, "the coupling of one man with another, or of man or woman with a brute beast." P.
Bumne court, 48, a court which took cognizance of certain vices.
By, set by, 97, thought much of.

Cannebes, 75, canopies. "Cannabie, canabie, a corruption of canopy." Jamieson: who adds that it is used in Inventories. "Canopeum, reticulum subtile factum de canabo. The Canope alluded to in the Promptorium was very probably the Unbracculum under which the Sacred Host was carried in the

Carp, 88, talk, or speak.

Catyuite, 23, captivity.

Chaplaynes, 42, "Rydynge Chaplaynes"?

Church ales, 41; a church ale was a feast in commemoration of the dedication of a church.

Cocke of haye, 65, "a conical heap of hay." *H*.

Coelginers, 66. Bailey has "coeliginous," but whether the "Coelginers" were a "heaven-born" sect or what they were I don't know. Cp. "Then was there an infinite table of . . . . . . sententioers and summitters, of coltiginers and canonists." *Bp Bale*, p. 350. Canon Rock suggests that the writer meant Culdees. "The Culdees were a sect of religious monks, remarkable for their religious exercises of preaching and praying." *B*.

Cohbyted, 25, hindered.

Commessacyon, 53, commissation, revelling.

Coopes, 75, Copes. "Cope, a sacred vestment which is directed by the Canons of the Reformed Church to be worn at the celebration of the communion in cathedral and collegiate church." *P. P.*, note 2, p. 91.

Corporace, 75, "Corporasse, or corporale. *Corporale*." *P. P.* "The term corporas, *corporalis palla*, denotes a consecrated linen cloth folded and placed upon the altar in the service of the mass, beneath the sacred elements." Ib. note 3, p. 93. The corporal "is the name given to the linen cloth which is spread over the body (*corpus*), or consecrated bread, in the communion." *Hook's Church Dict.*, 9th ed. So that the corporas or corporal is placed beneath the Elements by the Roman Catholic, over them by the Protestant.

Councetics, 80, convents.

Counfortable, 28, comfortable.

Counforte, 28, comfort.

Covent, 27, convent.

Cream, 41, *Chrism*. Oil consecrated in the Romish and Greek churches by the bishop, and used in baptism, confirmation, orders, and extreme unction. "At the last crept in the worshipping of relics and shrines, with holy oil and *cream*." *Bp Bale*, p. 320.


Cukkoldrie, 6, the act of adultery.

Cure, 29, care.

Dashed, 8, condemned, confounded. "The gentlemen were dashed by his earnestness." *Gina's Baby*, p. 175.

Debies, 85, deputics. "These spiritual tyrants shall examine you . . . . . and so deliver you up unto kings and debies." *Bp Bale*, p. 6.

Demaner, 61, demeanour.

Demurante, 32, grave in behaviour.

Deplorate, 46, deplorable.

Dimitted, vii, dismissed, sent away.

Distayne, 81, to stain.

Dwe, 77, due.

Dome, 53, dumb.

Drafsacke, 15, a sack full of draf,
a place of extreme wickedness. "Proving their traditions to be most vile *draff*, and most stinking dregs of sin." *Bp Bale*, p. 285.
Effectuously, x, effectually, completely. "That Esay . . . . with all other prophets, warneth aforehand to follow concerning Christ and his church, this mystery declareth effectuously fulfilled." Bp Bale, p. 253.

Elbowhanglers, 77, hangers-on, parasites.


Enprysonmente, 36, imprisonment.

Enterdite, 5, interdict.

Entermedlyng, xi, intermixing.

Eretik, 9, heretic.

Estatute, 30, statute.

Exquysytely, 22, exquisitely, accurately, with great exactness; minutely. "Exquisite, curious, choice; also exact, or carry'd on to the utmost height." P.

Externe, 91, external.

Felies, 85, fells, skins, or hides.

Fiftenes, 3, fifteenths.

Frayd, 84, afraid.

Fumish, viii, angry, fractious.

Fumishly, ix, angrily.

Galpe, 81, gape, gape after, to look forward to.

Gnatonical, 77, 89, gnat-like.

Goulafres, 10. See note, p. 10.

Gyldes, 75. "Gild, guild, or geld, A company of men united together, with laws and orders made among themselves." P. In the text it means the house in which a religious fraternity or gild lived.

Habilite, 65, ability, power, or authority.

Habitacle, 24, a dwelling or habitation. "And he shall finally sup with me and with him in the eternal habitation of God . . ." Bp Bale, p. 296.

Holle, 50, whole.

Hyed, 50, hide.

Hylded, 85, skinned. Hild, to skin. H.

Illected, 6, enticed. "Illeactus. Pleasantly provoked, intised, tolled, allured." Cooperi Thesaurus.

Impe, 92, a shoot of a tree, a cutting, a bud. "He shall be called . . . . a lamb of Christ's fold, a sheep of his pasture, a branch of his vine, a member of his church, an imp of his kingdom." Bp Bale, p. 292. The same writer uses it in a bad sense: "O very imps of hell, and limbs of the devil!" p. 441.

Importune, 84, importunate.

Iorney, 71, journey.

Iote, 83, jot. "One iote, or one title of the law shall not seape." S. Mat. v. 18, Genevan New Test. 1557.

Iour, 92, your.

Ioywell, 39, jewel.

Kyre Eleyson, 69. Kyrie Eleison, the Greek of "Lord, have mercy" upon us.

Latward, 71. "Lateward, that is of the latter season." P.

Lazer, 77, leprous, afflicted with leprosy.

Leas, 80, lease.

Liripope, 84. The following is Mr Halliwell's note on this word: "Liripoops. An appendage to the ancient hood, consisting of long tails or tippets, passing round the neck, and hanging down before,
reaching to the feet, and often jagged. The term is often ju-
cularly used by writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. 'A lerrypoop vel lerripoop, a silly empty crea-
ture, an old dotard.' Miles, MS. Devon Gloss. A priest was for-
merly jocularly termed a lerry-cum-
poop. It seems to mean a trick or stratagem, in the London Prodigtal, p. 111. 'And whereas thou takest
the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyrrippus after an-
other fashion than to be thus male-
pertlic cocking and billing with
me, that am thy governour.' Stan-
hurst, p. 35.

Theres a girls that knowes her lerrypoop.
Lillie's Mother Bombie, 1594.'
"I believe the scurf grew out of
the fur tippet or almuce, or amess,
not the lrripipe of the hood." Church Times, 16 Dec., 1870, p. 536, col. 4.

Lobies, 14, looby, a silly awk-
ward fellow. H.
Loutes, 15, clownish unmannerly
fellows.
Luubbers, 15. "Abbay loutes or
luubbers." Drudges, lazy drones.
"Idul abbey-lubharys, wyhc are
ape to no thyng but . . . only to
e and dryuke." England in Henry
VIII's Time, p. 131, ed. J. M.
Cowper.
Lubricite, 7, lubricity, incontin-
ency. See Lubricus, Cooperi The-
saurus.
Lyuelycke, 66, lively, living.

Mailheme, 8. "Mailhem or Ma-
him, (F.) main, wound, hurt." P.
Morowe mas, 42. Morrow Mass.
I am indebted to Canon Rock for the follow-
ing:—"Time out of mind
and while the Anglo-Saxons ruled,
there used to be in every monastery,
cathedral, and large church, in this
land, two altars in every chancel:
one, the high or large altar; the
other, a smaller altar, not always
but usually at the back of this
larger altar. Every morning at
dawn, and at the end of matins, a
mass was sung or said at the smaller
altar, and the monk or priest who
celebrated it was termed the mor-
row-mass priest; and the altar it-
self was named the morrow Mass
Altar." "The morrow masse a-
wer" of Faversham had, in the 4th
Henry VIII. "Imprimis. A chise-
byll of grene damaske with lyones
of golde with apparel for the preest.
It. A masse boke preynted.
It. 2 cruetts of pewter.
It. 2 kandylytykks and a small of
laton standing upon brods herse."
Hook's Faversham, p. 164.
And Thomas Sterkey of Faversham
gave, in 1525, "to the morrow
masse aulter every weke a penny
after my decease the space of one
whole yere." Lewis's Fan. Mon. in
the Church of Faversham, p. 37.

Mortvairies, 85, mortuaries.
"Mortuary, in the English ecclesi-
astical law, is a gift left by a man
at his death to his parish church,
in recompence of personal tithes
omitted to be paid in his lifetime.
By 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6, mortuaries
were commuted into money pay-
ments." Hook's Ch. Dict.

Mought, 5, might.
Muncke penyeyons, 42, Monk
pensioners.
Murmuracyon, 26, murmur, or
murmuring.
Mysse, 78, a wrong, that which
is amiss.

Nasturcium, ix, the herb nose-
smart.

Noble, 80, a coin of the value of
6s. 8d. "And in thys yere (1527)
began the golde to ryse, as the
angell nobylt at vijs. and in No-
ember after it was made vijs. vjd."
Grey Friars' Chron., p. 33. The
angell also was of the value of 6s. 8d.
But when “a phisician called Doctor Nicholas,” received “xx Angelis, vij li. x. s.” the angel was worth 7s. 6d. Furnivall’s Andrew Boorde, p. 49, note 1.

Obeisant, 81, obedient.
Obeyesance, 90, obedience.
Other, 46, either.

Palme trees, 78. The Sallow, salix caprea, is commonly known in the Midland counties as the Palm.

“As you like it, iii. 2.
“Ye leaning palms, that seem to look
Pleased o’er your image in the brook.”

Clare’s Rural Life, p. 62.
Pax, 75. A small tablet of silver, or some fit material, often very elaborately ornamented, by means of which the kiss of peace was, in the mediaval Church, circulated through the congregation. “Crucifixes . . . borne aloft in their gaddings abroad, with the religious occupuyings of their paxes, cruets, and jewels which be of silver.” Bp Bale, p. 526.

Pewling, viii, ix, x. “To pule, to piep or cry as chickens and young birds do. To whine, to cry, to whimper.” B.
“To speak pulling, like a beggar at Hallowmas.”

Two Gent. Ver. ii. 1.
“A wretched pulling fool,
A whining mammet.”
Rom. & Jul. iii. 5.

Perseuation, 73, persecution.
Personagyes, 34, parsonages. “So is there in personages, some sente from Christ as shepherds to fede, and some from the deuyll as theues to deoure.” Lever’s Sermons, p. 66, Arber’s reprint.
Petyt, 87, petty, little, small, paltry.
Pixes, 75. Pyx, the vessel or box in which the Host is kept. Irreverently called “god-boxes” by Bp Bale, p. 527.
Pours, 63, powers, authorities.
Prist, 90, priest.
Prodicessours, 77, predecessors.
Prophanate, xi, to profane.
Prosession, 69, procession.
Prystishe, 45, priestish.
Pue, 67, pew.
Pyed, 79, black and white, parti-coloured. “These freres of the Pye] would appear to be not very different from the Carmelites; they were called Pied Friars from their dress being a mixture of black and white, like a magpie.” Pierce the Ploughmen’s Crade, ed. Skeat, p. 35.
“The Pied Friars had but one house, viz. at Norwich. We find the expression ‘Fratrum, quos Freres Pye veteres appellabant’ in Thom. Walsingham, Hist. Anglicana, vol. i. p. 152; ed. H. T. Riley. See also Notes and Queries, 4 S. ii. 496.” Additional Note to the same.
Pynfolde, viii, a place of confinement.

Quest, 9, inquest, a jury of citizens.
Realyfe, 70, relief.
Renomed, 82, renowned.
Reuaille, 69, reveal.
Royalme, 78, realm.

Salue, 28, to apply salve to, to heal.
Scala celi, 41, Scala Coeli, the name given to "a vision of St Bernard's, who, while celebrating a funereal mass, saw the souls for whom he was praying going up to heaven by a ladder." Sometimes the term "is used merely as one of mystical figurative names of the Madonna." Political and Rel. Poems, xxvii.


Seased, 80 (Law term), seized of, possessed of.

Sence, 41, cense, to perfume with incense.

Sensour, 76, censers.

Serpentical, 74, serpent-like, devilish.

Shavelings, 41. A term of contempt for a priest. "This Babylonish whore, or disguised synagogue of shorelings, sitteth upon many waters or peoples." By Bale, p. 494. Shavelings of prodigious beastliness in lecherous living under the colour of chastity. Ib. p. 497.

Shepe, 75, ship. "Schyppe, vesselle to put yn rychel (incense)"

P. P. "Acerra, a schyp for cesse," Nominale MS. xv. Cent. quoted by Halliwell. "He gave a senser, and a shyp of clene syluer, argento puro." Howman, P. P. p. 80, note 6. Sir T. More uses the word, but the reference I have not at hand. Canon Rock tells me he thinks sheep is meant. He says, "It was usual in those times for people having nothing better to bestow in charity, to give certain animals to the church that therewith some money might arise, to be expended for charitable purposes: cows, for instance, that their milk, butter, and cheese might produce sums for charity; and sheep for the wool they produced, to be sold for the like purpose. The ship for incense is not a thimble, but an oblong shallow kind of box for holding incense. This appliance is now called 'an incense boat,' and in Latin is known as the navicula, because shaped in the form of one, but without any mast."

Skanter, 96, scarcer.

Skantite, 95, scarceness.

Skot and lot, 98, "a customary contribution laid upon all subjects according to their ability." B. "Every freeholder is bound to be a partaker in lot, which is liability to hold office, and in scot, which means contribution to taxes and other charges." Riley's Mem. of London, p. 601, quoted in Smith's English Gilds, p. 474.

Sloughtfully, 3, cruelly, murderously.

Sparcled, vi, enlightened, illuminated.

Steare, 24, 63, stir.

Steruelaunges, 64, starvelings; lean, hungry-looking persons.

Strawne, x, strewn, scattered.

Sumner, 17, summoner. See note, p. 17.

Swynescotes, 78, pig-sties.

Swynged, 69, repeated frequently and loudly.

Tapurs, 75, tapers.

Thouchyng, 96, touching.

Towardnes, 81, "Child of great towardness," child of great promise.

Trentalles, 41, Trental, a service of thirty masses for the dead, usually celebrated on as many different days. "On je morwe to seie

Vmermente, 96, number. Vmber, number. H.

Vnaxed, 8, unasked.

Vndoutely, 65, undoubtedly.

Voult safe, 85, vouchsafe. Another form of the word is *withsave*. “For unto them only are his heavenly verities known, to whom he *withsaveth* to open them.” *Bp Bale*, p. 473.

Vre, 51, ure, use.

Vtylite, 3, utility.

Wayne, 23, vain.

Warmoll, 9. See note, p. 9. Mr Skeat says: “*Warmoll*. I know nothing of it, and can only guess. It may be *warn*, to admonish, and *mall*. But what is *mall*? It can hardly be *Fr. mal*. It can hardly be *Mall* or *Moll*, a common name for frail ones. Nor am I satisfied with a friend’s guess that the word is *warn-em-all*! It’s too clever. And as if to make that which is dark darker, I find A.S. *worn-mælum* (spelt *wearn-mælum* in Bosworth) means by companies. Cf. O.E. *flockmæl*, by flocks, and *piece-mæl*, by pieces.”

Weyte, 97, white.

Wringyng, 77. “To wrest... to *wring*... to force the sense of a passage or author.” P.

Wyllouse, 78, willows.

Wyte, ix, blame, reproach.

Yie, 1, eye.

Yower, 75, ewer.

Ypochrise, 11, hypocrisy.

Ypochrite, 11, hypocrites.
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