England
in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

PART I.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

WITH AN APPENDIX, GIVING AN EXTRACT FROM

SIR WILLIAM FORREST'S
Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise, 1548.

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STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

§ 1. The family of Starkey, p. iii
§ 2. Starkey appointed proctor at Oxford, p. vii
§ 3. Presented to the living of Great Mongeham, p. viii
§ 4. Applies to Cromwell to be appointed to some office at Court, p. vii
§ 5. Appointed king's chaplain, p. x
§ 6. Dr Sampson's book on the divorce, p. xi
§ 7. Starkey's first letter to Pole, p. xii
§ 8. His second letter, p. xviii
§ 9. His third letter, p. xxiii
§ 10. Letter to Cromwell, p. xxvii
§ 11. Fourth letter to Pole, p. xxvii
§ 13. Starkey's remonstrance with Pole, p. xxxiv
§ 14. Letters to Cromwell, p. xxxix, xl
§ 15. Last letter to Pole, p. xiv
§ 16. Letter to Henry on the use to be made of the revenues of suppressed monasteries, p. xlviii
§ 17. Appointed to Corpus Christi Chapel, Cannon Street, p. lxxiii
§ 18. Starkey's death, p. lxx
§ 19. Letter to Cromwell, p. lxxi
§ 20. Dedication of the Dialogue to Henry, p. lxxii
§ 21. Extract from Becon's Jewel of Joy, p. lxxvi

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

§ 1. Of Starkey's birth and family we know nothing for certain. He
was in all probability descended from a family of high standing and considerable local influence in Cheshire. Of this family we find four distinct branches, but to which of these Thomas Starkey belonged I am unable satisfactorily to ascertain. The four branches were, (1) the Starkeys of Stretton; (2) of Barnton (Cheshire) and Huntroyde (Lancashire); (3) of Olton or Oulton; and (4) of Wrenbury.

Thomas Starkey may have been brother to Laurence Starkey (mentioned below), who at that time was the representative of the second branch of the family; but he certainly could not have been son, since from an Inquisi post mort. we find that the latter's eldest son was only 14 years of age in 1517, when his father died. It is also certain that he was not the son nor the brother of the Hugh Starkey, the representative of the third branch, also mentioned below, for the latter at his death, in 1555, left but one son (illegitimate), Oliver, who afterwards became Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta; and his only brother James was buried beside him in Over Church.

Neither did Starkey belong to the fourth branch, for that branch was at the time represented by another Thomas, who was 30 years of age in 1528. The family of Starkey dates back to an early period of English history, for we find that in the reign of King John, Roger Fitz-Alured granted the Manor of Stretton (Cheshire) to Richard Starkey and his heirs, "to hold as freely as any of the said Richard's ancestors ever held the same, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. And Sir Geoffrey de Warburton released unto Thomas Starkey of Stretton, and to his heirs, all his claim in Villa de Stretton, ceu in aliqua Parcella eisdem, ut de Wardis, Mariagiis, Releviis, Exactis, Honagiis, aut Servitiis, qua predictus Thomas aut Antecessores sui mihi, seu Antecessoribus meis, facere solebant: Datum 4 die Aprilis, 5 Rich. II. (1382). Yet, notwithstanding, the said

1 But there was another or a branch of the same family in Kent, and as Starkey held a living near Deal, as mentioned below, it is just possible he may have belonged to this branch.
2 See Ormerod, Hist. of the County Palatine and City of Chester, 1819, I. 471.
3 Ormerod, II. 103, 104.
5 Ormerod, III. 205.
Thomas and his heirs shall pay yearly to the said Sir Geffrey and his heirs one pair of white gloves on Easter-day for all service."

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

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

A John Sterkey is mentioned amongst the royal officers of the "Hall" as Surveyor.

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

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

1 Historical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, collected by Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., London, 1673, pp. 353, 354.
2 Ormerod, II. 105.
4 Ibid. I. 719; see also II. pt. ii. p. 1483.
5 Ormerod, Hist. of Chester, II. 103.
6 Letters and Papers, &c., II. 1549.
7 Ibid. IV. pt. iii. p. 2598.
8 Ibid. IV. pt. i. p. 111.
deceased;\(^1\) and on the 28th of the same month a *significavit* from William Haryngton, LL.D., Canon and Residentiary of St Paul’s, and official of the spirituality of the see of London for William, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his confirmation of Eleanor Starkey as prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Leonard’s, and praying for restitution of the temporalities.\(^2\) This is followed on the 28th July by a writ to the Escheator of the Counties of Essex and Herts for the restitution of the temporalities on the election of Eleanor Sterkey.\(^3\)

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

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

Probably it is this same Thomas Starkey whom we find set down for an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. amongst the king’s “officers in Wales” in the year 1526.\(^5\)

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

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

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

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

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

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

University may be exempted from contributing to the loan their obligations will be the greater.  

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

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

§ 4. From this time we do not hear anything of Starkey till some time towards the close of 1534, when we find him writing to Cromwell, asking him to use his influence to procure for him some

1 For the war.
3 Registers of Canterbury Diocese (preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library), Archbishop Warham, leaf 402, back.
4 By the kindness of Col. Chester I have been furnished with a copy of the will (recorded in Book "Pynnyng," at folio 6) of a certain Thomas Starkey, Clerk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 2nd May, 1544, but dated 25th August, 1538, which is, as nearly as we can judge, exactly the date of Starkey's death. In this will the testator desires to be buried in the "Chauncell of North Petherton at the discretion of the curat there," and leaves "towards the reparation of the Church of North Petherton, viis." The will proceeds—" Item I gave to my father Thomas Starkey, in parte of recom pense of his greate coste and chargies vpon my bringing ypp, furthering me in good lernyng, xli. Item I geve to the veray honorable and my singuler good lorde, my lorde Montague, foure pounds to bie hym a bagg." To his brother, "John Starkey," he leaves his "best gowne," and all his books he bequeaths to a Dr Wotton, who is "to take certeyne to his children as he shall thinke profitable to farther theyme in tymo to come to theire lernyng," and the rest, some are to go to "the furnyssbyng of the library of Magdalen College," and some to be given to poor scholars. To the family of the Vicar of North Petherton he bequeaths "for their diligent payne and labours by nights and day taken abowte me in myne infirmity and sickness, foure markes of lawfull money of England," from which it would seem that the testator had been, and was then, residing at North Petherton, by the vicar of which place, Sir John Bulen, the will is witnessed. If this be the will of our author, it appears tolerably certain that he was the son of the Thomas Starkey already (p. vi.) mentioned as in receipt of a pension for his services to Henry VII. It is difficult to see what connection Starkey had with North Petherton, or why the will executed in August, 1538, should not have been proved till 1544.
appointment in the king's service, and giving a short sketch of his life and studies.

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

The following is his letter to Cromwell:—

(*Harl. 283, leaf 129.*)

Syr, the grete gentylnes of you so manystedly schowyd toward me, wythe the contynuance of such a benevolent mynd in settyng forward my purpos, gynyth me yet a lytyl more boldines to trowboul you wyth the redyng of thys scrole, besechyng you of your patyence therin, whyle I a lytyl more at large schow to you my mynd & purpos, the wyche I had thought to hane downe thes days past presently before you, yf I myght hane found you at a conuenyent leysor to the herynge of the same, for gladly I wold that you schold a lytyl more playnly know wyth what hart & mynd I wold serue the kyng wythal. And fyrst, for as much that you may peraenueture juge, that I, mouyd only by the hygh authoryte wherin hyt hathe plesyd the kyngys hyghnes most worthyly to set you, so much desyre by your specyal preferment to be set forward to the kyngys seruyce now at thys tyyme, I schal besech you of your gentylnes not to take me so, for, albe-hyt that by your authoryte I wyl not deny I am somewhat mouyd in dede, yet certaynly thys to you I wyl affyrme, yf ther were not other causys joynyd therto wych more scharpely styry and pryke my mynd then dothe that, I, beyng to you so vnknowen as I am, wold neuer hane tempytd nor enterprysyd such a purpos wyth you: for yf I had not found at such tyme as I fyrst salutyd you at home, a synguler humanyte & gentylnes in you, and yf I had not much herd of your gudnes in settyng forward at honest purposys, ye and yf I had not seen & perceuyuyd your excellent wyseydome & your other vertues, most worthy of al hygh authoryte, I thinke I had neuer conceuyuyd thys purpos, I thinke I had neuer set my selfe in thys case, wherein my specyal trust ys more to be to you bounden than in the rest of my lyfe wyth any seruyce I can deserve; for of thys I assure you I am not of so vyle & base of stomake as for to opayne any benefyte wordly, to desyre to be bounden to any man whom I can not wyth hart and mynd recurr-ently both honoure & loue. Wherfor of thys I schal besech you to be
peruseacd euer surely to haue in me such a hart and stomake as ys convenient to be in hym, who to you of al other schal be most bounden. And now, Syr, to the intent that you may somewhat perceive such pore qualytes as be in me, and so therapon wyth your beneuolent mynd you may set forward somewhat better my purpos, I schal breuely schowe vnto you the ordur, process, & end of al my studys. Fyrst, here in oxford a grete parte of my youthe I occuypyd my selfe in the study of phylosophy, joynynge therto the knolege of both tongys bothe latyn & greke, and so aftur passyd ouer in to Italy, whereas I so delytyd in the contemplacyon of natural knolege—wherin the most parte of men lettryd ther occupye themselfys—that many tymys I was purposyd to haue spend the rest of my lyfe holly therin, tyl at the last, moyd by chrystyan charyte, phylosophy set apart, I applyd my selfe to the redyng of holy serypture, jugyng al other secrete knolege not applyd to some vse & prolyt of other to be but as a vanyte. wherfor in the study of holy letterys certayn yerys I spent, aftur the wyche, by-cause my purpos then was to lyue in a polytyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cnyyle Law, that I myght therby make a more stabyl and sure jugement of the polytyke ordur & custumys vsyd amonge vs here in our country, aftur thys maner In dynyse kynys of studys I haue occupyd my selfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos at the last here in thys commynalty where I am brought forth & borne to employ them to some vse; and though in them I haue not most profttyd, yet dylygence & wyl hathe not lakkyd thereto: but what so euer hyt ys that I hane by the gudenes of god attaynyd vn-to I schal most gladly, aftur your jugement & aduyse, apply hyt to the servuce of our prynce, and therby rekun my selfe to attayne a grete parte of my felycyte. Wherfor I beseech you, syr, as you of your only gudnes haue begun, so at your plesure & convenient lesar to helpe forward thys my purpos, and then schal I be to you more bounden then I am yet to any mortal man lyuyng.

Your assyryd servuant
Thomas Starkey.

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

§ 5. In accordance with Starkey’s request, Cromwell appears to have used his influence with the king, for we find him in February, 1535, holding the post of chaplain to Henry, who, it would seem, soon entertained a high opinion of him, since within a few months of his appointment he was intrusted with the delicate commission of ascertaining the views of Reginald Pole on the two questions of the legality of the king’s marriage with Queen Katherine and of the supremacy of the Pope.
It would be out of place here to give any lengthened account of the events which led to this. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that the Pope, Clement VII., had, on the 23rd of March, 1534, in accordance with the decision of a consistory of cardinals, declared Henry's marriage with Katherine valid and indissoluble; while the parliament in England, on the other side, pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn lawful, and confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English Church, prohibiting every kind of payment to the Pope, and vesting in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes.  

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

"Acta in Concil[io] Domini Regis, 2ndo Decembr."

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

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

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

1 Froude, Hist. of England, II. 208.
2 See MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., lf. 313. The first, which is referred to above, runs as follows:—Fyrste. To sende for all the bishipes of this realme and speycyllie for suche as be nerest vnto the Courtie, and to examyn them a-parte whether they by the law of god can prove and iustifie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is abow the generall counsaille, or the generall counsaille abow him. Or whether he hathe gyven vnto him by the law of god any more auctoryte within the realme then any other Foreyn Bishop.
3 MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., lf. 317.
quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Rho-
[mani], qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in
Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo non homini.
" Hæc est veritas Dei firmata.
" Londini, in Ædibus Tho. Bertheleti " (no date).
It consists of 14 leaves, 4to, with the colophon—"Thomas Berthe-
letus Regius Impre sor Excudebat. Cum privilegio."

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

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

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

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

¹ Romans xiii. 1.
² 1 Peter ii. 13.
attained to the highest position in the English Church. He had studied at Paris and Padua with such good results that, as he himself in 1536 states in a letter to the king, he, though still a young man, "had long been conversant with old men; had long judged the oldest man that lived too young for him to learn wisdom from." He had not, however, been able to assent to the resolutions of parliament and convocation relative to the divorce of Henry from Queen Katherine, and he had in consequence applied for and obtained leave to reside for a time at Avignon, whence he afterwards removed to Padua. Meanwhile the king's feelings towards him had remained unchanged; the revenues of the deanery of Exeter and his pension were regularly paid to him, and he was exempted specially from the condition required of all holders of ecclesiastical benefices, of swearing allegiance to the issue of Anne Boleyn. To him, therefore, the king's thoughts naturally turned, and in conversation with Starkey he inquired from him what he believed to be Pole's sentiments on the subject of the Pope's supremacy and the divorce, and whether, if applied to, he would be likely to write in favour of Dr Sampson's book. To these inquiries Starkey answered cautiously, that, although he was confident that Pole's hearty desire was to do the king service, yet as to his opinions on these subjects he could say nothing, since Pole had always preserved a strict silence on the point. This answer did not satisfy the king, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to Pole and communicate to him his wishes. Starkey accordingly writes as follows:

(15 February, 1535.)

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

Abstract.

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

1 Strype, Eccles. Memor., II. 305.  
2 Harl. MS. 283, leaf 131.
cernyng the Instytution of our lyfys, wyth such fydelyte mynystryd apon both partys as was conuenyent to the syncrenes of our hartyng & myndys, but yf euer any of thes you haue jugynd to be worthy of remembreng, or yet dow styke in your memory & mynd, I besech you let thes few wordys wych I now to you wryte be put in the nombur of them, wyth gud aduertysement and consyderacyon of the same, for the[y] conceerne the hole ordue of your lyfe here aftur to be lade in thyss our cuutryng among your natural louerys & frendlys. (2) Syr, I was but Late by the synguler gentylnes of Maystur Secretary, wos gudnes bothe toward me & also to you ys so sonke in to my brest, that duryng my lyfe I schal euer reken my selfe next to our prynce aboue al other most faythfully to hym bounden, for in the court to the kyngys servyce and by hys most louyng commendacyonysesgraciously of hys hyghnes acceptyd & admyttyd that shortly aftur hyt plesyd the same to cal me to hys presence, and ther of you, of your studys, and of your sentence & opynyon in hys graecys most weyghty causys here late defynyd, most louyngly many thyngrs to demaunde ; to the wych I made such answere, as euer I haue jugynd conuenyent to be made before the maiesty of a prynce ; that ys, such thyngrs as I knowe manyfes & true playlyny to affyrme, and such whoref I stond in dowte by coniecture only to rehece: and so your mynd, haryt & desyre to dow hys grace true & faythful servyce, wych I know no other wyse then I know myn owne, I boldly dyd affyrme, but as touchyng your opynyon in hys graecys late defynyd causys, one of the matrymony, the other concernyng theauthoryte of the pope, for as much as you euer haue vsyd thys prudent sylence neuer to dysclose your sentence & mynd but in tyme & place, I coude not of your opynyon any thyngr therein playlyny affyrme, but yet thys to hys hyghnes I sayd & suery I thought, that as fer as your lernyng & jugement, wych I estymydyd by tyme & dylygent study somewhat was alteryf & incresyd, also touchyng the dycernyng betwyx goddys law & manmys wold streche & extend, al your powar & al such knolege & lernyng as by the gudnes of god & hys graecys lyberalyte you had obtaynyd & got, to the mayntenyng of such thyngrs as hys graecys wyysdome by court of parlyament therin had decredd, you wold gladly confer to the honoure of hys hyghnes & welth of hys reame. (3) thys much I sayd, thys fer I went, but hys grace not satysfyd therwyth, desyryst to have your sentence therin playlyny declaryd, commandyd me thys now to wryte to you, that hys plesure was that you schold lyke a lernyd man, al assertyon by any cause rysyng set asyde, in thos ij causys

Abstract.

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

state in writing briefly, but openly and sincerely, his opinion on the two points. (4) Has been further desired by Cromwell to assure him that, should his opinion be favourable to the king, his return to England would be very welcome; but that in any case he is to prepare to return, as the king would be glad of his advice and assistance in other weighty matters. (5) Assures him that Crom-
schowyth so gentyl a stomake that I dare thyth boldly now say that, yf ever hereaftur hyt schalbe your chaunce presently here of thyth mynd in hym experyence to take, you schal as I dow for hys vertues & not only for hys authorye hame hym in stabyl & reuereunt loue, such ys hys wysedome & in materys of state hys hygh pollycy. and thus now you have hard the most prudent adyuys & synguler beneuolence of mastur secretary, to the wych I dowte not but that wyth grete gladnes you wyl apply yourselfe, wyllynge therby to satysfye our pryneys pleure & desyre. And now, syr, for by-caswe synt our last departure out of our cuntrey lytyl commynycayon concernyng thys materys hame the hyn betwyx vs had, I wyl now adioyne thes few wordys vn to you. (6) Pondur you weel thyth leyntyecal law & how hyt ys rottyd in the law of pounder, and how by general conseyl hych hath bryn many tymys declaryd & authorysyd therby, and forther how apon the other syde the sklyndurnes of thyth long vsurpyd & abussyd authoryte of the pope, wyth be pacyence of pryneys, simplicytye of the pepul, & ambyceuose auarce of hys predecessorys, in proccese of tymy by lytyl & lytyl ys growen to thyth intollerabul iniquyte, and then I think that you schal see in thes causys the jugyd truth & playn equyte. But al thyth I leue to your owne consyderacyon & jugement, prayynge to hym, of whome to al men cumythy al lyght, that by hyth lyght & grace you may see the truth, & so then to set hyt forthe that hyt may be comfort to our pryneyce, pleure to your selfe and to al other here your louarys & frendys. And thus now, syr, I wyl make an end, fynychynge my letturys wyth comfortabul newys that al such rumor & fame wyth by men of corrupt jugement not hauyng dyscretyon to juge & dysceare betwyx veray & true relygyon & lyght & false superstycyon syth was in Italy you dyuulgyd, ys verruly false & ful of vanyte. (7) For of this dowte you nothyng, that albehyt apon many resonabul & justaus causys our most nobul pryneye hame wythdrawen hymselfe from the popys authoryte, yet from the certayn & sure groundys of scripture hys grace in no poynyt ys sylyde, no nor yet from the lawys nor ceremonys of the church, the wyth yet stond in ful strenghth & authoryte; and so the[y] schal boldly I dare affyrme, vntyl such tyme that to hyss hyglines & to hys most wyse conseyl hyt schal appere expedyent them to abrogate & other to substytute by commyn assent more agreabul to thyth tymy and to the nature of our men, & also to our hole cuntrey more convenynt. here ys no thyng downe wythout due ordur & resonabul mean; here ys touchyng

Abstract.

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

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

By yourys assuryd,
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed,

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

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

Starkey, who evidently had begun to feel ill at ease in conse-
quence of the non-receipt of any answer to his letter, felt relieved at
this explanation, but lost no time in pressing the matter on Pole,
and supporting the views expressed by him in his former letter by
additional arguments. But this was not the sole nor indeed the
principal object of this second letter. More especially was he anxious
to explain to Pole certain events which had in the interval occurred in England, and which were liable to be misrepresented abroad.

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

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

(End of May or June 1535.)

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

Abstract.

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

1 MS. Cleop. E, VL, leaf 358. 2 MS. they.
that hyt schalbe vnfaynyd & pure, wythout cloke of dyssymulacon, of the wych syncere jugement in you the kyng ys desyrouse by-cause perauentur in some other hys grace hath byn therin deceuyd.

(2) Syr, of the inclanatyon of your mynd in thys behalfe, though the ful declaratyon you reserue to long leyser, yet in some parte to Maystur Secretary by your next letturys you may sygnyfye, when you make answere to hys letturys dyrectyd to you, the wych I am sure before thys tyme by the embassador of Venyce are come to your handys. And, syr, as touchyng the mater of the popys authoryte, we here, your frendys, put no dowte but therin you schal to the ful satysfactyon of the kyngys mynd see the jugyd truthe: for neuer can I thynde, when I consydyre your jugement and lernyng, that you can be of thys sentence that such a hede, or such superyoryte schold be of the Law of God & to the saluatyon of man of hye necessyte, the wych sayn Jerome playlyn affyrmyth to be constytute in remedium scismatis & not to be of such necessite (in epistula ad euagrum).

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

Abstract.

to endeavoure to satisfy the king's request. (2) He and all Pole's other friends are confident that the result of his examination of the subject will be to the king's satisfaction. (3) Declares his own conviction that the supremacy of the Pope is not essential to man's salvation,
(4) And as touching the mater of the fyrrst maryage, I dowte not also but when you ley togyddur wythout any affectyon the weyght of such maryage betwyx brother & systur, & the skelendurnes of such powar as the pope had in such causys to dispensye, you schal shorly by your wysedome see of that maryage the incomuenency, so that in both partys grete hope I haue to see you satysfyte the kyngys plesure and mynyd, and then shorly aftur wyth grete comfort both to your selfe & to your frendys so to retorne in to our natyfe countray, here to fynysch the rest of your lyfe in quyetnes & tranquyllyte.

(5) And where as sklanderyose fame & mysreport may perauentur put you in suspicyon of contrary, for as much as before thys I am sure hyt ys blowen abrode in Italy how here are put to deth monkys of the charturhouse, men notyd of grete sanctyte, you schal vnderstond in few wordys the truth of the same to the intent you may by the declaratyon therof, as much as lyth in you, stoppe such mysreport as may therby be made to the sklaundryr of our natyone & countray. Fyrst you schal vndersto[d] in the laste parlyament an acte to be made that al the kyngys subiectys schold, vnder payn of treson, renounce the popys superyoryte, to the wych acte as the rest of our natyone wyth one consent dyd agre so dyd thes muskys, iiij pryorys & Raynoldys of Syon, the wych now of late, contrary to theyr othe & also to the acte, retornyd to theyr old obedyence, affyrmynge the same by theyr blynd superstycyouse knolege to be to the salvatyon of ma[n] of necessyte, & that thys superyoryte to the pope was a sure truth and manyfest of the Law of god, and a thyng wych was of chryst instytute as necessary to the conservatyon of the spirytual vnyte of thys mystical body of chryst. In thys blyndnes theyr superstycyouse myndys were stablyd, lakkyng jugement to dyserne the dynesyte betwyx the vnyte spirytual & the vnyte poltycal, wyth they thought schal run to ruyne for lake of thys heide whome they made immediyate juge vnder chryst, on whose jugement al, as of the vycar of chryst, chrystian men ought of necessyte to hange. In thys opynyon most sturdyly stode Raynoldys, whom I haue hard of yore many tymys praysyd, who was so rolyd therin that he could admyt no reson to the contrar[y]. Dynurse were sent to them in pryson by the kyngys commaundement to instruct them wyth the truth, but in that opynyon both he & the rest were so blyndyd & sturdy that nother they could

Abstract.

but rather a cause of dissension and sedition. (4) As regards the divorce, he is certain that Pole will at once see the impropriety of a marriage between a brother and sister, an I that the Pope has no power of dispensation in such cases. (5) As to the execution of the Charterhouse monks, they had been put to death for affirming the Pope's supremacy to be an essential article of belief, contrary to an Act of Parliament lately passed, and were therefore guilty of treason, for
see the truth in the cause, nor yet gyue conuenyent obedyence due to such personys, as of them selufe can not see the truthe. Wherfor, accordyng to the course of the law, as rebellys to the same, & dys- obedyent to the pryncely authoryte, and as personys wyth, as much as lay in them, haue rotyd a sedelycon in thys commynalty, they most justely haue suffryd thys wordly dethe, whose synyns & blyndnes I besech our lord pardon.

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

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

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

(1) Aftur I had wyryte thys much vn to you perceuyng your mynd somewhat of your letturys to Johan Walker, wych were receuyd apon Wytsone morn, the same day at nyght I receuyd your letturys to me of the xxij of apryle, the tenoure wherof I haue schowyd to the kyngys hyghnes, who gratefully toke your mynd as I coud perceuyue, but somewhat meruelyng that you schold take so much pleasure in your quyat & scolastycal studs, as I schowyd hys grace you dyd, wylynyng you in thes materys requyrld, accordyng to your duty, as wel toward hys hyghnes as toward your cuntrey, to set aparte al such scolastical respectys, to the declaratyon of your lernyng jugement, wherby you myght in settyng forth such a truth profyt your cuntrey, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl, so I affyrmyd, that you wold dow.

(2) By al thys ij monethys your sentence schalbe lokyd for, in the declaratyon wherof, as I haue wyryte to you before, you schal not nede to wyryte any grete or long volume, but tempur your style, as your prudence, lernyng & jugement schal serue you therin, in the wych thyng our lord gyue you hys lyght that you may see the sure & certayn truthe: wherof I haue grete hope when I consydyr the saying of scripture, wherin hyt ys sayd that by puryte of mynd the lyght of truth ys sonyst perceuynd, and your mynd to thys day I haue not yet knowen spottyd wyth any notabul affectyon. (3) Maystur Secretory also, of hys most gentyl & lounyng mynd toward you and of hys grete wysedome & synguler prudence, wylynyng you to pondur thys thyng wel, that ys of secrete & quyat studs the vncertayne frute, wych hengyth for the most parte of the blynd Jugement of the reder & of the posteryte, and apon the other syde the wyse & prudent handelyng of controverSYS of weyght in thys our present age, to the ordur wherof we in thys tyme specially be of nature borne & brought forth, as the posteryte to materys of theyr tyme, the close & manyfest defynytyon wherof also hathe annexyd and joynyd therto sure & certayn frute wych ys the stablyschyd quyetnes of the commun wele—by the ponderyng of thys he jugyth in some parte you may be mynyd resonably at the last for a certayn tyme to set aparte your scolastycal studsys, to the wych also you may as tyme & occasyyn schal serue you therto hane recourse agayne. (4) Maystur Baynton also, vy[ce]cham-burelyn to the queone, your old lurer & frendye, to whome the kyngys plesure ys not vnknowen, aftur most hartye comendatyonyys, apôn hys behalfe wyllde me thyss to wyryte to you, that you schold wel consydyr

Abstract.

(1) Acknowledges receipt of Pole's letter of 22nd April, which he had shown to the king, who had expressed his satisfaction at it, but (2) hoped that Pole will not make any great volume on the subject, nor consume too much time in searching into the writings of ancient scholars which were not suited to the altered state of things; in which hope (3) Cromwell and (4) his friend Baynton join, the latter impressing on Pole the nature and extent of his obligations to the king.
how the kyngys hyghnes most graciously serchyth, & ever hath downe, a conuenyent mean to set you in such case that he myght accordyng
to the fame of your vertues & merytys handyl & intrete you; and
furthermore well to consydur how much the kyng of hys grete gadnes
gyuung vn-to your lernynge & Jugement, whom he knowyth much
wylllyng to have your consent in hys grete causys although they be
defynyd alredy, in so much that your jugement therto can lytyl
avaunce, except perauentur in some part to the confyrmacon therof.
Thes thynges I was wyllyd to wryte vn-to you to wryte, wych, though
hyt gretely nedyd not at al for bycause you of your selfe are
sufficyently styrryd to the fulllylyng of the kyngys pleurse therin,
yet I jugyd hyt to pertayne to my duty both toward you & toward
them to certyfye you therof, wherin I can no more say but pray to
god to gyue you such lyght as ys conuenyent to that mynd wych
labouryth for the enseryng of the truth.

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

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

1 Phillips, in his History of Reginald Pole, London, 1767, I. 74, 75, repro-
duces the story of Henry’s having, in 1529, offered Pole the archbishoprie of
York if he would give his support in favour of the king’s divorce, of the
rejection of the offer by Pole, and of the subsequent interview between them,
with its romantic conclusion—a story which Burnet characterizes as “a
romantic adventure, invented by Sanders . . . and mentioned by no
contemporary writer.”
the matter at all. His mind was therefore considerably relieved on the receipt of Pole's letter with the explanation of the delay, and he at once wrote again, urging the pressing nature of the business, and supporting his view of the subject with additional arguments (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 356):

(1 August, 1535.)

(1) Syr, You haue downe wel that by your letturys of the thryd of Iune you haue somewhat more at large openyd your affect[on] & wyl to serve the kyng in the cause of you requyryd. Wherin though of your wyl, wych I know euer to be reddy to serve the kyng in al pouynys that you may, I dyd no thyng dowte, yet by your long sylence mouyd I coude not but feare lest the cause had lytyl lykyd you, but now I perceyue you haue byn slakker in wrytyng bycause you mor lokyd for ferther instructyon by Mastur Secretorys letturys, wych haue byn longur by the wyay than the ambassador of venyce at hys departyre made to me sure promys they schold; but now you haue al wych haue byn to you wryten in thyys cause, hereafter I schal not cesse to loke for your answere, trustyng that hyt schal be wyth such ingement & grauyte as ys conuenyent to your lernyng & to the expectatyon that men haue here therof. (2) For syth hyt ys so as by your letturys you declare that wyth al dylygence you wyl wyte scripture therin, leyiing aparte al authoritye of man, I dowte not also but that you wyl wyth lyke Jugement in examyning of the same put asyde al such preuiciua as by custymce and tyme in sympul myndys be reputyd of grete wyght; wherof we haue lamentabul experyence here in our cuntrey, by the blyndnes of many wych lately haue suffryyd; hauyng no thyng of moment to lay agayn the authoritye of law, but only long custymce, and vsage of many yerys, and auencyent opynyonys wherin theyr fatherys haue dyed, they lake the true jugement of polytyke thyngys—wych be of thyys nature that of necessyte in processe of tyme & in many yerys euer by lytyl & lytyl grow to inuiste extreme ty, non other wyse than the body of man by the course of nature euer in tyme fallyth in deky & natural debylyte—the wych thyng not wel conseyderyd hath causyd dyuere here of late, not wythout sorow of many honest myndys stubburnely to repugne to the commun pollyce, whose exampl I am sure schal wyth you no thyng wey, whom I haue known, euere wythout any exteryor & vayn respecte, euere loke wyth a constant & stabyl mynd to truth & honesty:

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 356, back.
so much that of thys I dow make wyth my selfe almost a sure ground, 
& of your jugement me semyth am certayn, that by your dylygent 
ponderyng both of storys & scripture in thys behalfe, you wyll soon 
see how that chrystys doctryne determynyth no one kynd of 
pollice & by al statys may be stablyschyd & groundyd, so that thys 
superyrorte & vnyte of God, ys not to be requyryd of necessyte, but 
hangyth only apon more pollyce, for as much as chryst sayd, regnum 
meum non est de hoc mundo, & in a nother place as you know, quis 
me constituit diuisorem inter vos, by the refuse wherof, as I take hyt, 
he wold declare al such thyngys to be left to the gouveynace of man 
and worldly pollyce. (4) The thyngys I thy keschalbe somewhat in your 
mynd confermyd by the redyng of Marsilius, whome I take, though 
he were in style rude, yet to be of a grete jugement, & wel to set out 
thyss mater, both by the authoryte of scripture & gud reysonys groundyd 
in phyllosophy, and of thys I pray you send me your jugement. 
(5) Syr, as touchyng Mister Gaspero, whose excellent vertue & lernyng 
are to me knownen as they be to you, I can not be but glad; how be 
hyt I thynke he schal more rather gyue & adde honowre to the ordur, 
then therof to take any ornament, and yf I had not sure confyndence 
in hys dyuyne nature & as you say angelycal, I wold somewhat feare 
lest by thys dygnyte he schold also conceyue the nature of a cardynal— 
of whome ther I have hard many tymys sayd that wyth the hatte 
wyl remayne neuer nother honowre nor yet honesty—but he by hys 
synguler vertue may be peranenture a meane to restore to that ordur 
some dygnyte: but as touchyng thys parte, that yf he were pope as I 
conjecture truly he schortly schalbe, he schold restore in chrystys 
church the old vnyte, of thys I haue no expectatyon at al, for that 
vnyte ys now so open & playn that men I thynke schal neuer in our 
days desyre hyt to be restoryd agayn aftur that sorte as hyt hath byn 
ved. (6) To thys I suppose not only the nature angelycal of mastur 
gaspero ys not sullycycnt, but the angellys of heuyn yf they schold 
come to preech that superyrorte agayn, of many I thynke they schold 
sarscly be hard, for so hyt ys ingyd by wyse men to repugne to gud 
ordur & coumyny pollyce, that they seme to lake jugement wych wold 
by any man haue that to be restoryd agayn. How be hyt of thys now 
I wyl speke no more, for I dowte not but in weying thys mater you

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

1 Leaf 357.
schal see thys to be true bettur than I can other conceyue or expresss.
(7) And, syr, wher as you wytye that when you wryte to the kyng
you wyl wythal make answere to mastyr secretorys letturys, me
semyth you are ouer slake therin, how be hyt I can not perceyue
hys gentylnes to be much offendyd therwyth; he forsyth not
much of your answere to hym, so that to the kyng you make such
answere as may be to the honowre of god, & settlyng forth of the
truethe, wherby you schal both profyt your cuatre & bryng much
comforte to your selfe & to your lounrys & frendys; of thys mastyr
secretory semyth to be desyrouse, wherein you see how much you are
to hys gudnes bounden, and not only for thys, but also for other hys
grete gentylnes, wych dyuerse ways he hath schowyd & dayly doth to
other of your frendys, wych as I take hyt he gladlyer doth for your
sake & for the lone wyth he beryth to you, coneyuyd by opynyon of
such vertues as be reportyd to be in you, wherof I trust at your retourne
you schal schow manyfest experyence, the wych I pray god shortly
may be to your comfort.

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

Syr, after my most harty recommendatyonyys thys schalbe in few
& schort wordys to require, you acordynge to the callyng that our
lord Jesus Chryst, hath callyd & indenyd you, that ys to say, as wel
wyth the gyft of gud lettures and vnderstondyng as wyth the most
excellent gyft of jugement in the same, ye wyl indeurnur your selfe
to make answere vn-to such thynge as be contynyd in mastyr Sterkey's
lettures to you wrytyn at thys tyme, by the kyng our mastursys &
soueraunys expresse commandement, & that the same answer may be
such & of such graunte as the lyght & truthe therof may be to the
honowre of god & the satisfacon of hys lyghnys : wherof I assure
you I wold be as glad as any parent or frend ye haue leuyng, not
dowtyng in your approyud wysedome & jugement but that ye wyl
extend the gyftys gyven vn-to you in such wyse and leuyng al your
respectys or affectyon, wole so inserch your conseyence & jugement
for the truth as ye wole both dyschar_e your selfe agaynst god &
your prynce, in dowying wherof you schal assurevdly dow the thynge
much to the increse of your meritye & fame. Wherin, as he that ys
your assuryd frend to hys lytyl power, I requyre yow to haue indyf-

Abstract.

England as it had been, no, nor yet an angel from heaven. (7) I
Hopes Pole will not neglect to answer Cromwell's letters, who has in
many ways shown his affection towards him by kindness to his
friends.
ferent consyderatyon & so to ordur your selfe therin as the expectatyon of your frendys wythe the jugement of al men that knowyth you may be satysfyd in that behalfe, & thus our lord send you no worse to fare then I wold ye dyld at London.

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

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

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

§ 11. But there had been a letter, or rather a treatise, by Pole written, as it would appear from a passage in the following letter from Starkey (see p. xxxviii, l. 5, and p. xxx, l. 33), before the king had instructed the latter to write to him asking for his opinion, in which he seems to have discussed the subject more as a matter of policy than of divinity, pointing out the dangers which might possibly arise from the course which had been pursued, but not touching at all on the very points on which the king was most anxious to have his opinion, viz., whether his marriage with Queen Katherine was legal according to divine law, and whether the supremacy which the popes had for so many centuries claimed for themselves was in accordance with the same rule. It was on these points that the king desired his opinion, and not on the probable or possible political results of the course which he had adopted, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to
Pole to this effect. Starkey accordingly wrote in the following terms (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 361):—

(1——1535.)

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

(2) An matrimonium cum relica fratris, ab eo cognita, sit iure divino licitum.

In thys and in the rest also, though the kyngys pleure be you schold gyue place to no mazzys perswasyon nor authoryte, as I am sure you wyl not; yet for the loue that I bere vn-to you & for the desyre that I have that you schold se the Iugyd truth, I wyl note eectayn placys of weyght aftur myn opynyon in thes thyngeys to be consyderyd, enn leuyng your owne jugement fre.

(3) And fyrst for thys poynyt consydyr how thys law ys rotyd in nature: pondur hyt by thys rule yf hyt seme to you gu[de]: al thynge wyche byndyth man to the observatyon therof: al law wryten put asy[de] for the conservatyon of the cyuyle polytyke lyfe vnyuversally conueynent to the dygnyte of the nature of man: al such I thyneke ys rotyd in the law of nature. Apply thy[s] rule wythout affectyon, & wyth a ryght ye examyne hyt in thys case.

And then for the second poynyt, an lyceat dispensare, esy I thyneke hyt scha[1] be to fynd the popys powar extundyth not therto. And

Abstract.

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

1 Starkey here appears to take as an undisputed fact that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. But this is very doubtful. Arthur was married on November 6, 1501, and died in the beginning of the following April, when he was only 14 years of age. From the Simaneas State Papers, Rolls Series, ed. Bergenroth, it is clear that Henry VII. himself did not consider that the marriage had been consummated, as it appears that, in order not to have to restore Katharine's dowry, he proposed to marry her himself after his son's death.
though hyt were expedyent for the wordly pallycy for to haue dispensatyon, as hyt was peryuent in the kyngys ca[nse], yet hyt ys not expedyent any one man to haue such powar to breke such Law so rotyd in nature, and apon thyss ground hyt apperyth to me for[ther] than[2] the pope schold not haue powar not only to dyspense wyth any law so rotyd in nature, but also that he hath not powar (nor consuenent hy[t] ys that he schold haue): ye though he were made hede of the chure[2] powar to dyspense wyth lawys made in general conseyl, catholyke lawys, & vnyersal groundys, ordeynyd for the conservacyon of chrystyan lyfe in al chrystys churche, and though he hathe vtsyd the contrayre, hyt was, I thynke, a mysve & vsurpyd by the reson wherof now hyt ys spyd, now hyt doth fal, now hyt ys plukkyd istely away.

Loke also & pondur thys whether euer the hole authortye of makyng, of abrogatyng, of dyspensyng wyth catholyke lawys & vnyersal groundys of chrystian lunynge, were euer gynen & translatyd to the pope by any law wryten in general conseyl, wych were necessary to fynd yf we schold attrbyeute such authortye. as to the emperourys we fynd legem regiam qua potestas senatus & populi erat in principem collata.

(4) ¹The second pryncypal mater:—an superioritas quam multis in seculis romanus pontifex sibi vindicauit sit ex iure divino. Here you must way the placeys of the gospel & scripture, wherin I thynke you schal fynd non manysteprly prouyng that; the commyn placeys you know now yf they are vnderstood contrary therby dynerse & many, as when the dyscypelys of chryste contendyd for superiorite you know what chryst sayd; you know how poule confessyth [he] knoyth only christ for heed, cyuyle & poltyke hedys he confessyd many, sed iure divino nullum. Further loke to the begynnynge of the church when the truth therof was bettur knowne then hyt ys nowe. In the actys of the apostyls you schal fynd no such thyng, and aftur the apostyls days the iiij patriarchys of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constantinople, of Rome had among them no superiorite.

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

Abstract.

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

¹ Leaf 361, back.
The contentyon betwyx Petur & Poule takyth away such superioryte as ys gyuen to the successorys of Petur.

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

(6) Thes certayn poynys I now wryte to you, non quia prejudicium aliquod afferent: the kyngys pleasure ys that you schold, wythout any prejudicial affectyon taken of any man apon one parte or other, wyth a sincere mynd & wyth that lyght that god hath gyuen you in scripturyes & lernyng gyue your sentence. And as touchyng the pollycye of bothe the materys & of brynygyn them to effecte, wych hys grace hathe now dowen whether hyt be wel dowen or yl he requyryth no jugement of you, as of one that in such thyngys hath no grete experyence as yet. As whether hyt be comenyent that ther schold be one hed in the church & that to be the byschope of rome, set thyss asyde, & in hys cause of matrimony, whether the pollycye that he hath vsyd therin be profytabul to hys reame or no, lene that asyde; only shew you whether, yf the fyrst matrimony were to make, whether you wold approye that then or no, and the cause why you wold not, & thus wyth the thyng in hyt selfe as hyt ys in hys owne nature & put a parte feare of al daungerys, hope of al gud wych schold succede & hangyth apon wordly pollycye, and so clerely wythout affectyon other of kyng or quene breuely gyue your sentence And thus2 you schal fyrst honoure god & truth; & second also satysfyte the kyng, wych sayd to me thes wordys, that rather he had you were beryd ther then you schold for any wordly promotyon & profyt to your selfe dyssymbol wyth hym in thes grete and weghty causys.

Thus2 you haue my mynd & the kyngys plesure withal, and yf case be that you reche to the jugyd truth, you nede not to feare, after my mynd, that men schold lay to you lyghtnes of mynd & chaungyng of sentence, for as fer as I can coniecture you dyd affyrme noathing in the cause *as was convenyent for arrogauncye hyt (l) any thyng affyrme but only that wych by the word of god we haue declaryd to vs, wherfore you dyd *3 only put before hys yes the daungerys wych hangyd apon wordly pollycye. Yf I remembyr thys you dow, I can not wel tel for I neuer see nor red your boke but onys as you know wel, at the wych tyme hyt semyd to me you wrote so probably that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to co[me], but I trust

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 362.
2 MS. thys.
3 The words between * are inserted both above the line and in the margin; the order of the clause is not quite clear, but this seems to be the best sense that can be made of it.
the gudnes of god & prouydence of our most wyse prynce schal auerte & turne al suche calamyte by mannys coniecture forseyn from thys our cuntrey.

Dyrecte your knolege yf you see ned to mastur gaspero, the byscophe of chete, wyth other such men of hye lernyng & ingem[ent].

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

"Pleaseth it your grace to vnderstond that wheras, first by Master Sterkeys letters, chaplyne to your grace, and afterward by Master secretory confyrmen the same, I was aduerstysed that it was your grace pleasure I shold by my wryting open to your grace my sentence consernyng the superiourite of the pope in the churche, wyth other artcyles belonging to the same, ad[i]oyynge thervnto such reasons as dyd most induce me to enclyne to that parte I toke; assureng me the same shold be most acceptable to your grace, yf, without affection of any parte, or respecte other but only of the very truthe, I shold playnly sett furth my sentence. I, therfore, gyving credence to thy enformation and obeying to your pleasure, haue, wyth all playnes, comprised in a boke my hole sentence, wych I have sent to your grace by thys bearar. And now how it schall satysfye your grace that I have wryten, I thynke he knoweth only in cujus manu sunt corda regum: for thys knolech I wyll not gyve to your grace, nor to no man, how grete so ever he be, in yther, to know somuch of hys owne mynd afore he here the truthe how he shal be mouded withall: but god only hath thys knolech, wych at hys pleasure ys to gyue the lyght of hys spyrte, more or lesse; so he maketh the harte of man more or lesse contentyd wyth the trothe: wherfore to hys goodness now all my prayere shal be, in whom ys all my trust for the knolech of the truthe to be persuadyd to your grace. And as tochynge my purpose in the dyscorse of my boke to the manysteyng of my sentence, yf it please your grace to have furder enformation, I have geven instructions therof to thys bearar, to whom it may please your grace to gyve credence.1 Thus praying to almyghty god to preserve your grace in highe honore, to the contentation of your most noble harts desyre, the same agreeing to hys pleasure. Written at Venyce the xxvijth day of May,

By your fythiull servaunt,

Raynold Pole.

Indorsed:—"From Pole the xxvijth day of May:" addressed "To the Kynges Grace." 2

1 These "additional instructions" are in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi., leaf 334. 2 From the original in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII.; "the Pole letters, as transmitted by Mr Collier," Sept. 1859. (See Appendix to 21st Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, p. 47.) Privately

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

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

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

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

He adds that with the book he sent to the king a letter full of printed by Mr J. P. Collier, in 1871, with the title "Nine Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII.," written by Reginald Pole, Thomas Cromwell, Michael Throckmorton, and Thomas Starkey. Copied from the originals." There is another copy of Throckmorton's letters in Ms. Cott., Nero, B. vi.
affection and duty, assuring him that what was written was written to him alone, and had been shown to none whose knowledge of the matter could cause any harm or danger; that he himself would suppress the work so long as he saw any hopes of being able to acknowledge in a more pleasing argument how much he was indebted to the king for his education and so many other marks of the royal bounty.  

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Apologia ad Angl. Parliamentum, I. 179.
men, who should read and impartially report on it. To this the king 
assented, and Starkey himself was joined with them.

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

(1) Much I haue manuelyd, Master Pole, al thys yere past bothe 
of your syldon & shorth wrytyng to me, consyderynge the contynual 
dylygence vsyd apon my behalfe euer toward you, and though of late 
at the fyrst cumyng of your servaunt 2 when he brought your boke I 
jugyd that you percauenture wrote not, bycause you * were so occupyd, 
in the fyrst settyng out * 3 of your mater in wrytyng to the kyngys 
hyghnes, wherin you had byn before tyme somewhat slakke & so had 
lytyl leysure, yet now at hys second retorn, when you wrote to 
dynere other of your frendys I lokyd to haue had some one word 
wrytyn vnto me for that me thought our freenshype requyryd. 
Wherfore then I bega[n] playnyly wyth my selfe to juge your mynade 
wythout cause alyenate as me thought, and most justely I myght 
accuse you of vnyndnes, wych vsyd toward me such contynual sylence; 
for thys I haue euer rekenyd, that dynesyte of opynyon in such 
thyngys wych perteyne not of necessyte to mannys saluatyon, schold 
neuer brek loue & amyte betwyx them wych haue jugement &

Abstract.

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

1 This letter has been considerably condensed, as it has already been 
2 Thockmorten, who was afterwards gained over to the king’s side, and 
used as a spy upon Pole’s actions.
3 MS., wold gyue no occasyon of blame crossed out, and the words 
beetween * written over.
dyscretyon, no more than doth dulnes or scharpenes in the syght of the ye, wherin one frend to be angry wyth a nother bycause he sethe ferther or not so fer as dothe he, ys veray smal reson, for as the one schold cause no anger so the other schold brede no enuye ; so that although I varyd from you in the jugement of the mater, yet your sylence declaryd much ingratytyde toward me. (2) And thys count I made before I rede your boke, but aftur such tyme as I dyd rede the same & weyd your jugement therin I was no thyng sory of thys your sylence, but rather glad that you so vsyd yourselfe toward me, for hys letturys to rede, who hathe so lytyl regard of hys masturys honowre & so lytyl respecte of hys frendys & contrey as in your wrytynge you playnly declaryd, I haue lytyl plesure. Wherfor though of late I had determ[yn]yd neuer to wryte you agayne, yet aftur I had rede your boke I was so affectyd, and wyth your ingratytyde toward our prynce and contrey so offenlyd, that I could not tempyr my selfe nor satsfyse my mynde wyhout some declaratyon therof by wrytyng to you schowyd. And so now euen as you semyd to me illa tua oratyon principem et patriam tuo quidem indicio pereuntem extremis quasi verbis compellare, so schal I te insaniement mea sententia amicum extrema quasi voce saluntari, for thys I purpos schal be the last lettur that euer I schal hereafter to you wryte donec resipicas. Wherin I wyl not entur to dyspute the ground of the mater wych requyryth rather a boke then a lettur, but only I schal a lytyl open to you, the grete imprudence & foly, the detestabul vkyndnes & Injury schowyd in your sentence bothe toward your prynce frendys & contrey. By the reson wherof except you take hede & consydur the mater in tyme wyth better Jugement, wyth that contempt of your contrey & thys arrogant dyspsyng of al the jugementys therin, you schal vitturly cast away your selfe. (3) Wherfore, Master Pole, I schal pray you by al such lone as I haue euer borne to you, wych I promyse you ys gretur than euer I bare to any natural brother, to here me a lytyl & wey my wordys indyffereuntly. And fyrst, Master Pole, how I was affectyd wyth the redyng of youre boke I schal a lytyl touche. At such tyme as your boke was delyueryd to the kyng though you wrote not to me, I, forgettyng not the office of a frend, requyryd that your boke myght be commyttyd to the examynacyon of them wych bothe had lernyng to juge & wold wey the mater indyfferently, the wych I

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 365, back.
promys you was done, and to them I, as your frend was joynyd also; in the reydyng wherof, though we louyd you al intyerly, yet your corrupt jugement in the mater & your detestabul vnkyndnes toward your prynce so offend[yd] vs al, that many tymys our verys abhorryst the heryng; and as for me, I promys you at the fyrst reydyng I was so amasyd & astonyd wyth the mater that I coude not wel juge, I wyster not with what spyrte hyt was wryten wythal, and euer me thought hyt schold be some dreme, or at the lest no oratyon of Master Pole, whome I euer notydyd to be the moste addycte to the honowre of hys prynce & the welth of hys entyre that euer yet I knew. (4) Wherfore I obtaynyd your boke to ouer rede myselfe alone, ye aftur yet wyth my lord of Durham I rede hyst most dylygently, observyng & notyng the hole ordur & processe therof, & when I had rede hyt aftur thys maner I was more astonyd then I was before, for then comparynyng the hede to the end & consyderyng the hole cyrcumstance of the mater, playnyly to say to you euer as I thynke, therin 1 apperyd to me the moste frantyke jugement that euer I rede of any lernyd man in my lyfe; for herin lyth the summe of your boke: bycause we are slyppyd from the obedience ofrome, you juge vs to be separate from the vnyte of the church & to be no membrys of the catholyke body, but to be worse then Turkys or Sarasynys. Wherfore you rayle apon our prynee to bryng hym ad peniten[di]am more vehemently then euer dyd Gregory agayn Julyan apostata, or any other agayn such tyraunys as persecu[t]yd Chrystys doctryne. . . . .

(5) 2 I marveyle that you consyduryd not, how the veray chrystyen vnyte stondyth aftur sayn Poulys doctryne in the vnyte of fayth, & of spyrtyt & in a certayn knyttynyg togyddur of our hartys by lone & charyte: wych may rest in al kynd of pollyce, for dowtles thys superuoryte of some sprange fyrst of pollyce, as hyt vs euydent by old story, for Constantyn was he that gane therto fyrst authyryte of al such power & superuoryte, wych by other was contynuyd & increyd, and so, as hyt began by manys wyt & instytutyon, I thynke hyt schal end by lyke reson: for in the expresse wyll & word of god hyt hathe no such rote and ground as to you hyt apperyth. . . .

3 And as touchyng the placys of scripture wheryby you confyrmee the prymacy, you folowe the vulgayre trayn of the latur docturys, wych violently draw them to the settuyng vp of the see of Rome, forgettyng the purpos of the ancident docturys of our relygyon; the wych, exalt-

Abstract.

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

1 MS., thyerin. 2 Leaf 366. 3 Leaf 366, back.
by Jerome, Cyprian, and others. (6) But he trusts that Pole's love for his country will induce him to retract his opinion, and (7) warns Pole that his ingratitude to Henry will, if persisted in, be ascribed to some sinister motive, and that if he makes public the book which he has written to the king he will be judged to be as great a traitor and as false to his country as ever any one has been.

\[1\] Leaf 363, back.  \[2\] Leaf 369.  \[3\] Leaf 369, back.
aggravancy, you schalbe notyd in the chrystyan commynwele to be as sedecyonse a person & mynystur, as grete a breche to chrystyan vnyte, as ever haethe doone 1 any other in our days 1 wyth 2 rashnes & temeryte: For as sedecyonse ys he wyth al old custumys & vsagyyns of the church defendyth ouer obstinatly as he that wythout dyscre-tyon subvertyth al rashely. . . .

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

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

Abstract.

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

1—1 Written over Martyn Luther, erased.
2 hys after wyth erased.
3 Of this letter there are two copies amongst the State Papers in the Record Office: one corresponding exactly with the above, the other evidently a first draft, at the end of which Starkey has written the following note:—

"Collens presens cum polo cum scripsit librum confessus est mihi coram morisco se audinesse sepius ab eo, quod eo tempore cum primum scribere cepit Iussus a rego, authoritatem pontificis pro constitutione humana & pro Ævam habuit, ceterum vbi ad scribendum appulit animum aliud·didiciit, edoctus dimo spiritu a quo precibus & genibus flexis optimis certe veritatis cognitionem quam unam tuctur & scriptis defendit.

1537 January 12.

Seriptum librum summ suspicatus gallum quemdam sutteratum vnum ex suis quaternionibus, quem tandem postea reperit, iraque motus erat tumulti nostri ex morte regine vt quidam putarent."
amount of suspicion, because when preaching against the Pope he had, in the opinion of the court, used too great mildness, and had not spoken against the papal claim of supremacy with sufficient sharpness. For this he appears to have been strongly taken to task, a circumstance which caused him great disquiet and alarm, as we see by the following letter: ¹ —

(7 July 1536.)

My Lord, your wordys haue goone through my hart, the wych
more greuou-
ly strike me cumyng from you, in whose gudnes I was
as much persuadyd to trust as I was in any maunys in erthe; where-
fore such wordys as cam from you haue more tormentyd my hart,
then schold haue done so many swordys, and yf I were not com-
fortyd wyth thys, that I thyynke surely that the scharpenes of them
sprite of a certayn loue borne toward me before tyme (the wych
schalbe restoryd, the truthe knowen) I wold hawe igyed them intoller-
abul, specyally coysyderyng my innocencye in such thyngys wyche you
touchyd so scharpely. To the wych I wyl say but thys one word: —
prove that I haue dysassemblyd but in one word wyth you or wyth
the kyng, & wythout ingement styryke of my heed. And as concernyng
my prechyng I beseche you let me not be oppressyd with any wronge
informatyon, but here what other men wyl say wych were also ther
present, and then accordynly I besech you let the mater be con-
syderydyd; for yf I haue not bothe wryten & spoken such thyngys wych
wel ponderyd schold bothe set forthe the truthe, & also rather quayt
then incresse sedleycon, let me suffyr dethe wythout ferther delay. And
as touchyng the corrupt ingement of the sorowful man, I beseche you
impute not to me any parte of hys foly, wych hathe alrely more greuyd
me, then ever yet hathe doone the dede of any man luyyng apon erthe.
And where as you thyynke I study a mean doctryne for my owne
glory, I know not yet, my lord, what you mean, for I haue studyd to
exhort & moue men from suche extremyte, wherby they are styrryd to
flye theyr obedyence to the kyngys lawys, & to such other thyngys as
by the consent of our curtre are set forthe to the openanyng of goddys
truthe & hys relygyon. I forge no mean but that wych I fynd wryten
in goddys worde, and approuyd by the ingement of our clergry. Troth
hyt ys that I can not frame my ingement to plese al me, beying in
such varyety of sentence & controversye, for some perauenture yet
thyynke truthe to be treyson, & some perauenture that hyt ys here-ye,
betwyx whome I stond, & wyly so long as I schal stond in thys lyfe.
from thys truthe you schal fynde me my lord to be no sterter,
wauuerar, nor hengar in the wynd, for thys ys goddys truthe, lying

¹ State Papers in the Public Record Office, Henry VIII., 1535-7. This
letter bearing no address, it is difficult to say whether it was written to Crom-
well, who was now Lord Privy Seal, or to Cranmer, but probably it was to the
former.
betwyx thes sedeyouse extremytes. But hereof I wyl now spake no more, only thys, beseehyng you to be myn indyfferent gud lord, & let not my truthe and innocency be other wyse taken then hyt deseruethyst.

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

(24 July, 1536.)

(1) My lord, though as wel by the relatyon of my lord of Canterbury as also by the few wordys wych you spake to me the last day at Stepney I am restoryd to a greate parte of the quetynes of my mynd, for as much as therby I am persuadyd fully that you toke my purpos & intent even as hyt was, & that you be my gud lord aftar your wont & custumyd maner, yet throughly quetyd I nother am, nother yet can be, vnty! I may be assuryd that the kyng, my souerayn lord & mastur, ys by no wrong informatyon, nor contrary suspycyon, otherwyse persuadyd of me then my hart, wyl, & dedys deserve; for albehyt that the testymony of myn owne consevyence be in dede suffycyent to conturvayle agayn al owtward displeasure, yet to my wekenes & infyrmyte hyt ys no smal grefe to be in dowte that my lord & mastur otherwyse schold Inge me then my hart deseruuyth; the wych also ys much more grefe to me, bycause that I am wel assuryd, bothe by the kyngys owne wordys, & also by hys deedyd, that he was gud lord to me & graceynese. (2) Wherfore, syns ther ys of my parte no occasyon gyuen to the contrary, but rather cause why hys gudnes schold be increasyd toward me & benevolence, for as much as I haue traauyld to put in effect such thyngys as were of hys grace wel approuyd & alowyd, the wyct before tyme I by wrytyng only touchyd; that ys to say to indeuuer my selfe to the inducyng of hys pepul to theyr offfyce & dewty concernyng the obedience of hys lawys, & the conseuyng of such thyngys as were set forthe for the mayn-

Abstract.

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

1 MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 370.
teneance of godly true, al the wych consyderyd I can not but sorrow & playnly confess my wekenes & Imbecyllyte vtturly to be vnabul to bere & susteyne of my souerayn lord any contrary suspicyon. (3) Wherefore, my lord, I schal beseech you, as you be my speyal gud lord, so to declare hyt now at thys tyme, & not to suffer my purpos & desyre, wych I haue long nuryschyd in my hart to serve my master withal now to be hyndred & drounyd wyth any wrong Informacyon, nor to be blottyd wyth an other manys acte, wherof I neuer mynystryd occasyon, for of your lordschyppe I take wytnes that I neuer studyd nor laburyd thynge more ernystely then I dyd to brynge that man, for whose faute I now perceynde I am blamyd, to hys office & dewaye, & to plukke from hym al sturdy obstaynacy. And where as perauenture hyt may be thought that I was the occasyon of the demandyng of hys sentence, you know, my lord, hyt was an occasyon taken, & not apon my behalfe gyven, for I neuer mouyed the kyng nor yet you to the inserchung of hys jugement at any tyme; trothe thys ys, that I neuer thought hym to be of so corrupt a jugement & sentence in thys mater of the primacy, & therof I put you in hope & expectatyon, & so I dyd the kyng also, aftur he had commandyd me to wryte vn-to hym hys plesure & request, of the wych hope that I am so deceuyyd, he lyuythe not wych ys more sorrowful then am I, not hys owne mother wych bare hym, & now repentyth of hys brynyng forthe to lyght, nor yet hys most dere brother, who by hys acte ys depruyd of a grete comfort of hys lyfe; therfore, my lord, to blame me for hys deede can not be wythout grete Iniury. (4) And as tuchyng my owne jugement of thys prymacy, thys I may say truly, that yf ther be any man wythin thys reame, wych ought to want suspicyon of thys mater, but syncerely dothe approue hyt without dyssymulatyon, I thinke I may be of that nombur: for of thys, my lord, I schal assure you (& you schal neuer fynd me faynyng man) that before thys mater was mouyed here in our cunte, I much & oft desyryd hyt to be reformyd, consyderyng the dannabul abusys annexyd there, in so much that I was then notyd & blamyd of many men wych otherwise iugyd, and thys I onys declaryd vn-to the kyng, before whom I neuer yet dyssymyllyd, nor neuer schal duryng thys lyfe. And though perauenture some such wych know the famylyaryte betwyx Master Pole & me, (whose amyte & freenschype I dyd not a lytly estyme, so long as he forsoke not the jugement of hys cunte, the seruyce of hys souerayne lord, & lune to hys natural frendys,) haue inducyd you to an iniuryouse suspicyon,
yet, my lord, he lynythe not & lokyth 1 apoun the lyght that euer schal instyfye in me toward my lord & mastyr any poynt of dyssymulatyon. Wherfore, my lord, yf I schold other wyse be taken, hyt were no smal grese to me stondyng in thys truthe & synceryte. (5) And as concernynge my prechynge one word I am yet constraynyd to speke to you agayne, & I am constraynyd by the desyre that I hane to the settynyng forthe of the truthe, not mouyd by any vayn glory, the word ys thys—that yf myn intent & purpos in my prechynge had byn wel taken, & indyfferently consyddyryd, I schold rather hane byn judgyd worthy of thankyss, wych I sought not, then of reproche, wych I deseryyd not. For, my lord, you know hyt is not the ryght wyay of prechynge to bryng men therby vn-to the lyght wythe grete reprofys to condemne theyr blyndnes sodaynly, but that ys the way rather to exasperate mennys hartys & so to confyrmhe them in theyr fol[y] more stedfastly. Wherfore, my lord, I hane wyschyd many tymys lately, & for the louse that I bere to the truthe, & to the quetynes of [the] cite, wherin I hane chosen my dwellyng-place, I doo yet wysch dayly such precharys to be electyd, chosen & pykdyd out, wych wythout contenctyon & stude of glory schold set forthe the truthe synceryly, & aftur the conseyyl of sayn Poule in thyavgys indyfferent schold hane consyddyryton of the wekenes of men & infyrmyn, wherby they schold promote & avance the truthe wyth charyte, & not exasperat[e] & styr one parte to the hate of the other by lyght suspicyon & folysch contenctyon mouyd apoun such thyngys wych be indyfferent, & no thyng necessery to manmys saluyton. Such prechynge, my lord, as me semyth, were much to be desyrly, & now in theys tyme most specially, wherin the kyng & you wyth hys other conseylyarys stude the settynyng forthe of such temperdyd doctryne, wherof, as I am persuayd al our cuntre ought not a lytyl to rejoyce. (6) For the doctryne of our cuntre ys now

Abstract.

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

1 Compare P. Plowman, B. viii. 58:—

"If I may lye and loke I shal go lerne bettare."

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

Προτεινώτας τινα τινι βαρίως χρυράς ἐπίσει.
so tempryd in truth, that h yt ys bothe purgyd 1 from the old abusys & folysche superstycyon & also defendyd from the errorys of thys tyme & from al false relygyon, the wych thyngh hathe causyd me now so to apply myself to prechyng, & I wytnes god no gloryouse desyre of fame and vanyte; for yf I were persuadyd that thys doctryne, approuyd in our contyre, were erroneouse, I wold yet rather lose my lyfe schortly, then be one of thos wych schold set forthe the same openly. Nor thynke you not, my lord, that I am so bleryd wyth the schadowys of thys lyfe, that I preferre the lyfe among them aboue the lyght of the truthe, nother yet that I am neque frigidus neque calidus sed tepidus 2 in the settyng forthe therof, as perauenture by some informayton you may conceyue, for h yt ys my dayly prayer to hym that ys the fontayn of lyght that I may by hys beneuye bothe see the truthe & also constandy to stond in the defence of the same, wherein I trust he dothe & wyl maynteyne & strenght me contynuallly, & gyue me hys grace not to stond therin coldly. And though, my lord, you jugue me more to be traynyd in phylosophye than in the trade of scripture & in the wrytarys therapon, wherein perauenture your londschype jugyth not much a mys, yet thys I schal to you, my lord, say, & I schal say h yt without al arrogancy, that of the contynual redyng of serytoure hiyt selfe, wherein certayn yeris I haue accustumyd myselfe, I haue gедьderyd a certayn jugement, wheryth I long haue examynyd suche wrytarys as I haue rede therapon, from the wych I purpos not to slyppe duryng thys lyfe, & in case I fele the wrytarys of thys tyme to swanne from the same, I haue thenm suspectyd, for in the old authorys I fynd thereto a grete conformyte.

(7) The summe of my jugement tendyth to thes ij poynys, fy rst to a contempt of thys lyfe & of the vayn plesurys therof, & to a sure trust & confyndence of an other, lokyng vp alway to thos thugys wych are not seen wyth a clere ye not dasyllyd wyth the glyterynge of such thunygys as are present & subyecte to our syght: the other ys, to a certayne vnyte & concord, ye & to a certayn bande & knott of charyte, wherby men must knytt them selfys togyddur as membrys of one body, & walke in an obedience to the ordur of the world, despsyng al thyngs wych other men so much conteynde & sryfe for, & beryng al trowblus wyth patyence & humlyyte. To thes ij poynys tendyth my jugemente geddryd of scripture, the wych though they may perauenture appere vulgare & commyn & to be but of sinal moment & weygth, yet by them I doo examyn al the wrytyngys, sayinges, & doynys of thys tyme, the wych not sanoryng herof I doo viturly condemnme, & wyl doo whyle I lyue; for I abhorre al such sedeycouse actes & doctrayne,

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 371. 2 MS. trepidus.
wych, vnder the pretense & coloure of the truthe, mouythe apon tryfullys such controuersye, wherby ys broken the ordur of chrystyan charyte. Wherfore, my lord, I doe not a lytyl rejoyce to see how among 1 ys in our cuntre by the commyn consent of our clergye maynteynd & confyrmyd al true ecclesyastical pollycy, & no notabul nor necessary ordur broken nor infryngyd by the plukkyng away of thys primacy as many men greedy fearyd. In so much, my lord, that yt I may in thys rest of my lyfe be in any parte a mynystar to set forthe thys ordur approuyd by the jugement of my cuntre, wyth concord & vnyte, I schal thywke myselfe not to be borne vtturly in vayne. (8) Wherfore, my lord, I beseech you, as you inue me to be one of thos wych intende to serue my mastur & cuntre faythfully, so to helpe that my hart wyl & mynd may be taken of my souerayn lord, as hyt ys syncrely, wherby I may be the bettur incurragyd to doo that thyng wych perteynyth to myn offfyce & dewty, to the wych I schal indeuuer myselfe most dylygently, strengthly, as I trust, by hym who gouernyth al, to whose gouernace I schal now commytt your lordschypppe, beseechyng you to pardon me of thys importunyte, to the wych I am by sorow constraynyd.

Wrytyn at London, the 24 of Iuly.

Your lordschyppys
Thomas Starkey.

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

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

"Your grace thatt callyth me hath putt such an impedymente in my waye thatt lettyth me. I can nott passe to your grace except temerariouslye I wold caste away my-selfe. This surelye & trueely afor god and man I may saye that beyng yn thatt case I myght go or ronne, your grace callyng me vnto yowe, there ys no lett yn thys world were able to retyayne me from comyng to your grace but onely thatt procedyth off your selfe." 2

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 371, back.  
2 MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., leaf 328.
Pole had asked that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he speaks of as a "sad and learned man," might be allowed to read and report on his book, declaring that it was not so bad as had been represented. To this the king assented, but the bishop, after a perusal of the treatise, could only corroborate the opinions already formed of it, and wrote to that effect to Pole (MS. Cleop., E. VI., leaf 375).

On the 26th July, 1836, the day before Pole received this letter from the bishop, the Pope sent a message to him inviting him to Rome. Pole, who had now committed himself to the papal party, after some little hesitation accepted the invitation, and sent notice to Henry of his intention of doing so. Starkey, as we have seen (p. xxxvii), remonstrated strongly and in no measured terms against such a proceeding, and so did Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's own friend, while Cromwell stormed and threatened:

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

(26 January, 1537.)

(1) Sory I am, Maystar Pole, that bothe my sentence & scharpenes of wrytyng vsyd to you, hering of your journey toward Rome, offeyndyd your stomake so much & toke so lytyll effect, for albelhyt

Abstract.

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

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

² MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 363.
that you perauenture ingyng me herein otherwyse then my nature requyryth, so knoen vn-to you by long conversatyon, thynke playnly that I am corrupt wyth affectyon & wrote contrary to myn owne conscyence, blyydyd wyth ambycyyon, yet thys I schal say vn-to you, & cal hym to wytnes who ys pryuy bothe of your thought & myn, that as the sentence where in I stond spryngyth of the only zeie of the trythe, & of the desyre of the settyng of goddys honowre & glory, so the scharpenes of my wrytyng vsyd toward you cam of the syncere loue wych I bare to you & to your famyly, for I am nother so grosse & base of iugement as to preferre any worldly vanyte, aboue that thyngh wych apperyth to me truth & veryte, nother yet so vnkynd as to vse such scharpenes to my frend wythout resonabul ground; for at such tyme as apon the declaung of your sentence to the kyng you tendyd to Rome, I then, conceyuyng as wel apon the one parte the Increase of the scyms styrryd in chrystys church wych myght insew therby, yf you schold ther open your iugement in your wrytyng comprysyd abrode to the world, as apon the other parte the dyspleasure of your prynce wych myght succede the same both toward you & other of your famyly, thought hyt expediyent to vse such scharpenes, & that so to doo hyt perteynyd to my bounden dewyte, to the wych you may impute hyt, yf hyt so please you. (2) But now, scharpenes set asyde, I schal say vn-to you, Maystyr Pole, thes ij wordys friendly 1mouyd by such thynghs wych I lately herd from you: though here be greate rumours sprelds abrode that you be namyd to be a cardynal, & entryd in to that ordur, by the wych the doctryne of chryst thes many verys hathe byn ltyyl promotyd, yet persuayd I am fully, that the loue of your cuntre so stykkythe in your brest, & the desyre of seruyng your prynce so prykkyth your hart, that you wyl neuer accept that dygnyte before you consydyr wel the state of Chrystys church now in thys tyme, weying wel the pleseure of your mastere & bounden dewty to hys graceyouse godnes & liberauyte. For to me hyt apperyth the wythout consyderatyon you take not the streyght pathe to that thyngh to the wych aboue al other I am sure you dyrecte your laburys & studys, that ys to helpe to plukke out thys scysme of

Abstract.

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

1 Leaf 363, back.
Chrystys church & to restore agayne chrystyan vnyte, but rather hyt semyth the veray hygh way to augment thys dyuysyon, for as much as by such wyttys & eloquence the rootys therof may be much confyrmyd. Wherfore, Maystur Pole, yf you stey yourselfe in thys mater, I thynke you schal hereafter no thyny repent therof, for though materys of our cu[tr[ey] hane byn here lately in greate motyon, the wych you perauenture wyl impute to thys defectyon from Rome, ingyng vs therby to be slyppyd from godlys ordyr & instytutyon, yet by the hygh prouydence of hym who gouernyth al, & by the greate wysedome & gudnes of our prynce I trust you schal yet here such way to be founde & taken herein, that euyn the same thynge, wych you percas thynke hathe 1 byn the chefe roote of thys motyon, schalbe so tempryd & ordryd wyth equyte that not only the synceryte of Chrystys doctrine schal come to more clere lyght therby, but also the ordur of Chrystys church schalbe restoryd agayn wyth vnyte, accordyng to the fyrst instytutyon, wherof that my hope ys not vayn I trust you schal here more shortely. And glad I wold be to see you a mynystyr to god & to your pynce in such purpos, the wych I feare you schal neuer be yf you onys entur in to that ordur at Rome & take apon you that dygnyte. Wherfore, Maystur Pole, my trust ys that you wyl consydur thys mater wyth your selfe ernystely; and yet greate hope I have that honest iugementys schal onys mete togyddur in such a mean wherby thys odysone seysme wych now reynyth in Chrystys church schalbe extynct vtturly, for the wych I schal not cesse to pray vn-to hym who ys the ony author of al godly vnyte, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt vs al.

Wryten at London the 26 of January.

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

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

1 Leaf 364.
and not hand them over to a few rich nobles. He draws a sad picture of the state of England at the time (p. lvii), "the rare and smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the commyn dekay & ruyne of the same," and the "grete lake & penury of pepul and inhabitantys in the cytes & townys & hole countrey, the wych lake," he thinks, "may in some part be redressyd & helpyn by thys acte of suppression. For where as before tyme in these monasterys was nuryschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dishonowre of god & let of natural propagatyon," now by the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent scattering abroad of so many marriageable men, he believes that "the nombur of the pepul schalbe hereaftert much increasyd to goddy's honoure & glory." He then refers (p. lviii) to a common report that it was the king's intention to lease the suppressed houses to great lords and rich landed gentry, which he trusts will not be the case, and points out the greater advantages which would arise from leasing the houses and lands to poorer persons (p. lix). Finally (p. lixi), he again expresses his hope that the king will apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the advancement of learning. The letter will be found one deserving of the greatest attention, and will well repay the reader, not only by the interesting though sad picture of the state of England at the time, but still more by the statesmanlike views so clearly and freely declared as to the advantages which would arise from a right use of the enormous revenues of the suppressed monasteries, and of the certain evils which would follow their misuse. How correctly Starkey foresaw the impending danger is only too well proved by such books as Crowley's Epigrams, the Four Suppuricaciones,¹ and the extract from Becon printed at the end of this part, p. lxxvi.

To the kyngys hyghnes.²

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

² State Papers, Henry VIII., 1536-7. In the Public Record Office. Paged 457 to 504.
was admyttyd to your graceys seruyce, to commytt vn to me the wrytyng of your cummandement & request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most wyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thyss your Reame, and consyderyng also that your pleysure was I schold be made pryuy of hys iugement therin by hys wrytyng declaryd, I schal now vse thyss boldnes in thyss mater to open & declare vn to your hyghnes myn inward affect concernyng the same, and what hope I haue fully conseuyd to see al your actys succedyng therto to be conuyryd & turnyd to the hygh honowre of god, to the grete comforth of your subyectys, & to the vnyuersal & commyn welshe of your Reame, ye and to mynystyr occasyon & to gyue lyght to al other chrystian pryncys to see & follow the tenore of the same. But here in the begynnynge I can not but gretely sorow & greneously lament the corrupt sentence herin of maystur Pole in hys wrytyng declaryd, by whome I trustyd surely to haue seen such a lernyd jugement schowyd to the world, that bothe your grace schold haue taken pleysure therof, hys frendys comfort, & al hys cuntrey profytt of the same. for the wyche cause I testyfye god, at such tymoe as your highnes gane me in cummandement to wryte your pleysure to hym therin, I most hyghly rejoyced, trustyng therby that he wold haue taken occasyon, so happily, as me thought mynymstryd to hym, to serve your grace & hys cuntrey, accordyng to hys faythfull & bounden dewty. Wherfore what inward sorow I haue conseuyd in my hart thys days past in redyng of hys boke, perceyning therby hys corrupt iugement, I can by no wordys to your grace fully expresse, for sorowful I was to see so noughty a cause wyth such scharpenes sett forthe & wyth such eloquenc; sorowful I was to see your grace, hys souerayne lord, so to be dyeuyd in hym, of whome you haue so much deseruyd, and whome of your gudnes as hys apperyd to me you ever much desyryd to haue inducyd to see the truthe in your wyghty causys: sorowful I was to see al other hys louarys & frendys therby to be depenyd of al such comfot & expectatyon as they of long tymoe haue conseuyd of hym, and most of al sorowful I was to see thys our cuntrey b[e]reft of such a wytt, to the wych I ener trustyd he wold haue grown to haue bryn a grete ornament, & that as he hathe bryn by your gudnes & lyberalyte most nobully brought vp, so he schold at the last haue declaryd some nobul seruyce, as wel to the comforth of your grace as to the profytt of hys cuntrey; and somewhat also sorowful I was for myn owne pryuyt & propur cause, consyderyng the lake wych I fearyd wold sucede, wyth the perpetuall losse of the comersatyon of so faythful a frend, wyth whome I haue bryn so many yerys brought vp in cumpany & contynuall study, not wythout gret hope, that as we had spent togyddur our youthe in study of lettarys, so the rest of our lyfys we schold haue consumyd lyke maner in the seruyce of your grace & of our cuntrey: for though we swaruyd many tymys in our
jugementes, inserchynge the truthe in phylosopay, yet I neuer thought we schold so hane varyd in such grete materys perteynyng to relygyon and to commyn pollycy. I neuer thought hym to be of so base a jugement as he hathe by hys wrytyng manystelshy schowyd, and though in smal materys many tymys he apperyd to me to erre, and corruptely to inge, yet bycayse I percewyd ever in hym such a constant lone & stabyl opynyon of that wych apperyd to hym to sowne to vertue & honesty, euer me thought hys errorys were tolerabul, spryngyng rather of weke jugement then of any obstynacye: but now sythen that he hathe sett forthe so corrupt a sentence as hyt apperyth to me in your most weghty cause, & schowyd so sklaundereuse a jugement of your gracies actys, though as he takythe the god to wytnesse, hyt sprynghyt of loun toward your gracyes honowre, that he hathe wryten so scharpely, yet thys I wyl say & playnly affyrme, that yf he wold set out the same to the face of the world, as he hathe in hys boke descrybyd wyth hys penne, I wold take hym to be an extreme ennymye bothe to your grace, to your state, & to our hole cuntrey: for what scharpenes of wordys, what vyeylence of sentence, what daungerys in pollycy, what peryl of daunatyon, he declaryth in hys boke, and propownyth to honge certaynly ouer our hedys, hyt ys horrybul to rede, & incredybyl how he schold conceyue, and wondyr hyt ys to me, wyth so interly haue knowen hym before-tyme, how & by what mean, he ys run in to thyes extreme opynyon: but surely as I now perceyue, he hath declaryd hymselphe herin to be overcome wythe grete affectyon, for playnly he showyth, that the dethe of them wych suffryd in the cause hathe so stonge hys hart & oppressyd hym wyth sorow, that he semyth to forget vtturly hys dewty to hys cuntrey & to your grace, without al humanyte, he semyth to lake powar to wey the nature of the thyng indyfferently. Wherfore what sorow I haue lately conceyuyd of thyse hys ingement I wyl no fether be about to expresse, but comfort myselfe with the truth of the contrary opynyon, and where as he by false report, byeng fer out of hys cuntrey, heryng the forme of your actys & fasyyon of pollycy corruptely iugyth wyth desperayyon al thyng to run wyth vs to rayne & destructyon, I presently seyng the state of our cuntrey, & the nature of your actys indyfferently ponderyng, wyl turne to my purpos, breuely to touche the hope wych I haue conceyuyd of the maner & mean, wherby I trust surely that your grace by your wysedome & pollycy wyl coonerte & turne thes your actys not only to the quyetnes of your subyectes now in thyse tyme wherin you reyne, but also to the commyn comfort of al your posteryte.

And fyrst thys I wyl in the begmyng playnly confesse vn-to your hygnes, that although some aftur my fyrst entre in to your seruyce, when I percewyd not only your poltyke wysedome, wherby your grace so ernystely myndyd the quyetnes of your subyectys in thys

1 Page 459.  
2 Page 460.
cyuyle & wordly lyfe, but also your most chrystyan mynd & iugement, wherby you lokyd vp euer to a nother lyfe, wherof thys ys but a schadow, dyrectyng ¹ al your actys & pollycy to the attaynyng therof, I conceuyyd by & by thys hope & trust in my hart, that your hyghnes wold neuer promote nor stablysh any acte in thys your Reame & cuntrey but such only as schold tend to your gracys honowre & to goddes glory, ye & such as schold not be only to the quyetnes of thys present age, and also of al our posteryte, though thys hope I say I conceuyyd wyth myselfe yet hyt was not surely groundyd in my stomake, nor ther fully rotyd tyl now of late when hyt pleasyd god by hys prouyndence so to ordeyne for our welthe that your hyghnes by just occasions myght plukke away the rote & grounde of al contrary suspicyon. for thys I thynke may truly be sayd, that so long as that woman lyuyd, whome hyt plesyd your hyghnes, as I take hyt, mouyd by opynyon of vertue to sett in such hygh dygnyte, few actys coul procede by the conyecture of wyse men wych myght be durabil wyth our posteryte, but euer lyke as a sore in mannis body, when hyt ys not inwardly & throughly healyd, but hathe fayre flesche & colour vtwardly for the tyme apperyng, at the last brekyth out daungerously, so such actys as apperyd to be hyld apon that weke foundation, though for a tyme they myght peranenture haue induryd, beyng confyrnyd wyth the only obedience dew vnto your mayesty, yet at the last in processe of tyme they wold haue brought to themselfe ruyne & destructyon: but now ² sythen hyt hathe pleasyd the gudnes of god to open thys gate of honowre vnto your hyghnes, and in tyme to cut vp the rote of al such sedycyon wych myght not only by the iugement of them wych be your true subyectys, but also of al other vtward natyonys, haue sprong therby other among vs now lyuyng, other among our posteryte, I schal not dowte to conceuyue sure hope, ful trust & confyndence, that your gracys actys schal both now in our age take profytabul effect and long endure to the settynge forthe of the truthe & to your immortal glory. For now as touching your gracys successyon I trust we in thys tyme schal neuer see occasion of controuersye; for as much as such frute as hyt schal pleyse god to send your hyghnes to our comfort by thys your last matrymony schal put al thynys out of dowte & ambyguyte, and yet grete hope I haue that your hygh wyshedome & pollycy, consolyng the mortalyte of man & the vncertaynty of frute, the mean tyme wyl neuer sulfur thys your Reame to stond wythout heyre appoyntyd by your powar & authoryte, specyally seyng that to the appoyntment therof are ioynyd such occasyonys so manyfold benefyys, and commyn groundys of al quyetnes and tranquyllyte, for such a personage to appoynt thervnto your hyghnes hath, as by the consent of al men lynyth not apon erthe, the floure of al ladys & the verray glas & image of al vertue & nobyllyte, to whome, though I trust hyr grace schal neuer succede but other frute to take place, yet the mean tyme ³ sure hope I

¹ Page 461.
² Page 462.
³ Page 463.
haue that your hyghnes & wysedome perceyuyng as wel the tran-
quyllyte of the hartyes of your subyectys here at home therby to be
stablyschyd, as the intertenure of amyte wyth tvrdward pryneyes by the
same to be confyrmyd, wyl appoynt hyr grace at tyne comynyenyt to
that ryme & dygnyte, and so by that occasyon stablysch the fyrst
ground, & lay the most sure foundatyon of al the rest of your actys, &
of al reformatyon. for of thyss dede, though in effect sche neuer
succeede, what honowre schal ryse to your grace among al other externe
natyonys, what quyetynes at home among your owne subyectys, what
amyte & loue wyth tvrdward pryneyes I wyl not be about, nor yf I
wold, I coude not, fully expresse, but thys one thyng apperyth to me
certayn & sure, that herin lyth a grete ground & stablylyte, a grete
stey & knott, of al your gracyes actys in thyss new pollycy. Wherfore
I schal neuer dowte that your gracyes wyseymode & gadnes can
pretermytyte thyss occasyon of hygh honowre & comynyn quyetynes : and
then I schal also much lesse dowte of any daungerouse successe wych
by the ingement of some men may folow & succeede thyss thyss actt
of the plukkyng downe of the prymacy of Rome. For much
fearyd hyt ys, & as hyt ys thought not wythout reason, that thyss
defectyon from Rome, & chaungyng of the old pollycy, schal not
only alter the stomakys of al other chrystian pryneyes from your
gracyes sure & faythful amyte, for as much as they are thought to iuge
to, 1be plukkyd away therby the foundatyon & ground of al chrystyan
relygyon, but also mynystyr a certayn occasyon of the brech of
concord & vnyte here at home in your owne natyon bycause that
many of your subyectys are thought in hart no thyng to fauour thyss
alteratyon of pollycy & thyss defectyon.”

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

“precharys, wych haue run somewhat at large now a long tyme schalbe
brought to a certaynste, & not haue lyberty to expowne the darke plaecys
of scryptyre aftur theyr owne fantasys, slyppyng rascelhy bothe from
the sentence of the aunceynt interpretarys of Chrystys doctrine &
from the consent & custome of the eurch, vsyd from the begynnyng
vn-to thyss day, 2the wych temeraryouse & lyght igement hathe bryn
a grete occasyon of the breche of chrystyan charyte here among vs
your subyectys, to whom they prechyd as vn-to Infydelys, blynd
& ignorant of al Chrystys doctrine and relygyon, the wych as they
say tyl now of late that the pope was dryuen away, & tyl hyt

1 Page 464. 2 Page 465.
pleasyd god to send lyght to the world openwyd by them vn-to your pepul, was vtturly vnknownen even as Chryst was vn-to the iyys before hys cumyng," the effect of which preaching was that, —"vnder the coloure of dryuyng away manynes tradmeyon & popyschnes, they had almost dryuen away al vertue & holyynes,"—so that the people began to lose their belief in any doctrine, "and wyth the despysyng of purgatory, they began lytlyl to regard hel, heyn, or any other felcyte hereafter to be had in a nother lyfe." Could those who had suffered for their "dysobedyence" have believed that the changes would have stopped there, "yf they had thought that we shold haue slyppyd therby to no fither error nor pestylent opynyon," they would, he is sure, willingly have given their assent to it; and though some "lyght personys" suspect all who favour "the old & auncyent custumys & be lothe to see them troden vnder fote . . . . to desyre in hart the abrogatyon of your acte, & to haue the pope to be restoryd to hys old authoryte," yet he is sure that all with one consent are fully content, and "that they wych babyl so much of the popys popyschnes abhorre no more hys vsurpyd powar & domynyon then doo they whom they note yet to be papystys & ful of superstycyon."

He proceeds—

"Albehyt some men consyderyng wyth them selfys certayn of your actys succedyng thys defectyon from Rome, as the acte of fyrst fruytys, of the tenthys,1 & of the suppressyon of thys monasterys & housys of relygyon, iuge therby playnly that the body of your reame in few yerys schalbe much impoveryschyd, & much mysery among your pepul schal succede the same, yet when I consydur your graces hygh wysedome & prudence wherby your hyghnes most clerly seeth how the welthe of al prynceys hengyth chiefly of the welth of theyr subyectys, & how penury euer bredyth sedytyon, & how the hepyng of tresure wyhout lyberalyte, hathe always brought in ruyne & destructyon of every commynalty, I am then certayn & sure that as you have not wyhout grete prudence & pollycy conceyuyd the groundys of thys your actys, stablyng them wyth poltyke reson, so you wyll see & pronyde that they may procede to such end, as by your hygh wysedome they were chiefly dyrectyd vnto. Wherfore con-
syderyng that thys worldly tresure ys no such thying 2-wherin any nobul hart can take hys delyte & pleysure, sure hope I haue that your grace, whom I know so depely can wey the nature of thyngys, wyl most lyberally dyspense thys tresure & dyspose thys ryches, to the ayd succur & comfort of your most louyng & obedyent pore subyectys, and where as before tyme vnder the pretext & coloure of relygyon

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

2 Page 469.
thys abundance of ryches was abusyd to the nuryschyng of an idul rowte, mynystryng occasyon to al vyce & vanyte, now I trust by your gracys guynes to see hyt turnyd to the settyng forth & increase of all vertue & honesty, & to the comfort of them wych schalbe profytabul cytyzynys lyuyng in some honest exercys of thys your commynalyte; 1 for many tymys syth I haue haed iugement to consydur the end to the wych man of nature ys borne & brought forth, sore I haue lameatyd to see so many vnder colowre of relygyon to lyne as burdonys of the erthe, abusing the frutys & benefytyys of god to theyr owne destroyyon.” Those, he hopes, who before “ran fast to be prestys & relygyous, more for hope of profyt & easy lyuyng then for loun of vertue & perfayt relygyon, schal now somewhat stey, & apply themselyfs to some other honest faseyon of lyuyng, approuyd by gad & polytyke ordur.” Especially he points out that as there are for every state times of war and of peace, so there are 2 “two dyuere sortys of men mete to be nuryschyd by the lyberalyte of prynces .. . . . necessary to the mayntenance of commyn pollyce, that ys: to say, men of lettarys & lernyng, & men exercysyd in featyys of armys & chyalrye, of the wych as the one sorte ys necessary for warre, so the other must nedys be had in tymde of peace;” and therefore he trusts that such “superfluouse ryches, as by our forfatherys was by lytyl & lytyl accumulate & hepyd to the spiryttalyte” may be turned to “the nuryschyng of thys sortys of personys wych schalbe profytabul to your cuatrey both in warre & in peace. I trust to see now many a nobul gentlyman releuyd by thys actys, and exercysyng themselyfs in al featyys of armys made apte & mete to the defence of theyr cuatrey. I trust now to see many a nobul wytt incurragyd to lernyng by your gracys lyberalyte, & made apte to celebrate your fane & glory commonlyng your pryncely vertuys to eternal memory. I trust now to see many notabul precharys spryng forth to lyght, and to declare to your pepul the truth of Chrystys doctryne synceryly; and fynally I trust now to see al such superfluouse ryches, wych among them that bare the name of spiryttal nuryschyd no thyng but idulness & vyce, to be commertyd & turnyd by your gracys guynes 3 guynes to the increase of al vertue & honesty. . . . Howbewhyt in thys acte of suppression of abbays & monasterys, among your pepul ther lythe no smal controuorsye, speccally seyng that by the coundent of al your lernyd cleryge hyt ys agred that such a place ther ys wherin soulys departyd remaynyng may be releuyd by the prayer & almy[s] dede of ther posteryte . . . . how I am persuadyd that your grace wyl commert thys acte to the welth of your subjectys now lyuyng, & to

1 On the great good which might have been done with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, see Crowley’s Epigrams, E. E. T. S., ed. Cowper, p. 7, “Of Abbayes;” the Complaynt of Roderick Mors, edited by the same gentleman, 1874 ; and The Parish, by the late Mr Toulmin Smith, 1857, p. 145.

2 Page 470.

3 Page 471.
the comfort also of them wych be departyd I schal somewhat more particularly touch. . . .

"And fyrst herin thys ys certayne that many ther be wyche are mouyd to iuge playny thes acte of suppresyon of certayn abbays bothe to be agayne the ordur of charyte & iniuryous to them wych be dede bycance the foundarys therof & the soulys departyd seme therby to be defraudyd of the benefyte of prayer & almys dede ther appoyntyd to be done for theyr releyff to theyr last wyl & testament; and also the commyn wele & polytyke ordur apperyth to be much hyndryd & troublyd by the same, bycause many pore men & therby are lyke to be depnyyd of theyr lyuyng & quyetes, wherein lythe as they thynke no smal iniury: how be hyt as touchyng thes cansys commynly allegyd, though they seme to be of no smal weyght, yet they are obectyd in thys mater by manyfest lake of ingenment & consyderatyon, for to me a lytyl consyderemy wyth my selfe the nature of thys acte, hyt apperyth playny nother to be vytturly agayne the ordur of charyte, nother yet the foundarys wyllys to be broken therby wyth any notabul iniurye, for thys ys a sure ground by the ordur of al laws, & by the consent of al men of lernyng & ingenment approuyed, that though grete respecte euer hath bryn had of the last wyll of testatorys & much pryuylege grauntyd therto, specyally when hyt perteynyd & tendyd to materys of relygyon, yet thys I trow was neuer thought of any men of wysedome & prudence that al theyr posteryte schold be bounden of hygh necessyte to the sure accomplyschment & ful observatyon of theyr wyllys preserybyd in testament & that by no meanys they myght be changyd & ordryld to other purpos, for thys ys a sure truth that the wyll & dede of euery pryuate man for a commyn wele may be alteryd by the supreme authoryte in euery cuntre & kynd of pollycy, for as much as euery man by the ordur of god ys subyet therto, & hys wyl euere presupposyd to be obedyent to the same in so much that though he be other absent or dede, yet hyt ys alway by reson thought that ye he were present he wold gyne hys consent to al such thynyngs as be ingyd by commyn authoryte to be expedyent to the publyke wele, to the wych no pryuate wyl may be lawfully repnugnant. Wherfore albehyt the last wyl of the testatorys be by thys acte alteryd wyth authoryte, yet hyt ys not broken wyth iniurye, bycause the consent of the testator ys presupposyd to be conteynyd therein. in so much that hyt may surely be thought that ye they wey now luyng agayne & saw the present state of thys world now in our days, how vnder the pretense of prayer much vyce & idulynes ys nuryschyd in thys monasterys instytute & foundyd of them, and how lytyl lernyng & relygyon ys tought in the same, ye & how lytyl chrystyan hospytalyte ys vsyd therin, they wold perauenture cry out with one voyce, saying aftur thys maner to pryueys of the world—'alter thes foundatyons wych we of long

1 Page 472.
tyne before dyd instytute, & turne them to some bettur vse & commodoyle. We never gave our possessyonys to thyss end & purpos to the wych by abuse they be now applyd. We thought to stablysch husys of vertue, lernyng & relygyon, the wych now, by the malyce of man in process of tyne we see turnyd to vyce, blynndes, & supersteyyon. We thought to stablysch certayn cumpanyys to lyne togyddur in pure and chrystyan charyte, wherein we see now reynyth much hate, rancoere & enuye, much slothe, idulnes & glatory, much ignorance, blynndes & hypocrysye, wherfor we cry, after thes funda
tyonys & turne them to bettur vse; prouyde they may be as commyn scolys to the educatyon of youth in vertue & relygyyen, out of the wych you may pyke men apt to be ordanyd byschoppys & prelatys for theyr perfectyon: prouyde they may be some ornamant to the commyn wele & not as they be now sklaunderouse & therwyth grete detrayment.' Thys peranenture they wold say vn-to your hyghnes, requyring your wysedome to cal thyss mater to some lyke conseydery
tyon, whereby hyt may appere that theyr wyllys are not vtturly frustrat & broken by your graecys actys.

"And yet many men further, as hyt apperyth to them not wythout reson, haue requyrlyd in thyss mater much rather a just reformatyon then thyss vthur rynose suppressyon. How be hyt thos men, as I thynke, haue not in dylygent conseyderyatyon such thyngy as in thyss acte are pryncypally to be ponderyd & weyd, for though hyt be so that prayer & almys deye be much to the confort of them wych be departyd, & though god delyte much in our charytabl myndys therby declaryd, yet to commaert over much possessyon to that end & purpos, & to appoynt over many personys to such offyce & exercise, can not be wythout grete detrayment & hurt to the chrystian com-
mynwele, gud ordur & true pollycye . . . . & though hyt be a gud thyng & much relygyouse to pray for them wych be departyd out of thyss mysery, yet we may not gyue al our possessyonys to nnysch idul men in contynual prayer for them, leuyng other destytute of helpe wych be in lyffe, for to the one we are bounden by expresse commamandement, whereas the other commyn but of mere denotyon." It can, therefore, he says, be no fraud on the dead to turn their endowments to the benefit of the living, since the latter will then be bound to pray for their benefactors, and if they fail to do so the fault will lie with them, and not with the dead, "for whether we pray or pray not they schal not be depruyyd of theyr reward by goddys gudnes to them appoyntyd, and yet I doo not say but that hyt ys grete confort & relyfyfe to them to see theyr posterye to hau
e them in charytabl memory, the wych thyng ys to be requyrlyd of al men of every sort & degre, & not only of them wych lyue in monasterys."

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

1 Page 474.  
2 Page 475.  
3 Page 476.
idul quyetnes & vayn plesure therin, then by any desyre of perfayt 
vertue & true releygon," 1 will therefore, he believes, tend greatly 
to the advantage of the country, to the honour and glory of God, 
and to the increase of good order. "For to me consyderyng the 
state of our cuatrey & nature of the same, & comparyng hyt to 
other, hyt apperyth playnly that though ther be therin ouer grete 
nombur of idul personys & yl occupyd, yet, 2 regard had of the 
fertylyte, nature, & largenes of the place ther may appere a grete lake 
of pepul & inhabytantys of the same, in the contynent multytude 
of whom I inuge to rest the chefe mater, ground & foundatyon 
wherapon ys bylylyd al eyyule ordur & polylyke, the wych thynge 
may be gatheryd & proudy suffycyently, not only of the grete wast 
groundys, rude & vsnylylyd, & of the forestys, communys, & parkys 
fyllyd wyth wyld bestys, wych myght by dylygent culture be con-
vertyd to profyrabul yse and brought to the nyrshyng of man, 3 but 
also of the rare & smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the com-
myn dekay & ruyne of the same throughout al thys your reame 
& natyton, albehyt here-of many other causys may be notyd, but 
where as nother warre pestylens nor famyn hathe mynystryd cause to 
the desolatyon of cytes & townys, hyt must nedys appere that the 
dekay & ruyne therof sryngyth much of the penury of pepul & 
lake of inhabytantys, for of thys desolatyon other grete causys & 
other chefe groundys I fynd not many: and for thys cause long I 
haue thought & iugyd thys grete nombur of prestys & releygyouse,4

1 Page 477. 2 Page 478. 3 Compare the Dialogue, pp. 70—73. 
4 Complaints of the excessive number of friars and monks are frequent. 
Wyelif says:—"not two hundrid iere e a gonne þer was no frere . . . . And now 
ben mony þousande of frerris in Englund."—Works, ed. Arnold, III. 400. See 
also the Dialogue, p. 149, and A Supplycacion to our moste soveraigne Lorde, 
Kyng Henry the Eygght, B. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, p. 40; and compare the 
following:—

"Agayne, what an infinite number of monstures, Monekes, I would haue 
sayd, and other religiouse parsons, and God wyl, as they desyre to be called, 
did there arise in this kyngdome? Who thought it not a better dede to put 
his childe into an Abbay, and there to live idelly, swnishly and irreligiously 
pampred vp with al delicious fare that should proouke vnto lewdnes, than to 
lette hym lyue abroade in the wolde, and there to praetyse some honest arte 
and ocupacion, that might turne to the commodite and mayntaynance of 
the common weale? What blindnes had inuaded thys Realme! Did not we 
thinke it rather our dutye to obeye the proude Bishop of Rome than our own 
nature kyng? Did not we esteme hys fantastical deeres abone the edictes, 
lawes, & actes of our own kyng? were we not more ready to folowe his 
sensnall lustes and beastlyke pleasures, than to obey the commandementes 
of our own kyng & ruler? Into what perylles would not we caste ourselves to do 
yt rammish Bishop pleasure? Yea would God yt certayn of this realme in 
times past had not rather had a mynd to dye for yt maintaynance of yt false 
vsurped power of yt Bishop of Rome than to lyue wt obedyente and 'thythfull 
hartes to oure mastе Chrysten kyng " (Becon, Pathway to Prayer, Works, 
lyuyng vnmaryd in vnclene lyfe, to be much sklauderouse to chrystian commyn welys & to gyue no smal occasyon to the dekay of thys ground, the wyche ys dowteles, as the veray foundatyon to al cyuyle orderly & chefely to be regardyd. Wherfore now in thes days to my iugement hyt apperyth lyghly expedient other to mynysch thys nombur of prestys & of relyyyouse personys, other to alter thys law of bound chastyte, though hyt hathe byn newer so long reccuyed, but wyche of thes two thyngys ys now to thys tyme more commynent I schal leue to your graecys wysedome & iugement; & of thys mater no thyng dowte at al, but that here ys a grete lake & penury of pepul & inhabytantys in your cytes & townys & hole cuntrey: the wyche lake, as hyt apperythe to me, may in some part be redressyd & helpyd by thys your acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in thes monasterys was nuryshyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dyshonowre of god, & let of natural propagatyon, grete trust I haue that your hyghnes by your gudnes & wyse domaunys wyl now set & plant therin men lyuyng in lawful matrymony, wherby the nombur of your pepul schalbe hereafter much increasyd, to godlyys honowre & glory: 3

3 "But here ys a thyng wych many wyse men feare & gretely dystrust, & what hyt ys I schal to your hyghnes breuely declare. Hyt ys openly iugyd & commyndly thought that the ferme & occupying of thes abbays & monasterys schalbe leysyd & set vn-to grete lordys & gentylmen of much possessyonys & to them wyche haue therof no grete nede at al, the wych dowteles, yf hyt so be, schal much deface & gretely dymynysch the profyt of your acte & publyke vtylyte, for then schal the grete commodyte therof run but to few & to such wyche myght lake hyt ryght wel, & your pepul therby schalbe lytyl then increaseyd; wheras yf the fermys therof were leysyd by copyhold, & of a mean rent, to yongur bretherne lyuyng in servyce vnprofytably, & to them wyche be of lowar state & degre, they schold gretely helpe to set forward chrystyan cyuulyte & much increase the nombur of your pepul, specially yf the ferme of the hole monasterys and demaynys of the same were dyuydyd in-to sundry portyonys & dyneres holdys, & not leysyd to one to turne hyt vn-to a graunge. And thys thyng schold not be vtturly wythout reson & gad consyderatyon, for pytys yet were that so much fyere howsyng & guudly byldyng, wyche myght wyth commodyte be maynteynd to the comfort of men schold be let fal to ruyne & dekay, wherby our cuntrey myght appere so to be 4 defacyd as hyt had byn lately ouerrun wyth ennymys in tyme of warre, the wyche must nedys ensew yf the hole monastery be leysyd but to one to whom hyt schal not be necessary to maynteyne so much housyng, but a schyppce-cote peraunture schalbe to hym suffycyent." He suggest that each monastery be divided and leased to several men instead of one, so

1 Page 479.  
2 Compare the Dialogue, pp. 148 et seq.  
3 Page 480.  
4 Page 481.
that more households and citizens might be produced "apte & mete to the servyce" of the commonwealth; the "relygouse" may be removed to the greater monasteries, where they can better observe their rules. 

"Wherfore grete trust I have & sure hope that your hyghnes, by your synguler wysedome & grete pollicy, wyl plant in thes housys a nother cumpany then hathe byn before, wyche haue gretly abusyd the benefytys of god & of gud men to them gyuen, by whome the nombur of your pepul schalbe bettur increasyd & the mayestye of god, as hyt ys to be thought, much bettur pleasyd, ye, & the soulys of them wych be departyd much more comfortyd, of whome hyt may be ingyd conuenyently that euer as they deleyte & take much comfort of the faythful prayerys & remembrance of thyr posteryte, so of the faynyd babblingy of many ful of hypocrasye 1 more by custume then wyth denotyon vsyd, they take lytyl releyffe & consolatyon. Wherfore though such a place be, as hath byn euer affyrmyd of al the antquyte, where as soulys departyd be retaynyd from the fruytyon of the dyuyne mayestye, ther takyng releyffe & comfort of our prayerys made in faythful loue & charyte, yet thys schal not folow of necessity that by thys acte of suppressyon they suffer any wrong or iniurye, but rather, as fer as manys reson may attayne, schal take grete consolatyon to see thyr possessyonys, wych long haue byn abusyd to the nuryschyng of vyce & idulnes, 2 now converted & turnyd by your gracyeouse gudnes & wysedome to the commyn comfort of thyr posteryte & to the settyng forth of goddys glory, the wych dowteles ys more schowyd & openyd to the world by the multytude & increse of hys pepul lyuyng togyddur in chrystyan cyuylyte then by a few lyuyng in the monastycal lyfe & soltyary." 3

Starkey then proceeds to treat of the question of the origin and progress of the supremacy of the Pope: two causes, he thinks, may be assigned for the former, "the one for as much as general counseyl of al chystian natyonys was ingyd of wyse men to be expedyent both to redresse al commyn errorys and heresys, & also to stablysch a comforyme of manerys & vnyte of chrystys doctrine in the vnyserual church, hyt was thought 4 also mete & comuenyent to determe & appoynt one to be hede & chefe in the same to ordur the counseyl & propowne such thyngeys as were deered wyth authoryte : the other bycause the word of god & doctrine of Chryst ought to be kept perlayt & hole in al chystian pollicys, & ought to be the ground & foundatyon whereapon al christian pryncys schold byld al theyr lawys & be the vemy end wherevnto they ought to dyrect al theyr actys & dedys, to the intent that pryncys schold not swarue from the groundys of scripture nor decree any thynge contray to the true sense

1 Page 483.
2 Compare the Dialogue, p. 131, "idul abbey-lubbarys."
4 Page 485.
& integryte therof; hyt was peraunture ingyd by reson also to be veray expedyent to stablysch such a hede wherby as by a commyn stey the hedy affectys of pryney & vnlawful purposys myght in some parte be brydelyd, & conteyneyd in ordur.”

The principal cause of the continuance and increase of the power of the popes he thinks to be “that after the tyme that Constantyne, the grete, Emperoroure, by the consent of al them wyche were vnder hys monarchye, & by hys hygh powar, had stablyschyd thys hede, the enydent 

1 vtylyte wherof was felt & playnly perceyuyd through the hole chrystyan pollycy, & specyally in thys occydent parte of the world, then men began to draw placys of srypture to the confyrma
tyon therof, and in processe of tyme such as sownyd thereto wyth a lytlyl apparent probabylyte were by the avauncerys of that powar declaryd to the world to prono the thynge of necessyte, for such ys the symplycyte of man that every lytlyl apparenye, namely in materys of relygyon, inducyth hym by & by to ful persuasyon, specyally when ther apperyth any daungerys or incommodytes annexyd & succeedyng the same.”

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

Starke then impresses on the king the necessity to “dyssyfure and to separat a-sundure, al such as be groundys of srypture, landabul custumys, 3 and honest rytys tendyng to confyrme true & perfayt relygyon from madeus tradiyton, falsys abusys & erroneouse, by the wyche ys vnder growen al false & vayne superstycyon: for to thys dyssyferyng & to thys maner of castyng downe the Prymacy sehal neuer sucede the brech of chrystyan charyte, nor yet the ruyne of lernying, vertue or of gud eyuylyte. Wherof many honest hartys & relygyouse hauu conceyuyd grete feare & suspycyon, dowtyng much that wyth thys defecyton from Rome, we schold hauu fallen & slyppyd also from al old rytys & rulys of our relygyon. But now sythen hyt hathe pleasyd your grace by your authoryte to stablysch the gud & aunecynt custumys vsyd in chrystys church from the begynnynge, and to set forth the indyfferent mean betwyx the old &

1 Page 486. 2 Compare the Dialogue, pp. 198-9. 3 Page 489.
blynd superstyeon and thys lyght & arrogant opynyon lately entryng
here among vs, I trust surely to see the doctrine of chryst so synceely
to be set forth, & the honoure of God so to be maynteynyd in thys
new pollycy, that al other chrystian pryneys schal take therof lyght of
ture ingemen. . . . 1 Now I trust to see vertue & lernying so to be
estymyd here among vs, and so to be rewardyd by your graceys
lyberalyte that al men schalbe much encurraygd therto, and al men
schal take therof iuste cause of rejoycyng; for though vertue of
hytselfe be suffyeynt reward to al them wych wyth clere ingemen
can behold the bewty therof, yet the commyn sort haungyn therof no
clore syght, syldeome entrynyth the straute pathe ledyngh thervnto,
except they be encurraygd & inflamyd wyth some hope of wtward
reward & benefyte;" and to this use he expressys his hope that the
king will turn the immense revenues lately fallen to him. He then
again refers 2 to the "vndyserete prechyngh" which of late had nearly
brought in "a certayn dyuysyon," and hopes that in future the people
may live in "perfayt vnyte, whervnto syldeon & rarer prechyngh,
made wyth greyt lernyng & dysretyon . . schold mynyystur no smal
cause & occasyon;" for though at first 3 "before Chrystys doctrine
was taught to the world hyt was then necessary in every cuntrey to haue
often & much prechyngh, to plant in menys harts the groundys of
our relygyon, so now whereas hyt hath byn stabyllyd so many yersys,
and both by educatyon & tradytyon so wel confyrmyd, ther ys therof
I thynte no such hyght necessytye," and 3 "Persuadyd I am that yf so
much prechyngh had not byn vsyd in thys alteratyon of your pollycey,
but yf thyngys had byn set forth only by your pryneyd powar &
authoryte, ther schold neuer haue byn so much repugnyng nor so
much gruye agayne your actys as apperyd openly," for he says there
is nothing "more vncemly in chrystian commyn welys then to see
every lewde person at lyberty to babyl in pulpytys of the groundys
of scurypte and of hyght materys & weyghty concernyng relygyon,
the handelyng wherof worthyly perteynyth to men of approuyed
vertue & grete puryte of lyfe, hyght lernyng and depe ingemen."
He again returns to the encouragement of learning, 4 "by the syght
wherof men schalbe styrryd & inflamyd lyghtly to folow thys our
trade & kynd of pollycey, and thys schal gyne to other chrystian pryneys
by your graceys actys clere lyght of ingemen; thys schal moue them to
loke to your exampl; thys schal make them gladly to schake away
the yoke of the tyranniy of Rome, and, shortly to say, thys I thynte
ys the only way to persuade other pryneyes & to induc the world to
iuge thys defectyon to be a gud dede and to be wel doone . . . .
5 and truly to say I thynte no one thyng hathe byn a greter sty to
chrystian pryneyes to conteyne them in thyr old pollycey then hathe
byn the exampl of Germanye, whose dyscorde and dyuysyon wyth
so many kyndys of relygyon lately receyuyd hathe made many

1 Page 490.  2 Page 491.  3 Page 492.  4 Page 493.  5 Page 494.
chrystian hartyes, & many wise men much to abhorre al new alteratyon, but as Germanye by rashnes and, as I take hyt, by lake of sobur ingement & dyscretyon hathe mynystryd lyght occasyon of ouer much lyberty to theyr pepul, by the reson wherof they sluyyed in-to a pestylene dyuysyon, and so hath much defacyd & spottyd thys kyud of pollycy, so I trust that Englund, gouernyd & rulyd by your hygh wysedome & ingement, your pepul beyng temperyd wyth soburnes & modestye, schal mynystyr such exampl & gyue such lyght therin that al other chrystian prynceys hereafter schal gladly follow thys alteratyon, & much desyre in theyr commyn welys to see lyke ordur of pollycy . . . . .

and though Mastur Pole, in whome my trust surely was fyxyd; that he wold hawe subserybwyd to the iugyd truhte herin, hathe lately declaryd by hys wrytyng a contrary sentence vndyscretely, yet I trust he ys not so malycouse, nor so lytyl studyouse of your gracys honowre, as to set hyt abrede to the face of the world; and yet yt he, forgettyng hym selfe, schold mynd so to doo, mouyd other by the desyre of the aumaceament of hys sentence, to the wych he iugyth the more parte of the world wythout controuersye dothe agre, other els styrryd by ambcyyon & study ot glory, wherwylh he may perauenture be inflamyd grelyly, I devout not but that your gracys subyectys schal take therof lytyl persnasyon, for, he says, as to the Pope's supremacy, provided no changes be made in the doctrines and rites of the Church, it will soon "be put in oblyuyon . . . . for euer man semyth commynly & vytturly to abhorre that vsurpyd and clokyd tyranny."

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

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

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1 Page 495.  2 Page 496.  3 Page 497.  4 Page 499.
to folow and by your gudnes prynceply the world restoryd to the old quyetnes, by the wych mean your grace schal not only doo the offyce and dewtye of a veray chrystian prynce and of a true hede of a chrystian congregatyon, but also by the consent of al men your hyghnes schalbe iugyd to be worthy of immortal glorye, and wyth hym to reyne, who ys the veray hede of al churchys eternally.

"Thus I haue declaryd breuely vn-to your hyghnes the hopys wych I haue of thys present state & kynd of pollycye, mouyd by the redyng of Mastur Polys boke, wherein he studyth the abrogatyon of your actys, and the restitutyon of the old prymacy, declaryng hyt to be a necessary ground to the conservatyon of chrystyan vnyte and playnlly schowyng how aftar his iugement thes your actys repugnyng to goddys law can not long endure in thys present age, & much les wyth your posteryte: but as he corruptly doth iuge your gracyes actys, as he apperyth to me, blynyd wyth wyth affectyon, not weying they materys indyfferently, so I trust & surely hope that your hyghnes, not only by your synguler gudnes, appoyntyng your successyon at tyme convenient, wel powderyng the commodytys wych depend therapon, but also by your hygh prudence and pollycye, conteynyng your pepul in ordur and vnyte, wyl so tempur your actys wyth al theyr successe annexyd to the same, and so ordur the present state dyrectyng al thyngs to goddys honowre & glory, that they schal not only be an examplu to al other chrystian prynceys to folow and ensew, mynystryng vn-to them lyght of iugement, but endure also long & many yers to the grete comfoort of vs that in thys tyme, and to the inestymable quyetnes of 1 al our posteryte. Thes be my hopys, and ofte cogytatyonys & desyrys wherwyth aboue al wordly thyngs I confoort myselfe in thys mortal lyffe. In the declaratyon wherof vn-to your hyghnes, yf I haue erryd or concenuyed amys, I schal most humbly besech your grace as my souerayne lord & mastur rather to impute of your gudnes myn errour to ignorawcy and lake of experyence, then to any lake of wyl and desyre of that thynge wych perteynyth to your pryncely honowre, to the wych I schal serue duryng my lyfe, wyth the same faythfulnes of hart, wherwyth 2 I serue hym, who ys the maker, gouernowre, and rulare of all."

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

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

1 Page 500.
2 MS. wherwhyth.
3 Thomas Starkey clericus habet litteras Regis patentes de presentacione ad Collegium sive Capellam corporis Christi iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurencij prope Candelwyke strete Ciuitatis Londonii London. Dioc. per mortem ultimi
the living on the 26th January following. Hither, doubtless, he betook himself after the failure of the negociations with Reginald Pole, and here he composed the Dialogue, having, as he says, "alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn things by long observaityon and put them in wryting."

Of this Chapel Newcourt 1 gives the following account:—

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

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

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

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

Hujus Collegii Magistri.

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


Will. Latymer,\(^1\) *pres. 22 October, 1538, per mortem* Starkey."

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

(1 February 1537.\(^2\))

I wrote to you but short lately bycause I thought my lord, as he was purposyd, had come to you, but now I wyl recompense my shortenes, how be hyt as touchyng newys from Italy your frend hathe certyfyd you truly.\(^3\)

I have expownyd *latine* to you. *Master* Pole hathe [gott]en the Cardynallys hatte & robbes made wyth su[che t]ryumphe as neuer was man in Rome, and playnly hyt [ys] wryten out of Italy that he shal shorlty be pope, *talis est multorum ibi expectatio*, but yet I can skant belene that he wyl Inyoy that yttil before throgmortonys arryual, wysh schalbe shorlty, & shorlty I trow also retorne, for thereaprone heng grete thyngeys. The mater ys not wel borne. I wold you were here for ij or iiij days at your leysar, & come by my lord montague, yf you here of hys byeng ther at bokmore, for he wylbe also here thys next weke as I here. Our men in the north I trust be wel quetyd: my lord of Norfolke wyth hys conseyl ys now ther. Beyonde the see ther ys grete preparetyon apom al sydys, bothe among chrysten men & turkys, and lately the duke of florence was slayyn by hys own Cosyn in the myddyl of hys owne towne, such myschefe ys in the world. *Master* gostwyke lokyth for you for the kyngys money, & thys *Master* olyver wylyd me to wryte to you, & I am sure you wyl bryng hyt up wyth you and more to satysfye other credytorys, *si qui sint*. I have non other newys, but desyryng you that I may be most humbly recomendyd to my lady, your mother, *vale*. Londini, Calendis februarij,

Th. Starkey.

Here ys a lettur of mastres brownys wythin.

[Addressed] The Ryght worshipful Sr Geoffray pole.

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

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

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

3 Nearly half a line is illegible here.

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

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

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

He concludes as follows:—

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

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

For as muche that I see you so occupyd in materys of weyght in al such tymys wherein you gyue audyence to such as sue vn to you for your socyr & conseyl, I have thought most conuenyent, breuly in wrytyng to schow the cause of my sute now vn to you, bescheowyng you at your plesure to rede hyt, at suche tyme, as you are not besydyd wyth gretur aflayrys; requyring you also of pardon of thys my importune boldnes, for maruayle you may, that I, beyng to you a straunger & almost vnknowne, schold so boldly requyre your conseyl & ayde, & specially in such a cause wych semyth to requyre longur acquyntance; but maruayle you not, your gentylines ys the cause, I assure you. the synguler humanyte schoowyd vn to me at your fyrst communycatyon, and the grete gudnes wych you to al men declare in al gud & honest requestys hathe put such confydence in my hart and stomake, that I put no dowte, that you wyl not only gladly here my request, but also put to your conseyl & ayde to the fortherance of the same, and bycause I wyl not trowbuil you ouer long, schortly to schow you thys hyt ys. I wyl open my mynd now vn-to you, non other wyse, then hyt ys open to hym who seeth al. I haue spent many yerys in the studye of letturnys, occupying my pore wytt wythe such dylygentyse as I coude, to attayne to some knolege, both of the law of god & of the law of man, and in thys my studys, I haue had hytherto grete plesure and comfort, euuer more trustyng to haue some occasyon & tyme wherein I myght apply such lernyng as I attaynyd vn to, at the last to some vse & profyt of my cuatrey; thys hathe

1 State Papers, Public Record Office, Henry VIII.
bystyfye god the end of my studys, thys hathe byn euer before my yees, and to thy now I loke vn to wythe gretur desyre then euer I dyd hythereto to any other thynge in my lyfe: but now In thy case & condycyon I stond, that of myselfe I can not atayne to thys end accordyng to my desyre, the gudynes of our prynec who gonernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true commyn wele, that my mynd now gyueth me thys, that ye hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto. Wherefor if hyt wold plese you of your gudynes as my sure trust ys, aftur your prudence to helpe & set forwarde thys my purpos, what you schal desire of me you can bettur conceyue, then I can wyth wordys expresse. Thys I assure you I schal euer juge that by you I haue optaynyd a grete parte of my felcyte, and the rest of my lyfe I wyl gladly spend accordyng to your ordur & dysposytyon.

Yours assurydly,

Thomas Starkey.

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

Combien² au temps passe quant je pensoys de les oneres de nature il me sembloyt, che dan la male forme la nature des homes, pur ce che na pas fayt quelch petytes fenestres danant le cure, affyn che sans parolles on les poynt cognoystre laffecytion, touteffoys au present Je le trone plus grannt faute che jamays paraunt, dutant che je consttue en vn pays estraigne la ou je ne puys exprymer avec parolles ou termes ce che mon poner cour pance. neamnoyns, quant je me souyent de vostre grannt humanyte & cure benygyne, cela me ha balliva (l) peu de hardyesse pur ouyre la buche, en faysant croyre ausi che vous non regarderay poynt la rudesse de mes parolles, mays tant solement laffectyon du mon eure, le quel se monstra volonyer plus souuant en rudes parolles, che en elegantes & bien composees : et affyn che je ne vous donne trop grand fascherye avec mes lettres en peu de parolles je vous

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.
² Byen souant was written first, then altered to Combien.
declaryreray lyntentyon de mon cure,\(^1\) mays au com-
mencement je vous supplie, madame, de vous persuader,
che ces parolles ensuyuant sont escript non pas auec
louer vyle & commune, mays auec les vyue sprytes de
mon coure. Depuy le primer jur che jay veus la
benty synguler & la bonne grace che est en vous, et
depuys\(^2\) che jay cognue & experymente la honte hones-
tete auec les synguler vertues, jay est pryns de vn si
synguler affectyon envers vous, che jamays depuys mon
pouter cour a este au sa lyberty acustumee: il non pa-
ne joui ne nuyt de altre chose synon de vous, et de telle
sorte est rauy che me semble che yl est plus verytable-
ment auec vous che auec moy. Yl ha lasse mon corps
toute desolee, sans joy & sans pleysyr, comment vous
pourays voyr si jammays vous aues pryn gyrd de cela:
et aussi vous voyes laffectyon de mon cure. mays
anchore, affyn che vous saches la qualyte de icelle voys
moy madame. Il non tende a aultre fyne si non de
vous frayre honoure & servyce, et comme de vous ver-
tues lha sa source & fountayne, auy en icelles, ha
son fyne, comme je vous declareray plus largement
quant a la vostra bonna grace playre che je parleray a
vous de ce purpos. Et purpe, madame, je vous supplye
par lamor che vous porte al honoure & honestete de
bonys gentylhomys che lamor & laffectyon che je porte
envers vous est si honeste che vous playse dacepter de
bone cure, affyn che vous me restituer en mon liberty
& che de cela. Se vous aues lu cecy je vous supplie de
relyer plus dylygemment & prenes les lettres escryptes
a vous, purce che vous estes la dame a la quele je suys
plus subiecte che au dame en ce monde: vous aues
mon pouter cour a vostre commandement & purce je
vous supplie trete luy gentylment selon.

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

\(^1\) Mon cure is written over mes lettres erased.

\(^2\) Written in the margin there is here as follows, but without any connec-
tion or caret: ---le cuer non serrai (?) iamays repos che ha fiance en chose
mortalle o che aue plus le choses mortales che immortales, car lamor desor-
donce est la causa de toutes les maux en ce monde, comme bien ordonce est
causa de toute bienuys (?).
Quem multa alia docte atque prudenter Plinius scripsit, tum illud mihi quam prudentissime ac sapientissime dixisse videtur vitam hominis multos recessus habere multasque latebras, vt plane nihil sit difficilis quam de vita ac moribus hominum judicare. Nam doctrina si qua est in aliquo, si qua dicendi vis ac eloquentia, facile seipsam profid atque erumpit. Nec domini latere potest vtque vltro sese plerumque gestiat proferre ac diffundere. At mores hominis difficilium cognoscuntur multumque seipsum; Vt nihil sit homine fere versipellius nihil mutabilius; Non proteus ille, quousq etiam Chamelionte versutor ac mutabilior, vt multa alia omittam. An non videmus fere mansuetu ac mihi ingenio homines remissos admodum ac tarde indolis ultra modum excandescere? Nam quemadmodum nihil est his hominibus odiosius qui sese sapientes existimant nihil non sibi, amicus autem parum tribuentes, nusquam non molesti, contumaces, loquaces, refractarii—qualem te miniune esse judico—sic contra nihil his amabilius qui alius plurimum, sibi antem nihil aut parum arrogantes, de suo etiam jure vbique decedere parati, ne dicam alieno: multum se intra suas vires contrahunt modesto-que silent; audientes libenter judicium suspendunt, aut certe de quoqueque judicare parum tutum esse putant ac plerumque etiam temperarium. Contentio enim pro re parum sicuti mulierum ac sophistarum propriâ est. Ita virorum est moderata ac tempestiva taciturnitas maxime philosophorum ac theologorum, qui ut nomine ipso patet non de quibuscumque rebus loqui debeant sed de deo ac divinis, et fratum amicorumque infirmitates et animi motus quosdam equo animo ferre, secundum illud evangelium, ‘ne dicas fratri tuo, raha,’ Quid enim, ut probe nosti, fertili theolgo stultius aut in-tolerabilius? Porro quid minus convenit homini theologo quam scurrilbus ludis ac jocis et, vt domestico vtamur vocabulo, quartes (?) theologique sessionis granitatem inflectere cena communis nostri amici Wittinton. Id fecit ac mens vino flagrans continuisque potibus madula non potest non varius tum desideris tum affectibus estuare. Quare, mi Starke, vtraque manu aut si manus cum hieronimo lapide pectus contundas et iterum ad sobrietatis, modestie, verecundie, taciturnitatis exemplar mihi ceterisque amicis omnibus imitandum te commertas. Nemo nusquam sic a sese degenerauit vt non facile rursum mansueteat si modo culture vt Horaciis inquit patientem commodet auren. Vale.
§ 19. The following letter in Starkey's handwriting,\(^1\) and apparently addressed to Cromwell, seems to refer to his *Exhortation*. In it he protests against its being considered a fault in his book that he had inclined neither to the one side nor the other, a feature which he himself considers as the "chefe vertue of the oratyon." Moreover, considering the persons to whom it was addressed, he thinks he had gone into the point quite as much as was necessary. At the close he intimates his intention of publishing "a certayn fantasye," by which he probably means his *Dialogue*.

Syr, I had thought these days past to haue spoken vn to you concernynge the lytyl oratyon wych lately I wryte & your sentence of the same, but bycause I haue seen you euer so occupyd, I haue not wythout cause hythero abstaynyd, fearyng I schold trawbly your necessary besynes wytth my communycatyon. Wherfor I schal besech you thes few wordys in wrytyng to accept, aftur your custumyd maner, & then to rede at your conuenyent leyser. Syr, syth you showyd me of late what you thought of the boke, I haue perusyd the thyng agayn & weyd hyt wytth my selfe somewhat more dylygently, & playlyny to contesse vn to you the truth, thys I wyl say, that as you haue jugyd of the mater so hyt ys indeede; thys mean ys not put out at large wych you requyre, wherein you haue jugyd aftur a-nother sort then some other haue downe to whome you dyd exhybyte the thyng to rede, who, the chefe vertue of the oratyon, yt ther be any therin conteynyd, as I vnderstode, haue notyd for a grete faute, & that was bycause I apperyd to be oner vehement agayn the one extremyte, & to be of nother parte, but betwyx both indyfferent, the cause of the wych jugement I wyl not touch but lene to your prudence. but, syr, to you I schal speke as I thynke, wych ys thys—that, euen lyke as you haue downe in al other thanyngs, wherof at any tyme hyt hath plesyd you to talke wyth me, euer touchyd the stryng & knot of the mater, in so much that of your communycatyon I haue geddryd more frute of truth then I haue downe of any other man lyuyng syth I cam here to my cuntrye, so you haue downe vn-dowtydyly in thys, for thys mean wynch you requyre ys not at length set out in my boke, nor I can not tel whether my wyt be sufflycent or abul thereto, for this mean in al thynge ys a strange stryng, hard to stryke apon & wysly touch to, for by thys the armony of thys hole world ys conteynyd in hys natural course & bewty: by thys al cuyle ordur & pollyey ys maynteynyd in cytes & townyys wytth gud cyuylyte: by thys mamyys mynyd wytth al kynd of vertue garnyschyd ys brought to hys quyetnes & felcyte, and by thys here

\(^1\) State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.
in our purpos al gud & true relygyon wythout impetye or superstyczon ys stablyschyd to goddys honowre & glory among al chrystyan natyonys. Wherfor to set out thys mean, as hyt ys a thyng most hyely to be desyryd, so my wytt & capacyte hyt for-passyth; & yet the mater I haue some what touchyd, & permaneature, as much as ys necessary for them to whom I dyrectyd my communycaytyn, for as to the pepul thys partycular mean fully to presente I thynke hyt schold not nede, to whom you know obedyence ys more necessary to thynysys deyrd by commyn authoryte then scrupulous knolege & exacte dysquysytyn, the wych thyng perteynyth to hyar phylosophy. And for thys cause I thynke in the Conceyl of nece the suame of our fayth was geddryd & brought in to certayn artycles & so propownyd in simbolo to al chrystcyan natyonys as a thyng to be had in hart suffy-cyent to the pepul wythout further dysquysytyn, and in the rest euery gyuyng meke obedyence to the ordur & custyme in euery cuntre stablyschyd wyth concord & vnyte: and thys same thyng apperynyng suffy-cyent to me that the pepul & body of the commynalty, euery man downyng hys offyce & duty as he ys callyd & by goddys pronysyon appoyntyd here in thys worldly pollycy, schold hang apon the commyn ordur in euery cuntre & leyn ther-vnto wyth sure fayth & expectatyon of euery-lastyng lyfè, here aftur to be had by the mere benefyte & gudnes of god, who to vs, so trustyng in hym, hath made such promys of hys benyngynte. Thys ys the most sure knot aftur my judgment of al chrystyan cyuylyte, to the wych ys any pryuate person repugne sedeycysony, monyd by any scrupule of conscyence superstyczously conceuyyd, yf he may nather be brought to knolege by gud instructyon, nor yet to obedyence wyth gentyl admonytyon, he ys not worthy to lyue in that commyn pollycy, nor to be a membyr therof, as one that abhorryth from al gud ordur & cyuylyte; nor other wyse to who he doth apon the other syde, who, by arrogant opynyon hyghly conceuyyd, al rytys & custumys ecclesiastical vтурly despsyth & tredyth vnderfote: of the wych ys sortys I feare ther ys no small nowbur here in our natyon, as I haue before more largely notydy. But Syr I trust that the gudnes of hym who hath the inpIrysty in-to the harte of our pryuce thys alteratyon of pollycy schal also gyne hyn grace to fynd out the most consenuynt mean to set hyt forward wyth a commyn quyetnes, to hys honowre & glory, for the wych I wyll not cesse to pray, for to other thyng lytlyl seruyth my power & capacyte; & yet syr thys one thyng I dare assyryme & bolddy say, that, though in my oratyon I haue not presenteyd at lengths thys mean wherof you spake most prudently, yet ys ther were any such powar in my wryting & probabyl persuasyon wych myght induce in-to the hartyt of the pepul of the scrupulous sorte such obedyence as I haue ther touchyd, schowynyn also the maner how they schold ther-to be inducyd, I wold not dowte, I say, but that in concord & vnyte they schold agre wythout scrupule of consceyence to al such thynysys as here be deyrd by commyn authoryte. But thys lyth not in my
STARKEY’S DEDICATION OF THE “DIALOGUE” TO HENRY VIII. Ixxxiii

powar, wherefor I schal commyt al to the prouydence of god, reser-
yng yet a certayn fantasye herin to my selfe, wych I wyll, yf hyt
may so plesse you, at commyennent leyser open vn-to you, the mean
tyme be-hauyour to pardon me of thyss my rudenes in wrytyng,
the wych I pray you, yf hyt be your pleasure, when you haue red,
commyt to the fyre.¹

§ 20. I have reserved the following letter² for the last, not only as
being in my opinion the latest in date, but also inasmuch as it is that
in which Starkey dedicates his Dialogue to Henry VIII., and explains
his motives in writing it. It does not help us much in ascertaining the
date of that work: we can only see that it was after June 1536, since
Pole’s book is referred to; and if Strype is correct in stating that
Lupset accompanied Pole to Rome (see p. xlv), it must have been
after January 1537. The true date I believe to be about June 1538,
since it is not at all probable that Starkey would have ventured to
dedicate to Henry a book in which Pole was so favourably introduced,
or to speak of him so highly in the present dedication, while his
bitter language was still fresh in the king’s mind.

Long and much at sundry tymis I haue with my selfe, most
nobull prince, reasonyd and consideryd to what end and porpos
by nature schold be creat and brought forthe here in to this lyght,
for though man so lyue commynly gying himselfe to all wordly
vanyte as ther were in him nothing immortal and heuenly, yet wen
I be hold his gudly forme, fascyon, and siature, with so much comly
be-hauyour, and then consider also his grete wit and pollyci wyth
such a merelouse memory, that all thinges therby he comprehendid,
I cannot but thinke that he ys formyd and made to a hier end and
porpos then any other lyning creature [on] erthe; I cannot but thinke
and playnyly juge that he ys brought forthe to the intent that aH such
giftys as be to him by the benefyte of nature and gudness of god
above aH other mortall creaturys givyn he schold commyn and aply
to the profyt [of] other and setting forthe of goddys glory, to the
wych porpos me semyth ever he schold dyrect and appoynt aH his
actys and dedys, consellys and thoughtys, as to the clefe end shortly
to say aftur my jugement to the wych he ys borne and of nature
brought forthe: and so by this consideratyon moud long and many a
day most nobull prince much desirouse I haue byne to serve your
grace and my cuatrey imploing such giftys as of his mere gudnes hit
hath plesid him god to comyn vnto me must gladly in your seruysce

¹ Endorsed in a late hand. “Cranmere, as I suppose. A declaracion of
worke wch he had mynded to publishe.”
² State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.
to the settyngh forth of goddys honowre and glory, to the wych I juge myselfe so to be burden of ryght dewty, that except in some parte occasyon serve me to satysfye the same the rest of my lyfe schall appear vnto me both tedyouse and displesant. wherfor seing that nother tyme nor place hath not yet servyd me nor mynistryd occation of declaring myn affect and ardent desire concerning the same I haue now alate in leyser and quietnes caryn thinges by long observatyon and put them in wryting wych I trust to your grace wysdome and jugement schall appear to this tyme nothing dysconuenyte, after that I haue a lytill at large openid vnto your highness processe and the cause wyth haue moid me now at this tyme to the writing of the same. after that I had spent parte of my youth in the study of philosophi and therby somewhat perceynd the dygnite of manmys nature inflamyd I was with a grete desire to take sum experyence of the manerys of other pepul in strange natyon to the intent I myght therby of such thinges wych I had in boky red, geddur and confyrmee a more stabull and sure jugement: wherapon I went streyght in to the cuntre of Italy, as to the place most famyd both with grete lerning and gud and just pollicyi, by the reson wherof glad I was ther caryn yiris to be convensant as diligently as I cowd observing ther lerning ther in hye philosophy as ther manerys and practyse in commyn pollicyi, by the wych observatyon I was somewhat better instructe at my return into my owne cuntrey indyfferently to considur & wey the custunys and manerys of my owne cuntremen with the polcyey vsid here in our natyon, whereapon I lokyd as a straungere as I thought in no parte corrupt by any affectyon, but indyfferent jugement every thing examyning: and so well noting the manerys here vsid at home and comparynge them with other vsid in straungere natyon I haue fund grete correctyon with much abuse in law and pollyci wherof by long observatyon I haue geddryd a caryn commentary and compylyd as hit were a lytill boke of the same. the processe whereof I will bre[n]efly vnto your grace open and show now at this tyme, for as much as [I] perceyve your highness now nothing more curith and hath in mynd than the extyrpatyon of all abusys both in custume and law by processe of time growen in here in this your commynwelth, by the reson whereof grete hope I haue onys yet to see that veray and true commyn wele whereof I haue with myselfe fansid here in your reame to haue place and by your high wysdome and polycy here to be stablyschyd and set to the grete confort of this present age and of all our posterye. and for as much as my porpos ys in this commentary to tuch the maner and mean of the restytutyon of this true commyn wele and Iuste pollicy I haue deuiding the boke in to iiij partes in the fyrst openid as far as my pore wite and skelender lernyn[g] wyll serue what thing hit ys that men so much speke of and call a commynwele or a gud and Iuste pollicy, and wherein hit principally stondith and chiefly is goundyd: in the seconde part I haue geddryd as my lytill experyence hath servyd me
the most commyn and notabull abusis, both in maner ys custummys
and all commyn lawys wych in prosses of tyme are entryd among vs,
wereby we are slippyd from that gud and iuste pollicy: and in the
theyrd parte fuynally I haue touchid the maner and mean how thes
abusys both in custum and law may be reformyd and the treu commyn
wele a-mong vs restoryd. and for bycawse the restitutyon hereof
lyth chefely in the prouydence of god, and your lie wysdom and
pollicy, I haue now vsid this boldness to present this rude commen-
tary vnto your majesty trusting therby to put your grace in remem-
brance and to mynistur some occatyon of the innuentyon of many
other more convuyenent meanys of the restoryng of this commyn welle,
then other my wyt or capacite [can] consuye or attayne, for I dowt
not at all, but that the gudnes of him, who hath gyuen your hie-
nes lyght of jugment aboue the rest of princeys now reyning in our
days, by the reson whereof you haue vttersly plukkyd vp the rote of
all abuse, this vntward powar and intolerabull tyrannys of rome,
wherwith the christyan natyon long hath byne oppressyd by pretext
and colour of relygion, I dowt not, I say, but the same gudnes of
god shall inspyre your most nobull harte with such lyght and
knolege that to your heynes hit shalle be, aftur so long vse and
experyence had in this your reyne to see and perceue the most con-
veneynt mean of the vttar extyrpatyon of all other lyke abusyon.
this hope and sure trust I haue wych hath so incorragid me that I haue
not fayned to exibyte to your grace this rude commentary the wych
I haue formyd in a dialoge and a famylyar commynicatyond had be-
twyxt ij of your graecs most true and fayfuH servauntys and sub-
jectys, of the wych the one ys depertyd to the servuye of him as I
trust, to whome aH christian harty religiously here serve in erth,
Thomas Lupset of wych, if hit had pleasid god, your grace shold
haue had true and fayfuH servuye, the other ys yet I trust in lyfe,
Maister Raynold Pole, of whose virtue and gudnes, yf he coul haue
seen that thing by his lernyng wych your most notabull clarkys in
your reame and many other hath approyd, your heynes schold haue
had before this certayn, and sure experyence, of thee wych thing also
yet I dow not vttersly dysspeare, for I trust hit shalnot be long before
he shall declare vnto your grace of his wysdome and jugment playne
and manyste arguempt, and the mean tyme I shall most humble
besech your heynes that hit may plese yow at your convuyenent leysyr
to observe the commynicatyond be twyx his old frend Maister
Lupset and him hereaftur comprysyd, frome the wych I wyH no longur
let your grace by this rude preface besching your hieynes
what so ener hit be to except hit with your accustomyd manuynte
much more regarding my wyll then my dede, wych ys and ener
shall be to the vittermust of my powar but to serve your pynneely
mayeste to your honowre and godlys glory.

1 The words frome the wych I wyll no are repeated by mistake in MS.

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

Where many men had good lyuinges, and mayntained hospitality, able at times to helpe the kynge in his warres, and to susteyne other charges, able also to helpe their pore neighbours, & vertuously to bring vp theyr children in Godly letters and good scyences, nowe sheepe and conies denoure altogether no man inhabiting the afore sayed places. Those bestes which were created of God for the nourishment of man doe nowe denoure man. The Scripture sayeth that God made both shepe and oxen wyth all the bestes of the fielde subiecte vnto man, but now man is subiect vnto them. Where man was wonte to beare rule there they now beare rule. Where man was wonte to haue hys lyuing, there they nowe onely lyue. Where man was wonte to inhabyte, ther they nowe reign and grease. And the cause of all thys wretchednesse and beggery in the common weale are the greedy Gentylmen, whiche are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne private commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallers of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduentage and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wonte to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vterly to subuer the common weale, and to procure ye final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who fal to the grounde. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather sawe his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him
of worldly possessions. The wyse man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he yt defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraude the pore man of his bread, whereby is understand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciable couetousnes sel al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe. And yet where the cloysters kept hospitality let out their fermes at a reasonable pryce, norshed scholes, brought vp youth in good letters, they did none of all these thinges. They lyghtlye esteme, and in a maner contemne Priestes, parsons, vicares, Prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embrace and niggardly retain. So that nowe they are become in effect although not in name, verye Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Priestes, Persons, Vicares, Prebe?wilaries and at the last what not? and yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not? The state of England was neuer so miserable, as it is at this present. Good Lorde haue mercy upon vs and put in the hartes of the king and of his counsell to redres these intolerable pestilences of the common weale, or els make hast to dissolue this wretched world by thy glorious comming vnto the judgement: where thou shalt render to every man accordyng to hys dedes, least if we longe remayne in this to much wretchednesse, we be compelled through the poverty to attempt vnrighteous things, and forsweare the name of our Lord God. (Becon, Works, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back —fol. xvii.)
APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practise,

COMPOSED OF LATE IN MEATRE ROYALL
BY THE SYMPE AND VNLEARNED

SIR WILLIAM FORREST, PREEISTE.

MS. REG. 17 D 3.

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

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

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

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

"A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second Gresfield, practised
not long out of this time in much part tragéous as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyric on Katharine of Arragon, whom the author compares to patient Grisild, and her husband to Earl Walter. The original MS. is in the Bodleian, being No. 2 of Ant. à Wood's MSS., and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1875 by the Rev. W. D. Macray.


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

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

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

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

The book opens with a "prologue vnto the kinges maiestie Elwa de the Sexthe, descriuinge partelie ye fruites of this notable wurke whiche heere dothe ensue." The second chapter is a "notable description what a kinge is, And what signification in his regales, as Anoyntinge, Sworde, bawle, scepture, crowne, and Throne dothe reste." This is succeeded by several chapters on the duty of a king towards God, and at leaf 28 the author treats of "the maner and solaynyge moste conuenyent for a kynge, bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to recreat his spyrytis:" thus he recommends—

"Dynner onys ended rise not vpp lightelye,
hanu then some noyse of musycall sownde,
as harpe, vvall, lute or some symphonye;
Virgynalls, rybecke, withe Taberlet rownde,
Semblylye handeled in their monochorde" [lf. 29, bk.].
or else—

"Att tables, chesse, or cardis awhile your selfe repose."

Chapter 13 shows "howe a kyng ought too marrye, what wise and circumspecte weyes hee shall vse yn chusynge his Ladye, and soueraigne spowses: And howe hee shall in moste amyable wyse chearische, looue, and make of her."

"A kyng godde forbeade too bee nuefanglede, his wief texchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce; thearfore make searche if shee bee entanglede."

"Too marye for looue" he thinks "more decent" than "too matche for riches or Realms domynyon."

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

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

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

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

and therefore

"Some secreat Seruaunte let hym owte espaye, that hath Diseration and pregnaunte wytt: to walke abroade in sorte moste secreatlye, in Commone companyes to tawlke and sytt: And what he hearethe for to commende ytt, other disprayse, to this ende and effecte that hee maye so walke withoute all suspecte" [l. 74].

Although we cannot say much for the poetry of the book, yet it is noticeable for some of the suggestions made in it—suggestions which have since been carried into effect, and become part of our system of domestic government. Such, for instance, are the author's proposals for compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the
requisite fees; and for the appointment of an "overseer or controller," corresponding to our School-Board officer. Again, we have his suggestion for a general valuation of all land by government commissioners, such valuation to form the basis on which rents, rates, &c. should be calculated.

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

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

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

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

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicounte Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vncl eyno oure moste dreade soueraigne lord, kinge Edwarde the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royall person, Realmes and Dominions, bee honour, healte, and Hyghe prosperite, Withe (after this lief) aeternalt foelicite, So wisshethe his daylie Oratour sir William forreste, preiste"

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

On leaf 7, back, is a drawing representing the author presenting his work to Edward VI., who is seated, crowned, on his throne. For est himself is represented as a young man in a priest's gown, and with long flowing hair not tonsured.
On leaf 8 follow the title and dedication of the book as under:—

Here ensuithe A notable warke / called the pleasanta poesy of princelie practise composed of late in meatre royll by the symple and vnlearned / sir William forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A booke entiteled The gouernaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele / wrote too his discyple Alexandre / the great and mightie Conqueroure.

1548.

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

William Forrest.

SUMMARY OF THE EXTRACT.

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

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

1 The numbers in brackets refer to the pages and stanzas: thus lxxxvii/14 means p. lxxxvii stanza 14.
that great commodity for which come many “suctours” (xciv/21), and for which Englishmen have to pay sixfold price through allowing it to be exported in the raw state by “Foryners and Turks” (xciv/22). After telling us the rate of wages, 1d. to 2d. a day (xcv/26), he complains of the great rise in prices (xcv/27), in rents (xcv/29) and in meat (xcv/30). Englishmen, he says, can’t live on roots and herbs, or “such beggerye baggage;” they must have meat, “after their olde vsage” (xcv*/33).

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

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

Howe a kynge speciallye ought tattende and prouyde for a Commone Wealthe, and too his powre: too abolische vttreyle all kynde of meanys that workethe anye annoyauce or hynderaunce vnto the same, Caput decimum octauum,

[1] If men shoulde gather and perpende in mynde, why kings and rulers firste ordeyned weare: sithe wee are all come of wona stirpe or kynde: this hathe heerefore benes scanned manywhare. 4

[2] By proces as the same can springe and growe, and men of experience gathered the fruyte: Wone then labored another touerthrowe: thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 11

[3] Whoe, by wisedome and magnanymytee, ordered their weyes so wondrefull too tell, vndre the forme of highe noblytyee: vntoo the peoples contention so well: 18

[4] When thus (too rule) men had the State in hande, and had woone people at their commandement: they caste all meanys in State suche Still too Stande: as bettre too rule then be obeydent, 25

[5] In all their Studye and wise compasynge, their priuate wealth they dyd postponerate: the Commune commoditie firste preferryng, of thoise that they had too them made subiugate, 32
Laws and Political Institutions were introduced.  

[6] 

Of wone that thus can fashion his afteires,  
as famne the same in due kynde can dylate:  
another took light too bee of his heires:  
in snynge the Steppes of suche men approbate,  
too whome then was geven the brute of estate:  
as woorschippe, honour and highe nobylitee:  
thus woorthy woorkinge sett men firste in degree.  

[7] 

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

[8] 

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

[9] 

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

[10] 

Off meanys too speake concernyng the saide case.  
firste, is too bee had in consyderation:  
(by Streyte punyschinge vice in euerye place:)  
that Vertue maye bee hadde in dign e estymacion.  
when synne so is hadde in detestation,  
that whiche seemed (by custome) afore light  
shalbee scene odyouse in euerye mannys sigh.
Vertue thus mayntenyd and Vice depressed: then are the people like the Gardeyne plot, that is depured, leauelyd, and dressed: too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot, As your wisedome and Counseile dothe well wote, for the Commune wealthes beste preseruation: nowe maye yee put in exercitation.

See, and well pondre in all your dooinges, whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude: that wone pryuate persone in vse of things: dothe not annoye or harme a multytude, wone, withethe the lyuynges of fyue too bee endure: of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye, the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye, 84

Or if yee schall of affabylytee vnto some wone suche Libertie graunte tenparke or enclose for his Commoditee: that, the hynderaunce of moe myght waranne; or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte: by byinge or sellynge too others hynderaunce: no suche thinge suffrethe a Cuyyle ordynaunce.

In tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker\(^1\) Corne, Grayne, or Chafre hopinge vppon dearthe: for his pryuate wealth the so daylye too hucker: \(^2\) this criethe for vengeance too heaun from the carthe: Leste it shoulde happen it many wone fearthe, ffor suche solayne snydges\(^3\) caste reformation by forfeiture too the poore sustentation.

The poore for neade is dreeuyn too make sale. the Riche reserueth and mucker the vpp more: by whiche risethe this commune Pronerbe tale: Some muste bee Sauers, Store is no sore; so is it indeade if the Riche therfore wolde woorke after this neighbourlye deuyse: too helpe the poore for a reasonable pryce.

---

1 Heape up. 2 Higgle, trade. 3 Miserly persons.
ENGLISHMEN TO BE CONSIDERED BEFORE FOREIGNERS.

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

A kyngis honour, disertlye too aduerte,
is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortified
by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer parte:
but by the more some it hath the euer bene tried. 109
Then ought a kyngle for his Commons prayed,
that wone clubbed cobbe ¹ shoulde not so encroche
an hundred menyns lyuynges: it weare greate reproche.

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

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

Our own country-men should be looked after before strangers.

Cnieflye your owne yee ought too respecte:
for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde:
whære Straungers passethe not your fauour to reciece,
or in your right title will oughtes withe yow holde. 130
Custome vncumlye: is too bee controlde.
whære pryuate wookinge shall shewe eyeudent:
too a Commontie too doo doetryment. 133

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

¹ Wealthy, miserly person.
WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE RICH A KING CANNOT BE POOR. lxxxix

[21]
A pooreman whiche hathe bothe children & wifie, whoe (withe his parentes) vppon a poore Cotte hathe theare manured l manye a manny's Lief, and truely payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte: 144
A Couetous Lorde whoe Conscience hathe notte, by rent enhauncynge or for more large fyne, suche wonne too caste owte: it goethe oute of lyne. 147

[22]
This too bee scene too: the Publike weale criethe: of reformation it sitithe your Office:
manye iniuryes too the poore pliete, done by the bygger without all Justice. 151
As the great fowle the small dothe suprise, denour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone: so farethe the riche if they bee let alone. 154

[23]
That Kynge (bee sure) can neauer bee poore: wheare as his Commons lyuethe welthelye.
if they bee not able to keepe open doore;
it muste withe hym then but small multyplye; 158
for kynges of their Commons sumtyme muste ayde trye. The more therfore the publike weale dothe affloue; 160
the more is their wealthe: this reason proueth the nowe.

[24]
And true it is, the highe Opificer sendeth the not his giftes too wonne perticularlye:
but that a multytude wonne withe other, the same shoulede parteicipate mutuallye. 165
Sithe hee althings heere dothe make too multyplye too thende aforesaide, O kynge, of God electe, see then the same stonde in her full effecte. 168

1 Laboured with his hands, cultivated.
Howe a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes the moother of all myschief and too ordayne meanys too haue his subjectis euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to the maytenaunce of theire owne luynges and furtheraunce of the common weale, that the ydle shall not denour that which ye diligent doth truly get by the labour of their sweate.  Caput. 19.

[1] Este kinges & gonnornoures that heere dothe rule myght this neglecte, which is expedyent, wee shall make remembranence in this schedule of ydlenes, that hydeous serpent, whoe, loighteringe like a peasaunt pestilent, Lurketh in corners vnoccupied:
too doo anye gooode: lothe too bee espiede. 175

[2] This beastelye bodye, this mawltishe matrone, deuowres of the true laborers frute:
of nature desirethe too bee let alone:
as too contynue in her maners brute.
Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute,
and what els longeth too Lustis dalyaunce,
she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce.

[3] The daye in too the nyght shee can converte:
the nyght into daye for dalyaunce sake.
too pleye is shee prest, woorke is a deserte:
too liere therof tawlke herr harte will not wake.
Whoe, too herr compenyee shee maye onys take,
for seauyn yearys after I dare the truthe moue;
the worser husbondehee shall surelye prooue.

[4] Or bee it woman, in like maner wise,
no profite risethe wheare shee dothe frequent:
but propagation of vice owte of vice:
the prooife shall shewe practice moste euydent,
Let loyterers lyue as they are content
and they shall plucke too their societee
feloshippe that neauer will after gooode bee.

1 Gluttonous.
[5]

**Yowthe,** brought vpp ydelye in games and pastyme.
not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes: 200
As vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme:
so farthe withe all that loue the ydlenes;
of all maner myschief she is Patrones.
againste whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclame:
by plage too punysche this ydlenes by name. 203

[6]

**What** kynge is hee in this worlde so greate,
or Potentate els fewe or manye:
what Clarke also in his studyous seate:
or whoe that hathie too gouernaunce anye,
but moste their tyme liste not too dallye
withe ydlenes heere mentioned?
then of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped. 210

[7]

**Kynes** can no les but compase searche and caste;
how too prouyde for the publike weale;
the same too contynue in State Stedfaste:
as too eache partie true Justice too deale.
Oother Magistrates hanynge like zeale.
vnto their Offices dwe admynistrat/on:
shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion? 217

[8]

**Ffor** reformation of suche nowghtye packes
bee it proclaimed vnto their earys all:
that whoe endeuorethe any suche knackes:
at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall,
tables, or dyce, or that Cardis men call.
or what oother game owte of season dwe:
let them bee punysched without all rescue. 224

[9]

**Owte** of season in this sorte too bee take,
when dayes of labour are presently come:
eache man too his Arte his voyage too take
withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome, 228
It is Cyuyle  justice and no thraldome.
for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too flee:
so is man too woorke olde writings tellete the mee. 231

1 Sulk or look gloomy.
Kings should exert themselves to abolish idleness, which only ends in poverty.

The young should all be taught some handicraft.

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

The clergy to teach in the schools, and to receive suitable salary for so doing.

[10]

Trulye I wolde in all that mee liethe, wright all I cowldte this vice tabolische, for ydlenes all vertue despisethe, wheare honeste exercise the lief dothe polische thearfor all kyngees I doo admonysche heereunto too geete goode aduertence: for noughtes it breedythe but wretched indigence.

[11]

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

[12]

At fowre yeares olde let suche too scoole bee sett, too gather and lerne some literature: bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett too hym that is Authour of eache creature, bye readinge (in bookees) his will and pleasure; for whose so listeth he to remembrance call, too woorke in that age their powre is but small.

[13]

Leste some, perhaps, at this myght thus objecte, The pooreman his childe cannot so prefer: bycausse hee hathe not substancce in effecte for so longe season to fynde his scoler, as (for his scoollinge) too paye his Maister; to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee: in cauerye towne the Scoole too go free.

[14]

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

[15]

Suche honeste Stipende towards hym to remayne, that for his paynes hee nothinge scholde expecte:
for so longe tyme as afore dothe contayne.
mee thynkethis sowndethe too goode effecte, 270
If, vnto Office they after bee electe,
when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,
their Princis pleasure they maye bettre followe. 273

[16]
When they hathe knowledge indifferentlye so,
too oother Artis then maye theye bee preferde:
and not loyteringe ydelye too go:
thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde: 1 277
Thearfore, this lesson I wolde to bee herde,
in Townes, (goode ordre too schyne and florische:)
this observation I wolde gladlye wische. 280

[17]
An Ouerseer, Controwler to bee calde,
to see vnoccupied none to remayne:
vnles they bee withe sicknesses appalde,
or by debilitie of Age ouerlayne. 284
If case theare bee too punysche them by Payne
of Stockes or scowrginges whiche suche maye compell
to earne their fooade els to haue no morsell. 287

[18]
And the saide Officer to have by flee
ownte of the towne Coafer thre or fowre pownde:
that for suche Stipende the rather maye hee
to theexecution thearof bee bownde. 291
If in Thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,
to bee depuyed withe reproache and shame:
and neauer againe too entren the same. 294

[19]
In thelection of suche Ouerseer,
this owght (and muste) firste consyldre bee:
that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beer,
and hathe a zeale too Cyuil equytee, 298
Too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see:
but wone yeares space let hym thearin endure
excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 301

[20]
True it is no lyuynge man this daye
can presentlie for the publike weale frame
so syncerelie the vttremuste too saye,
that maye bee breache or staye too the same, 305

1 Marred, damaged.
Wool should not be allowed to be exported raw.

Inviolable too byde without blame:
but, as tyme wearithe (manny's maners vued)
so muste Custome and lawe bee renued.

The soyle and people consydered also,
That will not serve heere that seruithe elswhere:
some hath the Commoditeis, some lesse, some mo;
which dothe the Chargis of the publike weale beare,
bye Merchandise conueyde heere and theare,
As, heere in Englands wone special! haue wee:
Woolle, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

Off whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade,
(the Judgementis of bettre not offendyd)
I wolde it weare duelie consyderede:
howe fforyners by Woolle are Assendyd,
and owre weale publike little amenedyd,
for, by owre Woolle of Christians and Turke
thowsandis thowsandis hath de daylie handye wurke.

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

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

Moste worthie it is A kyng to excell,
in honowre, richesse, and glorye decorate:
Lordys (in degre) in woorthynes to dwell,
withe Gentyls also as sittethe their estate:
and they to the meane to communycate,
that theye maye lyue bothe Childrene and wife:
and them not to streyne by meanys excessife.
RENTS MUST BE LOWERED TO THE FORMER STANDARD.

[26]
The Pooreman to toyle for twoe pense the Daye, some while thre hauyle pense, or els a penye: hauynge wief childrene and howse rent to paye: meate clothe and fewell with the same to bye, and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye, withe manye a hungrye meale susteynynge: Alas! makethe not this a doolefull compleynynge?

347

[27]
The worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene, not to the bettre but to the warsse farre: more for a penye wee haue before seene then nowe for foure pense, whoe liste to compare. This suethe the game called makinge or marre. Unto the Riche it makethe a great deale, but muche it marrethe to the Commune weale.

354

[28]
Too reyse his Rent alas it neadethe not, or fyne texacte for teanure of the same fowrefolde dooble, it is a shrewde blot: to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name, I knowe this to bee true els weare I to blame, to mooue this mateir in this present booke: at whiche Respublica lookethe a-crooke.

361

[29]
A Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie, of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither: ffynynge for the same unreasonablye, sixe tymes the Rent; adde this togither, muste not the same great Dearthe bringe hither? for if the fiermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent, he muste his ware needys sell after that stent.

368

[30]
So for that Oxe, whiche hathe beene the like solde for ffortie shealingis, nowe takethe hee fyue pownde: yea, seauyn is more, I haue herde it so tolde, hee cannot els lyue so decare is his grownde, Sheepe, thoughe they neauer so plentie abownde, suche price they beare, whiche shame is to here tell, that scace the pooreman can bye a morsel.

375

1 "Howe ioyne they Lordeshyp to Lordeshyppe, manner to manner, ferme to ferme, land to lande, pasture to pasture, house to house, and house for a vantage? Howe do the rych starkey
The smallest bit of beef or mutton now costs four-pence.

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

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

Shewe mongers, men, and specially suche as be shepmongers oppresse the kynges lyeye people by deourynge theyr commune pastures wyth theyr shepe, so that the poore people, are not able to kepe a cowe for the conforte of them and of theyr poore famylye, but are lyke to starue and pershys for honger, yf there be not pronysyon made shortly ? What shepe ground scapeth these caterpyllers of the commune weale ? Howe swarne they wyth abundaunce of flockes of shepe ? and yet when was wool euere so dere, or mutton of so great price ? If these shepmongers go forthe as they begyn, the people shall both miserablye dye for colde, and wretchedly pershys for honger. For these gredy woulues and comberous cornerauntes, wyll eyther sell theyr wyll and theyr shepe at theyr owne pryece or els they wyll sell none.

"Oh what a diversytie is this in the sale of wolles, a stone of wolle somtyme to be solde at viii grots and now for viii S I And so lykewyse of the shepe. God haue mercy on vs. If the kyng hys maiestye, wyth hys most honourable counccell do not prouyde for the redresse of these thynges, God hymselfe will surely se a remedye, as he sayth by the Psalme xvi. [5]. Psalmographe 'for the wretchednes of the nedye and the bewaylynge of the pore euene nowe wyll I ryse, sayeth the Lorde." —Thomas Becon, The Jewel of Joy, 154; Works, ed. 1564, Vol. II. fol. xv.
WOOL THE CHIEF SUPPORT OF ENGLISHMEN.

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

[1]

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

[2]

If that I heere speake bee to no purpose,
perdon I haue askte for my symplenes:
If it maye serue withowte coment or close:
moste happelie then seruithe this busynes,
Eache mannys writtingis dothe not althinges redresse,
 accordinge as his traulinge dothe tell:
thoughhe this like so: yeat wolde I althinges well.  413

[3]

Too saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,
and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,
somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd:
for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame.  417

Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,
thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistance:  419
yeat Woolle (for this tyme) shall haue preaumnence.

[4]

The Woolle that Staplelers dothe gather and packe,
owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne:
bee it reuoked and steyed abacke,
that owre Cloathiers the same maye retayne,  424
all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordaye,
pppon the same to exercise their feate:
by tuckynge, cardinge, spynnynge, and to beate.  427

[5]

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

leaf 62.

Wool is the chief support of Englishmen.

It should not be allowed to be exported raw,
but worked up in England.
CLOTH SHOULD BE EXPORTED UNADULTERATED.

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

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

When they have groaced vnto a some,
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall:
owre Englische Merchante by custome to come,
and them receaue to ouer withe all;
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,
by forayne Merchante as they hane agreede:
Moneye receaued; god geeue them gooode speede.

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

Withe all other duties in eauerye place,
both vnto his grace and oother also:
as of conuenynce sittithe the case:
wee will by no meanys theare againste go.
but heere this peece wee shall alde nowe vnto,
whiche withe Conscience is mucho agreeable,
That Woolle maye bee at a price reasonable.

The leaste price to bee (the Todde accountinge)
1.ot vndre Ten shelinges (beeing no refuse):
The beste ffyetene shealinges not surmountinge:
betwene theise pricis Conuention to use. 473
Theise pricis to lymyte let noman muse,
it hathe beene so scene att within twentie yearis: 475
and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

[12]
But heere lieth a mateir muche Difficulte,
whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force,
though I with manye sholde thearin consulte,
and crye theare vppon eauyn till wee weare horse. 480
Pryuate Commodye withe Commone wealthe to scorse:¹
as Rentis to come downe from owterage so hye
too Price indifferent to helpe manye bye. 483

[13]
Theis raginge Rentis muste bee loked vppon,
and brought vnto tholde accustomed Rente,
as they weare let att ffortie yearis agone:
then shalbe plentie and moste men content, 487
thoughe greate Possessioners liste not tassent:
Yeate, bettre it weare their Rentis to bringe vndre, 489
then Thowsandis Thowsandis to perishe for hungre.

[14]
In whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take,
discreeit men of youre cownsell too assigne
that wilbee corrupted for no manmys sake:
and theye withe helpe their endeuer tenclyne, 494
ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne.
Growndis and fffermys to peruse and surueye:
Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weye. 497

[15]
And as their Wisedoms (withe Conscience) shall see
(the soyle considered, barrayne or fertyle)
the Owners (by them) ordered too bee
their Rentis tabate, enhauenced so longe while. 501
Pryuate Commodye to put to exile,
ratynge the same indifferentlie so:
the fffermers to lyue and by them oother moe. 504

[16]
Not in thraldome and pynyching penurye,
to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis;
but as yeomen becomethe honestlye,
and of Goddys lawe commenyatethe the conchordis. 508
at too muche bondage Englische harts remords.

¹ Bargain, exchange.
for what kinge heere will lyne honorablye,  
hee muste then make of Englande Yeomanrye.  

[Ff]or they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,  
which by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo  
specialllye withe moste intentifte harte:  
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo,  
(varyng and dye in forderinge their enquestis)  
them then to see mayntened their olde enterestis.  

Suche poore lyuynges as their fathers dyd enioye,  
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue.  
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye:  
when hee for a lyuyng shall eauermore sue,  
and withe now assuraunce hym-selfe can inde,  
if fawnyngge ffyne attemptethe his lordis grace.  

Though he bee dyuyllische that byddeth for it so,  
more diuyllische is hee that thearto dothe graunte:  
and for their dooinges shall too the Dyuell go:  
for hee them cursethe and byddithe auante,  
that so procurethe his Neighbours lyvinge.  
to see heereunto sittethe thoffice of A kinge.  

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

Anoother disordre of oppression,  
advarte this wone whiche is muche odious.  
A lorde geauyn to pryuate affection,  
lettinge the pooreman an olde rotten howse,  
which hath (to the same) profyter commodious  
As Cloase, and Common, with Lande in the feelde:  
but noate well heere howe the pooreman is peelde.  

1 Scarcely, hardly,
THE ENCLOSURE OF COMMONS SHOULD BE PREVENTED. xcviii

[22] The howse shall hee hauie and A gardeyne plott, but stonde hee muste to the reperation:
Close, Comon, or Londe fallithe none to his lott;
that beste myght helpe to his sustentation.
the whole Rente payethe hee for his habitation,
as thougie hee dyd thappurtenauncis possessse.
suche soare oppression needeth the speadye redresse.

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

[24] Thus thorowe Rentes reysinge and pillinge the poore,
Poerietie regnethe and is induced muche:
compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore:
as (tyll owre tyme) hahe not beene herde of suche.
Your highnes, O prince, this case dothe sore tuche,
for howe can a poor man help himself?

[25] No right it is the poore to bee so vsed,
and some to the Dyuyll thorouge Richesse to flytt,
Christian Charite of them refused:
which drowned Dyues in the deepe hell pytt,
More occasion to treate on this as yeitt,
is wheare some wone the lyuynge dothe possesse
of twoe thousands well knowne to bee nolesse.

[26] Firste in goode Rentes a thowsande powndis or more
in sfermys and Abbeys coequall to the same;
Reuenues by sheepe thousands by tayle score,
Oxon, and Neate, greate multytude to name.
Personages of profites wonderefull in fame,
And yeat is as greadye more to procure:
as hym to mayntyayne this weare but small sure.

[27] And what hee onys into his clampis catche maye,
the pooreman thearof no pcece shall come bye;
which to graze a horse.

But yet he dare not open his lips.

Lords should try to gain the love of the poor,

and not give themselves to trade,

thus causing poverty in the country.

If their expenses are great, let them reduce them.

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

[28] To speake or repyne againste his fell factes, Alas! theare dare none their lippes to open; the like togithers hath the dryuen suche compactes that truthe into an whoale is nowe cropen, and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken: the more is the pite, Conscience knowithe.

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

[30] For lordys and men of highe nobilitie, or oother indule withe possessions greate, to vse thoffice of thinferior degree, to choppe and chaunge, advantagies to geate, as Merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate: or ffermys tencroche whiche oother myght releue; 608 suche doinges, (nodowbte,) dothe many hartes greeue.

[31] I will not saye all that needethe to be saide, to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye: but by suche meanys Common Wealthe is decaide, and hathe (heere of late) causid great owte crye by mucche disordre moste sclaunderouslye; cheif to them selfes to woorke so withoute witt, and next to those that weare cawers of itt.

[32] Iff great bee their charges, the wiseman ought them to rebate accordinge to his stent

1 Coarse grass, weeds.
2 Standing.
To keepe a porte, in hatrede to bee brought
thorow whoe meanys which are inconvenient:
holde whoe thearewith will I will not assent.
better is meane estate hauynge frindys manye
then highlie to ruffle\(^1\) seace to fynde anye.

[33]

**Moste** merieste it is in cache Cowntrey
When euery degre obseruethe his dwe,
dame Justicis lawe trulie to obeye:
theare muste then neadys great quietnes ensue.

And where Diusion\(^2\) by grudge dothe renue
it breadethe nowght els but desolation
from all quyet Wealthe to dissipation.

[34]

And all this makethe the goodis of the worlde,
for that will men toyle for that will men scrache;
for that olde frendeshippe shambe all to-chorlde;
the wone brother readye thother to dispache,
the soone withe the father also to mache,
by vttre diffiaunce his deathe to exopte,
thoughe thousandis for the like hathe into hell dropte.

[35]

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

[36]

Off this this tymge I will nomore entreate,
by wonde woorde the wise perceau can the whoale;
I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate:
the disposition, partelye and soale,
O noble kynge, belongethe to youre doale,\(^3\)
as to perceau the Comonealethes noyance
and for the same to devise ordynaunce.

[37]

So that the Pooare bee cauer scene vntoe,
the Riche hym selfe will sure sake harmlesse.
A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vntoe
and can no remedye againste distresse.

\(^1\) Show of.  \(^2\) Utterly broken.  \(^3\) Share, portion.

\textit{Starkey}
WAGES SHOULD BE FIXED AT A FAIR RATE.

but still susteynethe all busynesse,
Though Dridges must bee yeat Christian lune wolde
that juste rewarde redownde to them sholde. 658

[38] Too Thresche alldaye for peanye haufic-peanye,
and Delue in diches upp to the harde kneis
for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye? 662
God wote it risethe but to a small fieeis,
with that he laieth vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,
and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall:
for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

[39] A laborer trulie doinge his duetye,
(aswell the woman, I meane, as the man)
let them haue for their traneile worthelye:
so shall they deleyte to doo what they can,
els will they loighter euernowe and than,
comptinge as goode to bee ydle vnwrught
as soare to traneile and profite right nowght.

[40] So ordre that eache doinge their labour
instelie and trulie with the moste diligence,
may bee worth the them and theirs to succour,
fyndinge them selfes on shorteste daies sexpense,
And oother lengre, as the Soone taketh the ascense,
seauyn or eight pne; so shall they bee able
meanlye to lyue, and maynteayne their Cradle.

[41] And Townes let downe to grase Sheape vpon
withe dwellinge howses as fermys and Abbeyes.
reduced agayne to habitation,
for lack of which muche lyuynges nowe decayes
and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.
Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde
if they had holdinges to couer their hedde.

[42] Off Journeyemen and Sruyngemen also,
withe oother dyuense of oure owne nation
that nowe a roauynge in oothers groundis go,
to this Royalmys great depopulation;
At whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation,
burdeynyngye your grace by othe that yee haue take
of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make.
ENGLAND

IN THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

BY

THOMAS STARKEY.

PART II.

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

J. M. C.

1 Jan., 1871.
England
in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

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

By

Thomas Starkey,
Chaplain to the King.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY,

BY

J. M. Cowper.
## 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>... ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5. The Clergy</td>
<td>... exii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 6. The Lawyers</td>
<td>... exv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 7. Learning</td>
<td>... exviii</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>
§ 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 unsparring abuse of foes that we can hardly be too chary in receiving their testimony as matters of fact. Whether the country was that happy Arcadia which some would have us believe, or that “hell upon earth” which others describe it, cannot be ascertained
from the fierce invectives of many of the writers whose names are at times advanced in evidence. This question is more likely to be solved by a reference to such works as the *Utopia* and the *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, than to the *Complaint of "Roderick Mors."* Not that I wish to undervalue Brinklow's book, which gives another side of the question. As in many other cases, it is probable that truth lies between the two. More and Starkey may have touched many evils with a gentle hand, and many more they may have left untouched; but those they do lay bare, have a semblance of truthfulness which it is not easy to gainsay.

No writer, that I know of, has described our country as the blissful abode of the poor; but it is to be hoped there were some happy spots, where, as a rule, the poor had plenty, and where liberty and religion prevailed. Such spots there may have been. It is certain that there were larger tracts where these blessings were not found—where oppression, hatred, envy, and unredressed wrongs urged men to rebellion—where the small farmer and the agricultural labourer were evicted by wholesale—where the villages and towns were allowed to fall into ruin, the churches only being kept, because they would shelter the sheep which now covered the land. Fathers and mothers were compelled to beg, daughters were driven to Bankside, and sons to the gallows. No poor-houses, the sweating sickness destroying men by thousands; the poor lying and dying, unattended 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


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.

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

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

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

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

3 Preamble, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

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."

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." 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." 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. 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.

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

3 Sermons, p. 40.  4 Latimer's Sermons p. 41.  5 Froude, Hist. v. p. 111.
of the poor man what he thinks the cause of sedition: I know his answer. The great farmers, the graziers, the rich butchers, the men of law, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords, and I cannot tell who. Men that have no name, because they are doers in all things that any gain hangeth upon—men without conscience—men utterly devoid of God’s fear—yea, men that live as if there were no God at all! They would have all in their own hands; would leave nothing for others; would be alone on the earth; men that would eat up men, women, and children are the causes of sedition. They raise our rents, and enclose our commons. We cannot stay in the country, but we must be their slaves; and to go to the cities we have no hope. We must needs fight it out, and die like men.¹ Some had fought, and had died like men; and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, had preached a thanksgiving sermon among their bodies as they lay with stiffening limbs, and faces upturned to the stars.²

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

§ 4.

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

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

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

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

¹ Utopia, p. 38. ² The Supplication of the Poore Commons, 1546. ³ Supplication, etc. Henry seems to have been no exception to the premature ravages which time made upon men at this period. “In that age life wasted and waned apace. Men were old and worn out at 60. Lewis XII. did not live to complete his 54th year, and was a wreck, not merely by the
the "loins" of the later, and the "whips" had changed into "scorpions." Honest households were made followers of less honest men's tables. Honest matrons were brought to the needy distaff to gain their bread. Men children of good hope in the liberal sciences were driven out as day labourers, to support their parents' decrepit age and abject poverty. Forward and stubborn children shook off the yoke of obedience, and, after a brief life of wickedness, died the death of felons. Modest, chaste, and womanly virgins were compelled to single servitude, or to marry perpetual miserable poverty—while the immodest and the wanton became "Sisters of the Bank," 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 to the shocking charges which have been so frequently brought against them. But then the reference is made in such a manner, and received so much as a well-known truth, that this absence of specific charges must not be taken as a proof that the clergy were free from the faults under notice, but rather as confirmatory of the general opinion concerning them. The little attention bestowed upon the subject in the Dialogue must be held as a sufficient excuse for its being only hinted at here. Those who are anxious to know more may consult Mr Furnivall's Introduction to Ballads from Manuscripts, where they will find a mass of evidence collected in support of the charge.

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

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

1 p. 200.

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

3 Many . . . having neither learning nor other godly qualities, apt, meet, or convenient to be in spiritual pastors, be now admitted to have cure of souls. And some such that did never know what is a soul, nor yet be able to have care over one soul, be now admitted to have charge over a hundred and many more, to the increase of all ignorance, and all popish blindness. A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord.
Their neglect of preaching was a natural result of their lordly living, and their employment in duties which were the proper work of laymen. If a person were admitted to view hell, and the devil were to show him the unpreaching prelates who had there found their home, he would see as many as would reach to Calais—he would see nothing but unpreaching prelates. 1 But Latimer could say a good word when he deemed that good word deserved; and one such may fitly come in here, because it bears witness to certain good qualities which Pole undoubtedly possessed. "I never," he says, "remember that man [Cardinal Pole] methinks, but I remember him with a heavy heart. A witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in favour that—if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been Bishop of York at this day. He would have done much good in that part of the realm, for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way." 2

The custom of pluralities was another source of complaint against the clergy. In 1529 an Act 3 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." Cropper: Table Talk, II. 94—101.

2 Sermons, p. 133. It is most likely that Pole would have made a "preaching prelate" had his fortune been to be placed among the clergy of his own country. As a matter of fact he was not ordained a priest until his elevation to the Archiepiscopal See.—Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, iii. pp. 11, 310. And, if he preached before, his powers as a preacher seem to have been quite unknown, Ibid. 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.
policy. That the Spiritual Courts had failed was not to be won-
dered 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 plead-
ing, 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 aban-
doned 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 de-
clared to be standing evidences of the mercy of God, else fire would
have descended from heaven and destroyed them.3 The judges were

1 Utopia, p. 128.
2 Lives of the L. Chancellors, i. 506 (2nd ed.). Wolsey intended to
found an institution to encourage the systematic study of all branches of the
law. Had his fall and death been delayed, the "twins of learning" would
most likely have been increased.
3 Mors' Complaint, chap. xi.
accused of being drunkards, whoremongers, and covetous persons, from whom it was hopeless to look for justice. Their partiality, their "suppressing the poor," their aiding the rich for lucre, their condemnation of the innocent while allowing the guilty to go free, brought down the vengeance of God upon all places.¹

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

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

¹ Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, etc., 1545.  
² Sermons, p. 72.  
³ Sermons, p. 113.  
⁴ Sermons, p. 151. Bernard Gilpin says: And being thus tormented, and put from their right at home, they (the poor) come to London a great number, as to a place where justice should be had, and there they can have none. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech; their servants must have bribes, and that no small ones. All love bribes. . . . . . . The lawyers . . . laugh with the money which maketh others to weep; and thus are the poor robbed on every side without redress, and that of such as seem to have authority thereto.—Sermon, &c., pp. 29, 30.  
⁵ Sermons, p. 173.  
⁶ Mers' Complaint, chap. ix.  
⁷ See p. 191 of this volume.
known, these suggestions for punishment, and these denunciations of
the crime, were of little advantage. The proposal to admit only the
honest and virtuous to practise in the law courts sounded well, but
where were the honest and virtuous to be found? and the suggestion
that only gentlemen having "either land, office, or fee to maintain
themselves withal," should be admitted, was simply Utopian.

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

§ 7.

Living as Pole did in an atmosphere of learning, mixing at
Oxford before his departure from England, and during his whole life
on the Continent, among the most renowned scholars of the day, we
should naturally expect to find him depicted as anxious to impress
upon his countrymen the advantages of a good education. In this
we are not deceived. He points out that among the principal ill
customs tolerated in England, was the education of the nobles, who
were commonly brought up in hunting, hawking, dicing, carding,
eating, and drinking—in short, in all kinds of vain pleasures.
Severe as are his remarks, there was much truth in what he said.
The nobles in great numbers grew up without any scholarship
worthy of the name. 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
dereed that they should apply themselves to study and learning,
and to do other things suitable to their individual character. Regu-
lations were also made for the greater efficiency of schools attached
to cathedrals and religious houses.1

§ 8.

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

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 Anglice, etc.} Among other works
proposed, a translation of the New Testament was ordered.\footnote{Hook, Archbishops, iii. 302, note, N.S.} 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. "\textit{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 \textit{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.\footnote{Ranke's History of the Popes, p. 22, ed. 1859.} 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.\footnote{Hook, Abps, iii. 53, N.S.} 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
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 Anglie ex Decretis, etc.
³ Vergerio, quoted in Hook, Abps, iii. 154, N.S.
On the whole this Dialogue may be taken as fairly representing Pole's opinions. In some important matters he changed, but in the main he seems to have remained faithful to what is here put into his mouth.

§ 9.

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

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

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

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

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

J. M. Cowper,

Davington Hill,

Faversham.

January, 1871.
§ 10.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

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

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

Pole owns Lupset's purpose is good, and that it is no small matter of which he has been speaking. It is, he says, a good thing and a noble virtue to help one's country and friends, but Lupset must remember the common saying, "He was never good master
that never was scholar; nor never good captain that never was soldier;" and he thinks it better to learn to rule himself before attempting to govern others. He never heard of a mariner able to govern a great ship who could not first manage a little boat; and so, when he has had sufficient experience in ruling himself, and can, in the opinion of others, do that well, then he may not refuse to consider the needs of his country, and endeavour to rule others. Still he thinks there is much doubt in the view taken by Lupset. He will be glad to do his best, and follow that in which consists the perfection of man; but whether this perfection lies in active life and the administering of the affairs of the country, or whether it lies in contemplation and knowledge, he is not at all sure. The perfection of man is to be found in his mind—in reason and intelligence; and the knowledge of God and of Nature should be the end of man's life. Consequently ancient philosophers forsook the meddling with the affairs of the State and devoted themselves to study. It seemed better to them to know the secrets of Nature than to understand the order and rule of cities and towns; better to know the laws which Nature has planted in the heart of man, than the laws which have been devised by the wit of man. Therefore, granting him to be competent to interfere in politics, he doubts whether it were best to do so or not.

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

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

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

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

CXXIX

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, continues Lupset (p. 18, par. 9), you have heard my opinion of the cause of these errors. They who maintain that there is no difference between virtue and vice, except opinion only, measuring man's dignity by his deeds, and seeing he so commonly follows vice, affirm that there is no virtue, but that men agree to call that virtue which is not virtue at all. This is as much as to say that by nature there is no virtue because most men follow vice. They do not con-
sider the frailty of man, his negligence, his ill education; but of the effect they judge all to stand in the opinion of man. And, although different nations differ in policy, each judging its own to be best, yet in those things which naturally pertain to man's dignity they agree. All think God should be honoured; all are bound to aid one another; all find it convenient to live in civil life. However civil laws may differ, so long as men keep this natural law, so long they live well, and will, in the end, be saved. This is the opinion of some wise men, but we may safely leave it to the secret judgment of God. The diversity of sects and laws need not trouble us, it most likely belongs to the nature of man, as much as does diversity of language. Notwithstanding this diversity, civil life may be defined as "a politic order of a multitude, conspiring together in virtue and honesty," to which man is ordained. This is the end of man's life; to this every man ought to refer his thoughts and deeds; every man ought to aid this, and endeavour to set it forth.

Pole answers (p. 21, par. 10) that he never had any doubt of the matter which Lupset has been urging, but it has pleased him to hear the same so confirmed that no man may call it in question. If it is good to help one, it is much better to help many; for a man in so doing approaches nearest to the nature of God. Let it be agreed that every man ought to advance the good of the commonwealth, yet there is another thing to be considered: at some times and in certain places this is not to be attempted by a wise man; as in time of tyranny, or where rulers are only intent on private gain. Among such a wise man's counsel would be laughed at. In such cases it is no wonder that wise men have abstained from interfering. Some by attempting to do good have been exiled, some imprisoned, and some put to death. If Plato had found a noble prince in Sicily he would have shown greater fruits of his wisdom. If Tully had not lived during the civil war between 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 con-
dition. Besides, it is contrary to the opinion of wise men, who have
ever held that virtue keeps a man from misery and places him in
felicity. And to this agree the doctrine and practice of Christ, who
called them blessed who were in adversity, and chose His disciples
from the simple and poor. Pole confesses that these remarks are
to the purpose, and promises not to let them pass unexamined. Some
say man consists of soul only, and that it is this whereby he is man
and not a beast. Others say he is made up of the union of body
and soul, and this he thinks is correct. Felicity in the highest
degree can only spring from virtue and worldly prosperity; because
then man is without any impediment of body or mind; for these
should flourish together. It cannot be doubted that a man confirmed
by perfect and sure hope may attain to the happiness of the world
to come, though troubled with adversity here. But because worldly
prosperity is so full of peril it is commonly said it is hard to have
heaven here and hereafter. Christ said they who have their hearts
fixed on the love of riches, and they who are drowned in pleasures
may attain to the life to come; but He does not exclude the upright
in mind. Some, perceiving their own weakness, retire from the
world altogether, and it is not amiss of them; but they are like
mariners who never leave the haven for fear of storms. He who in
dangerous prosperity governs his mind well and keeps it upright, is
more perfect and deserves more praise than he who runs into a
religious house. To return: though a man troubled with adversity
may by patience attain heaven, and as riches do not exclude him, the
most prosperous state is that where virtue and worldly prosperity are
combined. To this Lupset agrees, but asks whether there can be
degrees of felicity? He cannot see how they who have virtue and worldly prosperity can be happier than those who have virtue alone.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.

Pole commences by repeating that, after defining a true commonwealth, it is expedient to examine into the faults and disorders which hinder its prosperity. Lupset thinks little diligence is required in this, as it is easier "to spy two faults than amend one." It is by no means hard to see the faults which prevail in our own country. No man can deny that there is great decay when he sees the ruinous condition of cities, castles, and towns, and the poverty of the inhabitants; or when he looks at the ground which used to be well tilled, but now lies waste; or when he considers the manners of the people and their order of living, which are as far from what they ought to be as good from ill, as vice from virtue. All these evils are as clear as the day. Pole does not admit that all is so clear, or that it requires so little diligence; without care wrong conclusions may easily be drawn. He then goes on (p. 71, par. 7) to speak of the faults which he perceives in the body politic. First he notices the lack of people. This he considers to be evident by observing how much better cities and towns were inhabited in times past than they are now. Many houses are in ruins, and many with-
out inhabitants. Further; many villages have utterly decayed, and where Christian people were nourished, now you only find wild beasts; where many houses and churches once stood, there is nothing but sheepcots and stables. This condition of things is not confined to one or two places; it prevails generally throughout the realm. This decay of cities, towns, and villages plainly shows a scarcity 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. 13) are either idle or ill occupied, and but few exercise themselves in doing that which would maintain the commonwealth. Look at the idle rout kept by noblemen, bishops, and others. Look at the priests, monks, friars, and canons, with all
their idle train, and you will find many who are only burdens on the earth. They are like the drone bees in a hive which only consume the honey gathered by the diligent bee.

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

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

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

Pole now (p. 85, par. 33) proposes to speak of particular faults, or faults which pertain to particular classes. Princes, lords, and bishops look chiefly to their own pleasure and profit; few regard the good of the commons. Princes and lords seldom look to the good of their subjects; they only care about receiving their rents and maintaining their pompous state. For the rest they care not whether the people "sink or swim." Bishops only study how they may get the wool, leaving the simple sheep to wander in the forest and be devoured by wolves. Judges and ministers of justice are ruled by lucre, "and matters are ended as they are friended." These faults are seen in spiritual and temporal rulers: none regard their office and duty, and they can only be compared to a man in a frenzy. Plowmen, labourers, craftsmen, and artificers are negligent and slow, by reason whereof come much dearth and penury. The waste ground, the scarcity of food, the dearth of manufactures show great negligence. If plowmen were diligent, there would be less waste ground;
if artificers were industrious, manufactures would not be so scarce and so dear. The truth is, the English are more given to idle gluttony than any people in the world. Thus Pole, having declared the general and particular faults of the body politic, proposes to seek out what is required for its prosperity; and this he thinks will not be hard because there is no man so blind as not to see the poverty of this realm. Lupset is surprised at such a statement, as our country has ever been esteemed rich. In our wool, lead, tin, iron, silver, and gold, and in all things necessary to the life of man, our country may be compared with any other. Pole answers him that he speaks like a man of the old world. Undoubtedly our island has been the most wealthy in Christendom, and that not many years ago, but it is much altered. Where riches and liberality were, you will now find wretchedness and poverty; where there was abundance, you will now find scarceness. No one can doubt this who sees the multitude of beggars and the fewness of people. In no other country will you find so many beggars as we have in England. All classes, the plowman, the artificer, the merchant, the gentleman, yea, princes, lords, and prelates, cry that they lack money. Look at the dearth of corn, of cattle, and of food: it cannot be denied that a common dearth argues a great lack. We must confess to the penury of our commonwealth. Lupset does not think this well proved. Beggars do not prove poverty, but idleness; and as for the complaints of all classes, men so esteem money that had they ever so much they would still complain, and many would even feign poverty. If we examine into the matter he thinks we shall find England richer than any other country about us, for in France, Italy, and Spain it cannot be denied that the commons are poorer than they are with us. Then as to the dearth of necessaries, it is the same in all places. When God sends seasonable weather we have enough; when He chooses to punish us we have lack. Pole grants that other countries may be poorer than ours, but this he maintains does not affect the question. Ours is certainly poorer than it ought to be, and the scarcity does not arise from the common ordinance of God. Lupset agrees in this, and says “some have too much, some too little, and some never a whit.”
Pole now (p. 92, par. 43) refers to outward things required for the maintenance of the commonwealth, and sees great faults in the building and clean keeping of cities, castles, and towns. Man has no care for the future, each only regards his own pleasure. This, Lupset says, is quite true. When he travelled in France and Flanders he thought he was in another world, the cities and towns were so well built, and so clean kept, every city seeming to strive which should be best built and kept cleanest. But here in England the people seem to study how the cities, towns, and castles may soonest fall into ruin and decay. Every gentleman lives in the country, few inhabit cities and towns. He goes on (p. 93, par. 46) to complain that the merchants export such necessaries as cattle, corn, wool, tin, lead, and other metals, and bring in, in their place, only such things as tend to the destruction of our people. Such as "delicate wines, fine cloths, says and silks, beads, combs, girdles and knives, and a thousand such trifling things," which could either be well spared or our own people might be employed in making them. This he considers a great hurt to the clothmakers of England; the wines, he says, impoverish many gentlemen, and cause much drunkenness and idleness among the poor. As men are so prone to pleasure it would not be amiss to restrain the use of this wine. He would have some for the use of the nobles, but even here moderation would be good. And so of silks and says, it is convenient to have some for the use of the nobility. Here he notes another disorder, which is, that now hardly any man will wear home-made cloth, but every man must have his fustians and silks from abroad, which causes many crafts to fall into decay. Then as to excess of diet, there never was such feasting and banqueting, 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 parlia-
ment, 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 pro-
clamation 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 com-
pass 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 accord-
ing 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...
PUNISHMENT FOR THEFT.

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

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

Pole now (p. 128, par. 77) proposes to examine the customs “which seem to repugne to good civility.” The principal of these is the education of the nobility. They are brought up to hunting, hawking, gambling, eating, and drinking; and nothing else is thought fit for
a gentleman. Then each must keep a court like a prince, and have his idle train to follow him. In this stands the beggary of England. If they are not clothed in silks and velvets, and if they have not twenty different dishes at meals, they think they lack honour. Lupset cannot deny these things, but adds that a knight or a mean gentleman here has as great a number of idle men as a great lord in France; where, instead of wasting their estates in this manner, they marry their children and friends therewith, and keep the younger members from dishonour and shame.

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

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

Having mentioned all the “misorders” which have come to his remembrance, Pole proposes to adjourn for two or three days.
SCARCITY OF PEOPLE.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Pole opens this second part of the dialogue by referring to the difficulties which lie in their way. To speak of faults and deficiencies in the commonwealth has been an easy task when compared with that of finding remedies. Under these circumstances, he proposes to ask wisdom from God. To this Lupset readily agrees, remarking that if old authors and poets called upon their gods, much more ought members of the Christian flock to call upon God who has promised to hear them. They then retire to hear a Mass in honour of the Holy Ghost. Then Pole (p. 145, par. 7) describes the course to be taken, and after recapitulating part of what has been said, goes on to speak of the great lack of people, and to propose the only remedy—"natural procreation," to be brought about by marriage. If man would but follow reason there would be no difficulty; but after a trial of thousands of years, it has been found that "by instruction and gentle exhortation" man cannot be brought to perfection; and that the fear of punishment is the only thing which will bring him to consider his proper dignity. How then can the "gross and rude people" be allured to follow that which shall be deemed necessary? How can they be induced to marry? He thinks "by privilege and pain." Lupset here breaks in with an idea, to which he hardly dare give utterance; that is, that "the law of chastity ordained by the church" which binds so many people, is a great hindrance to the increase of the population (p. 148, par. 12). This law might, in his estimation, be relaxed with advantage. Pole thinks the law was useful when first instituted, but now he confesses it is not so, and would at least allow all secular priests to marry. With regard to "monks, canons, friars, and nuns," he thinks there ought to be Abbeys, to which, after lawful proof of chastity, they might retire. This liberty to retire from the world he considers a great comfort to many feeble and weary souls who have been oppressed with the vanities of the world, but he quite agrees that secular priests ought to marry.
Another hindrance to the increase of population lies in the multitude of serving men, who spend all their lives in service, and never have the means to marry. An ordinance that no gentleman should be allowed to keep more than he can "set forward to some honest fashion of living and lawful matrimony," would cure this. Many now cannot marry because of poverty (p. 150). To remedy this, houses should be built in the wild and waste places, and given with a portion of land to their servants for a nominal rent. By this means, many would be induced to marry, and the country would gain not only in population, but the waste grounds would be well tilled. Besides this, he would recommend the custom of the Romans for imitation, and grant special privileges and exemptions to all who had five children.

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

The second disease to be considered is illeness (p. 152, par. 15). Though the body be weak and slender, yet is it "bollen and swollen out with all humours." The cause of the disease must be removed before we can cure the disease itself; and the cause lies in the ill bringing up of youth. As the young grow up hoping to live pleasantly in service with some nobleman or other, an ordinance should be made, compelling every man to place his children to learning or to some craft at the age of seven years; and the curate of the parish should have chief authority to see the law obeyed. To encourage "arts and crafts," every man who excelled in his calling
should be rewarded by the liberality of the prince. As for such as delighted in idleness and followed no trade at all, they should be banished. It avails but little to increase the population if idleness is not done away. Lupset thinks the remedy a short one, and tells Pole he must show more at large how the youth are to be brought up in arts and crafts. But Pole says that is not his purpose; it would require a whole book. He intends only to touch on general points, and leave the rest to those in authority.

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

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

Of religious persons Pole says a great many are unprofitable (p. 156, par. 19); but he would not have them and their monasteries taken away: he would have only some good reformation made. He would not allow youths to be in them at all, but only such men as are moved by a fervent love of religion. If this gap were stopped religious men would be fewer in number, but better in life. But as
this is not the place to discuss this matter, he defers it for the present, and proceeds to consider the *discord and division* which are so rife. He considers this the very foundation of ruin, and cites Italy as an example in his own day. He considers that this pestilence in the commonwealth arises from a "lack of common justice and equity. One party has too much, and the other too little, of such things as should be equally distributed among citizens." To keep the body politic united provision must be made that every man may follow his trade, and that one trade shall not interfere with another: "for this causes much malice, envy, and debate, both in city and town, that one man meddles in the mystery and craft of another." One man is not contented with his own profession or manner of living, but directly he sees another better off than himself, he leaves his own business for the other. A penalty must be incurred by such men, and they must be constrained to follow their own trade. If they are seditious and despise this order, they must be banished or punished with death. "This compelling of every man to do his office and duty" would "conserve much this body in unity and concord," and in time remove all divisions.

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

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

If we could find means to cure the head (p. 162, par. 25), all other disorders would soon be healed. Plato in his commonwealth desired above all things to see good rulers, because then laws would not be needed. Lupset thinks Plato only dreamed. A commonwealth such as his will never be seen, unless God should send angels to make a city. Pole reminds Lupset that the rulers he looks for are not such as Plato or the Stoics describe. If men could be found to seek the public good above all things, they would be sufficient; and our country is not so barren of good men but some might be found, especially if attention were paid to the education of the young. The one thing needed is a good prince. Lupset says this rests with God only, which Pole grants, adding, however, that God requires diligence to be used in all things pertaining to man’s happiness,—without this
diligence man can have nothing perfect. Of all creatures man is most perfect; to him was given reason by which to govern himself. But with reason God gave him certain affections and vicious desires, which, without care, overrun reason, and reduce man to the level of the brutes. If he had so much reason that these vicious desires could not prevail, he would have been as an angel, and the world would have been without the nature of man. Some men have more light than others, and this is why one man is wiser than another, and one nation more prudent than another. But none are so rude that they cannot subdue their affections. Every man, when he follows reason, and whole nations, when they live in civil order, are governed by the providence of God. When they are without good order they are ruled by tyranny. God does not provide tyrants to rule. *Man cannot make a wise prince out of a fool,* nor make him just who takes pleasure in tyranny. *But he can elect him that is wise and just,* and can depose a tyrant; and if we would cure this frenzy we must not have princes by succession. Let us amend this fault, and we need care little for others. To say that God chooses tyrants to punish people is against religion and reason; we might as well say He compels a man to follow his evil inclinations. If we attribute tyranny, which is the greatest of all evils, to God, we must attribute all ill to the Fountain of all goodness; which is flat impiety. There is no need to remove tyranny in our days, because we have such an excellent prince; but after his death parliament should choose the man who is most apt for the office and dignity of king. If we determine that the heir shall succeed, we must join to him a council, not of his choosing, but chosen by a majority in parliament. Lupset objects to this on account of the labour which would devolve upon the parliament.

Pole now unfolds *his plan of this council* (p. 169, par. 35). The Great Parliament should only assemble to elect a prince, or for some other urgent cause. But the *authority* of parliament should ever remain in London to repress sedition and defend liberty. This authority should rest in a council of fourteen, and its duty should be to see that the king and his council do not violate the laws; to call the Great Parliament when necessary; and to "pass all acts of leagues,
confederation, peace, and war." Everything else should be under the rule of the king and his council; but without his proper council, he should do nothing. The king's council should consist of ten: two bishops, four lords, and four men learned in the law. Then, though we took our prince by succession, this council "should deliver us from all tyranny, setting us in true liberty." All inferior officers would be called to account, and the people would be cured of that negligence which allows the land to lie untilled, and crafts to be "so ill occupied." If the Statute of Enclosure were put in force, and pasture land turned into arable, as it was before, there would be abundance and prosperity. All drunkards and gamblers—those who "lay the ground of misery and mischief, as well as the doers thereof," would be punished. Gluttony and idle games, which lead to adultery and robbery, would be removed; and poverty, which comes of neglect, would give place to plenty.

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

Another evil which Pole points out (p. 175) lies in the enhancing of rents. If the farmers pay high rents they must sell dear; "for he that buys dear may sell dear also justly." To remedy this he would have all rents lowered to what they were "when the people of Eng-
laid; "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 cleanliness 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
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 customed in
youth, so after they follow the trade either of vice or virtue. Therefore there must be as much regard of the one as of the other. For the learning without virtue is pernicious.” A similar order must be observed in the Universities, that the seed planted by the schoolmaster 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 "spoil his life with ambition," Lupset says, when men desire to bear office that they may advance this commonwealth, it is not ambition, but virtue. Sluggish minds live in corners and are content with private life, but noble hearts ever desire to govern for the good of the multitude. Pole declines to show his mind on these matters because it is late. He will defer the discussion of them till more convenient leisure. He begs Lupset to rest assured that he shall find no fault or negligence in him, but that he will ever find him ready to do his duty to his prince, his country, and his God.

NOTES.

Bisham, 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 disdainful neglect of the higher classes for the tilt-yard, and of the yeomen for exercise at the butts. Archery, therefore, was falling into disuse, when, in 1511, Parliament re-enacted the statute of Winchester, with the additional provisions that 'every man being the king's subject, not lame, decrepit, or maimed, being within the
age of sixty years, except spiritual men, justices of the one bench and of the
other, justices of the assize, and barons of the exchequer, do use and exercise
shooting in long-bows, and also do have a bow and arrows ready continually
in his house to use himself in shooting. And that every man having a man
child or men children in his house shall provide for all such, being of the age
of seven years and above, and till they shall come to the age of seventeen
years, a bow and two shafts to learn them and bring them up in shooting; and
after such young men shall come to the age of seventeen years, every of them
shall provide and have a bow and four arrows continually for himself at his
proper costs and charges, or else of the gift and provision of his friends, and
shall use the same as afore is rehearsed.' In 1541 an amended edition of this
statute was passed. Amongst other additional provisions, each village was 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, bowls, clash,
coying, logailing, or any other unlawful game out of Christmas, under the
pain of xx
to be forfeit for every time; and in Christmas to play at any of
the said games in their masters' houses or in their masters' presence; and also
that no manner of persons shall at any time play at any bowl or bowls in open
places out of his garden or orchard, upon the pain for every time so offending
to forfeit vi' 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 Archbishopprie or Bishoprie 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 Archbishopprie or Bishoprie, 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 surety made for the same; which declareth the said payments to be exacted and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice: The Noblemen therefore of this Realm, and the wise, sage, politic Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great sums of money, under the title of Annates or Firstfruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said prelates and this Realm; which Annates or Firstfruits were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian people against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and conscience; insomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of Rome, since the second year of Henry VII. unto this present time, under the name of Annates or Firstfruits, paid for the expedition of Bulls of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, the sum of 800,000 ducats, amounting in sterling money, at the least, to 160,000 pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm: And albeit, that our said Sovereign Lord the King, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, are as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any people be within any realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annates or Firstfruits be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this Realm now represented by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and Commonwealth of this Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of Annates or Firstfruits: And because that divers prelates of this Realm are now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes above-said, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained."

The Act (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3) transferring these annates to the king seems to have given some cause for dissatisfaction. Thus in "Mors' Complaynt" we read:—"The Pope, ex plenitude 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 person and vicar of his benefice, and every lord the Firstfruits of his lands. In which Act the Pope's condition is not put away, but it is two parts greater than ever it

* See p. 200, l. 119.
was. For where the bishops did only pay the Firstfruits then, now the parsons pay, the vicars pay, the lords pay, and in conclusion all men must so often pay, pay, that a man, if he take not good heed, would think that the Latin papæ were translated into English, here is so much paying on every side."*

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

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

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

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

"What commessacyon, drunkenness, detestable swearing by all the parts of Christ's body (and yet calling them in scorn 'hunting oaths'), extortion, pride, covetousness, and such other detestable vice reign in this your realm."—

Supplication to Our 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bread, 3000 loaves (13 qrs. 7</th>
<th>Ale, 6 tuns, 7 hhds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bushels of wheat).</td>
<td>Beeves, 10½ carcases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine, 3 tuns, 2 pipes.</td>
<td>Muttons, 56 carcases.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The Complanyt of Roderyk Mors, chap. xvi., 1536. See also Froude, i. pp. 553—557; vi. 397-8.
† Lives of the Archbishops, iii. 399, note, N.S.
GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

Veals, 17.
Porks, 3.
Fat hogs, 4.
Cray fish, 500.
Fat capons, 24.
Kentish capons, 67.
Coarse capons, 84.
Chickens, 324.
Pullets, 30.
Swans, 15.
Rabbits, young, 24.
Partridges, 42.
Plovers, 132.
Teals, 78.
Pigeons, 384.
Quails, 150.
Larks, 648.
Geese, 60.
Pears, 3000.
Apples, 1300.
Butter, 367 dishes.
Eggs, 2500.
Cream, 16½ gallons.
Fat hogs, 4.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.
Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.
Geese, 60.

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.* ll. 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, here, 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 impale, or be impaled, 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. 1853). The payment of Peter's pence was forbidden by the 25 Hen. VIII, c. 21. This Act was repealed by 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, and revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1. The tribute sometimes went under the name of Romescot, sometimes Rome fee (Rome-foeh).—_Minshen._

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

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

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

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

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

The book referred to in the text in such laudatory terms is entitled _De Liberis recte institucatis_. 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 _Archbishop_, iii, 49, N.S.

† The "philosopher" which changed the houses and delivered London was the Great Fire of 1666.
"First of all, Englishmen never consider the aspect of their doors and windows; next, their chambers are built in such a way as to admit of no ventilation. Then a great part of the walls of the house is occupied with glass casements, which admit light, but exclude the air, and yet they let in the draft through holes and corners, which is often pestilential and stagnates there. The floors are in general laid with a white clay, and are covered with rushes, occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale-droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. Whenever the weather changes a vapour is exhaled, which I consider very detrimental to health. . . . I am confident the island would be much more salubrious if the use of rushes were abandoned, and if the rooms were built in such a way as to be exposed to the sky on two or three sides, and all the windows so built as to be opened or closed at once; and so completely closed as not to admit the foul air through chinks; and for as it is beneficial to health to admit the air, so is it equally beneficial to exclude it. The common people laugh at you if you complain of a cloudy or foggy day. Thirty years ago if ever I entered a room which had not been occupied for some months I was sure to take a fever. More moderation in diet, and especially in the use of salt meats, might be of service; more particularly were public Ediles appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud and urine, and the suburbs kept in better order."—Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. 2, ccix.

Erasmus, pp. 210, 211.—The Treatise on the Study of Divinity is Paracelsis, 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. 1508. 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 bequingage 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 use in provision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good cheape, theyr common graner (whiche is a myghtie greate house) is in maner always furnisshed. So that lyghtly in the citee can be no great deareth, because many times of their owne common purse, they are contented to lose for the poore peoples relieve (thoug another time they pay them selues the double).—They have also certaine schoole or felowships, gathered together for docucion, as one of saincte Marke, an other of saincte Rooke, one of this sainct, an other of that, which (beyng for the most part substanciall men) doe releue a a number of the poore after this sorte.—They geue them ones a yere a course lierie, 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 holidaies 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 doeth allow; and afterwards (wyth theyr priestes and clerkes) goe a procession a certayne circuite, in the which the pore men lyke wyse cary their tapers before them. — Furthermore, there are certeine hospitalles, some for the sicke and diseased, and some for poore orphane, in which they are nourisshed vp til they come vnto yeres of service; 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 Venicé, called the Lazaretta, vnto the whiche all they of that house, wherin one hath been infected of the plague, are incontinently sent, and a lodgeynge sufficienct appointeed for theim till the infection ceasse, that they may retourne. — Finally, for prisoners, they have this order: Twise a yeere, at Christmas and Easter, the Auditory dooc visite all the prisons in Venice, and there gene audience vnto all creaditours that haue anye debtor in prison for the summe of .50. duckates and vnder. If the partye be liable to paie, daies are geuen, and sureties founde; and if the debt be desperate, than doe they 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 prisons of all theim that lie for that summe." — *The Historye of Itayle, &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 desired to talk with Pole, haue desyryd [greatly to commyn] wyth yow, beyng mouyd thereto by the [great] frenchype 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 harts togyddur in true lou[e] and amyte. Wherfor I am ryght glad, Mastur Pole, that I haue, now at thys tyme, here found you, both, as me semyth, at conuenyent leser to commyn and talke, and also in thys place of Bysham, where as the image and memory of your old aunceturys 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 desyryd 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 Mastur Lupset, that you seme so ernystely to wyl? Hyt apperyth to be, by your begynnynge, some grete mater and weghty.

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.

STARKHEY.
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 after such experyence of the manerys of man, taken in dyuere 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, wherein you haue spent your hole youth, as I euer toke hyt, to the same purpos and end. You know ryght wel, Master Pole, that to thys al men are borne and of nature brought forth, to commyn such gyftys as be to them gyuen, ych one to the profyt of other, in perfayt cyuylyte; and not to lyue to theyr owne plesure and profyt, wyth out regard of the wele of theyr cuntrey, forgettyng al justyce and equyte. I nede not to reherse to [you] (to whome the storys are bettur knowne then to me,) the exampl of Plato, Lycurgus, nor of Solon, by whose wysdome and pollycy dyuere cytes, cuntreys and natyonys were broug[h]t to cyuyle ordur and polytyke lyfe; wych, yf they had not regardyd, but folowyd theyr owne *pryuate plesure and fantasy, had yet remeynyd in theyr old rudenes, and lynyd lyke wylde bestys in the wooldys, wyhout lawys and rulys of honesty. Wherfor me semyth, who so euer he be wych, drawen by the swetenes of hys studys, and by hys owne quyetnes and plesure mouyd, leuyth the cure of the commyn wele and pollyey, he dowth manyst wrong to hys cuntrey and frendys, and ys playn vniust and ful of iniquyte; as he that regardyth not hys oflyce and duty, to the wych, aboue all, he ys
most bounden by nature. Of thys, Mastur Pole, many 57
men dow you accuse, saying that, syns you hane byn of
your cuntrey so wel nuryschyd and brought vp, so wel
set forward to geddur prudence and wyse[dom], you
ought now to study to mayntyen and avaunce 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
your helpe, and, as hyt were, cry and cal vono you
besyly for the same, and you, as drownyd in the plesure
of letturys and pryuate studys, gyue no yere therto; but,
forgettyng hyr vtturly, suffur her styl to want your
helpe and succur apen your behalfe, not wythout gret
injury. Wherfor, Master Pole, now at the last wake
out of thys dreme; remembyr your cuntrey, loke to
your friesyd, consydyr your ofyce and duty that you
are most bounden vono. And so now thys you haue
breuely hard the cause of my cummyng and purpos at
thys tym.

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 gadly thyng to med-
dyl wyth the materys of the commyn wel, and a nobul
vertue to dow gud to our friesyd 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 mannys studys and actys, and [the]
best thyng in thys lyfe to be atteynyd vono. Thys ys
your purpos; but, Master Lupset, here we must a lytyl
stey. Me semyth you remembyr not the commyn say-
ing, "He was neuer gud mastur that neuer was scole,
or neuer gud capitayne that neuer was soudiar." I
thynke hyt veray convencient, 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 gownerne one, vndowtydly lakkyth  
craft to gownerne many. I neuer hard of any maryner  
abul to gownerne a gret schypppe, wyth neuer could  
gownerne wel a lytyl botte. Wherfor, when I haue had  
suffyecyent experience of the rulyng of my selfe, and by  
the opnyyon of other jugy whole that ryght wel,  
then, perauentur, I wyl not refuse the causys of my cun-  
trey and rulyng of other. How be hyt, Master Lvpset,  
in your communycatyon, me semyth, lyth no smal dowte.  
I wold be glad to dow the best, and that to folow  
wherin lyth the perfectyon of man; but wether hyt  
stand in the actyue lyfe, and in adminystratyon of the  
maters of the commyn wel, as you seme to say, or els  
in the contemplatine 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,  
wych ys reson and intelliygence, hyt semyth, wythout  
dowte, that knolege of God, of nature, and of al the  
workys therof, schold be the end of manys 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 themyselves to the secrete studys and serchyng  
of nature as to the chefe thyng wherin semyd to rest  
the perfectyon of man; and thus to them hyt apperyd  
that prudence and pollycy were not to be comparyd  
wyth hye phylosophye. Bettur hyt semyd to them to  
know God and the hole course of nature then to know  
the ordur and rule of cytes and townys;—bettur to  
know the lawys that nature hath set in manys hart  
surely, then the lawys wych manys wyt hath deuysyd  
by pollycy;—of the wych, the one pertynyth to the  
cyyle and poltyke lyfe; the other, to the quyat and  
contemplatyn. Wherfor, though I were in dede apte to  
meddyl wyth the materys of the commyn wele, yet hyt
may be dowtyd, Master Lvpset, as hyt apperyth, whether hyt be best so to dow or not.

5. Lvpset.—Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng your aptenes, I wyl now no further reson, of the wych no man doth dowte: wherfor thyss ys but an excuse; and so that parte I wyl leue. But, Syr, of your dowt I somewhat wyth my selfe now dowmarayle. For though hyt be so that many of the auncyent phylosopharys, for the mayntenaunce of theyr idul and slomeryng lyfe, dowtyd much therof, yet, me semyth, you, aften so many yerys had in the study of the scole of Arystotyl, schold no thynge dowte therin at al; in so l. says Aristotlé taught that perfection consists in contemplation joined to an active life.

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

the admynystratyon of materys of the commyn wele, wythout any further 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 euer referryd to thys end and purpos, that the *hole body of the commynalty may lyue in quyetnes and tranquyllyte; every parte dowyng hys offyce and duty; and so, as much as the nature of man wyl suffer, al to attayne to theyr natural perfectyon. To thys euer honest man, medelyng in the commyn wele, ought to loke cheffely vnto; thys ys the marke that euer man, prudent and polytyke, ought to schote at; fyrst, to make hymselfe perfect, 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 coffuryss, wych neuer ys communyd to the succur of other; for al such gyftys of God and nature must euer be applyd to the commyn

Every man must strive to make himselfe perfect, and then try to improve others,
ancient philosophers wrong

163 profyt and vtylyte. Wherby man, as much as he may, shal euer follow the nature of God, whose infynyte gudnes ys by thys chefely declaryd and openyd to the world, that to every thyng and creature he gyuyth parte therof, accordyng to theyr nature and capacyte.

168 So that vertue and lernyng, not communyd to other, ys lyke vnto ryches hepyd in cornerys, neuer applyd to the vse of other.

(5.) Therfor hyt ys not suffycyent, a man to get knolege and vertue, delytyng 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 commun 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 commun wele; the wych you see now, Mastur Pole, how thes phylosopharys, by whose examplu you appere to excuse your selfe, most avoydyd and vniustely fled, ouer much delytyng 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 commun 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 thys one thyng I dare affyrme, —that yf they dyd for thys purpos abstayne, as therby to attayne hyar perfectyon, and so to folow the best trade of lyfe, then they surely were deceuyd; for though hyt be so that lernyng and knolege of nature be a plesaunt thyng, and a hye perfectyon of manys mynd and nature, yet yf you sundurly compare hyt wyth justyce and pollycey, vndowtydly hyt ys not to be preferryd thereto as a thyng rather to be chosen and folowyd. For who ys he so fer wythout reson, that
wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study and labur, know al the secretys of nature, lene al that asyde, and apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole cuntrey by prudence and pollycy, non other wyse then he wold dow wych lakkyth fode necessary to hys body, rather procure that, then the knolege of al natural 204 phylosophy?

(5.) For ever that wych ys best ys not of al men nor at al tymys to be persuyd; hyt ys mete for a man beyng syke rather to procure hys helth, then to study about the procuryng of the commyn welth. Hyt ys bettur, as Arystotyl sayth, for a man being in gret pouerty, rather to procure that, then the knolege of al natural phylosophy?

But philosophy is to be preferred to riches, *Page 33.*

And the good of the common-wealth to all other things, and the pryncypal 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 convenient, 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 communyth and spredyth hys vertues abrode, to the instructyon of Man's mind is most perfect.
234 other; then hyt ys most lyke vnto the nature of God, whose infynyte vertue ys therin most perceuyyd, that he commynyth hys gudnes to al creaturys—to some more, to some les, accordyng to theyr nature and dygnyte. Wherfor hyt ys not to be dowtyd, but yf thos
239 antyent phylosopharys, mouyd by any plesure of theyr secrete studys, abhorryd thys from the polytyke lyfe and from thys commynyng of thyr 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 ofyce 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 without applycatyon of hyt to any vse or profyt of other;
249 but the veray perfectyon of mannys mynd restyth in the vse and exercyse of al vertues and honesty, and chiefly in the chefe vertue, where vnto tend al the other, wych ys dowteles the communyng of hye wysdome 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 anciet phylosopharys, you schal not folow that thync wych I am sure you aboue al other most desyre;—that ys to say, the best kynd of lyfe and most commenyent 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 pollycy.

6. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, 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 dowftful) therwyth you haue brought me into a nother gretar 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 thync to me
259 semyth clene contrary. For yf you cal thys cyuylyte and
lyuyng in polytyke ordur, a commynality to lyue other vnder a prynce or a commyn counsel in cytes and townys, me semyth man schold not be borne therto, for as much as man at the begynnyng lyuyd many yer ys wyt[h]out any such pollycy; at the wych tyme he lyuyd more vertusely, and more accordyng to the dygnyte of hys nature, then he doth now in thys wych you cal polytyke ordur and cyuylyte. We see also now in our days thos men wych lyue out of cytes and townys, and haue fewyst lawys to be gouernyd by, lyue bett?/r then other dow in theyr gudly cytes never so wel bylllyd and in-habytyd, gouernyd wyth so many lawys for commyn. You see by experyence in grete cytes most vyce, most suttylty and craft; and, contrary, euer in the rude cuntrey * most study of vertue and veray true symplycyte. You se what adultery, murdur, and vyce; what vsury, craft, and dysceyte; what glotony and al plesur of body, ys had in cytes and townys, by the reson of thys socety and cumpany of men togydur, wych al in the cuntrey and rude lyfe of them ys avoyded, by the reson that they lyfe not togydur aftar your cyuylyte. Therefore yf thys be cyuyle lyfe and ordur, to lyne in cytes and townys wyth so much vyce and mysdur, me seme man schold not be borne therto, but rather to lyfe in the wyld forest, ther more folowyng the study of vertue, as hyt ys sayd men dyd in the golden age, where in man lyuyd accordyng to hys natural dygnyte.

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

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272
Man at the beginning lived more virtuously than now,

277
and men out of cities live better than those in them.

282
And so he thinks it better to live in a forest and study virtue,

287
as men did in the "golden age."

293

304
In margin of MS.
10

THE FAULT IN MEN, NOT IN CITIES.

305 al vertue and honesty. Thys ys the veray true and cyuyle lyfe; and though hyt be so that man abusyth the socety and cumpany of man in cytes and townys, gnyung hymselfe to al vyce, yet we may not therfor cast downe cytes and townys, and dryue man to the woodys agayne and wyld forestys, wherin he lyuyd at the fyrst and if men do not so live, the fault is in them, not in cities.

Man abuses almost every-
thing,

[Page 26.]

310 agayne and wyld forestys, wherin he lyuyd at the fyrst and if men do not so live, the fault is in them, not in cities. yet byt ys in the malyce of man, wych abusyth and turnyth that thyng wych myght be to hys welth and felcyte to hys owne dye

319 the socety and cumpany of man ys not to be accusyd as the cause of thys mysordur, but rather such as be grete, wyse, and polytyke men, wych fyve from office and authoryte, by whose wysdome the multytude myght be conteynyd and kept in gud ordur and cyuy-

324 lyte; such I say are rather to be blamyd. For, lyke as by the persuasyon of wyse men, in the begynnyng, men were brought from theyr rudenes and bestyal lyfe, to thys cyuyllyte so natural to man, so by lyke wysdome they must be conteynyd and kept therin. Therfor, Master Pole, wythout any mo cauyllatyons, 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 cauyllatyons, Master Lypset, I purpos to make non, except you cal them cauyllatyons
wych I cal resonyng and dowtyng for the clerung of the truth, of the wych sort I wyl not yet cesse to make more when so euer your communycation ys not to me clere; therfor, wyth pardon, you must patyently here me dowl a lytlyl ferther, mouyd of your wordys. You sayd ryght now that thys cyuyle lyfe was a polytyke ordur, and, as hyt were, a conspiracy in honesty and vertue, stablysc[h]yd by commyn assent; thys, me semyth, bryngyth the hole mater in more dowte then hyt was yet before, ye and bryngyth al to uncertaynty and playn confusyon. For they Turkys wyl surely say on theyr behalfe that theyr lyfe ys most natural and polytyke, and that they consent togydur in al vertue and honesty. The Sarasyn contrary, apon hys behalfe, wyl defend hys pollycy, saying that hys of al ys most best and most convenynt to manuys dygnyte. The Joust contynually wyl affyrme hys law to be aboue al other, als receuyd of Goddys owne mouth immedyatly. And the Christyn man most surely beleuyth that hys law and relygyon ys aboue the rest most agreabul to reson and nature as a thyng confirmyd by Goddys owne dyuynyte. So that by thys *mean hyt apperyth al stondyth in the jugement and opynyon of man, in so much that wych ys the veray true polytyke and cyuyle lyfe, no man surely by your dyffynytion can affyrme wyth any certaynty.

9. Lvpse.—Wel, Syr, thys ys no smal dowte to some men wych now you haue mouyd. Wherfor, bycause suche ther be wych couertly take away al cyuyleyte, and wold bryng al to confusyon and tyrann, saying ther ys no dyfference betwyx vyce and vertue but strong opynyon, and that al such thyngys hang of the folysch fansy and jugement of man; I schal fyrst schow you how vertue stondyth by nature and not only by the opynyon of man; and second how and by what mean thys folysch opynyon cam in to thos lyght braynys. And, fyrst, thys ys certayn and sure,—that man by nature fre excellyth

P. says, he is in more doubt than before;

all now seems confusion;

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

[* Page 37.]

First, That virtue stands by nature, and not by man's opinion only. Second, How this fancy came into men's brains.
377 in dygnyte al other creaturyys in erthe, where he ys by the hye prouydence of God set to gouerne and rule, ordur and tempur al to hys plesure by wysdome and pollycy, non other wyse then God hym selfe doth in heuyn gouerne and rule al celestyal thyngys immedyatly. Wherfor he was of the old phylosopharys callyd a erthely god, and, as hyt wer, lord of al other bestys and creaturyys, applying them al vnto hys vse, for al be vnto hym subjicte, al by pollycy are brought to hys obedyence, ther ys no best so strong, fers, or hardly, so wyld, oode, or cruell, but to man by wysdom he ys subduyd; wherby ys perceyuyd euydently the excellent dygnyte of hys nature. And ferther more, playnly thys thyng to see, let vs, as hyt were, out of a hyar place, behold and consydyr the wondurful workys of man here apon erth; where fyrst we schal se the gudly cytes, castellys, and townys, byllyd for the *setting forth of the polytyke lyfe, pleasautly set as they were sterrys apon erthe; wherin we schal see also meruelus gud lawys, statutys, and ordynancys, deuyseyd by man by hye pollycy, for the maynteynyng of the cyuyle lyfe. We schal see infynyte strange artys and craftys, innentyd by mannys wyt for hys commodyte, some for plesure, and some for necessyte. Ferther, we schal see how by hys labur and dylygence he hath tyllyd the erth, and brought forth infynyte frutys for hys necessary fode and plesaunt sustenanunce; so that now the erth, wych els schold haue leyne lyke a forest rude and vntyllyd, by the dylygent labur and pollycye of man ys brought to maruelous culture and fortylite. Thys, yf we wyth our selfe reson and consydyr the workys of man here apon erth, we schal nothyng dowte of hys excellent dygnyte, but playnly aslyrme, 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 conceuyyth 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 comprehently hyt. So that I thynke we may conclude that man by nature, in excellence and dygnyte, even so excellyth al other creaturys here apon erthe, as God excedlyth 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 con-

uenyent to the same excellency, they wych, by the opy-
nyon of man, are not conceyuyd and groundyd in hart, nor yet be not propur to one natyon and not to a nother, but stablyschyd by nature, are com?nyn to al mankynd. As, by exampl, ther ys a certayn equyte and justyce among al natyonys and pepul, wherby they are inclynyd one to dow gad to a nother, one to be bunfycyal to a nother, lyung toggydder in a cumypynabul 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 strenghth 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 hym-

selxe from al violence of other injuryys or wrongys, ye and patyently to suffyr al such chaunce as can not be avoydyd, ys, amonge al pepul, taken as a nobul vertue. Ther ys also a certayn wyt and pollycy by nature gyuen to man in euery place and cuntrey, wherby he ys inclynyd to lyne in cynyle ordur accordyng to the dygnyte of hys nature; and to perceyue the mean how he may attayn therto, ther ys, furthermor, in al men by nature, wythout any other instructyon, rotyd a certayn rever-

cence to God, wherby they honowre hym as gouvernour and rular *of al thys world. For yet ther was neuer na-
tyen so rude or blynd but fortheys cause they relygyously

He excels all in dignity,

and his virtues correspond with it.

courage everywhere are considered virtues.

Man's reverence to God universal.

[* Page 3.]
VIRTUE RESTS PARTLY IN NATURE

149 worschappyd and honowryd the name of God. Thes vertues, and other lyke, wherby man, of nature meke, gentyl, and ful of humanyte, ys inclynyd and sterryd to cynyle ordur and lounyng company, wyth honeste behauyour both toward God and man, are by the powar of nature in the hart of man rotyd and plantyd, and by no vayn opynyon or fansy conceyuyd. And thought hyt be so that amongys al natyonys many so lyne, as they had vtturly forgotten the dygnyte of thys theyr nature, and had no such vertues by nature in them set and plantyd; yet among them al, few ther be, or non, wych, so lyunyng, juge themyslfe to dow wel, but thynke themyslfe they are slyppyd and fallen from the excellency of their nature, wyth grete and contynual gruge of conscyeence inwardly. For they hane rotyd in theyr harty a certayn rule, euer repugnyng to theyr maner of lyfying, wych they, by necligente incontynence, suffur to be corrupt; the wych rule, so certayn and so stabul, ys callyd of phylosopharys and wyse men, the vnuyersal and true law of nature, wych to al natyonys ys commyn, no thying hangyng of the opynyon and folysch fansy of man. In so much that ys man, by corrupt *jugement, wold extyme vertue as vyce, no thying regardlyng hys owne dygnyte, yet vertues, by theyr owne nature, be no les vertues, nor mynyschyd of theyr excellency, by any such frantyke fansy; no more then ys al men togydur wold conspyre that there were no God, who by that folysch opynyon schold no thying be mynysched of hys hye maiesty, or ys they wold say that he nother gouernyth nor rulyth thys world, yet theyr opynyon makyth no les hys hye prouydence. Wherfor playnly hyt apperyth that thes vertues stond not in the opynyon of man, but by the bunfyte and powar of nature in hys hart are rotyd and plantyd, inclynyng hym euer to the cynyle lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of hys
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 re-
 quyryth the dylygence of man, leuyng them vuperfayt of
themselfe, as the sedys and frutys of the grounde, wyeh
sche wyl neuer bryng to perfectyon, yf man wythhold
hys dylygence and labur; so in thes vertues and law
of nature, sche requyryth the ayd and dylygence of man,
wych els wyl soone be oppressyd and corrupt. *Ther be
in mannys lyfe so many occasyonys of destroyng these
sedys and vertues, plantys and lawys, that excepte ther
be joynyd some gud prouysyon for theyry spryngyng vp
and gud culture, they schal neuer bryng forth theyry
frute, they schal neuer bryng man to hys perfectyon.

Wherfor amonge al men and al natyonys, as I thyk,
apon erth, ther be, and euery hathe byn, other certayn
custumys and manerys by long vse and tynie confyrmyd
and approuyd; other lawys wyten and deuysyd by the
polytyke wytte of man receuyyd and stablyschyd for
the mayntenaunce and settyng forward of thes natural
sedys and plantys of vertue; wych custume and law by
man so ordeynyd and deuysyd ys callyd the cyuyle law,
for bycause they be as meanys to bryng man to the per-
fectyon of the cyuyle lyfe; wythout the ordynance of
thes lawys, the other sone wylbe corrupt, the wedys wyl
sone ouergrow the gud corne. Thys law cyuyle is fer
dyfferent from the other; for in euery countray hyt ys
dyuerse and varyabul, ye almost in euery cyte and towne.
Thys law takyth effecte of the opynyon of man, hyt
restyth holly in hys consent, and varyth accordyng to
the place and tyme, in so much that in dyuerse tyme
and place contrary lawys are both gud, and both con-
uenyent to the polytyke lyfe. Wher as the law of
AND NOT IN OPINION ONLY,

520 nature ys euer one, in al cuntryes fyrme and stabul, and neuer for the tyme varyth; hyt ys neuer chaungeabul; the consent of man doth no thyng therto; hyt hangyth no thyng of tyme nor place, but accordyng as ryght 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 ordynance ys but as a mean to bryng man to obserue thys law of nature, in so much that, yf ther be any cyuyle law ordeynyd wych can not be resoluyd therto, hyt ys of no value; for al gud cyuyle lawys spryng and yssue out of the law of nature, as brokys and ryuerys out of fountaynys and wellys; and to that al must be resoluyd and referryd as to the end why they be ordeynyd, to the obseruatyon wherof they are but as meanys.

Thus we see that virtue and honesty do not rest in opinion only, but also in nature;

541 by nature ordeynyd to induce and bryng man to a lyfe conuenyent and accordyng to hys excellent dygnyte, so ther [is] a certayn vertue and honesty consequently annexyd to the same law, wych by the powar of nature only, 545 and no thyng by the opynyon of man, ys so stablyd and set, that al be hyt, that al men by yl educatyon corrupt, wold consent and agre to a contrary ordur, yet were that law, that vertue and honesty, of no les powar, 549 strength, nor authoryte. And lyke as to thys law of nature ys consequently *annexyd thys natural vertue and honesty,—wych in euery place and tyme ys of equal powar,—so ther ys to law cyuyle, and the obseruatyon therof, couplyd also a certayn vertue and honesty, wych lyke to the law only remenyth in the opynyon of man and hath hys strenght and powar therof. For though
hzt be so that, to be obedient to the lawes cyuyle, so long as they be not contrary to the law of God nor of nature, ys euery vertue and honesty; yet to thys law or that law, al men are not bounden, but only such as receyue them, and be vnder the domynyon of them, wych haue authoryte of makynge therof. As to absteyn from flesch apon the Fryday, wyth vs hzt ys now reputyd a certayn vertue, wyth the Turkys no thyng so; prestys to lyue chast, wyth vs hzt ys a certayn vertue and honesty, wyth the Grekys hzt ys no thyng so; to mary but one wyfe, wyth vs hzt ys a certayn vertue also, wyth other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, and Sarasyns, hzt ys no thyng so. And thus in infynyte other hzt ys euylent to se, how that to be obedient to the lawys in euery cuntrey hzt ys a certayn vertue, but of that sort wych hath hys strenght and powar holly of the opynyon and consent of man. And so thys ys truth as now you may see, that vertue and honesty partely stondyth by nature and partely by the opynyon of man; wherby now you may perceyue the pestylent persyasion of them wych say and affyrme betwyx vs vertue or vertue *no dyfference to be, but only strong opynyon and fancy; they wold bryng al to confusyon, and leve no ordur by nature certayn. But the veray cause of theyrl error ys arrogant blyndnes; they thynke themselfe to be of such hye pollycy that no man may see so fer as they, and in- deed they see les then other. Such haue only a lytly smatering in gud lernyng and hye phyllosophye; they comprehend not the hole ordur of nature; they conceive not the excellent dygnyte of man; the[y] depely consydur not the maner of lyuynge accordyng to the same, by the reson wherof they can not dyscerne the powar of thys natural law; they can not see thys hye vertue and honesty couplyd therto. But bycause man, yf he be brough[t] vp in corrupt opynyon, hath no perceyuenace of thys natural law, but suffryth hzt by necligence to be opin. [Page 4:]

Civil laws only binding on those who receive them.

To be obedient to the lawes is a virtue.

So you see virtue stands by nature and opinion.

[* Page 4:]

He proceeds to show,

secondly, the cause of their error who say

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

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

(9.) And thus now, Mastur Pole, you haue hard schortly, aftur myn opynyon, the cause of such errors, therby some are dryuen to juge al vyce and vertue only to consiste in the opynyon of man, wych ys arrogant blyndnes, no thyng consydering the dygnyte of man, nor the lyfe according to the same; but of hys actys mesuryng hys dygnyte, affyrme playnly, that seyng so commynly he folowyth vyce, that, by nature, vertue ther ys non, but that only men conspyre by consent to cal vertue that which indecle ys non. Wych ys much lyke to say, as yf al men wold by consent, agree, 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 thyngs, 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 consydr not the fraylty of man, wych seyng the best folowyth the worst, ouer comme by sensual plesure; they consydr not the neaulgyence of man, wych suffiryth hys sedys, by nature instincte, by wordly occasyonyys to be ouer run; they consydr not the blyndenes of man, wych by yl educatyyn 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 erreure. And so now of thyss to make answere to your dowte, Master Pole, me semyth no thyng hard at al; for though hyt be so that the Turke, Sarasyyn, Jue, and Chrystun man, and other dyuerse sectys and natyon[ys], dyssent and dyscore in the maner of pollycy, euery one jugyng hys owne to be best, yet in al such thyng as perteynith by *nature to the
dygnyte of man and maner of lyuyng accordance to the
same, they consent and agre, wythout any dyscord or
dyuersyte. Al juge God aboue al to be honowryd as
gouernour and rular of thys world; al juge one bound to
ayd and succur a nother; al juge hyt to be connuuenynt
to lyue togyyddur in poltykke lyfe. So that in the law
and rule by nature connuuenynt to the dygnyte of man,
and in al vertue and honesty annexyd to the same, surely
they agre. Wherfor, al be hyt the[y] dyssent in theyr
cyuyle ordynancce and poltykke mean of the observancce
of thys commyn law, yet hyt ys not to be dowtyd but
the cyuyle lyfe ys a poltykke ordur of men conspyryng
togyddur in vertue and honesty, of such sort as by na-
ture ys connuuenynt to the dygnyte of man. And as
touchyng the dyscord in the partycular mean of kepyng
thes lawys, plantyd by nature, as some men thynke of
hye wysdome and lernyng, hyt gretely forsyth not at al;
for how dyuercse so euery they cyuyle lawys be, and
varyabul in euery secte and cuntre, yet so long as
man ordryd therby layllyth not from the ground and
eryth not from the end, but kepyth thys natural law,
insewth the vertue annexyd to the same, he then
folowyth the poltykke ordur, and kepyth gud cyuylyte.
In so much that the Jue, Sarasyn, Turke, and More, so
long as they observe theyr cyuyle ordynancce and statutys,
denysyd by theyr old fatherys in euery secte, dyrectyng them to the lawe theyr; so long, I say, ther
be men wych ernystely affyrme them to lyue wel, and
euery one in hys secte to be sauyd, and non to perysch
viturly; 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 nearer, perauentur, hard of the lawe of Chryst.
Wherfor, so long as they lyue aftur the lawe of nature,
observeyng also theyr cyuyle ordynancce, as mean to bryng
them to the end of the same, they schal not be damnyd.

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

However diverse
civil lawes may be,
yet the people which keep them,

and strive to
live up to the
law of nature,

[⁎ Page 38.]
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-

669 ances be agreabul to the law of nature, seying they are al layd by Chryst hymselfe and by hys Holy Spryte. We are sure they schal bryng vs to our saluatyon if we gyne perfayt fayth and sure trust to the promys of God in them to vs made. Thys to vs faythful and Chrystun

674 men ys no dowte. Therfor how other sectys schal dow, to what perfectyon so ever 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 dygnyte of the nature of man. Of thys thyng we are by fayth confyrmyd, more sure, more certayne, then of thos thyngys wych we se, fele, or her, or by any sens may perceyue. Wherfor, Mastur Pole, let thys dyuersyte of sectys and lawys no thyng trowbul vs at al, wych, per-

680 anentur of necesyte, folowyth the nature of man, non other wyse then the dyuersyte of language and tong.

687 For lyke as man naturally ys borne to speke and expresse the conceyte of mynd one to a nother, and yet to no partycular language they are borne, so to folow the law of nature al men are borne, al natyonys by nature are inclynyd therto; and yet to no partycular mean by cyuyle ordynance deered they are nother bounden nor borne. Therfor, notwythstandyng thys dyuersyte of sectys and lawys, we may yet ryght wel affyrme the dyffynutyon of the cyuyle lyfe before sayd to be ryght gud and resonabul, wych ys a polytyke ordur of a multytude conspyryng togyddur in vertue and honesty, to the wych man by nature ys ordenyd. Thys ys the end of manys lyfe; to thys euer 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 reson 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 dede I dowtyd no thyng of thys mater, that you so ernystely moue me vnto, yet hyt hath plesyd me wel to here you, wyth such phylosophycal resonys out of nature drawne, confyrme the same, so manystely and clerly declaryng hyt, that no man may dowte therof. For yf hyt be a gud thyng to helpe one, hyt ys vndowtydly much bettur to helpe many, ye and best of al to helpe a hole cuntrey; in so much that man so dowyng neryst approchyth to the nature of God, who therby ys most perceyyuyd to be God, that he commynycatyth 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 settyng forward of the commyn wele, every man ought to study to helpe hys cuntrey. Yet ther ys a nother thyng to be consyderdy, wych hath causyd many grete, wyse, and polytyke 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 temptyd of wyse men, wych ryght wel perceyue theyr labur to be spent in vayn; as in tyme of tyranny, or in such place where they that rule are bent only to theyr pryuate wele. What thynke

[Page 50.]

He again urges Pole to affairs of state.

P. owes the force of the reasoning, and says how good it is to help a whole country;

but there is another matter to be considered.

[Page 51.]

Sometimes this is not to be attempted, as when tyranny and selfishnes prevail.
you among such the conseyl of a wyse man schold avayle? Wythout dowte hyt schold be laughyd at, and no thyng at al hyt schold be regardyd, no more then a tale tollyd among deffe men. Wherfor hyt semyth not wythout cause they euer absteynyd, in such tyme and place, from medelyng wyth materys of the commyn wele; they see exampullys of many and dyuerse, wych wythout profyt had attemptyd the same, and no thyng got, but only that some of them therfor were put in exyle and bannyschyd from theyr cuntrey; some put in pryson and myserably handlyd; and some to cruel and schameful deth. Hyt ys therfor no smal dyffere?ice in what tynie and place a wyse maw ys borne, and in what tyme he attempt to hawdyl materys of the commyn piato and Tuiiy, wele. Yf Plato had found in Cycyle a nobul pry??ce at wraw hive', slcon tyme as he ca?« thyder for the deuysyng of lawys, succeeded better k en showyd grettur frutys of hys wysedome. 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 cruell a tyran, * but in the tyme of Traiane, so nobul a prynee, hys vertue schold haue byn otherwyse extnymyd, 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 beams. Wherfor they wych, wythout regard of tyme or place, wyl sett themselfe to handyl materys of the commyn wele, may wel be comparyd to them wych in grete tem-pest wyl commyt themselfe to the daungerys of the see, or wythout wynd wyl set vp the sayle. Plutarch comparyth them to such as, being them selfe in dry house, seing ther felowys delyte in the rayne, and wyllrynง 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 felowys. So they wych, wythout
regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys and cons-
sely of pryneyes, were they here euery man speke of the
commyn wele, euery man hath that oft in his mouth, that,
ynder the pretense and colour therof, they may the better
procure theyr owne, some be corrupt wyth lyke opynyony, 
some draw lyke affects. For as hyt ys commynly sayd, 
and hyt ys dayly to be among thefys and be not a 
thefe. Euery man for the most parte ys lyke to them 
wyth whome he ys conversant. Wherfor to attempt the
handelyng of the materys of the commyn wele, wythout
regard other of tyme or place, no thynge opaynyng, but
only to be corrupt wyth lyke opynyony as they be 
wyth meddyl therwyth, me semyth grete madnes and 
foly. *And so al be hyt therfor, Master Lvpset,1 that
to meddyl wyth materys of the commyn wele, and 
profyt your cuntrey, be in dede of al thynge 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.1—Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng the
respecte both of tyme and of place, I thynke hyt ys 
some thynge to be consyderyd; and no dowte thos men,
wych be of grete wysdome and hye pollycey, 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 ambycyouse affectyon set apert, 
only procure the true commyn wele; and, as Plato 
sayth, thos cuntreys be also happy wych haue such 
gouernyrys 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 poynyt of wysdome to stond 
therin; and so naroly and so curyously 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.
SOME MEN REGARD TIME AND PLACE

and so have allowed their country to perish.

807 commyn wele, in such expectatyon they spend their lyfe, as they thinke wyth grete polytyke wysdome, but in dede wyth grete frantyke foly. For of thys I am sure, that suche exacte consyderynge of tyme hathe causyd many commyn welys vtturly to perysch; hyt hath causyd in many placys much tyranny, wych myght haue byn amened, yf wyse men, in tyme and in place, wold haue bent themselfe to that purpos, leuyng such fon respecte of tyme and of place. But, Master Pole, what so ever regard be of wyse men * to be had other it is certayn, that now, in now is our time, while we haue so our tyme, when we haue so nobul a pryzce, whome we are sure no thynge to haue so prytyned in hys brest as the cure of hys commyn wele, both day and nyght remembrnyng the same, we schold haue no such respecte. For thys I dare affyrme, ther was neuer pryuce reynyng in thys realme wych had more feuryst loue to the welth of hys subectys then hath he; ther was neuer kyng in any countray wych bare grettur zele to the admynyratyon of justyce and setting forth of equyte and ryght then doth he; aftur he ys therof informyd and surely instructe by hys wyse conseylyrs and poltyke men. Therfor, as I sayd, lyke as ther ys some respecte to be had of tyme for the abstenyng from the intrety of materys of the commyn wele, so ther ys much more of takyng the tyme when hyt ys, and takyng occasiony when hyt offryth hyt selfe. Wherfor, Master Pole, as you now see, cheffely to be regardyd as the end of al manys studys and carys, the welth of the commynalty, so now also vs your tyme, vnder so nobul a prynce, to the mayntenance and setting forward of the same. Let not occasiony slyppe; suffyr not your tyme vaynly to pas, wych, wythout recouery, fleth away; for as they say, occasiony and tyme wyl neuer be restoryd agayne. Therfor, as I haue sayd to you before, wythout any mo steppys, bend your selle to that to the wych

[* Page 54.]

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

and it is our duty to embrace it,

or it may be lost for ever.
you are borne; loke to that wych, aboue al, ys your 843 offyce and duty.

12. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you haue bounde me now; I haue no refuge ferther to fle. Wherfor, I promys you I schal neuer pretermyt occasyon nor tyme of helpyng *my cuntrey, but euer, as they offer them-selfe, I schalbe redy to my powar euer to apply and indeuour my selfe to the mayntenance and settyng forward of the true commyn wele. And now, bycause, as you ryght wel and truly haue sayd, we haue so nobul a pryttce, wych, when he knowyth the best, he sted-fastely wyl folow hyt, euer desyrouse of hys commyn wele; that I may be in the mater more rype when so euer occasyon schal requyre, I schal now at thys lesor, and here, in thys solutyary place, some thyng wyth you, Master Lvpset, deuyse, touchyng the ordur of our cuntrey and commyn wele, to the wych purpos also, me semyth, the tyme exhortyth vs, seyng that now our most nobul prynce hath assemblyd hys parlyament and most wyse conseyl, for the reformatyon of thys hys commyn wele.

13. Lvpset.—Mary, Syr, thys purpos ys maruelus 864 gud, and veray mete and conuenyent for the tyme; and glad I am that I put you in remembraunce herof. Therfor I pray you now exercyse your selfe therin, that you may be more redy to schow your mynd openly and in such place where as I trust heraftur hyt schal bryng forth some frute.

14. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, yf you lyke hyt wel, aftur thys maner we schal deuyse, bycause every man spekyth so much of the commyn wele, and many more, I sere 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 55.]

P. says he cannot deny this, and he will talk over the matter at once.

 [* Page 56.]
what is the true commonwealth: [hyt] stondyth, and when hyt most floryschyth, that we may, hauyng thyss playny set before our yes, al our conseyllys to thyss poynu euer resolue and referre. Second, we wyl serch out therby the dekey of our commyn wele, wyth al the commyn fauts and mysordurys of the same. Thyrdly, we wyl deuyse of the cause of thyss same dekey, and of the remedy and mean to restore the commyn wele agayne. And thyss schalbe the processe of our communycatyon.

15. Lvpset.¹—Syr, thyss processe lykyth me wel; but here of one thyng, I pray you, take hede, that in thyss your deuyse of your communycatyon you folow not the examplu of Plato, whose ordur of commyn wele no pepul apop erth to thyss daye coud euer yet attayn. Therfor hyt ys reputyd of many men but as a dreme and vayne imygynatyon, wych neuer can be brought to effect; and of some other hyt ys comparyd to the Stoyke phylosophar, who neuer apperyd yet to the lyght, such vertue and wysdome ys attrybutyd to hym, that in no mortal man hyt can be found. Therfor loke you to the nature of oure cuntrey, to the maner of our pepul, not wythout respect both of tyme and of place, that your deuyse hereafter, by the helpe of our most nobul prync, 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 hyt ys late and tyme to suppe, we wyl dyffer the begynnyng of our communycatyon tyl to morow in the mornyng.

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

¹ MS. Le.
[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 your dylygence you may them supply; and cesse not to dowte as you hane 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 enseryng of the truthe conteynyd in the same, yet the grete frute and profyte wych may ryse and yssue of the same may somewhat encourge 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 neclete 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 hane hyt fyxyd in theyr hartyes; 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 wylyng 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 thyng of Socrates semyth to me somewhat straunge, to say that al spryngyth of ignorance, as of the ground of al vyce. Therfor,

[* Page 57.*]

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

[* Page 58.*]
ON WHAT DO VIRTUE

32 befor that we passe any further, let vs a lytyl examyn thys, for as much as you sene to take hyt as a sure ground. Communely hyt ys sayl, and me semyth every man felyth hyt in hym selfe, that thos wych be yl know they dow nought; and yet, by plesure overcome, the[y] folow the same, contrary to theyr owne conscience and knolege. Every man knowyth, as hyt apperyth to me, they schold folow vertue, and yet you see how they folow the contrary; every man knowyth, as I thinke, they schold abone al regard the commyn welth, and yet every man sekyth hys owne profyt. Wherfor hyt apperyth to me we schold attribyute al fauty, al vyce, rather to malyce then to ignorance. Besyde thys, how schal we defend the lyberty of our wyl, yf we be thyss lade[n] wyth ignorance? Frewyl can

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

3. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, thys thynge wych you now bryng in questyon, mouyd of the begynnyng 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 thinke thys dyscord that apperyth ys but in wordlys only, and no thyng in dede, as hyt ys in many thyngys mo, wherin they seme
gretely to dyssent; for the declaratyon wherof, now in thys purpos *you schal vnderstond, that aftur the sentence of Arystotyl, the mynd of man fyrst of hyt selfe ys as a clene and pure tabul, wherin ys no thyng payntyd or carvyd, but of hyt selfe apt and indyfferent

52 to receyve al manner of pycturyys and image. So manys mynd hath fyrst no knolege of truth, nor fyrst hath no manner of wyl wherby hyt ys more drawne to gud then to yl; but aftur, as oppynyon and sure persuasyon of gud

37 Faults should be attributed to malyce rather than to ignorance.

47 This seems to be a controversy between Aristotle and Plato,

but it is one of words only.

[* Page 50.]

Man's mind at first is a clean tablet,

1 MS. arystotytyl
and 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 persuadyd that gud ys yl, and yl gud, then euer the wyl chesyth the yl, and leuyth the gud, accordyng as sche, by opynyon, ys instructyd. And yf the opynyon be strong, and confyrmyd wyth ryght reson, and wyth ryght jugement, then sche folowyth euer that wych ys gud; lyke as, contrary, when the opynyon ys waureyngh and not groundly set, then sche, overcometh and blyndyd by pleure, or some other inordynat affecte, folowyth the yl; so that other out of sure and certayn knolege, or lyght and waureyngh opynyon, al the inclynatyon 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 waureyngh opynyonys, wych wyth every lyght contrary persuasyon wolde vanysch away, then the mynd schold be lightly overcometh and shortly blyndyd wyth the vayne colour of truth. Thys waureyngh opynyon in mannys mynd, and thys blyndenes wyth inordynate affectys, he callyd in dede ignoranse, the wych he euer notyd to be the fountayn of al yl and vycyous affect reynyng in mannys mynd. Arystotyl, more conformyng hymselfe to the commune jugement of man, sayd that they wych had thys opynyon of gud, be hyt neuer so lyght, waureyngh, and vnstabul, yet some knolege hyt left in mannys mynd, by the reson wherof, aftur the commyn opynyon of euer man, yechone in hym selfe, when he doth nough[t], felyth a gruge in conscience and repugnance in mynd. Wherfor he says that they wych be yl haue knolege therof and yet folow the same. But Plato callyth that same waureyngh knolege, and lyght persuasyon which receives impressions afterwards.

If the opinion be strong, it follows the good; if weak the ill.

Wherforhe says that they who have this opinion of good feel a "grudge" in conscience when they do wrong.
suasyon, certayn blyndnes and playn ignorance, inso-
much as hyt ys but vayne and lyght opynyon, and some
corrupt wyth the contrary persuasyon of yl. So that in
the thyng ther ys no controuersy betwyx them, but
only in wordys, for bycause that thyng wych one
callyth lyght knolege, and but a waeweryng opynyon,
the other callyth ignorance, specyally when hyt ys
ouercome wyth the contrary persuasyon, as hyt ys in al
them wych know the gud and folow the yl. *They
haue repugnance and dyuersyte of opynyonyys, but the
one ouercumyth the other, and that wych ouercommyth
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If man had sure
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good,
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 fountain, sprynghyt 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 resyn, and so reyn ther, that hard hyt ys to pluke out thys pestylent persuasyon, wych ys the cause of al errorys in manmys lyfe. Thys ys the cause of the destrucyon of al commyn velys, when euery man, blyndyd other by plesure or profyte, consydurynth not the perfectyon of man nor the excellency of hys owne nature, but wyth ignorance blyndyd and by corrupt jugement, leuth the best and takyth the worst. Wherfor we may wel say that thys ignorance, as Socrates sayd oft, ys the fountain of al yl, vyce, and mystery, as wel in euery priuate manmys 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 blamyd as commynly they be; for the[y] dow as they know, and yf they knew the bettur, they wold also gladly folow the same, and then, as hyt apperyth, they be vniustely punyschyd in al pollycys.

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

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

We must conclude that ignorance is the cause of all vice.
For yf he wold other here counseyl of wyse and prudent men, or suffur not by neclygence the sedys of nature plantyd in hys mynd to be oppressyd wyth vayn opyny-
yon, he schold not be so led by ignorance and foly, 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 blaniyd, nor in no case, by thys ignorance, may iustely be excusyd.  

6. Lvpset.—Wel, then, let vs now, I pray you, re- 
torne to our purpos, that we may the bettur (and ether1 also, avoyd thys ignorance,—the fountayn of al yl) serch out what ys the true commyn wele. For, in dede, I thynke thys now to be truth, that yf 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. Pole.—Thys thynge ys, and ener hath byn, ye, and I dare boldly affyrme ener schalbe, the destructyon of al true commyn welys, and so, consequently, the de-
structyon also of them wych so blyndly extyme so much theyr owne profyte and plesure, as we schal see more playnly heraftur. But now to our purpos. Aftur the mynd of the antyent and most wyse phylosophar Arystotyl, in the very same thynge wherein stondyth the welthe and prosperouse state of euery partycular man by hym selfe, restyth also euery cyte or cuntrey, the vera
ey and true commyn welth; the wyth thynge ys to al men by commyn reson euydent, for as much as the welth and substance ener of the hole rysyth of the welth of euery partycular parte. Wherfor, yf we can fyrst fynd out that thynge wych ys the welth of euery part-
ycular man, we schal then consequently fynd out also what thynge hyt ys that in any cyte or cuntrey we cal the vera
ey 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 destrucyton of euery commyn wel, now by thys reson and ground schold maynteyn the same.

9. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset, not so; for thes ij thyngys agre very well. Ouermuch regard of pryuat and partycular wele euere 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 mead one, yf euery man wold cure one, as he schold dow, we schold have 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 blyndynes and ouersyght growne in to many menny mysynys by the inordynate loue of themselfe; lyke as physycyonys now be necessary in cytes and townys, seing that men commynly gyue themselfe to such inordynat dyat, wheras, yf men wold gouerne themselfe soburly by temperat dyat, then physycyonys were not to be requyrd of necessyte in no commyn welth nor pollycy. And so, I say, yf euery man wold gouerne on wel, no-thing 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 partycular wele of euery priuate man, that we may, as I sayd, therby come to our purpos. And for bycause

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

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 requyréd to the wele of
every man, wych sondurly to rehearse were ouerlong and
no thyng necessary, therfor iij thyngys general I note
now to be spoken of, by the wych hyt schal be esy to
vnderstond the rest:—And fyrrst 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 faithfull frendys; neuer so grete dygnyte
and authoryte in hys cuntrey; yet, yf he lake helth, al
thos thyngys to hym lytlyl dow profyt, of them he
takyth lytlyl pleasure, no thyng erthly to hym wythout
helth can be plesaunt or delectabul. For yf he be
trowblyd wyth any greunu 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 vnprofytab-
bul to hys cuntrey, and can to no man dow gud, for he
ys therby exclusudyd also from the vse and tward exercyse
almost of al vertue, by the wych hyt ys communyd
to the profyt of other. And thought hyt be so that man
by sykenes and bodly insfrmyyte be not vtturly excl-
cludyd from hys gud purposys and vertues intentys,
wyche God, that only lokyth in to the hartys of man,
no les extymyth then the tward dedys, yet the vt-
ward dedys and exercyse of vertue undowyldly makyth
hyt more commendabul, plesaunt, and profytabul, both
to hymselfe and to the world; and, at the lest, no les
pleaunt to God, whose gudnes man doth folow, when
as much [as] he can by tward dedys he communyth hys
vertue to the profyt of other. Wherfor hyt apperyth
that we may justely affyrme bodlyly helth to be the
ground and foundatyon of the wele of man, to the
wych also must be couplyd, of necessyte, strenghth and
beuty. For yf a man for the tyme haue neuer so gud
helth, yet if he have not strength to maynteyne the same, hyt wyl some vanysch away, leuyng thys ground weke and vnstabul; therfor strength must be joynyd, and beuty also. For if the body have neuer so gud helth, and conueneynt powar and strength for the mayntenance of the same, yet if hyt be deformyd, if the partys be not propropy[0]nabul, one agreyng to another, accordyng to the ordur of nature, they be not so acceptabul nor plesaunt, nor the body hath not hys perfayt state and vertue. Also, aftur the sentence of the most wyse poete, yn a gudly body ys more [that ys] commendabul, plesant, and acceptabul. Wherfor, to the perfayt state of the body, and veray wele therof, they must run al iij joynetyl togydur—both helth, strength, and beuty, to the wych al other vertues of the body, as to the prynevpallys and chefe, lyghtly ensue. And so in thes bodyly vertues and natural powarys, stondyth the fyrst poynt requyryd to the wele of euer partycular man, aftur my mynd, except *you hane any thyng to say contrary to thys.

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

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

\[^1\] 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
chydur 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 abundance of thes wordly goodys be not
requyryd necessarly to the wele of man, but rather be
the destructyon therof, yet hyt ys manyfest that the
lake of necessarys, for nuryschyng and clothyng of the
body, ys the sure and certayn cause of infynyte myserys
and manysfold wreichynes. *Lyke as the commenyent
abundaunce of the same, yf they be wel vsyd, ys the
occasion of puttyng in exercyse many honest and
vertuse affectys of mawns mynd, wych 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 bodily syknes and infyrmyte. Therfor
we may now of thys ryght wel perceyue, that thes ex-
teryor and wordly thyngys in commenyent abundaunce
are not wythout cause, in the second place, requyryd
to the wele of enery partycidar man, as such thyngys
wythout whome no man can haue hys most prosperouse
state.

(11.) The thryd poiyn now remeynyth, wych al be
hyt of hyt selfe hyt ys most pryncypal and chefe, as to
the wych they other are to be referryd, yet hyt ys lest
regardyd and lest had in mynd. That ys, the natural
honesty and vertue of the mynd. For commynly hyt ys
seen that yf a man haue heith and ryches, [he] ys then of
al men jugyd happy and fortunaue, 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
vertues and powarys of ther body, and al other ryches and wordly tresore, as thos thynys wych be chefeely and aboue al other to be extymyd and regardyd. And thought hyt be so that man, by corrupt jugement, 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 euynys and playn wych be not yet blyndyd wyth in-orlynat afectys, and have not lost the ryght jugement of thynys, wych ys the cause of al errorys and mys-cheefys that commynly happynyth in mazzyns lyfe. For what avaylyth to have helth, bently, and strenght of body, to hym wych can not vse them to the end by nature and reson appoyntyd? What avaylyth hyt to haue ryches, tresore, and al wordly abundance, to hym wych can not by wysdome vse them to hys owne welth and to the profyt of other? Wythout fayle, no thynyng.

We see dayly in commyn experyence (we nede not to seke for reson or examypul to proue and confyrme hyt) that ryches, authoryte, and wordly abundaunce, to them whych can not vse them, be playn destructyon. Wherfore they, of themselyfs, be not to be extymyd but in ordur to vertue. Helth ys not to be extymyd to thys in-tent, that therby wyth more lyberty and plesure you may haue the vse of al vayn joys and past-tyms wordly; but to thys end and purpos only, that by your helth of body you may more comuenently vse al honest and vertuese exercyse of the mynd, both to the commodyte of yourselfe and also of your freuyls and coun-try. Aftur thys maner helth ys to be extymyd as the ground and fundatyon, accordyng, as I sayd befor, of the wele and prosperouse state of evey man. Lykewyse, ryches and wordly abundance ys not to be regardyd to thys intent, that man therby may haue *the vse of vayn and transytoyral plesures, but only to thys purpos, that by them he may fyrst satysfy hys owne necesyte, and But the truth is, the virtues of the mind excel all virtues and powers of the body as much as the soul surpasses the body.

357

[* Page 60.]

361

Of what avail are health, beauty, strength, riches, and to a man who cannot use them?

368

Riches to those who cannot use them are destruction.

374

Riches and abundance are to satisfy boely wants.

383

Health is to be studied for the mind’s sake, and for the good of your friends and your country.
RICHES ALONE CANNOT PROFIT;

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

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

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

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

so after succur and helpe them wych haue nede and be in myster. Aftur thys maner also they are to be extymyd, euer referrynge them to vertue as to theyr end and purpose they are to be desyryd, and as the chefe poynt of the felcyte, wele, and prosperouse state of man, wythout the wych they other no thyng avayle, other be the destructyon of man. For vertue only hyt ys that schowyth vs the ryght vse and streght, both of helth, strenght, and beuty, of ryches, and of al other worldly abundance; and transytorie vertue hyt ys that techyth vs al honest behauyour bothe toward God and man. As, by exampl, relygiously to honower and worschype God, as Maker, Gouernor, and Rular of thys word, and brotherly to loue every man iche other, wyth al ryghtwyse and just delyng therby; but rather hurt, dammage, and utter destruction. 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 prosperity therof, yet, yf hys mynd were not ryghtly set wyth relygyouse *honour toward God, and wyth honest and just behauyour toward man, al that schold no thyng avayle, no thyng profyte. So that thys ys now certayn, that they ij fyrst poyntys, wythout thys thryd coupleyd therto, rather hyndur and hurt, then ayd and set forth, the wele and prosperouse state of every private...
man; but when they al be joynyd togyddur,—helth, strength, and beauty of body; ryches and abundance of such worldly godys as be necessary to the mayntenance of the state of man; vertue of the mynd schowyng the streygh[t] vse of the same; wyth al honest and dew behauyour bothe toward God and man,—then surely that man, who so euer he be, hath hye welth and most prosperouse state and felycyte, conuenyent to the nature of man and to his dygnyte. And so thus, Master Lvpset, now I thynke you se wherin stondyth the wele of euery partycular man; out of the wych we must now seke out and enscher the veray true commyn wele, seyyng that we haue therby thus found the best mean, and, as hyt apperyth to me, the ryghtyst way therto.

12. Lvpset.—Syr, you say wel. How be hyt, bycause thys ys the ground, as me senyth, of the rest of our communyctyon, I wyl not let hyt pas vsnyr, for as much as hyt apperyth yet to me some thynge strange. For yf hyt be thus as you conclude, that the wele and felycyte of euery partycular man restyth in thos ijj poynys, wych you haue declaryd couplyd togyddur, then few ther be that haue wele, few wych be in prosperous state and felycyte; the most parte of mankynd ys excluyd from hyt. For by thys reson, yf a man be fallen *in to any grete sykynes or febulnes of body, or by any inuyry of fortune be cast in to grete pouerty; or yf hys chyldur or frenys haue any myschaunce, then—be he neuer so vertuse, honest, and gud; be he as per-fayt as euer was Sayn Poule—yet he ys not in wele nor in prosperous state and felycyte; wych ys contrary to the opynyon of many grete wyse men, wych euer haue gwyn thys powar to vertue, that hyt doth not only kepe man from mysery, but hyt doth also set hym in hye felycyte. In so much that yf man were fallen in to neuer so grete syknes or pouerty, or otherwise trowblyd by the stormys

MS. L. says, You say well, but it seems strange. If the weal of every man consists in these three points, then but few have it.

[* Page 72.]

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

1 MS. L.e.
of fortune in aduersyte, 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-fortyng hymselfe wyth vertuuse purposys; so long, I say, hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele and fely-
cyte. To thys, me semyth, agreth al the doctrine of our Master Chryst, wych callyth them blessyd wych be euer in wordly aduersyte, patyently suffryng for Hys sake; and, contrary, thos wych be in wordly prosperity, he notyth to be myserabul and wrechyd. Of thys al Scryptrute ys ful. Hyt nedyth not to bryng in any p«r-
tycular place for the testymony therof, seyng that al sownyth therto. Al Chrystys dyseypullys and apostyllys were sympl and pore, hauyng no wordly prosperity; and yet I thynke you wyl not say that they were in *mstery, but, contrary, that they were in hye felycyte. Wherfor hyt apperyth that your iij poyntrys couplyd to-
gyddur are not requyryd of nesseyye to the wele of every partycular man; specyally consyderynge that, by that mean, the most parte of mankynd schold be excludyd from theyr wele and felycyte, wych can not attayn to wordly ryches and hye phylosophy. 13. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, you euer bryng in some regyd knottys in communycatyon. But yet by-
cause they be somewhat to our purpos, we schal not let them slype vtturly vnexamynyd. And, fyrst, you schal vnderstoned, 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 felycyte 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. suffryng.
conuenyent to say that so long man hath the hys hye felcyete and wele as the soule was instructe wyth such vertues as be accordyng to hyr dygnyte; notwyth-standyng that the body were trowblyd wyth syknes, pouerty, and al other callyd wordly adversyte, wych no thynge touchyd the nature of the soule; and so by theyr opynyon vertue had euere couplyd wyth hyr hye *felcyete. Other ther wer, more aghreyng to the commyn reson of man, wych sayd that man ys not only the soule

in so much that he ys made of hyt, but as one chefe and pryncypal parte, but a certayn nature wych rysyth of the vnyon and coniunctyon of the body and soule togyddur. Wherfor to them hyt was conuenyent to say that the wele of maw restyth, not only in the mynd and the vertues therof, but in the body also, and in the prosperouse state of the same; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys veray truth, yf we loke to the most perfayt state that man may haue. For though hyt be so that vertue euere defendyth mannys mynd from mysery, and euere hath joynyd therto felcyete, yet, me semyth, hyt ys not in the most perfayt state, hyt ys not in the hyest degre, except therto be couplyd wordly prosperyte. For thys ys certayn, that the mynd of man then more floryschyth, more reioycyth, and hath more wele, when frely, wythout any impedymynt, other of body or injury 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 felcyete; yet, aftur myn opynyon, for as much as the body ys one parte of man, he hath euere most hye felcyete nor most perfayt state in the hyest degre, except the body wyth the mynd florysch also wyth hys vertues and al thynghys neces-
530 state al thes thyngys joyntly are requyryd; albehyt hyt ys no thyng to be dowtyd but that man, stablyd and con-
yfyrmyd wyth perfayt and sure hope, may ryght wel attayne, in the lyfe to come, to the most hye felcyte, 
thoughe he be here尤为重要 wyth al wyrdly aduersyte, 
wherof by foly and neclygence he hymselfe ys not the cause; but yf he patyently suffyr hyt for the loue of 
537 God, hyt ys as a mean to the attaynyng therof. And 
lyke wyse wordly felcyte and prosperouse state in thys 
lyfe present, excludyth not man from the most hye fel-
cyte of the lyfe to come, but rather, yf he vse hyt wel, 
541 hyt ys also a mean wherby he the bettur may attayne 
to the same. But forbycause wordly prosperyte ys so 
ful of manyfold peryllys and daungerys, by the wych a 
neclygent mynd ys sone oppressyd, and, as hyt ys com-
mynly sayd, hard hyt ys to haue heuyn here and els-
were; therfor few ther be, and few euer haue byn found, 
wych wel to that end coude vse thys wordly prosperyte, 
in so much that hyt ys of many wyse men jugyd much 
harder to be wel to vse wordly prosperyte, then pa-
cyently to suffyr and bere al wordly aduersyte. For the 
wych cause *I thynke our Mastyr Chryst chose, for the 
most parte, hys dyscypullys of that sort wych were 
tossyd in wordly aduersyte, and few of them wych in-
yyod wordly prosperyte; schowyng vs how hard hyt 
was to vse that wel, and coupul thereto hys celestyal 
and heuynly doctryne. Therfor he sayth that nother they 
wych haue theyr hartys fyxyd in the loue of ryches of 
wyth world nother they wych haue theyr myndys 
downyd in the vayn plesurys of thys lyfe, may attayne 
to the plesure and felcyte of the kyngdome of heuyn 
and lyfe to come. But yet, as I sayd, he excludyth not 
them wych euer bere theyr myndys vpryght in the 
streyght vse of the same. And, forbycause the thyng ys 
of so grete hardnes and dyfficulty, few you schal fynd 
565 in al Holy Seruery, wych wel dyd vse thys wordly
prosperyte; for the wych purpos, as I thynke, many men of gret wysedome and vertue flye from hyt, settynge themselfe in relygyouse housys, ther quyetyl to serve God and kepe theyr myndys vpryght 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 ouerthrowne, wyth thes comune and quyat plesurys of the world, by whome they see the most parte of munkyd drownyd and ouer-comyn. How be hyt, me semyth, they dow lyke to fere-but they are ful sckypmen, wych, for drede of stormys and trowblus who, for dread sees, kepe themselfe in the hauen, and dare not coranyt e e to the daungerouse tempestys of the same. But, lyke as he that, in *gret tempest and trowblus tyme, gouernyth wel hys schype and conuehyth hyt at the last to the hauen and place appoyntyd of hys course, ys callyd a gud and experte maryner, and much more prayse-worthy, then he wych, for fere and drey kepvyth hymselfe in the hauen styl; so he wych in daungerouse prosperity, so ful of so many occasyonyss of errorys and dowyng amys, gouernyth hys mynd wel, and kepvyth hyt vpryght, ys justely to be callyd most perfayt and wyse man; ye, and much more deseryth and of more prayse ys worthy then he wych, for fere of the same daungerys, runnyth in to a relygyouse house, ther as in a hauyn quyetly to rest, wythout so much trowbul and dysquyetnes. Thys I say, bycause you schal not thynke that such as lyue in prosperous state of thys lyfe present are therby excludyd from the felycyte of the lyfe to come; but rather when prosperity ys wel vsyd, hyt ys a mean to set munkys mynd in that state, wherby he schal attayne hyar felycyte.

(13.) And so now to retorne to your dowte, Master Lyset, 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...
602 suffrance of the same, in the lyfe hereafter attayne to the most hye felcyte, yet, seyng that by no worldly prosperity 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 worldly prosperity. And, albehyt that few ther be wych attayne thereto, yet bycause hyt ys conuenyent to the dygnyte of man, and some ther be wych attayne thereto, the thyng 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 felycyte, though al men can not attayne to the hyest degre thereof. And if we regard so, yf we haue regard of the soule only, callying hyt, aftur the mynd of Plato, the veray mare, wherof the body ys but as a pryson; and yf we also haue regard only of the lyfe to come, despysyng, aftur the doctryne of Chryst, the vayne plesurys of thys present lyfe; man may, even in adversity, attain felicity; but if we regard the body also, saying with Arystotyl, that man ys the vnyon and conjunction togyddur of them both; and yf we haue regard also, not only of the lyfe to come, but also of the lyfe present; then hyt ys true that I say, that felcyte in the hyest degre ys not wythout worldly prosperity. Thus, Master Lypset, the thyng dynersly consyderyd makyth betwyx vs to appere controversy, lyke as hyt hath downe euer betwyx the old phylosophyrs; among whome the chefe, as Arystotyl and Plato, euer in the truth dow agre, and only the maner of consyderyng the thyngys wherof they dyspute makyth to appere betwyx them controversy.

629 14. Master Lypset.—Syr, therin I thynke you say truth, for dynuerse consyderatyon hathe euer made dy-
637 ners opynyon, and I am glad that both we say truth.
YIELD THE HIGHEST FELICITY.

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

15. Pole.—You schal marvayle no thyng at thys yf you wyl remembyr what we haue sayd before. Yf man be the soule only, then vertue only gyuyth to man hye felicyte; but yf he be both togyddur, the soule and the body, then you see hyt dothe not so. But many other thyngys are requyryd therto, by the reson wherof felicyte admyttthy degres; and some haue more wele, and some les; and he, as I sayd, hath most prosperous state and hyest felicyte, wych hath wyth vertue couplyd al wordly prosperity; and thys ys, wythout fayle, most

643

But can there be degrees of felicity?

But many other thyngys are requyryd therto, by the reson wherof felicyte admyttthy degres; and some haue more wele, and some les; and he, as I sayd, hath most prosperous state and hyest felicyte, wych hath wyth vertue couplyd al wordly prosperity; and thys ys, wythout fayle, most

655

Conuenient to the nature of man. So that now I thynke hyt ys clere wherin stondyth the felicyte 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. Lyset.—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 prosperous state bothe togyddur stondyth the wele and felicyte of man; so lyke wyse ther ys [in] euery commynalty, cyty, and cuntrey, as hyt were, a polytyke body, and another thyng also resembyng 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

[*Page 80.]*

In this is man's happiness.

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

P, compares the State to a man.

The people are the body.
A LARGE POPULATION NECESSARY

674 number of cytyzens, in euery commynality, cyty, or cuntrey. The thyng wych ys resembleyd to the soule ys cyuyle ordur and polytyke law, admynystryd by offycers and rularys. For lyke as the body in euery man receuyyth hys lyfe by the vertue of the soule, and ys gouvernyd therby, so dothe the multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey receyue, as hyt were, cyuyle lyfe by lawys wel admynystryd by gad offycerys and wyse rularys, by whome they be gouvernyd and kept in polytyke ordur. Wherfor the one may, as me semyth, ryght be comparyd to the body, and the other to the soule.

[* Page 81.]

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

19. Pôle.—Then let vs go forth wyth the same, and we schal fynd, by and by, that lyke as the wele of euery man sounderly by hymselfe rysyth of the iij pryncypal thyngys befor declaryd, so the commyn wele of euery cuntrey, cyte, or towne, semblably rysyth of other iij thyngys proporcyonabul and lyke to the same, in the wych al other partycular thyngys are comprehenyd. And the fyrst of them, schortly to say, stondyth hi helth, i.e. 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 oppresed in any way, there can be no prosperity,

1. Multitude of pepul,1

703 ymage nor schadow of any commyn wele, to the wych fyrst ys requyryd a convyence multytude and convynently to be nuryschyd ther in the cuntrey. For wher 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-

1 In margin of MS.
tur them fode, ther wythout 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 tylyd and occupyd, nor craftys wel and dylygently exercysyd, ther schal also sprynge therof grete penury and seascenes of al
thyngys necessary for mamyss lyfe; and so then cyuyle lyfe and true commyn wele can in no case be ther maynteynyd. Wherfor a convenyent 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 necessyte.

(19.) Further, also, though the nombur of pepul were neuer so mete to the place, cyty, or towne, yet
yf they floryschyd not in bodwyly helth, but commynly were vexyd wyth greuus syknes and contagouse dys-
 ease, by the reson wherof the pepul schold be con-
sumyd, no man could say ther to be any commyn wele. But lyke as euyry partycular man in bodwyly sykenes, 
and in such specyally wherof he hymselfe ys cause, lakyth the most prosperouse state, so dothe euery cuntrey, cyty, and towne, lyke wyse affecto and dys-
posyd, want much of hys perfayt commyn wele. Ther-
for, to thys multytude of pepul and poltyke body, 
fyrst, as ground and fundatyon of the rest of hys wele, ys requyryd a certayn helthe, wych also by strength
must be *maynteynyd. For lyke as the body, yf hyt
be not strong, sone by vtward occasyonys, as by in-
temperance of ayr, labur, and traauyle, 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 captuyte. Wher-
for to thys poltyke body strengh ty sone also requyryd,

1 In margin of MS.
wythout the wych hys helth long can not be mayntyeyd; but, shortly, of necesstye hyt must dekay. Thys strenght stondyth in thys poynt chefely—so to kepe and mayntyene every parte of thys body, that they promptly and redly may dow that thynge wych ys requyryd to the helthe of the hole. Lyke as we say, then every mannyys body to be strong, when every parte can execute quykly and wel hys offyce determyd by the ordur of nature; as the hart then ys strong when he, as fountayn of al natural powarys, mynystryth them wyth dew ordur to al other; and they then be strong when they be apte to receyue ther powar of they hart, and can vse hyt accordyng to the ordur of nature; as the ye to see, the yere to here, the fote to go, and hand to hold and rech; *and so lyke wyse of the rest. Aftur such maner the strenght of thys polytyke body stondyth in every parte beyng abul to dow hys offyce and duty; for thys body hath hys partys, wyth resemblyl also the partys of the body of man, of the wych the most general to our purpos be thes—the hart, hede, handys, and fete. The hart therof ys the kyng, prynce, and rular of the state, whether so euuer hyt be one or many, accordyng to the gouernance of the commynalty and polytyke state; for some be gouernyd by a prynce alone, some by a conseyl of certayn wyse men, and some by the hole pepul togyddur, as here aftur, when occasyon requyryth, more playnly I wyl schow. But now to our purpos. He or they wych haue authoryte apon the hole state rygh[t] wel may be resemblyd to the hart. For lyke as al wyt, reson, and sens, fielnyg, lyfe, and al other natural powar, spryngyth out of the hart, so from the prynces and rularys of the state commyth al lawys, ordur and pollycy, al justyce, vertue, and honesty, to the rest of thys polytyke body. To the hede, wyth the yes, yerys, and other sensys therin, resemblyd may be ryght wel th

1 In margin of MS.
vnder offycerys by prynys appoyntyd, for as much as they schold euer obserue and dylygently wayte for the wele of the rest of thys body. *To the handys are re-
sembylyd bothe craftysmen and waryarys wych defend
the rest of the body from injury of ennmys vtward,
and worke and make thynys necessary to the same. To
the fete, the plowmen and tyllarys of the ground, bycause they, by theyr labur, susteyne and support the rest of
the body. Thes are the most general partys of thys
polytyke body, wythout the welth of the hole can not long be maynteynyd.

(19.) And furthermore, yet though thys polytyke
body be helthy and strong, yet yf hyt be not beutyful,
but foule deformyd, hyt lakyth a parte of hys wele
and prosperouse state. Thys beuty also stondyth in
the dew proportyon of the same partys togyddur, so
that one parte euer be agreabul to a nother in forme
and fascyon, quantyte and nombur; as craftysmen and
plowmen in dew nombur and proportyon wyth other
partys, accolyng 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 polytyke body. And so in thys iij
thynys, couplyd togyddur, stondyth, wythout fayle,
the wele *and prosperouse state of the multytude in
euery commynalty, wych, as you now se, iustely may
be resembllyd to the body of euery partycular man.

And yet ferther to procede in thys symylytud. Lyke
as the wele of the body, wythout ryches and con-
venyent abundance of thynys necessary, can not con-
starkey.
815 t inne nor be maynteynyd, so thys multytude wych we cal the polytyke body, wythout lyke abundance of al thyngys necessary, can not floryshe in most perfayt state. Wherfor thes exteryor thyngys —frendys, ryches, and abundance of necessaries—are insteely, 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 2 be lake of necessaries, hyt can not long prosper; ther wyl schortly grow in al kynd of mysery, for grete pouerty in any cuntrey hathe cwer couplyd gret mysery. Sehe ys the mother of envy and malyce, dyssen-syon and debate, and many other myschefys ensuyng the same. Wherfor, wythout necessaries no cuntrey can florysch; ye, and yf ther be no lake of necessaries for the sustenance of the pepul, but grete abundance of ryches and of al thyngys necessary and plesaunt for mannys lyfe, yet yf the same cuntrey lake the frenschype of other joynyd therto, and be imuyromyd and compassyd aboute wyth ennemys and fowys, lying ever 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 togyddar restyth the second poynt requyryd to the wele of every commynalty.

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

1 In margin of MS.
2 The following is written in the margin, but there is no sign to show where it should be inserted:—as frendys to may[n]teyne the state, or els by ennemys they schortly may be oppressyd.
rulyd, to the intent that thys multytude of pepul and hole commynalnty, so helthy and so welthy, hauyng con-
venyent abundance of al thynghs necessary for the 
mayntenance therof, may wyth dew honowr, reuernençe, 
and loue, relygyously worschype God, as fountayn of al 
gudnes, Maker and Gouernower of al thys world; euer 
one also dowyng hys duty to other wyth brotherly loue, 
one louyng one a nother as membrys and partyys of one 
body. And that thys ys of the other poyntys most chefe 
and pryncypal hyt ys eydent and playne; for what 
avaylyth hyt in any cuntrey to haue a multytude neuer 
so helthy, beautylful, and strong, wych wyl folow no 
cyuyle nor poltyke ordur, but euer one, lyke wyld 
bestys drawn by folysch fantasy, ys lade by the same, 
wythout reson and rule? Or what avaylyth in any 
cuntrey to haue neuer so grete ryches and *abundance 
of al thynghs both necessary and plesant to mannys lyfe, 
where as the pepul, rude, wythout polty, can not vse 
that same to theyr owne commodyte? Wythout fayle, 
nothyng. But even lyke as euer man, hauyng helth, 
abundance of ryches, frendys, dygnyte, and authoryte, 
wych lakyth reson and vertue to gourne the same, euer 
abusyth them to hys owne destructyon; so euer cuntrey, 
cyty, and towne, though they be neuer so replenyschyd 
wyth pepul, hauyng al abundance of thynghs necessary 
and plesaunt to the mayntenane of the same, yet yf 
they lake gud ordur and poltykyte rule, they schal abuse 
al such commodytes to theyr owne destructyon and 
ruyne, and neuer schal attayne to any commyn wele; 
wych, wythout cyuyle ordur and poltykyte rule, can 
neuer be brought to purpos nor efecte.

20. Lvpset.—Sir, I pray you here, before you pro-
cede any ferther in your communycatyon,—bycause hyt 
ys, as me semyth, much to our purpos, and much you 
spoke therof,—declare somewhat at large what thynge 
L. asks what 
"policy" and 
"civil order" 
mean.

881 
hyt ys that you so oft name and cal now "pollycy,"

Every one must 
exercise brotherly 
love and do his 
duty; 
because multi-
tudes of people 
and abundance 
of necessaries 
are of no avail 
if the people will 
not obey order;

* Page 88.]

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

876 
neuer be brought to purpos nor efecte.
883 now "cyuyle ordur," and now "polytyke rule;" to the intent that I may the bettur 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 satysfye your mynd and desyre. A tyme ther was, Master Lvpset, as we fynd in storys many and dyuerse, when man, wythout cyty or towne, law or relygyon, wan[...d]eryd abrode in the wyld feldys and wodys, non other wyse then you see now brute bestys to dow. At the wych tyme he was lad and drawn wythout reson and rule by frayle fantasy and inordynate 2 affectys, and so long contynyd, and many yerys, tyl at the last certayn men of gret wytt and pollycy, wyth perlayte eloquence and hye phylo[sco]-phyl,—consyderyng 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 appl[yd hymselfe vnto,—began to persuade the rest of the pepul to forsake that rudnes and vncomly lyse, and so to folow some ordur and cyuyle lyse. And fyrst of al to byld them certayn cytes and townys, wherto they myght assembul to theyr commyn ayde, suche, and commodyte, avoydyng the daunger and peryl of the wyld bestys, by whome they were oft before de nouyryd and destroyd. Then, aftar, they deassyd certayn ordynance and lawys, whereby they myght be somewhat inducyd to folow a lyse commenyt into thevr nature and dygnyte. Thes lawys and ordynance, at the fy[r]st begynnynge also, were vunerlayt and *somewhat rude, accordyng to the tyme and nature of the pepul; for hyt was not possybul sodeynly, by exacte law and pollycy, to bryng such a

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 cyuulyte, but euere as the pepul, by processe of tyme, in vertue incresyd, so partycular lawys by polytyke men were deuysyd. And thus in long tyme, by perfayt eloquence and lyce phylosophy men were brought, by lytyl and lytyl, from the rude lyfe in feldys and wodys, to thys cyuulyte, wyche you now se stablyssyd and set in al wel rulyd cytes and towyns.

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 euere, andertlyng to the nature of the pepul, so, by one of thes polytyke manerys, they schold be gouernyd, ordryd, and rulyd. For some pepul ther be to whome the rule of a prynce more agreth then a commyn counseyl, as such as haue byn long vsyd thereto, and be not greyt desyrourse of hye authoryte, but in pryuate lyfe are content to lyne quyetly. To other, contrary, ys mor commenyence [in] the rule of a commyn counseyl, wyche can in no case suffir the rule of one, for as much as euery one of them by thyr custome and nature, are desyrourse of frank lyberty and hye authoryte; and so to them *ys bettur the rule of many. How be hyt, thys euere ys certayn and sure among al sortys and nature of pepul, whether the state of the commendalty be gouernyd by a prynce, by certayn wyse men, or by the hole multytude, so long as they wyche haue authoryte and rule of the state loke not to thyr owne syngular profyt, nor to the pryvate wele of any one parte more then to the other, but refer al thyr 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 cyuulyte, and thys ys gud pollycy. But when thys wyche haue rule, corrupt wyth ambycyon, enuy, or malyce, or any other lyke affecte, loke only to thyr owne syngular wele, plesure, and profyt, then thys gud ordur ys turnyd.

916
There thynge 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

934
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.
Virtue, Order, and a Higher Felicity

and the rule of civility is broken.

Virtue is the end of all politic rule.

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 hye tyrannye; then ys broken the rule of al gud cyuylyte; ther can be no poltyke rule, nor cyuyle ordur; the nature wherof now to perceyue ys, as I thanke, no thynge hard at al. For hyt ys a certayn rule therby the pepul and hole commynalty, whether they be gouernyd by a prynce or commyn couseyl, ys euere dyrectyd in vertue and honesty. So that the end of al poltyke rule ys, to enduce the multytud to vertuse luyng, accordyng to the dyngnyte of the nature of man. And so thus you haue hard what thynge hyt ys that I so oft speke of and cal poltyke rule, cyuyle ordur, and juste pollycy. *You haue hard also how dyuere hyt ys, for hyt may be other vnder a Pry[n]ce, commyn conseyl of certayn, or vnder the hole multytude; and as to dyspute wynch of thys rulys ys best, and to be preferryd aboue other, me semyth superfluoue, seyng that certayne hyt ys that al be gud and to nature agreabul; and though the one be more commenyent to the nature of some pepul then the other. Wherfor best hyt ys, leuyng thys questyon, al men to be content wyth theyr state, so long as they be not oppressyd wyth playn tyrannye.

(21.) And so now to retorn to our purpos agayne, Master Lupset, thys ys, wythout dowte, certayn and sure,—that wythout such cyuyle ordur and poltyke rule, ther can neuer, in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, 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 poltyke rule nor cyuyle ordur, of al such thynge they schal take no commodyte. Yf al the partys of the cyte wyth lone be not knyt to-
gyddur in vnyte as membrys of one body, ther can be no cyuylyte. For lyke as in manmys mynd ther only ys quyetnes and hye felcyyte, wher as in a gud body al the affectys wyth reson dow agre, so in a cuntrey, cyte, or towne, ther ys perfayt cyuylyte, ther
ys the true commyn wele, where as al the partys, as membrys of one body, be knyt togyyddur in perffayt lounce and vnyte; euery one dowyng hys office and duty, aftur such maner that, what so euery state, office, or degrade, any man be of, the duty thereto perteynyng wyth al dylygence he besyly fulfyl, and wyth out enuy or malyce to other accomplysch the same. As, by exampl, they hedys and rularys, both spirtual and temporal, to dow theyr duty, prouydyng alway that fyrst, and aboue al, the pepul may be instruct wyth the doctrine of Chryst, fede and nuryschyd wyth the spirtual fode of hys celestial word, euery dyrectyd therto by al gud pollycy; so that consequently they may also quyetly labur, both wyth out wtward impedyme?t and hurt of ennemys, and also wyth out inward inury among themselfe, one oppressyng another wyth wrongys and inury, but dylygently to labur, procuryng fode and thyngys necessary 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 justycc to the hole commynalty. For the wych purpos they are thys maynteynyd in pompe and plesure, and in quyat lyfe, wythout al tranayle and bodly labur, as you see; in al placys commynly euery maynteynyd by the labur and tranayle of the pore commynalty, to the intent, that they, a the other syde, supportyd by theyr prudence and pollycy, may dylygently, wyth commyn quyetnes, apply themselfys to theyr laburys and paynys for the susteynyng of the hole body, the wych also ys the chefe poynyt of theyr office and duty; gyuyng also reuercly to theyr pryneys and lordys al humbul servyce and meke obedience reuyryd to theyr *state and degre. And so thus, when euery parte, aftur thys maner, dothe hys office and duty reuyryd thereto, wyth perffayt lounce and amyte one to a nother, one glad to succer and ayd another as membrys and partys of one body; to the in-

**THE AIM OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.**
1024 tent that, after thys wordly and cyuyle lyfe here paysy-
ally passyld and vertusely spent, they may at the last
al togyddur attayne such end and felcyte as, by the gud-
nenes of God and ordynance of nature, ys determyd to the
excellent dygnyte and nature of man. Then shal ther be
stablyschyd and set in such a multytude of pepul so
gouernyd, so rulyd, wyth such pollycey, that thynge wyth
we so long haue sought,—that ys to say, a veray and
tree commyn wele, wyth ys no thynge els but the pros-
perous and most perfayt state of a multytud assemblayd
ogyddur in any cuntrey, cyte, or town, gouernyd ver-
tusely in cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the nature and dyg-
nyte of man. The nature wherof now, I thynke, you
may clerly perceyue, and how, semblably, hyt rysyth of

1031 all may attain a
higher felity
suited to the
dignity of man.
Then shall there
be a true
commonwealth,
A commyn wele,1
which is the
prosperous and
most perfect
state of a
multitude
assembled
together.
A commonwealth
is most pros-
erous when it
has (1) a multi-
tude of people,
healthy,
beautiful, and
strong.

[1* Page 95.]

1038 (2) When they
are nourished
with abundance,
and (3) live
together in civil
order, quietly
and lovingly.

There is the true
commonwealth,
the most
prosperous and
perfect state.

1045 (2) When they
are nourished
with abundance,
and (3) live
together in civil
order, quietly
and lovingly.

There is the true
commonwealth,
the most
prosperous and
perfect state.

1058 the ayd and settynge forward wherof, every man for hys

1 In margin of MS.
parle, by the law and ordur of nature, ys bounden; wych hath brought forth man, as I sayd at the begin-nyng of our communycatyon, for thys purpos and for thys end,—that aftur such maner he myght lyue in cuyyle lyfe, eu er hauynge befor hys yes thys commyn wele, wythout regard of hys ownewayne plesury, frayle fantasys, and syngular prolyt. Every thyng that he doth in thys lyfe referrying to thys end, wych ys the only poynt and marke, of al conseyllys assembled 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 porte 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 every man also in the schype doth hys offyce and duty appoyntyd to hym; by the reson where- of, consequently, the schype arryuyth at the hauen pur- posyd and intenedyd; so a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, 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 sub[j][ectys, euery one of them also dowynge theyr offyce and duty to them appoynyt and determyd. And so consequently the hole poltyke body attaynynthy the veray and true commyn wele, wych now I thynke, Master Lupset, somewhat you see, bothe what hyt ys and wherin hyt stondyth.

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

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

knyte as membrys of one body by loue, as by the com-

myn baude 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- 
onys determyd, as in sanguyn, melancolyk, phlegmatyk,1

and coleryke, may be found perfayt; so thys commyn

were determyth to hyt no partycular state, wych by

polytyke men hane byn deyysyd and reducyd to iiiij;

nother the rule of a prynce, nother of a certayn nombur

of wyse men, nother yet of the hole multytyde 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 mayntena^ce of helthe of the body, so the state

of a prynce, where as he ys chosen by fre electyon most

worthy to rule, ys, among the other, chefe and pryneypal

juygd of wyse men for the mayntenance and long con-
tynuance of thys commyn wele and polytyke rule in any

comynyalt. Wherfor hyt determyth no certayn state,

so that hyt can be in non other; but in euery one hyt

may be founde and surely groundyd, so long as euery

parte ys kept in hys ordur wyth prosperity. And as to

see and playnly to juge when thys commyn wele most

floryscyth, hyt ys no thyngh hard, but esy to perceyue.

For when al thes partys, thys couplyd togyddur, exerce

wyth dylygence theyr offyce and duty, as the plowmen

and laburarys of the ground dylygewtly tyl the same, for

the gettyng of fode and necessary sustenance to the rest

of the *body; and craftysmen worke al thynghs mete

for mayntena^ce of the same; ye, and they hedys and

rularys by just pollcyey maynteyne the state stablyschyd

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 comuenyent

1 MS. slegmatyk.
abundance of all things necessary; ther you shall see
cytes and townys so garnyschyd wyth peupol, that hyt
schalbe necessary in pleys 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 thyts polytyke body. So that of
thys you may be sure: where so euer you se any coun-
trey wyth garnyschyd and set wyth cytes and townys,
wele replenyschyd wyth peupol, hauyng al thyngys neces-
{}sary and plesaunt to man, lyuyng togyddur in cyuyle
lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of the nature
of man; every parte of thyts body agreyng to other,
dowyng hys offyce and duty appoyntyd therto; ther, I
say, you may be sure ys set a veray and true commyn
wele, ther hyt floryschyth as much as the nature of man
wyl suffir. And thus now, Master Lwpsett, shortly to
conclude, aftur my mynd you haue hard rudely de-
scribyd, what ys the thyng that I cal the commyn wele
and iust pollycy, therin hyt stondyth, and when hyt
most *floryschyth.

22. Lwpsett.—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 in hyt a veray
ture commyn weele and just pollycy, and that hyt hath
byn [the] most perfayt and floryschyng that myght be
convenyent to the nature of man, seyng that hyt was
set and stablyschyd by such an author as you know hyt
was. But now, me semyth, of your communycatyon, hyt
wantyth manny thyngys requyrvyd to the most perfayt
state aftur your descripyton; and most speycally of thos
wych we cal exteryor thyngys, therin we put wordly
prosperty; 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 explana-
tion, but regrets it
because there is
no common-
wealth so
perfect as that
described.
1166 tyke pepul. Wherfor, by thys mean hyt apperyth many-
festely that the commyn wele and the floryschyng of
the same hangyth much of fortune, as touchyng the
wordly prosperyte, wherof sche hath grete domynyon,
and hath byn ever euery notyd to be as lady and mastres.

1171 23. Pole.—Wel, Master Lysset, as to thys, I schal
schortly shew you my sentence and mynd. Fryst, thys
ys certayn, though the state of Chrystuudome 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
theryof tendyth to everlastyng lyfe and felycyte, and
forbycause the plesurys of thys lyfe and worldly pros-
peryte so blyndyd man before Chryst commynaly, that
he nothyng regardyd the lyfe to come. Therfor, to
pluke thys blyndnes out of mamyss mynd, the Author
and Stablyschar of our Chrystyn pollycy, taught vs,
by contempt of thys vayn prosperyte, to take the
1182 streygth way to everlastyng 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 Heuenly Wysdome, and no worldly pol-
llycy, hathe brought the state of Chrystuudome; the
wych passyth al other non other wyse then doth that
man wych, garnyschyd wyth al vertue, in pouerty and
1187 syknes and al worldly aduersyte, fer passyth hym
that, by belth, honowur, and ryches, ys drownyd in
wordly prosperyte. And yet I wyl not say hyt ys [the]
most perfayt state that may be. For euen lyke as the
welth of euer 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; 
wich, as we haue at large before declaryd, yf hyt be 
wel vsyd, excludyth no cuntrey from most perfayt pol-
lycy, ordur, and rule, but rather much settyth forward
the same. And as touchyng that you sayd, that the com-
myn wele schold by thys mean hang much of fortune,
ths, I thynke, be truth, spekyng of the most perfayt
state wych may be, to the wych of necesseyte ys requyryd
ths worldly prosperity. To thys agre bothe Arystotyl
and Theorphraste, they grete and aunctaynt phylosopharys,
wych, though the[y] were of the Stoyke secte, theryre
repronuyd. Yet, me semyth, theyr opynyon, yf hyt be wel
ponderedy, agreth wel to nature and to mannya reson.
For truly thys ys sure, that fortune, or els what other
name soener you wyl gyue to the bynyd and uncetayne
causys wych be not in mannyes powar; that same, I say,
hath grete domynyon and rule in al ytward thynysgys
and worldly, both in the pryuate and publyke state of
evry man. For who ys he that doth not dayly in ex-
peryence se how ryches and helth, authoryte and dygnyte,
ye, and al other callyd worldly prosperity, by fortune
and chaunce, be now mynyshyd, now incresyd, now
set aloft, now troden vnder fote, now floryschyng, now
in dekey; non other wyse then the trowblus and tem-
pestuus see, wych by evry wynd ys tossyd and tumblidy
from hys stabyl quyetnes and tranquyllyte. *And yet I
wyl not say that the commyn wele of any cuntrey, cyty,
or towne, or felcytye of any partycular man, so hangyth
apon fortune, that, wythout hyr ayd and succer, they
can not stond; for that were to vertue grete injury,
wych to evry man gyuyth felcytye, and to evry cunt-
trey hys true commyn wele and just pollycy. How be
hyt, except to thys vertue be also callyd worldly pros-
peryte, 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.

How be
hyt, except to thys vertue be also
couplyd worldly
prosperyte, wherby hyt may be put in vse to the profyte
of other, me semyth (as I oft hane sayd before), hyt lettyth not man in hys most perfayt state that he may be in; nor leuyth not in the cuntrey, cyty, or towne, the hyest wele that may come therto, and be stablyschyd therin, by prudent pollycy. For [who] dowtyth of thys, but that such a man hath more perfayte state wych to vertue hath joyynyd al worldly prosperity, then he wych hath equal vertue, but, oppressyd wyth al worldly 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 habu?zdaunce of rycbes and al thyngys well governyd, necessary, wel gouernyd and rulyd wyth polytyke ordur, ys in hyar and mor perfayt state, then that cuntrey where ys grete pouerty and lake of al thyngys necessary, though ther be besyde neuer so gud ordur and perfayt cyuylyte. For thys ys truth, Master Lvspet, as me *semyth, that I haue oft sayd, thys wordly prosperity, yf hyt be wel vsyd, some thyng incresyth mannys felcyte; nor no thyng hyt ys to be maruelyd that per-fayt felcyte and hyest commyn wele hang some thyng of fortune and chaunce; for as much as they haue domynyon and rule in certayn thyngys, wych of neces-syte are requyryd to them in the perfyttyst degre; for euery thyng as hyt ys more perfayt in hys nature, so hyt requyryth euer mo thyngys to hys perfeytion. Thys ys so euydent and playn, bothe in al thyngys brought forth of nature and by craft made, that hyt nedyth no profe,—hyt nedyth no long declaratyon. For as much as God hymselfe, bycause he ys of al thyng most perfayt, therfor he requyryth to hym al perfeytion. Wherfor, nother to mannys felcyte 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-

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

and no man doubts that a country with plenty of healthy people, well governed, is nearer per-fecion than the country which lacks necessaries.

Wordly prosperity, well used, increases man's happiness.

It is no imperfection to man, or to a commone-wealth, that it should depend on fortune and chance.
teryor thynys, wych oft be alteryd by fortune and chaunce. And thus, Master Lvpset, aftur my mynd, hyt ys no incomuenyens that mannyes felcyte 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 *mannyes felcyte.

25. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset,1 you may not take hyt thys, that fortune hath powar to cast man out of hys felcyte, no more then they cloudys haue powar of the sone, wych though oft tymys they let hys radyant beamys yet they cast hym not out of hys perfectyon; but euer, lyke as the cloudys let the schynyng and spredyng of the sone beamys downe to the eth, to the comfort of al lyuely creaturyrs, so dothe the fortune oft tymys let vertue, and trowbul mannyes felcyte, stoppyng hyt from exerceyse and vse, to the commyn profyt of other and commodyte. But so long as hyt happeunyth not by mannyes neclygence, but by vward occasyon, ther ys in hym no fant nor blame. Wherfor, though man be here oppressyd wyth iniurys of fortune and al wordly aduersyte, yet, yf hys mynd be stablyd and set wyth vertuse purpos and honest intent, God (wych lokyth only and knowyth the hart) schal therfor heraftur in a nother lyfe gyue hym euerlastyng felcyte and joy; by the hope wherof he ys also, in ethys lyfe present, so comfortyd and fede, that he can by no maner fal into wrecchednes and mysery. How be hyt, the most hye felcyte, after myn opynyon, he hath not, except ther to be joynyd wordly prosperity.

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

MS. le.
you spake of before; for if they iniurys of fortune to vertue and felicyte be but as cloudys to the sone, how schold 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, peraentur, somtyme let the perfectyon of thyngys beneath, but of the sone no thyng at al.

27. Pole.—Master Lupset, I schal tel you, if 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 thyss mater. But in that thyng they be not al lyke; for the sone communyth hys perfectyon at al tymys to thes inferyor thyngys accordyng to theyr nature and capacyte, as wel in cloudys as in serenyt. But vertue, vndowtydly, let by fortune and worldly aduersyte, can not commune hyr actys and dedys to the profyt of other. Wherefor in thyss mater ther ys no more to be dowtyd; but sure hyt ys, that fortunys fary somewhat aydthy and settyth forward the hyest poynt of felicyte; and so, in lyke wyse, the commun wele of eueri cuntrey, cyty, or townye, wych, wythout ryches and other worldly prosperity, can neuer florysch in the hyest dege.

28. Lupset.—Wel, Master Pole, thys yet comforthyth me merucelouse much, that you say and playnly confesse, that both eueri man particULAR and also the hole commynalty, though hyt be here oppressyd wyth al worldly aduersyte, yet they may attayn to the hy[ec]'st felicyte in the lyfe *to come.

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

1 MS. and and
SELFISHNESS DESTROYS A STATE.

fallyng from the trade of vertue, wych they haue dayly and hourly before theyr yes, wych be inhaunsyd in wordly prosperyte; they loke only to the payn and 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 eneer hyt be, we wyl not now dyspute, but turne to our purpos, takyng thys 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 perteyne to the mayntenaunce therof, with al gud cyuylyte, to the intent that we here, wel vsyng thys wordly prosperyte, may, at the last, attayne to suche end and perfectyon as, by the prouydence of God, ys ordeynyd to the excellent nature and dygnyte of man. And so now, to make schort, Master Lvpset, you haue 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 pondersyd ryght wel, they wold not so much regard the[v] pryuat wele as the[y] dow; they wold not so study theyr owne destructyon. For thys ys sure (as now you playnly see and clerly perceyue) that ouermuch regard of pryuate wele, pleurse and profyt, ys the manyfest destructyon of al gud, publyke, and iuste commyn pollycy. For euyn lyke as maryners, when they be intent and gyuen to theyr vayn pastyme and syngular pleurse, haunya no regard to the course of theyr schyple, oft-tymys be, other by soddayn tempest ouerwhelmyd and drownyd in the see, or by neclygence run apon some roke, to the holde destructyon bothe of themselfe and of al other caryd in theyr schyp; so in a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,
1380 when every man regardeth only his own profit, wealth, and pleasure, without respect of the profit of the hole, they shortly fall in dekey, rayne, and destruction; and so at the last, perceiving their own folly, then, when

1384 they say that the year's late, they begin to lament. Wherefore, undowmentedly, thus is a certain and sure truth, that men commonly are so blinded with a singular profit and vain pleasure, that they never consider the public good, but only when their own destruction is secret, coupled to their own acts and deeds; for they dyd, surely they would not suffer themselves so to err, and so to ruin [to] their own ruine. For thus is a sure ground, that no man willingly and secretly coupled to their own destruction, but ever, by the colour of guilt and shame of truth, man by blindness, dysceynyd, and into ignorance led, and so by corrupt judgment, extermityd, and be good and god to be yl; wyth, as you have hard before at large, the fountayn and spryng of all error and vice, and of all mysond or manys lyfe, both pryuate and publyke; the wyche thyng, when out of thine hole natyonys and pepul, viturally destroyeth al cyuyle lyfe and poltykye rule. For ther can rayne no gud pollycy when the judgement of the pepul ys corrupt by false opynyon; wherein they judge that every man doth well when he only regardeth his own pleasure and profit, without any respect had of any other. But (as I have sayd, and oft doth rehearse) yf men knew that when they loke to the commyn profit, that they therwyth also regard their own syngular and pryuate, surely they wold not so neclygently loke then, as they say that the commyn wele ys in every manys mouth, so also hyt schald be fyxyd in theyr harts; hyt schald be the end *of al theyr cogtatyonyeys, conseylys, and carys. For euen as gud marynyers, when they, by theyr

Men commonly are so blinded by their own pleasures and profits, that they never consider the public good. They never remember that their own destruction must follow their own deeds. No man willingly hurts himself.

Man is blind and destitute to be good, and good ill, which is the foundation of all error and vice.

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

The public good should be not only in every man's mouth, but also in every man's heart; it should be the
crafft and dylygence, bryng theyr schyfe saue out of
tempestys into the sure port and hauen, dow not only
saue other beyng in theyr schyfe but themselfe also, so
cytyzyms in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, when they, by
prudent pollycy, maynteyn cyuyle ordur and gud rule,
euer setting forward the veray and true commyn wele,
dow not only saue other wych be vnder the same gouern-
aunce and state, but also themselfe. For, as you see
and haue hard by many examplys, in dynerse cuntreys,
cytes, and townys, when, by sedcyyon and neelygencie
of rularys, the cyuyle ordur and polytyke rule of the
hole body ys onys broken and turnyd vp so downe ther-
wyth by and by, peryschyth the pryuate wele of every
man; no one can long enyoy plesure or quyetnes, where
the hole ys dysturbyd and put out of ordur. Therfor
thys ys as euycnt as the schynynge 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 commumycatypon, purposyd at the begyn-
nyng, as you thinke best.

30. Lvpset.—Yes, Sir; I thinke hyt now veray
gud; for you haue in the fyrst satysfyd me ryght wel.
And I dowte no thynge but yt men wold wel, al that you
haue sayd, consydur and pondur, ther wold be more
regard of the commyn wele here in our cuntrey then
ther ys in dede. For me semyth playlyth wyth vs ev ery
man, vnder the pretens[e and] colour of the commyn
wele, regardyth the syngular, by the reson wherof our
cuntrey lyth rude, no thynge brought[i] to such cyuyllyte
as hyt myght be by gud pollycy. Wherfor I fere me
sore, lest hyt be almost impossybul to stabul and set
such a commyn wele amonyg vs here in England as you

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

* Pole has thus de-
clared what is
[* Page 110.]
the true common-
wealth, in what
it consists,
and wherein it
flourishes.

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

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

1 Not crossed out; but the word “rularys” written above.
COMMON FAULTS TO BE EXAMINED.

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

1451 hauie before descrybed; all thyngys be here so far out of ordur, so far out of forme.

31. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset,1 by lykelyhode you se much amys that you be in so grete desperatyon before we begyn. How be hyt, I se no cause wy you 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 cuylyte. Troth hyt ys that you say, as yet they are fer from that ordur and such state as we hauie descrybyd; for many and grete fautys ther be reynyng among vs here in our cuntrey and commynalnty, wych now remayne in the second place to be sought and tryed out. Wherin now, also, Master Lvpset, you must put to your dylygence, that we may togyddur better spye out the commyn fautys and mysordurys therin; that so at the last we may, peraunture, 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 hauie prescrybyd before, wych schalbe to vs ener as a rule to examyn the rest of our communycatyon by.

32. Lvpset.—Sir, to thys gud purpos that you now hauie conceuyyd, 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 denyse wyth ourselfys some thyng therof.

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

1 MS. le,
[CHAPTER III.]

1. [Pole.] Now, after that we have somewhat declaryd what ys a veray commyn wele in euer curtreyconuenyent to the nature of man, lyuynge in cyuyle lyfe and polytyke ordur, hyt schalbe expedyent for vs (lokyng thereto ever as to our marke to schote at, and to the end of al conseyllys and parlyamentys in any commynalty assemblyd togyddur here in *thys our owne curtrey) to seke out wyth dylygence, and by reson to try, such fautys and mysordurys as appere to let the settyng forthe of thys commyn wele, and be occasyonys that hyt can not prosper and florysch, but rather fall into ruyn and dekey. For lyke as to physcyyonys 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 dysseassys wych commynly destroy the same; so to vs now thys vnyuersal and scolastycal\(^1\) consyderatyon of a veray and true commyn wele lytyl schal profyte and lytyl schal avayle, except we also truly serch out al commyn fautys and general mysordurys, wych, as syknes and dysseasys, be manyfest impedymentys, and vttrly repugne to the mayntenance of the same. Let vs therfor now, Master Lvpset, to thys purpos now, in the second place, wyth al dylygence ernystely apply our myndys.

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

\(^{1}\) "phylosophycal" is written over this word.
32 maner before shovyl, hyt ys not hard to see the mys- orurdurys here in our cuntrey, nor to sype the grete dekey of such a commyn wele wych you haue so manifystely describyd;—hyt ys so open to evry mannys ye. For who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fauty, and mysordurys, he[re] of our commyn *wele; other when he lokyth apon our cytes, castellys, and townys, of late days ruyynate and fallen downe, wyth such pore inhabytans dwellyng therin; or when he lokyth apon the ground, so rude and so wast, wych, by dylygence of pepul, hath bryn before tyme occupyd and tyllyd, and 1 myght be yet agayn brought to some bettur profyt and vse; or yet, aboue al, when he lokyth vnto the maner ys of our pepul and ordur of lyuyng, wych ys as ferre dystant from gud and perfayt cyuylyte, as gud from yl, and vyce from vertue and al honesty? Thys ys as clere as the lyght of the day; and, as me semyth, nedyth, therfor, of no long processe for the declaryng thereof, nor yet much dylygence to the in- serchyng of the same.

51 3. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys mater ys not al on't so clere as you make hyt, nor requyryth not so lytyl dylygence as you seme to make hyt. For we may, peruaentur, other a the one syde, to strely juge or naroly examyn the hole mater, laying ther fauty wher as non ys; callyng that mysordur and yl gouernance, wych ys indeed gud and perfayt pollycy; or els, of the other syde (blynyd wyth affectyon, as commynly men be, with the maner ys of theyr cuntrey) contrary, cal that playn gud and gentyl cyuylyte wych in dede ys rudenes and rustycyte. Wherfor, of thys we must cheyly beware, and dylygently take hede, lest therby 64 we dyseyue not 2 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 dyseyue not our selfe."
4. Lwpset.—Sir, as for thys mater, I trust we schal ryght wel avoyd; for I promys you that, for my parte, I wyl be loth, in our communycatyon, to be so inuist to our * owne cuntrey, to admyt any such thyngys for fautys and mysordsury wych in dede be non at al. For the escheuynge of thys I wylbe dylygent, and sulfur few thyngys to passe 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 observyd here in our cuntrey, wych you schal peraunyture see me ouerrun and, by neclygence, let pas.  

6. Lwpset.—Sir, in thys 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 understonyd that I wyl not speke of euery partyculer faute and mysordur in euery manmys 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 commyn wele, wych by commyn counseyle and gud pollyce may be redressyd, reformyd, and brought to gud cuuylyte. And, fyrst (this processe vsyng) I wyl speke of such as I schal fynd in the polityke body of thys commynalnty and reame; second, I wyl seke out and inserch such as schal appere to me in thyngys necessary and commodyouse for the maytenance of the same body; thrydly, I schal touch such fautys and mysordurys as I schal fynd * in the polityke ordur, rule, and governance of thys body, grown in by abuse and lake of gud pollyce. Thys schalbe the ordur and processe of our communycatyon thys day to be had.  

8. Lwpset.—Sir, thys lykyth me wel; and aftur 99 and then goes on to say he will not speak of particular faults, because that would be endless; and will give all a fair examination.  

93 he will only speak of general faults, and (1) of such as he finds in the body politic; (2) of such as are in things necessary for the maintenance of the same body; (G) of such as he shall find in the "polite order."
100 thy maner now prescrybyd, I pray you go forward.

9. Pole.—I am wel content, and, fyrist, thygs ym certayn; that, in thygs polytyke body, ther ym a certayn sklenurdynes, 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 groundyde in the lake of pepul and skarasenes of men. For lyke as mannys body then doth not florysch, then doth not increese, when hyt ys sklenur, febul, and weke, but by lake of flesch fallyth in to sykenes and debylyte; so evry cuntrey, cyte, or town, then doth not florysch, then doth not prosper, when ther ys lake of pepul and skasenes of men; by the reson wheroft hyt fallyth in to ruyn and dekey, slyppyng from al gud cyuyltye; the experiyence wheroft we see in late days now in our cuntrey, the wych chesely I attrybute to the lake of inhabytans. And to thygs, as me semyth, by many argumentys we may be inducyd; as, fyrist, yf you loke to the cytes and townys throughout thyys reame, yu schal fynd that in tyme past they haue byn much bettur inhabytyd, and much more replynyschyd 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 yys perceuyd, after myn opynyon, the grete lake of pepul and skarasenes of men. And, further, yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thyys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nobur vtturly dekeyd; and ther, wher as befor tyme hath byn nuryshyd much gud and Chrystyan pepul, now you schal fynd no thyng mayntyeyd 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 schypeotys and stabullys, to the ruyn of man; and thygs ym not in one place or ij, but generally throughout thyys reame. Wherfor hyt ys

* [Page 110.]
Many villages now are utterly decayed, and where Christians were some time ago nourished, are now only wild beasts.
Where churches were standing to the honour of God, you will only fynd sheep-cots and stables.
It cannot be doubted that

P. notes a weak-ness in the body politic, arising from a lack of people, tabes corpore,1 degenetreria. Just as a man's body does not thrive when it is feeble, but falls away;
so evry country, city, and town, does not prosper when, for lack of men, it falls; as we have had much experyence 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, declarlyth playnly a lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. Besyd this, the dekey of craftys in cytes and townys (wych we se manyfestely in every 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 nuryshyng of wyld bestys, me thynkyth could not ly long aftar such maner yf ther were not lake of pepul and skarsenes of men. For yf hyt were so replenyschyld wyth pepul as other cuntreys be, the wast groundys (as hethys, forestys, parkys and ol dys) schold not ly so rude and vntyllyd as they be; but schold be brought to some profyt and vse, accorungly 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 nuryshyng of man; wych ys by experyence in many placys prouyd, here of late days, where as ground jugyd to be barren and rude, ys by dylygent men brought to tyllage and frute. Therfor that we hane so much wast ground here in our cuntrey, hyt ys not to be attrybute to the nature of the erthe, aftar 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 perceuyyd. Wherfor I thynke we may surely affyrme thyse faute and sykenes playnly to rayne in our poltyke body.

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

11. Po/xe.—Mary, that was agred at the begynnyng 171

* This word has "playnys" written over it.
172 for the better examination of every thing; therfor say on.

12. Lvpsett.—Sir, me semyth thyse ruyne of cytes and townys, thyse dekeye of craftys in every place, thyse rudenes and barreynes of the ground, arguth no *thynge the skarsenes of pepul, but rather the neclygent idulnes of the same. For yf a cuntrey were newen so populos and replenyshyd wyth pepul, yet yf they were ever neclygent and idul in the same, neuer inteyndyng to profytabul exercyse, 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 thyse ys no sure profe nor argument to your purpos; speclyyng that, contrary, me semyth, we haue here in our cuntrey rather to many pepul then to few; in so much that vytel and nuryschment suffycyent for them can skant here be found, but for lake therof many perysch and dye, or at the lest lyue very wrechyld. Wher-

191 for, lyke as we say commynly, a pastur ys ouerlayd wyth catel, when therin be mo then may be conuenently nuryschyd and fed; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or town, ther ys of pepul to grete multytude, when ther ys of vvtyal ouerlytyl for the necessary sustenans and maynteynyng of the same. And so I can not se wy we schold lay any grete faute in the lake of pepul here in our cuntrey; but rather, such faytys as you fynd, attrybute to the neclygence of the same.

195 13. Poyle—Wel, Master Lvpsett, you say wel. I per-
celye 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 hath byn in tyme past, other els wyth other cuntreys, wych be by nature no more plentiful then thyse, and yet nurysch much more pepul then doth ousrys, I can not se but you must *nedys confesse a lake of pepul
here in our cuntrey. For thys ys no dowte, in tyme past
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 perceuyyd by the multytude of cytes,
estellys, and townys, wych be wel inhabytlyd and re-
plenyschyd wyth pepul in fer gretur nombur then our
cuntrey ys; as you may see both in France, Flaundres,
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 neyer
so many pepul here in our cuntrey, yf they same lyuyl
oueridul and neclygent, we schold haue no les dekey
of cytes and townys then we haue now. But, Master
Lypset, thoughg hyt be so that we haue he in our cunt-
rey much idul pepul, and, as I thynke, in no cuntrey
of the world such a multytude, yet they be not so idul
that we must of neccessytye attrbyute both the ruyne of
cytes and townys, and al the dekey of artys and craftys,
only to the idulnes and neclygence of pepul. Troth
hyt ys, that yf our pepul were al dylygent and wel oc-
cupyd wyth honest exerçye, 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
occupyed, we haue such a nombur as ys commenyent to
the nature of the place. Thys ys certain and sure, that
yf our cuntrey were *wel occupyd and tyllyd, hyt wold
nurysch sufficyently many mo pepul then hyt doth
now. And as touching the skarsenes of vytayl wych
you allegyd, that no thyng prowth ouergrete nombur
of pepul, but rather the gret neclygens of thes wych we
haue; as I schal playnyl 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

*Page 120.*
in our cuntrey lately grown in. Let vs therfor take thys as a certayn and playn truth, that here in our cuntrey ther ys a lake of pepul, and confesses thyse dysease to be in our polytyke body, wych may wel, as me semyth, be comparyd to a consumpyton, or grete sklendurnes of manys body. For lyke as in a consumpyton, when the body ys brought to a grete sklendurnes, ther ys lake of powar and strenght to maynteyne the helth of the same; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or town, wher ther ys lake of pepul, ther wantyth powar to maynteyne the floryschyng state of the polytyke body, and so hyt fallyth into manyfest dekey, and by lytyl and lytyl worsyth away; as we may se in al cuntreys wych haue byn replenyschyd wyth pepul and wel inhabyted in olde tyme; as Egypt, Asia, and Greece, wych, destroyd by warrys, now, for lake of pepul, be desolatd 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 rayne of al commyn wely's; and, as I haue sayd, can not be denyd here from ourys, yf we looke to the nature of the place, and to the auncent state here of the same.

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

15. Pole.—Wel, then, let vs consydur and behold how that, besyde thys lake of pepul, ther ys, also, in thys polytyke body, a nother dysease and syknes more greuus then thys, and that ys thys (schortly to say):—A grete parte of thys pepul wych we haue here in our cuntrey, ys other ydul or yl occupyd, and a smal nombr of them exercysyth themselfe in dowyng thyr oflyce and duty perteynyng to the mayntence of the commyn wele; by the reson wherof thys body ys replenyschyd and over-
fullyyd wyth many yl humorys, wych I cal idul and vnprovytabul personys, of whome you schal fynd a grete nombur, yf you wyl a lytyl consydur al statys, ordurys, and degres, here in our cuntrey. Fyrst, loke what an idul route our nobul men kepe and nurysch in thyr housys, wych do no thyn gl els but cary dyschys to the tabul and ete them when they haue downe; and aftur, gyuyng themselve to huntynge, haukyng, dysyng, cardynge, and al other idul pastymys and vayne, as though they were borne to no thyn gl els at al. Loke to our byschoppys and prelatys of the reame, whether they folow not the same trade in nuryschynge* such an idul sort, spendyng thyr possessyonys and godys, wych were to them gyuen to be dystrybut among them wych wereoppressyd wyth povery and necessyte. Loke, farthermore, to prestys, monkys, frerys, and chanonys, wyth al thyr adherentys and idul trayn, and you schal fynd also among them no smal nombur idul and vnprovytabul, wych be nothyn gl but burdenys to the erthe. In so much that yf you, aftur thys maner, examyn the multytude in euery ordur and degre, you schal fynd, as I thinke, the thryd parte of our pepul lyuyng in idulnes, as personys to the commyn wele viturly vnprovytabul; and to al gud cyuylyte, much lyke vnto the drowne bees in a hyue, wych dow no thyn gl els but consume and deuoure al such thyn gl as the besy and gud be, wyth dylygence and labur, gedduruth togeddur.

16. Lvpset.—Master Pole, me semyth you examyn thys mater somewhat to schortelty, as though yow hane al men to labur, to go to the plowgh, and exercise 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 tyllyage sche wyl suffyeyently nurysch mankynd, non otherwise then sche doth al bestys, fyschyys, and

1 In margin of MS.
MAN WAS BORN TO LABOUR.

315 foulys, wych are brede and brought vp apon hyr; to whome we *se sche mynistryth fode wyth lytyl labur or non, but of hyr owne frendly benygnyte. Wherfor yf a few of our pepul besy themselfe, and labur therin, hyt ys suffycyent; the rest may lyne in triumpe, at lyberty, and case, fre from al bodly labour and payn.

17. Pole.—Thys ys spoken, Master Lupset, euyn as though you jugyd man to be borne for to lyue in idulnes and pleasure, al thyng referryng and applyng thereto. But, Sir, hyt ys no thyng so; but, contrary, he ys borne to labur and travayle, aftur the opynyon of the wyse

321 and aunycyent antyquyte,1 non other wyse then a byrd to fle; and not to lyue (as Homer sayth some dow) as an vnprofytabul weight and burden of the erth. For man ys borne to be as a govenour, rular, and dylygent tyllar and inhabytant of thys erthe; as some, by labur of body, to procure thyngys necessary for the mayntenance of mawys 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 exercise themselfe in some faseyon 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 mynysturyss of Goddys Word, some to be gentylmen to the governance of the rest, and some seruantys to the *same; yet thys ys certayn, that ouergrete nombar of them, wythout dew propyotion to the other partys of the body, ys superflous in any commynalty. Hyt ys not to be dowtyd but that here in our cuntrey of thos sortys be ouer-many, and specyally of them wych we cal seruyng men, wych lyue in seruyce to gentylmen, lordys, and other of

345

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

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

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

Wherfor dowte you no more but of them (lyke as of other that I haue spoke of before,—as of prestys, frerys, munkys, and other callyd relgyouse) we haue ouer-mamy, wych altogyddur make our polytyke body vnwekly and heuy, and, as hyt were, to be greundy wyth grosse humorys; in so much that thy dysease therin may wel be comparyd to a dropey in manny body. For lyke as in a dropey the body ys vnwekly, vulusty, and slo, no thyngyng 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 commynalty, replenyschyd wyth neclygent and idul pepul, vulusty and vnwekly, nothynyng quyke in the exercyse of artys and craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayntenyd and supportyd; but, solne wyth such yl humorys,

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1 In margin of MS.
boyllyth out wyth al vyce, myscheffe, and myssery, the wych out of idulynes, as out of a fountayn, yssuth and sprynghyth. Thys ys the mother of many other sykennes and greuus dyseases in our polytyke body, and the gretyst destructyon of the commyn wele therin that may be denyd.

20. Lvpset.—Wel, Syr, thys ys so manyfest that hyt may not be denyd. Wherfor let vs procede wythout delay to the sekyng of other, aftur your denyse. [How be hyt, thys dysease semyth to repugne to the\(^1\) other, for one schowyth to few, and the other to many.\(^2\)]

21. Po/e.—[Nay, not but schortly, on schoweth to few of well occupyd, and the other to many idul.\(^2\)] Ther ys a nother dysease, Master Lupset, also, wych ys not much les greuus then thys, wych restyth in them whom *I callyd yl occupyd. I mean not thos wych be occupyd in vyce, for of that sorte cheffely be they wych I notyd to be idul before. But al such I cal yl occupyd wych besy themselfe in makyng and procuring thynghys for the vayne pastyme and pleure of other, as al such dow wych occupye themselfe in the new deuyseys of gardyng and jaggyng of mennyss apparyle, wyth al thyng pertynyng thereto; and al such wych make and procure manyfold and dynerse new kyndys of metys and drynkys, and euer be occupyd in curyouse deuyse of new fangulyd thyngys concernyng the vayn pleure only of the body. Wyth al such as be callyd syngynge men, curyouse descanyrys and deuyseyrs of new songys, wych tend only to vanyte; and al such marchantys wych carre out thynghys necessary to the use of our pepul, and bryng in agayn vayn tryfulys and conceytys, only for the folysch pastyme and pleure of man.

\(^1\) MS. to the to other.

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

\(^3\) In margin of MS.
GAY APPAREL AND DELICATE FOOD.

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

22. Lvpset.—Sir, in thys mater also, me semyth, you are a juge of to much seueryte; for you wold haue no thyling suffryd in a commynalty but that only wych ys necessary; and so by thys mean take al pleasure from man, and al ornamentys from euery commyn wele and eyte. For such men as you now cal yl-occupyd personys, as me semyth, are occupyd in the procuring therof; that ys to say, of such thyingys as perteynyth to the ornamentys of the commyn wele in euery cuntrey.

23. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you take me anys; for I wold not bryng man to lyue wyth such thying only wych ys necessary, *takyng away al pleasure and veray ornamentys from the commyn wele admyttyd by gud pollycy, but in bannyschyng such yl-occupyd personys as I spake of befor. I wold bannysch also, and vtturly cast out, al vayn pleasure and vayn ornamentys by cor-
rupt ingement commyally approuyd, bryngyng in theyr place veray true pleasure 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, norther yet in delycyate metys and drynkys muryshyng the same, nor in non other thying: in one word to say, perteynyng to the vayn pleourse of the body. But veray and true pleasure 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 pleurse of man, wych no thying perteynyth to the dygnyte of hys nature; of the wych sorte, surely, many we haue here in our cuntrey, by whome we may se thys polytyke body

1 In margin of MS.

1

L. thinks Pole too severe;

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

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

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

["Page 127."]

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

441 True ornamentys of a cuntrey be as in euery par-
ticular man. Those are justly called ill-occupied who provide only for the vain pleasures of man, and do nothing for that which pertains to the dignity of his nature.
A WANT OF UNITY BETWEEN MEN.

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.

Another disease

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

there is no unity.

1 In margin of MS.
CLASSES NOT WELL BALANCED.

26. **Lvpset.**—Thys cannot be denyd; but what dys-case wyl you lykku thys vnto reynyng in manyns body, gud Master Pole?

27. **Pole.**—Sir, me semyth hyt may wel be lykky-nyd to a pestylence; for lyke as a pestylens, where so euer hyt reynyth, lyghtly, and for the most parte, destroyth a *grete nombur of the pepul wythout regard of any person had, or degre, so doth thys dyscord and debate in a commynaltie, where so euer hyt reynyth, schortly destroyth al gud ordur and cyulyte, and vt-turly takyth away al helth from thys poltyke body and tranquyllyte.

28. **Lvpset.**—Truly you say well; for euen so hyt hath byn from the begynnynge, I trow, of the world vnto thys day. Thys hathe euer byn a grete destroytion to euer commyn wele; thys hath destroyd more then any pestylens, as Lyuius wrythyth.

29. **Pole.**—Wel, thes, Master Lvpset, wych I hane now notyd are the most commyn dysaseys, touchyng, as hyt were, the helth of thys poltyke body, wherof to speke we fyrst purposyd. Other ther be yet concernyng the beuty and strength of the same, to the wych now we wyl dyrect our 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 proporeyonabul one to a nother: one parte ys to grete, a nother to lytyl; one parte hath in hyt ouermany pepul, another ouerfew. As, prestys are to many, and yet gud clerkys to few; monkys, frerys, and chanonys are to many; and yet gud relygyouse men to few. Prokturys and brokarys of both lawys, wych rather trowbul menys causys then fynysch them justely, are to many; and yet gud mynystres of justyce are to

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L. says it can't be denied; but what disease is it like?

Pestylens. A pestilence, answers Pole, which regards no man. [* Page 129.]

L. owns this has been so from the beginning of the world.

P. says he will now speke of the diseases which concern the beauty and strength of the body politic.

There is a want of proportion;

Priests are too many, and good clerks too few;

Deformyte in the body.

In margin of MS.
few. Merchantys, caryng out thyngys necessary for our owne pepul, are one maney; and yet they wych schold bryng necessarys are to few. Servantys in meanys housys are to many, craftys men and makers of tryfullys are to many; and yet gud artyfycers be to few; and occuparys and tyllarys of the ground are to few. Aftar thys maner the partys in proporyton not agreyng, but hauyng of some to maney, and of some to few, lene much enormyte, and make in thyts polytyke body grete and monstrose deformyte.

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

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 nither so abul to defend our selfe from iniury of ennemys, nither of other by feastys of armys to recover our ryght agayn, as we haue byn here before tyme; wych thyng schold be manyfestely knowne by sure experyence, of 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 nombar of them wych be exercysyd in dedys and feastys of armys, in whome chefly stondyth the strength of euyt cuntrey. Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl consydur wyth them-
selwe indiyferently the state of our reame as hyt ys now,

as anybody may see who will compare the state of the realm.

Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl consydur wyth them-
selwe indiyferently the state of our reame as hyt ys now,

Deblyte.\(^1\) L. says this is quite evident.

32. Leypset.\(^2\)—Sir, as touchyng thys, when I re-

In margin of MS.  \(^2\) MS. Le.
EVERY MAN SEeks HIS OWN PROFIT.

powar hath byn subduyd both Skotland and Fraunce, I can not but thinke hyt true that you say, and that our polytyke body ys not so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme past, nor as hyt schold be now of necessity. Wherfor I wyl not be obstynate, but playnly confesse our weke-nes and 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 purpus here at thys tyme. Wherfore now a lytyl we wyl examyn the fautys wych we schal fynde sundry in the partys, as hyt were, separat from the hole; as in the hede, handys, and fete, wych I before notyd here to resembyl thes partys in manys body. As, to the hede (yf you remembyr) I resemblyd the offycerys and rularys in euery commynalty, in whose faute to se here in our 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 lokyth chefely to theyr owne profyte, plesure, and commodyte, and few ther be wych regard the welth of the commynalty; but, vnder the pretense and colure therof, euery *one of them procuryth the pryuate and the syngular wele. Pryncys and lordys syldon loke to the gud ordur and welth of theyr subiectys; only they loke to the receuyng of theyr rentys and reuenuys of theyr landys, wyth grete study of enhamuysng therof, to the further maynteynyng of theyr pompos state; so that yf theyr subiectys dow ther 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 hane the woll, they lytyl care for the sympul schype, but let them wandur in wyld forestys, in daunger

1 In margin of MS.
of wolfs dayly to be denouryd. Jugys and mynystrys
of the law, you see how lytyl regard, also, they hane
of gud and true admynistratyon of justyce. Lucyr
and affectyon rulyth al therin ; for (as hyt ys commynly
and truly also sayd) "materys be endyd as they be
frendyd." Yf they jugye be hys frend whose cause ys
intretyd, the mater lyghtly can not go amys, but euer
hyt schalbe fynyschyd accordyng to hys desyre. Thys
fautys you may see in offycerys and rularys both spirituall and temporal ; therby you may most playnly per-
ceyue how lytyl they regard theyr *offyce and duty, by
the reson wherof in the hedeyng of thys commynalty ther
ys reynyng a grete dysease, the wych, as me semyth,
may wel be comparyd to a frency. For lyke as in a
frency man consyderyth not hymselfe, nor can not tel
what ys gud, nother for hymselfe, nor yet for other,
but euer thyng doth that emyth to hys fancy, wyth-
out any ordur or rule of ryght reson, so dow our offycerys
and rularys of our cuontrey (wythout regard other of
theyr owne true profyt or of the commyn,—forgettyng
al thyng wych percyntyth to theyr ofyce and duty)
apply them selfe to the fulfyllyng of theyr vayn plesurys
and folysch fantasye ; wherfor they be taken, as hyt were,
wyth a commyn frenesye.

34. Lypsett.—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 whom I resemblyd plowmen and laburarys of the
ground, wyth craftys men and artyfycerys, in procuryng
of thyngys necessary) are neclygent and slo to the exer-
cyse therof wych pertynth to theyr ofyce and duty.

Plowmen dow not dylygently labur and tyl they ground

1 In margin of MS.
for the brynyng forth of frutys *necessary for the fode
and sustenance of man; craftys men also, and al arti-
fycerys, 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 nedo no more to dow so,
then to schow the lyght of the sone by a candyl, thys
mater ys so open to every manys ye. For thes many
and grete waste groundys here in our cuntrey, the grete
lake of vytyale and the skarsenes therof, and darth of
al thyng workyd by manmys hande, dow not only schow
the grete neclygence of the rest of our pepul, but in the
plowmen also and artfyceiys dothe arge and declare
manyst capital lake of dylygence. For thys ys sure—ys our
plowmen here were as dylygent as they be in other
partyys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not
haue so much wast ground, voyd and vntyllyd, as ther
ys now; and ys our artfyceiys applyd themselfe to la-
bur as dylygently as they dow in other cuatreys, we
schold not haue thyngys made by manys hande so
skase and so dere as they be now here commynly. For
thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englyond ys
more gyuen to idul glotony then any pepul of the world;
wych ys, to al them that haue experyence of the man-
erys of other, manyst 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 vnprofytabul to the body,
hauyng no powar to exereyse themselfe in theyr natural
offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknys to
procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

*Page 134.

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.

Our people are
given to idle
gluttony.

[] Page 135.

Goute.1
This idleness of
the hands and
feet is like the
gout,

Chiragra
podagra.1

1 In margin of MS.
lygence of the plowmen and artyfycerys, thys polytyke body lyth as dede, wythout lyfe and quyknes, lakkyng al thyng necessary for the fode and natural sustenance of the same. Wherfor we may wel, for thys cause, compare thys dysease reynyng in thys party vnto the goute in mannys body, wych so occupyth the handys and the fete that they be not abul to dow theyr offyce and natural exerçyse.

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

38. Lypset.—Sir, in thysh behalfe I can not agre wyth you, but rather I maruayle that you can say so; for thys reame hath byn callyd euers rych, and of al Chrystandome one of the most welthys. For, as touching wole and lede, tym, yron, syluur and golde, ye, and al thyngys necessary for the lyfe of man, in the habundance wherof stondlyth veray true ryches, I thynke our countrey may be compared wyth any other. Wherfor, me semyth, you schold not complayne much of the pouerty of our reame.

39. Pote.—Master Lupset, you speake lyke a man of the old world and not of thys tyme. For thys ys vn-dowtyd and certaynly true, that our yle hathe byn the most welthy and rych ile of Chrystandome, and not many yerlys of goo; but yf you consydur hyt wel, and

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

examyn the state thereof as hyt ys now, compassynge hyt wyth the same in anciente tyme, I suppose you schal syd fynd grete alteratyon therin. You schal syd, for grete ryches and lyberalyte in tyme past, now grete wrecyhdnes 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 countrey in thys lake and skarsenes of pepul. For thys ys sure, that in no countrey of Chrystundome, for the nombur of pepul, you schal fynd so many beggarys as be here in Englond, 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 degrs, you schal dowte of thys mater no thynge at al. The plowman, the artyficer, the marchant, the gentylman,—ye, lordys and pryncys, byschoppys and prelatys,—al wyth one voyce cry they lake money, and that they be no thynge so welthly 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 thynge 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, vytayle, 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 makyth every thynge gud chepe. Wherfor, now, in thys darth of al thyngys, we must nedy commyss grete lake, penury, and skarsenes of thyngys necessary to the mayntenance 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,

90
garys, hyt arguth no poeerty, but rather mu[ch] idulnes and yl pollycey; for hyt ys theyr owne cause and necligence 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 comptaynt 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 abwzdaunce and plenty, yet they wold complayne; ye, and many of them fayn pouerty. You schal fynd few that wyl confesse themselfe ryche, few that wyl say they haue enough. How compare our be hyt, yf we wyl justely examyn the mater, and compare our pepul of Englond wyth the pepul of other cuntreys, I thynke 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 punnysch vs, then we must lake, and lay no faute in our pollycey. Wherefor, me semyth, you nede not to lay to vs here in our cuntrey thys grete poueerty, nor yet thys gret lake of thyngys necessary; except hyt be such as commyth by the prouydeace of God, wych by no wyt nor pollycey of man may be amendyd.

41. Pole.—Master Lvpset, I haue spyd by you that you are loth to graunt your cuntrey to be pore, speccyally 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,

[* Page 139.*]

so don't lay all this blame on vs.

P. owns that the poverty of other countries is greater than our own.
among the commyn pepul in other partys then wyth vs in England. But therein I wyl wyth you agre, Master Lwpset, bycause we haue before our yes a true commyn wele, as we haue describyd 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 perranenture 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 in no case may stond wyth a veray true and flouryschyng 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 pollycy. Hyt ys no dowte but hyt arguth suffycyently both, and thys complaynt cumyth not, as I sayd, also of nought; for though hyt be so that men may dyssembyl and fayne grete pouerty, where as non ys, yet I thynke, in dede, hyt ys not so alway. Al men wold not so agre in dyssymylyng, some state schold be content, and no thyng complayn. But, Master Lwpset,\(^1\) 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 England. 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 necessary, wych cumyth not only by the commyn ordynance and pronysyon 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 eyndent and playn); such lake, I say, ther ys therof here among

\(^{1}\) MS. le.
DIRT AND DILAPIDATIONS.

803 vs that may not be suffryd wyth the true commyn wele. Wherfor, notwythstondyng that we haue not most ex-
treme pouerty, yet such hyt ys as hath not byn before
many yersys here in our cuntrey, and such as must be
reformyd, yf we wyl restore the commyn wele aftur such
*forme and faseyon as we haue descrybyd before, wyth
809 a juste pollycy.

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

825 Ther ys no cure nor regard of them, but euery man for
hys tyme only lynyth and lokyth to hys plesure, wyth-
out regard of the posteryte.

42. Lvpset.—Sir, therin I agre to you wyl. How
be hyt, surely our cuntrey ys not so pore as many other
be; nor yet so pore as me thought, by your resonyng,
813 you wold haue had me to confess. But surely ther ys
grettur pouerty then nedeq to be, yf ther were among vs
gud pollycy; for thys euery man may see,—that some
haue to much, some to lytyl, and some neuer a wyt.
Wherfor, wythout fayle, a mysordur ther ys wherby
818 rysyth thys pouerty.

43. Pole.—Hyt ys enough that you wyl now at the
last graunt me that. But now let vs loke ferther yet to
the vtward thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of our
commyn wele in thys polytyke body. Dow you not see
a grete faute in our cytes, castellys, and townys, con-
cernyng the byldyng and clene kepyng of the same?

1 In margin of MS.
EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

wyth other, as hyt had byn for a vyctory, wych schold be more beutyful and strong, bettur byld and clemmnr kept; such dylygens they put al to that purpos. And, contrary, here wyth vs they pepul sem to study to fynd meanys how they may quyklyst let fal into ruyn and dekey al theyr cytes, castelys, and townys. Every gentylyman flyth into the cuntrey. Few that inhabit cytes or townys; few that haue any regard of them; by the reson wherof in them you schal fynd no pollycy, no eyuyle ordur almost, nor rule.

45. Pole.—Master Lvpset, thys ys veray wel sayd of you. Befor I had much to dow to make you to conffesse such fautys as we spake of; but now me thynke you wyl begun to confyrme them, and to fulfyl your promys also, made at the begynnynge of our commyny-
catyon: that was, to put me in remembrance of such mysorduryys as you also yourselfe, by long experyence, had notyd; and I pray you, Master Lvpset, so to dow.

46. Lvpset.—Wel, sir, seynng that you wyl haue me to take that parte apon me now, certayn thyngys wych I haue notyd as grete detrymectys and hurtys to our commyn *wele, and, namely, concernyng the vtward thyngys requryd 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 carrying out of thyngys necessary for vs, I haue obseruyd, as me semyth, a grete faute here in our cuntrey; for ther ys conuhauns of many thyngys necessary to the vse of our pepul, more then may be wel sufferyd, both of catayl, and corne, wol, tym, and led, and other metallys, wher-
of we haue no such abundaunce, that our cuntrey wyth commoditye 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

Here every gentleman flies to the country to live.

P. thinks this very well said, and asks him to go on.

He complains that the country exports cattle, corn, wool, tin, lead: for which we receive winys, fine cloths, silks, beads, knives, and such trides:

* Page 143.

1 In margin of MS. Read εἰσαγωγή καὶ ἔξαγωγή.
all of which we should either be better without, or could make ourselves. Exercise of artys and craftys here in our countrey; as, many sortys of delyciate wynys, fyne clothys, says and sylkys, bodys, combys, gyrdyllys and knyfys, and a thousand such tryfelyngh thyngys, wych other we myght wel lake, or els, at the lest, our owne pepul myght be occupyd wyth the workyngh therof, wych now, by the reson therof, are much corrupt wyth idulnes and slothe. And in thys behalfe, me semyth, hyt ys a grete hurte to Hurtofciothyngj the clotharys of Englond, thys bryngyng in of French clothys, the cause why I nede not to open, wych to euery The wines also impoverish the manyfest. And thys bryngyng in of such impoverish the abundance of wyne ys a grete i?»poueryschyng to many gentylmen, wych nowadays caw kepe no house wythout wyn" i. Theyr sellarys ful of dyuerse kyndys of wyne. Before theyr thryft and consume the tyme in commyn tauernys, to the grete destructyon and ruyne of the pepul.

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 abundance of wyne.

48. Lvpset.—That ys troth, and yet, for al that, because men are so prone of theyr corrupt nature and roly to plesure, me semyth hyt were nothyng anys yf the occasyon were taken from them, wych ys surely much incresyd by thys grete abundance 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, conuenyent hyt ys that some we hane for the apparayle of the noblyte; but yet therein I note a nother grete mysordur, in the

1 In margin of MS.
apparayle, I say, of our pepul. For now you se ther ys almost no man content to were cloth here made at home in our owne cuntrey, nother lynyn nor wolen, but ever\nman wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as cham-\nlet, says, fustyanys, and sylkys; by the reson wherof\ndyners *craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuarys,\nworstyd-makyrs, tukkarys, and fullarys, wyth dyuerse\nother of the same sort. Thys thynghys folow, and be 915\nannexyd as commyn effectys to the bryngyng in of such\nthynghys as we myght bettur lake, then haue in such\nabundaunce as we haue now commynly.

49. Pole.—Thys wych you say I trow every man se\nseth. No man can deny them, who delytyth not in\nobstynacy.

50. Lypset.—Ther ys a nother thyngh as playn as\nths, the wych, though hyt be in dede no les faute then\nthe other, yet hyt ys taken for non at al, but rather\nfor grete honowre and prayse, and that ys, the excesse\nin dyat, and the mysordur therin, wych al men of juge-\nment playnly dow see; for ther was neuer so grete\npestyng and bannkettyng, wyth so many and dyuerse\nkyndys of metys, as ther ys now in our days commynly
vsyd, and specyally in mean mennys housys. Now\neyery mean gentylman for the most parte wyl fare as
wel as before tyme were wont pryncys and lordys; and\nthys they take for theyr grete honowre, wych, in dede,
ys a grete dyshonowre and manyfest destructyion and
detrymente to the commyn wele sundry ways; as wel
by nuryzychyng many idul glottonys, wherof spryngyth\nmuch syknes, as by the bryngyng in also of grete\nskarsenes of catayl, corne, and al other vytayl; for thys\nmay be a commyn prouerbe, "many idul glotonys
make vytayle dere."

51. Pole.—Thys mysordur ys also manyfest. Hyt\nmay not be wyth reson denyd.
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 nobylte are in that behalfe ouer sumptuous. They byld commynly aboue theyr degre. A mean man wyl haue a house mete for a prynce, wych, me semyth, ys no thyng comvenyent to hys state and condycyon.

948

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 cuitre, wythout gylyng and daubyng the postys wyth gold, me semyth hyt may be sufferyd ryght wel; for hyt ys a grete ornament to the cuitre, 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 is decay from chiefely note; for now you schal see many men byld more then they themselfe, or theyr heyrys and successorys, be conuenyent abyl to maynteyn and repaye. 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 aboue theyr state, condycyon, and degre.

55. Pole.—Of that sort, Master Lvpset, you schal not fynd veray many. But the greyst 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 cuitre.

56. Lvpset.—They are no smal fautys bothe togyddar, nor can not be excusyd by any gud reson. And further, also, me semyth ther ys a grete faute in tyllage of the ground. Ther ys no man but he seth the grete enclosyng in euery parte of herbul land; and where as

1 In margin of MS.
was corne *and* fruteful tyllage, now no thyng ys but pasturys *and* playnys, by the reson wherof many vyl-
lagys *and* townys are in few days ruynate *and* dekeyd.

57. Pole.—Thys hath byn thought a faute many a
day; but yf the mater be wel examynyd, peranenture
hyt ys not so grete as hyt apperyth, *and* so ys jugyd of
the commyn sorte. For seyng hyt ys so that our fode
*and* nuryschyng stondyth not only in corne *and* frutys
of the grounde, but also in bestys *and* catayl, no les
necessary then the other, ther’ must be prowysyon for
the bredyng of them as wel as for the tyllynge of the
erthe, wych can not be wythout pasturys *and* enclosure
of ground. For thys ys certayn, wythout pasturys such
multytude of catayl wyl not be maynteynyd as ys re-
queryd to vs here in our cuntrey, where as lakkynth the
manifold *and* dyuerse frutys wych ys had in other cunt-
reys for the sustenaunce of man. Wherfor, I thynke
hyt veray necessary to haue thys inclosyng of pasturys
for our catayl *and* bestys, *and* specyally for schepe, by
whose profyte the welth *and* pleasure here of thys reame
ys much maynteynyd. For yf your plenty *and* abund-
aunce of wolle were not here maynteynyd, you schold
hane lytyl brought in by marchaundys from other partys,
*and* so we schold lyue wythout any pleasure 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 hane
more commodyte *and* veray true pleasure, 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 nuryschyng of the
pepul, hyt ys necessary that we schold hane more increse
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 have to much regard and study of the nuryschynng of schype and wyld bestys here in our countrey. Hyt can not be denyd. And therfor me semyth we also are ofte-tymys justely puunyschyd theryfore for commynly they dye of skabe and rottys in grete nombur, wych euowyth chefoly, aftur myn opynyon, bycause they are nuryschyd in so fat pasture. For a schype by hys nature, and also a dere, louyth a lene, barren, and drye ground. Wherfor, when they are closyd in made pasture and butful ground, they are some touchyd wyth the skabe and the rott; and so, though we nurysch ouer many by inclosure, yet ouer few of them (as experience showyth) 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 lytlyl regard of the bredying 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 com-myn profyt. And so thys, notwythstondyng that we haue ouer much pasture, yet we haue of such bestys ouer few wyth are brought to the profyte of man, and be neces-sary to the maytenance of the vtward wele of a com-mynalty; of the wych thynge, perauenture, rysyth a parte of thys grete darthe both of vytayl and corne, as I thynke here aftur, in hys place, you wyl more largely schow and declare. Now here hyt ys suffycyent for me to note thys as a commyn faute, and that hyt ys no thynge necessary for the nuryschynng of our bestys to haue so grete inclosurys of pasturyrs, wych ys a grete dekey of the tyllage of thys reame; and specly when the fermys of al such pasturyrs nowadays, for the most parte, are brought to the handys of a few and rychar men, wych wyl gyue other gretyst rent or fyne for the vse therof; wych thynge I note as a nother grete faute

1 In margin of MS.
concernyng our purpos now intendyd. For by thys bothe they pore men are excludyd from theyr lyuyng, and, besyde that, the ground also wors tylyyd and occupyd, remeynyng in the handys of them who therof take lytyl regard. Thes few thynyngs now are come to my mynd, wych I haue notyd, concernyng the *dekey of ryches and other vtward thynyngs necessary to the welthy mayntenance of our polytyke body. How be hyt, to say the truthe, thes same al folow and be annexyd and couplyd to such fautys as you yourselfe notyd before.

59. Pole.—I can not tel you that, but yt hyt were so in dede, yet hyt ys not much amys to haue them more partycularly exercysyd, wych you in few wordys haue suffycyently downe. Wherfor now, Mastur Lvpset, aftur that we haue notyd the most general fautys and mysorduryes that we can fynd now at thys tyme, bothe in the polytyke body and also in the vtwarde thynyngs of necessyte requyryd to the welthy state and veray commyn wele here of our cuntrey, thys remeynyth (acconlyng to the proces of our communycatyon at the begynnynyng appoyntyd) to note also, and, aftur the maner begun, schortly to touch the mysorduryes and yl gouernance wych we schal fynd in [the] ordur and rul of the state of our cuntrey ; the wych ordur and rule we before haue declaryd to resembly the soule in manys body. For euyn lyke as the soule gyuyth lyfe, gouernyth, and rulyth the body of man, so doth cyuyle ordur and polytyke rule (as we sayd before) gouerne and stably the polytyk body in every cuntrey, eyte, 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 sykenes in manys 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 indede most greusly dys-

casyd 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 cuntrey,

wich no thyng at al are perceuyyd nor felt; for they are,

by long custume and law in processe of tyme, so

growne among vs, so conformyd in our harty, 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 gyne

place euer to reson manyfest and playn.

L. will be careful to avoid grunting too much.

1095 60. Lvpset.—That I wyl surely, yf I may perceyue

hyt, for I neuer louyd blynd obstynacy; but, contrary,

I schal beware, as nere as I can, that you schal not make

me to graunt such thyngys to be mysordurys and fautys

wych in dede are non at al.

61. Pole.—Thys I remembyr we agred apon before;

but yet, bycause hyt ys a gud poyn, I am wel content

that we agre apon thys bargyn onys agayne. And thus

1103 now let vs begun.

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[CHAPTER IV.]

1. [Pole.]—Hyt ys not vnknown to you, Master

Lvpset, that our cuntrey hathe byn gouernyd and rulyd

thes many yerys vnder the state of pryneys, wych by

theyr regal powar and pryncely authorete, 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 prynate

1 MS. are so.  

2 In margin of MS.
man and subyecte; or els, by and by, they haue sayd that 
men schold mynysch theyr prynceely authoryte. For 
what ys a prynce (as hyt ys commynly sayd) but he may 
dow what he wyl? Hyt ys thought that al holly hang-
yth apôn 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 
accordlyng to hys wyl and plesure; wych ys, wythout 
dowte, and euer hath byn, the greyst destruction to 
thyngs reame, ye, and to al other, that euer haethe come 
thereto. Thys I coude declare to you, yf hyt were nede, 
by long and many storys; but I thynke ther ys no 
maþ that equally wyl cowsydur 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 
commynth to hyt by natural successyon; for *sylordon 
seen hyt ys that they wych by successyon comme to 
kyngdomys and reamys are worthy of such hye au-
thoryte.

2. Lvpset.—Sir, take you hede here what you say; 
for thys poynt that you now touch wyl seyne, peryenture 
to many, to sowne to some treson. For what! Wyl you 
make a kyng to haue no more powar then one of hys 
lordys? Hyt ys commynly sayd (and, I thynke, truly) a 
kynge ys abone 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 thyngeys 
that I spake of at the begynnynge, wherby we are 
dyseasyd and percyewe 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 some fynd such
faute therin that we may wel call 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 gouernyd by a prynce, and al thyng to be subiecte to hys wyl (so that he be suche a one that in wysdome and vertue he

so fer excellyth al other as doth the maiesty of a prynce the private state *of the sympul commynalty) so hyt ys of al the most pestylent and pernyeyouse 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 and perfayte wysdome that, for the same only, he ys to be preferryd aboue al other, and most worthy therfor to be rular and pyncye. Wherfor, sythen hyt ys so, that our prynceys are not chosen of the most worthys by electyon, but by the ordur of our reame, how so euer hyt chaunce, come by successyon, I thynke hyt no thyng expedient to commyt to them any such authoryte and prynecly powar, wyche ys to syngular vertue and most perfayt wysdome only due and convyent. For though hyt be so that some one may chaunce by successyon to be borne worthy of such authoryte, yet thys ys sure,—bycause syldom that happenyth, and many for one be no thyng worthy the same,—that bettur hyt ys to the state of the commyn wele, to restreyne from the pyncye such hye authoryte, commyttynge that only to the commyn counseyl of the reame and parlyamente assembled here in our cuntrey. For such prerogatyf in powar grauntyd to prynecys ys the destructyon of al lawys and pollycy. Thys you may almost in expereyence dayly see; for ther be few lawys *and statutys, in parlyamentys ordeynd, but, by placardys and lyceene opteynyde of the pyncye, they are broken and abrogate, and so to the commyn wele dow lytyl profyt; even lyke as dyspensatyonyd has dow in the Popys law, wych

80 hathe bryn the destraecyt of the law of the churche.

1 In margin of MS.
Wherfor tyl thys be redressyd, lytly schal hyt avayle to denyse never so gud statutys, ordynanceys, and lawys, wych now be but as snarys set for a tyme, aftur, at the lyberty of the prynce, to be losyd agayne. Thys ys the rote and mother of many mysordurys here in our cuatrey. Nor you schal not thynke that a prynce were then in wors case then any of hys lordys, wych hath lyberty to dow what he wyl; but, contrary, forasmuch as to folow reson ys veray true lyberty, the prynce ys no thyng in boundage therby, but rather reducyd to true lyberty. And whereas you say the kyng ys abone hys lawys, that ys partely true and necessary, and partely both false and pernyceous. And schortly to say, so long as the kyng ys lyuely reson, -wych ys the only hede and ndar of reamy by the ordur of nature, so long, I say, he ys aboue hys lawys, wych be but, as you wyl say, rayson dome, hauyng no powar to consydur the circumstaneyes of thynys; but when the prynce ys lyuely, or, rather, dedely affectyon, then, I say, he ys subiecte to hys lawys, and bounden to be obeydynte to the same, wych obeydence 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 dispense wyth the commyn lawys and wyth the transgressorys and brekarys of the same; to dystrybute al grete promocyonys and office; to make and breke legys and peace wyth other natyonys and pryneyes about; —to leue, I say, al such thyngys to the fre wyll and lyberty of one, ys the open gate to al tyranny. Thys ys the grounde of the destryt Lyon of al eyuylyte, thys enteryth and turnyth vp so downe al polytyke ordur and rule. For thys ys sure—the wyll of one commynly can not compas so much as the wyll of many in materys of pollycy; for hyt ys commynly sayd "many yes see bettur then one." Wher-for, to be schort, and so to conclude, to attrybute so much to the wyll and pleseyre of one, can not be wythout

A prince would not then be in worse case than his lords.

It is a great fault for one man to be able to dispense with the law, and it is the gate to all tyranny.

One can't com-pass as much as many;

"many eyes see better than one."

To give so much power to one is
the ruin of the commonwealth.

L. is surprised at this, and thinks a prince, without the authority of a prince, would give much trouble to the commons.

124 to hym by the consent of the hole commynys, he may moderat al thyng accordyng to hys plesure and wyl; or els hyt schold be necessary to cal veray oft the commyn consel of parlyament, and so oft as any grete causys incydent requyryd the same, wyche perteyne to the hole body of the *reme; wyche were not smal trowbul to the commynys of thyse reame. Therfor I can not see but yf

131 you wyl haue a kyng, you must also gyue hym the powar perteynyng to the maiesty of the same.

5. Pole.—Master Lypset, yf kyngys and pryneys in reamys were by electyon chosen, such as, of al other, for theyr prynceely vertues, were most worthy to rule, hyt were then veray conmenyent they schold haue al such authoryte as ys annexyed 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 pernycouse and hurtful to the commyn wele; and here in our cuntrey (frely to speke betwyx you and me) a grete destructyon to our cuntrey, wyche hath bryn perceynd by our for-fatherys days, at dyuere and many tynys, and schold be also now,

148 yf we had not a nobul and wyse prynce, wyche ys euer content to submyt hymselfe to the ordur of hys consel, no thyng abusyng hys authoryte. But *al be hyt that he of hys gudnes abusyth hyt not at al, yet, to vs

152 wych now study to fynd al fautys in the pollcy and
rule here of our cuntrey, hyt may wel appere to be 153
notyd as a grete faute, for as much as he may abuse hyt
if he wyl, and no restreynt ys had therof by the ordur
of our law; but rather, by law such prerogatyue ys
gyuen to hym, in so much that, as you sayd ryght wel
before, hyt ys almost treson to speke any thyng agayne
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
faute 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 tyne
and place hyt schal requyre. Now let us bo[I]dly
affyrme thys to be a grete mysordur in the poltyke 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, euuer as a marke to schote vnto, the
veray and true commyn wele, wych can not long stond
in such state whereas prynces are euuer 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 confess thys
thyng to be a faute in pollycy; for in al lawys and
poltyke ordur, thys ys a rule—such thyng to determe as,
for the most parte, ys best, though some tyme the con-
trary may happun and fal. How say you, ys hyt not
so, Master Lvpset?

L. asks how the fault can be redressed?

P. replies, We'll see about that another time.

Kings by suc-
essyon of
successyon of

[1] In margin of MS.
8. Lypset.—Syr, in thyss mater I can skant tell you what I schal say; for a the one parte, when I here your resonys, me seme they are probabyl and lyke the truth, but a the other syde, when I loke to the expe-
rience, and consydur the manerys, custome, and nature here of our cuntrey, me semyth the contrary, and that hyt schold be veray expedyent to have 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.

193 Nothing more hurthful than civil
c war, and

202 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 styffe 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 ambycyon and enuy; and so, also, at the end, euer sedycyon and cyuyle warre.

207 For our pepul be of that nature that, yf 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

212 fre electyon that you so prayse may not be admyttyd.

9. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, nothwystondyng that by gud reson you seme to defend thyss custume long vsyd in our reame and natyon, yet, yf we remembyr our purpos wel and ordur of resomnyng, hyt schal be no tyng hard to take away your reson at al. Thys you

222 know ys our purpos,—to fynd out the best ordur that,

1 "pepul" written above.
by prudent policy, may be stablyschyd in our *reame and cuntrey, and to fynd al fautys wych repugne to the same, of the wych thys I notyd to be one pryncepal and chefe. For what ys more repugnant to nature, then a hole natyon to be gounryd by the wyl of a prynce, wyche 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 wyche commynly lakkyth al reson. Looke to the Romaynys, whose com-

The Romans and Greeks always elected their prince. Succession by inheritance was brought in by tyrants.

Thys successyon of prynceys by inhereytance and blode was brought in by tyrannys and barbarus prynceys, wyche, as I sayd, ys contrary to nature and al ryght reson; wyche you may se, also, more euydently, by successyon in private famylys, wherin you see that yf the sone be prodygal and gyuen to al vyce and folly, 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 commenyent and best. Much more hyt ys to be admyttyd in a reame, that yf the prynce be not mete to succeede hys father, that then a nother ys to be *chosen by the fre electyon of the cyty-

still he thinks it best in our country to take our prince by succession.

ordur and iust pollycy, a prynce to be chosen by fre electyon at lyberty. And yet, Master Lypset, 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 confusion as you before sayd; but, Master Lypset, that ys not best of hys nature, wych, of
ij thynge wyche both be ye, ys only the bettur. Troth
lyte ys, as our pepul be now affectyd, and as the state
of our reame ys, ye lyte ys to take our pryce by succes-
syon, and much wors by fre electyon; and yet ye we
wyll stablysch a true commyn wele wythout al tyranny,
and wythout al wrechydnes of the pepul and mysery,
we must nedys graunte thys best to be, and most con-
uenyent to nature, to take a pryce electyd and chosen
of al other for hys wysdome and vertue most worthwhile
to reyne. We may not consydur what ys best and most
conuenyent to our pepul now as they be, but what
schold be most conuenyent to them gouernyd and rulyd
by cyuyle ordur and resonabul lyfe, accordyng to the
excellent dygnyte of the nature of man. And thys ther
ys no repugnance betwyyx your opynyon and myne in
thys grete mater, for both be true, ye wyll ponder them
after such maner as I haue * before sayd and openyd at
large. Therfor, ye wyll thynke best, let vs procede
ferther in our commynycatyon; for thys ys sure—both
to gyne to our pryce such regal powar and hye pre-
rogatyfe, and also to haue hym by successyon of blode,
ye a grete fante in our pollycy and much distant from
al cyuyle ordur.

10. Leupest. Sir, you haue now satysfyd me ryght
wel; for now I see that, notwythstandyng that lyte ys
butter, as our pepul are affecte, to haue our pryce by
successyon of blode, yet, ye they wold lyue in true
lyberty and observe the cyuyle lyfe conuenyent to the
nature of man, best lyte were to haue hym chosen by fre
electyon. Therfor, I pray you, go forward, and let vs
examin some other mynsordurys in our pollytyke rule
and ordur of lyfe.

11. Pole.—A lyke fante vnto thys, but not so grete,
ye in the successyon of pryvate men. You know by
the ordur of our law, the edlys[ ] brother succedyth, ex-

1 MS. Le.
2 In margin of MS.
chydyng al the other from any parte of inheryaunce. Thys ys a thyng, as me semyth, fer out of ordur, vtturly to exclude the yongur bretherne out of al partys of the herytage, as though they were not the chyldur of that father nor bretherne to the heyre. Reson and nature vtturly requrryth 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 have 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 bretherne 1 vndowtydly thys thynge 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 gouernaunce.

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 thyngeys 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 thyngeys, that thys begin of such thynge 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 begynnyng, wer infynyte and grete folly, but only to note such thyngeys as in general repugne to the commyn wele 328 1 "brother and brother," written aboue.
329 before deserybyd, and such as, for the most parte, are taken for no fautys at all; *of the nombr us whome ys thys wych we speke of now, and other perauenture we schal, as tyme requyryth, open and touch. But, Master Lvpset, to retorne to the purpos, let me here a lytyl your mynd in thys mater some what more at large.

14. **Lvpset**.—Syr, wyth a gud wyl. Fyrst, me thynk-yth 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, 341 ordynyancys, and statutys, wych conetyne the pepul in gud ordur and rule, are to be alowyd and iustely to be receyuyd. Thys, I thynke, was wel consynyderd of them wych fyrst instytute thys law of inherytance. They wel consynderd the nature of our pepul, wych by nature be somewhat rude and sturdy of mynd, in so much that yf they had not in euery place some hedys and gouvernarys to tempur theyr affectys rude and vnruuly, theyr wold among them be no ordur at al; and ther-

350 for hyt was not wythout cause, as hyt apperyth, or-deynyd and stablyschyd, that in euery grete famyly the eldyst schold succede, to mayntyne a hede, wych, by authouryte, dygnyte, and powar, schold bettur conetyne 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 ycr ys they hede famyllys wold dekey, and by lytyl and lytyl vtitruy vanysch away; and so they pepul schold be wythout rularys and hedys, the

360 wych then, by theyr rudenes and foly, wold schortly dysturbe thys quyat lyfe and gud pollyey, wych by many agys they hane lade here in our cuatre: such schold be the dyssensyon and dyscorde one wyth another. *And so, me semyth, the mayntenance of thys hedys *ys
the mayntenaunce of al cynyle 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 cyuylyte; and,
besyd thys, you schal therwyth bryng in the ruyne of
al nobyllyte and aunceyent stokkys. For yf you from no-
bullys onys taketheyr grete possessyonys, or mynystur
any occasyon to the same, you schal, in processe of
yerys, confounde the nobyllys and the commynys to-
geddur, aftur such maner that ther schalbe no dyfferens
betwyx the one and the other. Thys apperyth to me, 375
except, Master Pole, you can answere to thes resonys,
wych semen playnly to conclude contrary to your sen-
tence. For as touchyng that you say thys maner of in-
herytance to be contrary to the law of nature, that I can
not graunt, for as much as the dyspo[sy]tyon of thes
worldly godys lyth not euere in the fre wyl of man, to
dyspose at hys lyberty; but, by ordur of law cyuyle,
may be dysposyd, orduryd, and bounden to the mayn-
tenance of gud pollycy, the wych repugnyth, aftur my
jugemeret, no thynge at al to the law of nature and
honesty.

15. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, notwythstandyng
your resonys semen 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 goumenourys
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 eldyt brother, whose
loue oft-tymys ys so cold and weke, that he may wel
THE ENTAILING OF LANDS

401 suffyr hys brethren to lyue in grettur pouerty then ys conuenyent to theyr nobylete. But yf you wold suffur thys addycyon and moderatyon to be yeoynd therto, your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys (as pryneys, dukys, erlys, and baronnys) such maner of successyon to be alowyd as conuenyent. But now, a the other parte, to admytt the same commynly among al gentylmen of mean sorte, what so euere 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.

Of this we may take example from the Romans, whose children equally divided the inheritance.

[∗ Page 108.]

This fault came of entailing lands, whereby every Jack would be a gentleman.

In great houses primogeniture may be borne, but not among "gentlemen of mean sort."

410 of such maner of successyon to be alowyd as conuenyent. But now, a the other parte, to admytt the same commynly among al gentylmen of mean sorte, what so euere 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.

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 eucn as they be of nature wythout dyfferens brought forth, so wythout dyfferens they equally succeede in theyr inherytance 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 indyffere?itly weyd; for eucn lyke as hyt ys among the nobyllys con

425 of the hedys and of nobylete, so hyt ys agayn reson and al cyuyle ordur to admyyt 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 schal schow here aftur in hys place. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, now yf you thynke thys to be a faute, aftur such maner as hyt ys now declaryd, let vs procede, and seke out for other

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 begynnyng 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, enen 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 custyme in euery 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, speccyally aftar such maner only to the eldyt sone in euery base famly, makyth many rechles heyrys, causyth them lytyl to regard nother lemyng nor vertue, in as much as they are sure to be inherytarys to a grete porcyon of intaylyd land; and so, by thys assurans, they gyue themselfe to al vanyte and plesure, wythout respecte.

The wych, I thynke, they wold not dow yf they were in dowte of such possessyonys, and the hole inherytaunce 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.

STARKEY.
LANDS HELD BY KNIGHT'S SERVICE.

472 bryngyth in grete inequaitye, and so much hate and malyce among the commynality. Wherfor thys ys no smal errore in the ordur of our law, and may wel be couplyd wyth the other.

19. Pole.—Let vs admyt hyt then to be so, and go forward. Ther ys a nother maner and custume touch-yng thes heyrys in our cuentre, no lesse, aftar my mynd, to be reprouydf, then the other before notyd; and that ys thys:—you know wel wyth vs, yf a man dye wych holdyth his 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 gouemaunce of the same. Thys apperyth to me fer agayn reson. Fyrst, hyt ys nothynge commenyent the heyre to be in gouernaunce and rule of hym wych ys to hym nother kyn nor alye, by the reson wherof he hath lytyl regard of hys bryngyng vp in lernyng and vertue; and, ferther, hys landys to be in the handys of hys superyor, wythout any counte therof to be had, ys yet les commenyent and more agayne reson, speccyally seyng they haue also such powar apon they heyre, that they may, aftarward, mary hym at theyr lyberty wyth whome they thynke best and most for theyr profyt. Thys, me semyth, ys a playne seruytute and iniury, and no guard, to be admyt-tyd in gud pollycy. How say you to thys, Master Lypset, thynke you not so?

20. Lypset.—Syr, ther be many thyngys here in our cuentre wych, yf a man consydur lyghtly and iuge them euenly, may appere much contrary to reson and gud pollycy; but they same, a lytyl bettur consyderyd, and depelyar weyd, schal seme not only to be tollerabyl enough, but also inst and resonabul, of the wych nombur I thynke thys to be one wherof we now spoke. For yf you consydur the ground and the ordynance of the law

1 In margin of MS.
at the fyrst begynnyng, I suppose you wyl not so much repro the mater as you dow. For thys we fynd in
storys and in the fyrst 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 famylys to inferyor personys
for theyr servyce downe to them before, vnder such con-
dycyon that when so ener they decessyd, leyng theyr
heyrys wythin age, that then thes landys durynge the
nonage schold retorne to the superior agayne, by whose
buwftyte hyt cam to the famyly and stoke, and the same
man also to haue such powar to mary hym as he thought
best and most commenyt; how be hyt, no thyng com-
pellyng hym therin at al, but only by gentyl and gud
exhortatyon mouyng hym therto, for hys profyt and
synguler comfort: the wych, me semyth, much resonabul,
consyderyn *they buwftys come al from hym by the
wych the hole famyly schold be maynteynyd. And as
for count durynge the nonage, why schold he make any,
seyn for that tyme hyt ys as hys owne? For the landys
were gyuen at the fyrst begynnyng vndersuch condycyon,
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 contabul.

21. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, set what face you
wyl apon thy mater, you can not persuade me thys ordur
to be gud, specyally 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 fyrst
entre of the Conquerour, or tyranne (cal hym as you
wyl) thys maner myght be for the tyme commenyt;
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
and refers to the
origin of the

custom.

and does not refer to

ANOTHER FAULT IS IN

the land had
gave their landys to their servantys myght put such\(^1\) power to make
condycon both of ward and marryage; and so hyt may
conditions;
appere somewhat resonabul al theyr successorys to be
\(^1\) Ms. so such.
bounde, aftur that maner, to them wych consydur the
tyme of the tyrane. But we must loke a lytyl *lyar,
and consydur the tyme of nature to the wych we wold
forme our commyn wele; and then we schal fynd thys
bondage to be vnresonabul among cyuyle pepul purpos-
yng to lyue in a just pollycy. Wherfor, Master Lyp-
set, let vs no more dowte of thys mater.

548 and consydur the tyme of nature to the wych we wold
forme our commyn wele; and then we schal fynd thys
bondage to be vnresonabul among cyuyle pepul purpos-
yng to lyue in a just pollycy. Wherfor, Master Lyp-
set, let vs no more dowte of thys mater.

552 22. Lypset.—Syr, you euer stoppe my mouth wyth
thys consyderatyon of the perfayt state; to the wych,
wythout fayle, thys maner dothe somewhat repugne; for
surely hyt smellyth a lytyl of tyranny. Wherfor,
bycause I wyl not wyth no sophystycal reson repugne
to the manyfest trueithe and equyte, therfor I wyl confesse
thys to be a grete errore in our commyn wele and
pollycy, without fether lettyng you to procede in the
rest of your communycatyon.

557 23. Pole.—Master Lypset, therin you clow wel; for
yf you schold tary our communycatyon wyth sophystycal
argumentys, we schold not thys day note halfe the erroys
wyth I purpos to talke wyth you of. For ther ys no-
thing so true and manyfest, but the suttylty of mamys
reson may denyse somethyng to say contrary, and to im-
pugne the same, as in thys 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 thynke
but you wyl fynd somewhat to lay agayne hyt.

565 24. Lypset.—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 inuenytion of the
truth and equyte; for you know *wel that dowtyng
and laying somewhat agayne the truth makyth hyt oft-
tymys to appere more manyfest and playn. Therfor
let vs see what thyng hyt ys that you thynke so many-

570 fest a faute.

P. thinks he does
well, as it will
save time.

L. will never
object for the
sake of victory.

[* Page 178.]

[* Page 174.]

25. Pole.—Syr, hyt ys touchyng appellatyony in causys and remouung by wrytt. You know ryght wel hyt ys wyth vs commynly vsyd, that if any man haue any controuersy in the schyre where he dwellyth, if 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 perauewtur 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 585 agayne hyt.

26. Lvpse/.—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 wyl vex hys aduersary for hys plesure or profyt; but the ordynance of the law ys gretely to be alowyd, wych, for bycause oft-tymys in the schyre by partys, made by affectyon and powar, materys are so borne and bolsteryd that justyce can not haue place wyth indyfferency, hath ordeynyd 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 affectyon fanoryd. 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 malyceously vexythe hys aduersary, yet the law ther-by ys not excusyd, wych so servyth to the malyce of man, so lyghtly admyttynge the remouyng of the cause before sentence be gyuen, and before hyt be knownen 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, appellatyyn ys necessary and re-

P.'s answer is that the law should only allow removal after just cause ascertained.

In margin of MS.
615 mouyng of the cause to indyffereuent 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 remonyng by wryte materys out of the schyre, but lyke wyse from the jugys of the commyn law to the chauncery and to the hyar counsel by iniunctyon; the wych thyng, as hyt apperyth, lettyth much justyce and trowblyth the hole ordur and processe of the law. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke not you thys to be truth?

28. Lvpset.—Syr, wythout fayle, I can not deny but other the law other the mynysterys therof, are somewhat to esy in grauntyng and admyttyng such apppellatyon and iniunctyon before the materys examynyd and tried, 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 wrongefully 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.

626 Faute in long sutyys.¹
P. has another complaint: suits take somet ime four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

629 Faute in long sutyys.¹
P. has another complaint: suits take somet ime four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

632 Faute in long sutyys.¹
P. has another complaint: suits take somet ime four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

643 of the law. For though hyt be so that thes hungry adnocatys and cormorantys of the court study much to delay causys for theyr lucre and proffyt, yet I thynke hyt can not be denyd but ther ys some faute also in the ordur of the law and in pollycy. For thys ys sure—ylf hyt were wel ordryd, justyce schold not be so desettyd, nor the processe therof so be stoppyd, by everly lyght and

¹ In margin of MS.
couteouse sergeant, proktor, or attornay. Wherfor me 650 thynke we may justely nombur thys among the other before notyd. How thynke you, Master Lvpset, ys hyt not so?

30. Lvpset.—Syr, schortly to say, thys I dow thynke, that yt they mynstres were gud, I suppose ther *woold be no grete faute found in the processe of the law nor ordur of the same; for the couteouse and gredy myndys of them destroyth al law and gud pollyce, wych ys a maruelous thynge, to see them wych were 659 fyrst instytute for the mayntenance and settyng forward of true justyce and equyte, now to be the destructyon of the same wyth al injury.

31. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys ys no dowte, the mynstres be the greyst cause of al such mysordurys; 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 mynstres, 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 proceede aftur the maner begun. Me thynke, to descende to thys parte, the ordur of our law also in the punnyschment of theft ys ouer-strayte, and faylyth much from gud eynylyte. For wyth vs, for evry lytyl theft, a man ys by and by hengyd wythout mercy or pyte; wych, me semyth, ys agayne nature and humanyte, specyally when they styyle for necessyte, wyt[h]out murdur or manslaughter com- 682 myttyd therin.

34. Lvpset.—Syr, I can not tel why you schold cal 1 L. says it is wonderful to see things which were instituted [Page 177.] for good, made ill.

P. thinks minis-
ters are the
greatest cause of
"misorders."

P. says for every
little theft men
are hanged with-
out mercy.

Punnyschment of
theft.

1 In margin of MS.
THE PUNISHMENT FOR not be too severe: thys ordur ouer-strayte, wych ys not yet, by al hys straytenes, suffycyent to make *felonys to be ware one by another. I thynke yf we coude deuyse a punnysch-ment 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 wel, wych dysturbyth al quyet lyfe and peacybul, that no Payne ys [equal] to the punnyschment therof.

P. maintains his point. 35. Pole.—Syr, yet, me thynke, a iuste moderatyon were to be had therin; for though hyt be so that the offens be grete agayne the commyn wele, yet when hyt ys downe apon grete necessyte, and wythout murdur, and at the fyrst tyme speyally, bettur hyt were to fynd some way how the man myght be brought to bettur ordur and frame; for by and by to heng hym vp, ys, wythout fayle, ouer-strayte and to much seneryte. When hyt ys downe wythout respect, speyally consydyryng that hyt avaylyth not also to the repressyng of the faute, as, by long tyme and many yerys, we haue had pro块 suffycyent.

To hang him is over severe. 36. Lypset.—Syr, yf ther myght be a way denysyd by gud pollycy wherby they myght be brough[†]to some bettur ordur, hyt were not to be refusyd, but necessary to our purpos.

Can you devise any other plan? 37. Pole.—That we schal se here aftur in hys place; now hyt ys enough yf you wyl confesse hyt to be ouer-strayte.

We shall see. 38. Lypset.—Yes, that ys no dowte, yf we coude fynd a *way to tempur and refrayne thayr malyce by other meane then by deth, as I thynke hereaftur you wyl schow.

Punnyschment of treason.1 39. Pole.—Sir, in hys place thys thyng I wyl not omyt. But now to our purpos. A lyke seneryte I fynd in the punnyschment of treason, wherby, you know, not only the heyre and al the stoke losyth hys landys,

^1 In margin of MS.
but also the credytorys holly are defaytyd of theyr dette, what so euer hyt be, wythout respecte; wyth thyng apperyth ouerstrayte also.

40. Lvpset.—Syr, me thyneke you pondur not wel the gretnesse of thys faute, wych of al other ys the most haynouse. Wherfor the traytoure 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 traytoure.

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

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

44. Lvpset.—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.—Farther, 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 prone hyt not, yet he ys not punnyschyd, but frely pardonyd by the custume here vsyd, wych ys playn agayn al gud reson.

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

1 In margin of MS.
755 suspycyon ys to be accusyd, wyouth all any dede, to the wych, yt ther were punnyschment greius by the law appoyntyd, ther wold neuer be accurasyon 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 probabyly conceuyyd; for euery lyght suspycyon in such grete causys ys not to be admyttyd, as hyt ys wyth vs in custume and vse; and that ys the faute only that I fynd here in our cuntre.

48. *Lvpset.—Syr, he that apon lyght suspycyon accusyth any man of so grete cryme, surely were worthy to be punnyschyd. Thys I can not deny; and so in admyttyn such lyght suspycyon 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 jyst pollycy. Wherfor, except you remembyr any other, we may procede to the fautys in the sprytual parte callyd; for of thy 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 maruayle that one thyng you haue so let pas cernywyg 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 ignomynouse and dyshonowre to our natyon; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subjection to the Normannys. Thys thyng apperyth to me not wel; for commyn law wold euer be wryten in the commyn tong, that every man that wold myght vnderstand the bettur such *statutys and ordynancys as he ys bounden to observe.

51. Pole.—Master Lypset, thys ys wel notyd of you; and testifies to our subjection by the Normans.

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. Lypset.—Syr, as touchyng that, here aftur in his place we may examyn and try out the truth herin; for, perauention, the reson ys not al one. For by the reson therof we are in our cuntrey constreynd to lerne the Latyn tong, wych ys necessary to them wyl lyue togyddur in gud cyuylyte, bycause al the lyberal artys are conteynd therin.

53. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, let vs not entur into thys dysputatyon now, but euen, as you say, dyffyr hyt to hys place, and now proceode to the spryttualty, 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 dyspensatyon of al lawys stab-lyscyd by God and man, the wych by money hys officerys dow sel; as hyt wer proclaymyng aftur thys maner,2 "who so euer wyl breke such lawys and such, let hym bryng thys some of money, and I schal dys pense *wyth hym." Thys ys a intollerabul vsage and custome. To which P. adds church-law in Latin.

How thynke you, Master Lypset,3 ys hyt not thys?

54. Lypset.4—Yes, truly abuse ther ys therin; but

1 In margin of MS.  
2 MS. mater.  
3 Ms. le.  
4 MS. Le.  

[* Page 182.]

[* Page 183.]
yet in the law I can not tel; for necessary hyt ys to haue one hede to moderate and temper 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
gaue that to Sayn Petur and to al hys successours also. Wherfor that authoryte may not be taken away, except you wyl take away the ground of our relygyon wythal.

55. Pole.—Nay, Master Lrpset,¹ not so. I wyl not name any poynpt of the Gospel at al. How be hyt, herin 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 authoritye 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 imputeyd to them. And as for the dispensa-tyon of lawys, wych aftur wereordeynyd by man, was also by man gyuen to the See of Rome. I mean not to the person of the Pope, but to hym and to his College of Cardynallys also, wych, at the fyrst, were chosen by theyr vertue and lernyng, men of aucyent wysdom and sage. They were not made by money, as they are now, and of al age, wythout respecte. Wherfor, thys ys my sentence:—the Pope hathe no such authoritye 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 extentyth only to the absolutyon of syn; and that wych by man was gyuen, was not gyuen only to hym, but to the hole cunpany 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. 125

therefor I thynke I may affyrme grete mysordur to be in 859 the vsurpyng of thys authoryte.

56. Lvp\textsuperscript{set}.—Syr, as touchyng the dispensatyon, wythout dowte grete faute ther ys; and surely that he hath no authoryte thereto, but only by the consent of man, me thynke schold be veray truth. Wherfor in the 864 abuse therof ys no les detryment to the law of the *Church, then ys to the commyn law here of our cuntre, by the prerogatyue of the pryne. Let vs therfor agre apon 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. Lvp\textsuperscript{set}.—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 880 appellatyon ys enuer admyttyd to the hede and to hyar authoryte. Wherfor, seyng 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 reson, that euer trysfylyng cause schold not be *referryd to Rome, as hyt hathbyn long in vse.

60. Lvp\textsuperscript{set}.—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.
61. Pole.—Then let vs go forward. What thinke you by the law of Annats? Ys hyt not vnreasonably? The first fruits to run to Rome, to maynteyne the pompe and pryde of the Pope, ye, and warre also, and discord among Chrystyn pryneys, as we haue seen by long experience?

62. Lzpset.—Wel, Sir, that ys no more but to schow the abuse of the thynge; for the wych you may not vtturly take away the ordynance of the law, wych was euery for a gud purpoe, as in thys. Thys first fruits were appoyntyed, as I coneycture, to maynteyn the maiesty of our heede, and magnyficence of the See, and also to defend our Church from the subjectyon of the enemys of Chrystys fayth. Wherfor, bettir hyt were to prouyde a gud use of thys thyngys, then vtturly to take thys away.

63. Pole.—Wel, Master Lzpset, to make you a breue answer, I thinke thys causys that you lay now haue no place. For, fyrst, as for the magnyficence and maiesty of the Church stondyth not in such possessyonyss and pompe, but in stabylnes and puryte of Chrystyn lyfe: thys ys a thynge clere and manyfest. And as for the defence of the Church, [hyt] perleynty not to the Pope and hys See, but rather to the Emperour and other Chrystyn pryneyss: wherfor to pyl thyr cuntreys for thys purpoe, ys not just nor resonabul; and thys schortly I thinke remaynyth no just cause wy thys annatyss schold be payd to Rome.

64. Lzpset.—Syr, I parceyue wel al thys thyngeys henge apon one threde. You harpe apon one stryng contynuallly, wych in hys place I thinke you wyl tempur. 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 thys causys.

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

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1 In margin of MS.
YOUTHS ADMITTED TO RELIGION.

127

tyony and annatys, also, to the See of Rome, ys also in appelyng to the Court of the Byschope of Canterbury, callyd the Arches, whether as causys are remouyd wythout examynatyon or sentence before guyen in the dyosys.

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

67. Pole.—And what say [you] by the prerogatyfe guyen to the same Byschope of Cantorbury, 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 frenlys of hym wych so dyed intestate, and be spoylyd of the raunya and pollyng offyceys?

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 guyen to youth so ful of fraylty? Thys apperyth to me no thyng commenyent, 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, as now, contrary, they be ful of vanyte.

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

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

1 In margin of MS.
What reloygyon menyth? Thys ys vndowtydly a grete erroore in al ordur of reloygyon.

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. Lvpse.—Syr, in thys many thyngys may be sayd; but bycause I wyl not repugne agayne my consceyncy, I wyl say as Pope Pius dyd, that grete resyn in the begynnynge of the Church brought that law into the ordur of the Church; but now grettur resyn schold take the same away agayn, and so I wyl confesse that.

75. *Pole.—Master Lvpset, you are veray esy in the admynsyon of thys fautas in the spiritualty. I thynke you spye many thyngys amys in that ordur and degre. Wherfor cesse not, I pray you, such to open as now come to your memory.

76. Lvpset.—Syr, as touchynge thys poynt, yf I schold recyte al that I know, I schold be tedyouse to you playnly herin. Wherfor I wyl not entyr to that campe, forbycause that you haue notyd such as be most capytal, wych, yf they were stoppyd, schold schortly remedy the rest, wherof I wold speke.

77. Pole.—Wel, then, Master Lvpset, seynge that we haue now examynyd the most general and commyn errors wych we haue obseruyd to be in our law, both sprytual and temporal, as they haue come to our remembrance now, let vs now here aftyr, 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 margin of MS.
2 The remainder of this sentence is cut off in the binding.
79. Pole.—Fyrst and most pryncypal of al yl customys vsyd in our cuntre commynly, after my jugement, ys that wych touchyth the educatyon of the noblyyte, whome we see custummably brought vp in hauyng and haukyng, dysyng and cardyng, etyng and drynyng, and, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, and vanyte. And that only ys thought to pertyne to the educatyon of the noblyte, whome we see custuwimabyly brought vp in huwtyng and haukyng, dysyng and cardyng, etyng and drynyng, and, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, and vanyte. And that only ys thought to pertyne to the educatyon of the noblyte.

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 thynge 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 hereaftur I wyl not omyt; but that thys they dow hyt ys certayn, and to al men by experyence knowen; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys no smal destructyon of our commyn wele that we now seke and desyre to see stablyschyd here in our cuntre; for of thys poynth hangyth a grete parte of the veray welth of the hole commynalty.

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

83. Pole.—A nother yl custume among the nobyllys ther ys, that euer one of them wyl kepe a court lyke a prync; euer one wyl haue a grete idol route to wayte apon hym, to kepe hym cumpany and pastyme, as he that hath in hymselfe no comforthe at al, nor wythin hys mynde, hart, and brest, no cause of inward reyoyeyng, 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 England.

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

85. Pole.—Nay, Master Lupset, truly to say, in
thys stondyth the beggary of Englad, as we sayd be-
fore; specyally yf you consydur what custume ther ys
among them wyth al, both in theyr dyat and theyr ap-
payrayl. For yf the nobyllys, ye, and many of theyr
servantys, be not appraylayd in sylkys and vellytys,
ytheynke they lake much of theyr honowre; and yf
they haue not at dyner and souper xx dyschys of dyuerse
metys, they lake they chefe poynyt that pertyynyth to
theyr honowre, as they thynke, wych ys ryse and spro??ge
of a long custume, noyful, wythout fayle, to the commyn
were many ways. For thys excessse in dyat bryngyth in
manifold sykenes and much mysery, lyke as thys pom-
pos apprayle doth induce much pouerty. Thes are
thyngyss as clere to al men as the lyght *of the day.

1042

Pompos fare and
apparayle.1

[* Page 191.]

which L. can't
deny.

86. Lupset.—Truly thes thyngyss I can not deny,
and specially thys custume of nuryshyng such an idul
trayne dysplesyth me. Hyt ys a thynge vsyd in no
cuntrey of the world I trow. A knyght or a mean
gentylman schal haue as many idul men here wyth vs in
Englond as schal in France, Spayn, or in Italy, a grete
lord, senyor of many townys and castellys.

87. Pole.—Why, but then, some man perauenture,
wold say and ax, what dow they then wyth theyr pos-
sessyonys and ryches? Dow they hepe hyt togydur in
coffurys and cornarys, wythout applying hyt to any
profyt or vse?

88. Lupset.—Nay, not so, Sir, but they mar ye
theyr chyldur and frendys therwyth, and so kepe vp the
honowre of theyr famyly therby. You schal neuer see
non of any gud famyly, as they dow wyth vs, go a
beggyng, or lyue in any grete mysery. They wyl suffyr
no such dyshonowre and schame; but wyth vs hyt ys
contrary. I haue knowyne yongur bretherne go a beg-

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

89. Pol-e.—Truly thys haue I knowne also. Wherefor I can not but laude that custume 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 temporalty. 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 nuryrschyng 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 laudabul custume, and to be admyttyd in any gud pollycy?

90. Lupset.—Nay, surely thys I can not allow, hyt ys so eydent a faute to euery manys 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. Pol-e.—And what thynke [you] by the maner of electyonys, both of byschoppys, abbotys, and priorys, wych are made other by the prynce or some other grete manys authoryte? May thys be alowyd as a gud custume in our cuntre?

92. Lupset.—Sir, yf the ordur of the law were obseruyd therin, hyt were no faute, perauenture at al, but were ryght wele to be approuyd.

93. Pol-e.—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 thes be by long tyme confyrmyd and receuyd commonly.

94. Lupset.—Thys custume vndowtydly ys vnreson-abyl, and grete destrucytion 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 lemyng, as they schold be, nor wel approuyd therin before they be admyttyd to such hye dygnyte. Hyt ys not conuenyent men wythout lemyng to occupy the place of them wych schold prech the word of God, and tech the pepul the lawys of relygyon, of the wych commynly they are most ignorant themselfe; for commynly you schal fynd that they can no thyng dow but pattur vp their 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 thys deny.

97. Pole.—Ye, and yet a nother thyng. Let hyt be that they prestys were vnlernyd, yet yf they were of perfayt lyfe and studyouse of vertue, that by theyr exampul they myght tech other, thys ignorance yet myght be the bettur suffuryd; but now to that ignorance ys joynyd al kynd of vyce, al myschefe and vanyte, in so much that they are exampul of al vycyouse lyfe to the lay pepul. How say [you], Master Lvpset, ys not thys also a playn truthe and manyfest?

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

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

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

¹ In margin of MS. ² MS. Le.
mater; for I promys you I wyl and dow pondur our 1138 manerys wythout affectyon or hate, but, as nere as I can, wyth indysserent jugement loke vnto them.

101. [Pole.]—And as for thys ignorance and vycyouse lyfe of the clerky, no man can hyt deny but he that, pervertynge the ordur of al thyngys, wyl take vyce for vertue, and vertue for vyce. And thought hyt be so that the temporyralty lyfe much aftur the 1145 same trade, yet, me semyth, they are not so much to be blamyd as they wych, for the puryte of lyfe, are calyld 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 examplu of lyfe, 1150 wherby chefely they schold induce the rude pepul to the trayn of vertue. Wherfor surely thys ys no smal faute in our custume of lyfe. To the wych we may joynye also a nother yl custume, that prestys be not resydent apon theyr busifyeys, but other be in the Court or in gret meunys housys, ther takeynge theyr plesure; 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, thys ys as clere as the lyght of the sone. Wherfor I wyl not repugne therin; but I wold wysch that you myght as esely heraftur see the way to amend such faute as we may so hyt.

103. Pole.—As touchyng that we schal se, Master 1164 Lupset, heraftur. How be hyt, as you sayd before, *hyt ys wythout fayle more esy to spye x fantys 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 amedyd. For as the one ys ful of hardnes and dysfiyculty, and by the prouydeunce of God, put only in the powar of pryneys 1171 of the world, so the other ys faeyle and esy, and open

1 In margin of MS.
HOW DIVINE SERVICE IS PERFORMED.

134 to every prudent man and polytyke; lyke as to schow the passage and way through rough and asper montaynys ys not hard nor ful of dyfficylty, but to passe the same ys no small labur, trauayle, and payne. But now, thys set aparte, Master Lupset, let vs go forth and serch out other yl custumys, yf we remenbyr any, here in our cuntre. And herin me thynkyth hyt ys an yl1 custume in our Church vsyd, that as dyuyne seruyce ys sayd and song aftur such maner as hyt ys commynly; as, fyyst, that hyt ys openly rehersyd in a strange tonge, no thyng of the pepul vnderstond; by the reson wherof the pepul takyth not that truth that they myght and ought to receyue, yf hyt were rehersyd in our vulgare tong. Second, touchyng the syngyng therof, they vse a fasyon more conuenyent to mynstrellys then to devoute mynystyrys of the dyuyne seruyce; for playnly, as hyt ys vsyd, thys ys trathe, specyally consydering the wordys be so straunge and so dyuersely descantyd, hyt ys more to the vtryde plasure of the yere and vayn recreatyon, then to the inward comfort of the hart and mynd with gud deuotyon. How say you, Master Lup-

104. Lupset.—Sir, in thys mater somewhat I marvels that Pole should [* Page 196.] approve the Lutheran fashion in the service; 1 MS. a nyl. 2 In margin of MS. 3 "I vnderstond" marked through and "we haue" written over in MS.
as be now in Almayn among the Lutheranys, in schort space. Wherfor, Master Pole, I thynke hyt ys bettur to kepe our old fascyon both in our dyuynye servyce and in kepyng the law in a straunynge tonge, then by such new maner to bryng in among vs any dyuernysye of sectys in relygyon.

105. Pole.—Master Lypset, I se wel in thyss you wyl not be so sone persuadyd, as in other thyngys before you were. You are, me semyth, aford lest we schold folow the steppys of thes Lutheranys, wych are fallen into many errorsys and gret confysyon by thyss mean, as you thynke, and new alteratyon. But here, Master Lypset, fyrrst you schal be sure of thyss. I wyl not folow the steppys of Luther, whose jugement I estyme veryt 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 servyce, not bycause they say and affyme hyt to be gud and laudabul, but bycause the truth ys so, as hyt apperyth to me, and the frute therof so many-fest; wych you schal also confesse, I thynk, yf you wyl consydyr indysyfferently the mater a lytyl wyth me.

And fyrrst, thyss ys certayn and sure—that the dyuynye servyce was ordeynyd to be sayd in the Church for the edifying of the pepul, that they, heryng the wordys of the Gospel and the exampullys of holy sayntys, professorys of Chrystys name and doctrine, myght therby be sterryd and monyd to folow theyr steppyss, and be put in remembrance therby of the lyuynge and doctrine of our Master Chryst, Hys apostyllys and dyscypullys, as the chefe thyng of al other to be pryntyd and graunyd in al gud and Chrystyan hartyss. Wherfor, yf thyss be true, as I thynke you can not deny, thyss folowyth of 1240

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*Page 197.*

1 In margin of MS.
and must be said in their own tongue, or else we must teach them Latin, necessity—that we must other haue the dyuyne servyse to be sayd in our owne tong commynly, or els to prouyd some mean that al the pepul may understond the Latyn conuenyently; wych I thynke surely was the purpos of the Romaynys, when they firste instytute al dyuyne servyse to be rehersyd in that tong, even lyke as hyt was of the Normaynys 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 conuenyent and skant possybul as the state stondyth, I thynke hyt ys bothe necessary and expedyent to haue rehersyd thys dyuyne servyce in our owne vulgare *tong; yee, and also touchyng the Gospel, to haue hyt holly in our tong to be commertyd, I thynke of al most expedyent and necessary. For what resoun ys hyt, men to be bounden to a law, and to loke therof not only the frute that ys of other commyn lawys, as cyuyle concord here in thyse lyfe and polytyke justyce and vnyte, but also for evyrlastyng lyfe and perpetuall joy heraftur to be had by the observatyon therof; and by the brekyng and transgressyon of the same, perpetuall dammatyon: and yet to haue hyt closyd in a straunge tong, as they pepul were no thyng bounden thereto nor to them wryten? I trow thyse be no resoun, but playn madnes and foly. Hyt ys necessary, as I sayd before of the commyn law, to haue hyt commertyd into our tong; but of the Gospel, surely hyt ys much more necessary and much more expedyent, so that hyt were wel translatyd and by wyse counseyl examynyd, that theyr be no errorys therin. For as touchyng the errorys that men run in now-a-days, vndowtydly hyt ys not by the reson of the Gospel put into the vulgare tong, but rather for lake of gud techarys and instructarys therin. Wherfor, that thyng wych commyth partely by the malyce of man, and partely for lake of gud pollycy,* ys in no case to be attrbyuyld to the Gospel iustely; except we wyl at-
trybut the cause of warr to wepun, and the cause of al dyseasys to mete and drynke, and so vtturly, therfor, cast away both wepun and mete and drynke. Hyt ys a commyn faute in resonyng, to lay a faute ther as nou ys, and to note many thynys as causys wych indede are not at al; as, aftur my mynd, in thys our purp0se you dow, Master Lup-sef. For surely thys dyuersyte of opynyon 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 co?nfesse thys to be a grete faute, and an yl custome vsyd in our Church,—that we haue not the Gospels in our mother tong, and that we haue our seruyce sayd in a straunge tong, of the pepul not vnder-stond; and much more the maner of syngyng, wych al holly doctorys reprouyd in theyr tyme, when hyt was not so curyouse as hyt ys now. Dow no more but thynke, yf Saynt Augustyn, Jerome, or Ambrose herd our curyouse dyscantasyng and canteryng in churchys, what they wold say. Surely they wold ery 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 thynys, but rather to ster wanton myndys to vayn plesure and wordly pastyme wyth vanyte. 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 perceuye wel, that many thynys here in manmys lyfe, aftur they be vsyd, and by commyn opynyon many yerys admittyd, 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 folysch wrytarys and lyght bokys of the gospel.

2 MS. le.
and danger of changes,
memyys hertys and myndys, hyt ys hard and ful of gre
dyslyculty ; in so much that, al reson to the contrary, a
grete wyle schal appere no reson at al, as in thys ex-
1313 anpul we may take manyest experience. For, vn-
dowtydly, reson concluddyth bothe necessary and expedy-
ent to be, to haue al lawys in the vulgare tong, as hyt
hathe byn always to thys day vsyd in al other cuatreys
and wel instytute commyn welys ; as in Rome, Athenys,
and Lacedemonia. And yet our pepul, beyng long cus-
tumyd to the contrary, wyl not only thanke hyt straunge
and erronyouse, but also, at the fyrst begynnyng, schal
jughe al relygyon to be turnd therby vp-so-downe, ye,
and vtturly destroyd ; such ys theyr blywdnes and foly
only by long tyme rotyd in hart. Notwythstondyng,
But he agrees with Pole that
the service should be in English.
1322 Master Pole, I thanke now, to vs wych seke the mean
most convyent to restore the perfayt state before of
you descrybd, hyt must nedys appere necessary to haue
al lawys, both of relygyon, and cuyle and polytyke, in
1328 our mother tong commynty, and al dyuyne servyce both to
be sayd and song in the same in euery church commynly.
[* Page 201.]
And *so, consequently, I am agred wyth you to take
thys as an yl1 custume, repugnyng to our purpos, to haue
al closyd in thys straunge tong of the old Romanys, or
rather of other barbarus pepul wych succedyd them.
1333 107. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you say wel. But how
say [you] by the pryuylegys wych, partely by lawys
and partely by long prescryptyon of tyme and custume,
are gyuen to the Church and ecclesyastycal personys?
Thynke you that thys ys convyent, that prestys
schold neuer for no offence be callyd before a secular
jughe and punnyschyd temporally, yf they3 offend in
such faytys as requyre temporal punnyschment ; as rob-
bery, murdlr, and theft, and such other lyke casys?
1341 108. Lvpset.—Sir, I wold some thyng schold be
gyuen to the dygnyte of presthode, and that they

1 MS. a nyl. 2 In margin of MS. 3 MS. he.
OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED.

139

schold not be punnyschyd wyth so grete seueryte 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, yt 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 compellydg, at the lest by feare of punnyschment, wheras by loue they can not be inducyd, to dow that thyng wherin stondyth the veray dygnyte of presthode, and so be worthy to be honowryd indee. For thys ys sure—that only for theyr vertue they schold be honowe syd, and therby from the commyn pepul, as hyt were, exemptyd, wych yt they folow, the pepul schal gyue them gladly al worthy honowrys, and nurysch them wyth theyr laburys and trauayle, in grete quyetnes and tranquilyllyte; and thys exemptyon 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 priyulege grauntyd of prynces to the dygnyte of them, euery lude felow, now-a-days, and idyl lubbur, that can other rede or syng, makyth hymselfe prest, not for any loue of relygyon, but for by-cause, vnder the pretense thereof, they may abase them selfe in al vayn lustys and vanye, wythout punnyschement or reproue of any degre: such ys theyr priyulege and exemptyon. How say [you], Master Lyset, ys hyt not thys?

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

* Page 202.

* Page 203.
in not punishing crimes. unenent to such fautys and crymys of them commyttyd, wych yf they had, yet me thynke hyt schold be more commennyt that theyr causys schold be intretyd before theyr owne jugys. But now, seyn they are ouer-fauer-abyl therin, I can not but confesse thys privylyge to 1386 be pernycyouse, speeially in such a multyttud of rymbaudys as be now-a-days in the ordur of presthode. Such prylylge, at the fyrst begynnynge of the Church, when prestys were perfayt and pure of lyfe, were veray expedyent, and, breuely to say, no les then they be now 1391 dyseomneuent.

111. [Pole.]—And what thynk1 you by exemption of relygyouse housys and collegys from theyr byschoppys to the See of Rome. Ys thys resonable?

112. [Pole.]—Syr, yf they byschoppys dyd no 1396 offye therin accordyng to the ordur of the law, as they dow not, wherein lyth a grete faute also, as hyt ys open to euery mawnys yes, that thwynge were vndowtylly to be reprouyd; but as the world ys, I can not myslyke that at al: for though they be not wel, yet they be in bettur case then they other.

1402 113. Pole.—Thys ys enough that you grant both to be nought.

1409 114. [Pole.]—And what thynke you by prylylges grantyd to churchys and al sayntuarys? Can you juge them to be commennent? Thynke you that hyt ys wel, a man when he hath commyttyd wyful mordur, or out-ragyouse robbery, or of purpos deceuyd hys credytorys, to run to they sayntuary wyth al hys godys, and ther to lyne quyetly, inyoyngh al quyetnes and plesure? Thys thynge, me semyth, ys a playn occasyon of al myschefe and mysyry, and causyth much mordur in our cuntrey and natyon. For who wyyl be aferd to kyl hys enmy, 1414 and natyon. For who wyyl be aferd to kyl hys enmy, 1414

[* Page 264.]*

*yf he may be sauyd by the prylylge of sayntuary ?

1 MS. thynge. 2 In margin of MS. 3 MS. Le.
116. **Lvpset.**—Syr, to defend thys me thinke ther ys no reson. How be hyt, for the saueguard of manys lyfe, I thinke hyt gud that such holly placeys schold haue privylege, at the lest that hys ennemy may not pluke hym out at hys lyberty, nor yet in such place to venge hys injury.

117. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, as touchyng that, we schal see in hys place. Hyt ys enough now that 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 remembranç now at thys tyme, bothe concernyng our commyn lawys and custumys of our cuntrey ; by the reson w[h]erof our commyn wel stondyth not in the perfayt state, wych we haue before descriybd. Wherfor, bycause hyt ys late we wyl now dyffer the rest of our communycatyon tyl to-morow, except you remembyr any other wych we haue not spoken of yet.

120. **Lvpset.**—Syr, I thinke you haue notyd the most general *fautys concernyng both lawys and custume also. How be hyt, bycause we speke of custume, ther cummyth to my remembrance a nother yl custume, concernyng the thyng wych, by hys propur name, we cal custume, and, I trow, rysyth nother of law nor yet of re-sonabyl custume. The thyng ys thys, the grete custume payd by marchauntys for brynyngyng 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 commynyly.

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

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1 MS. Le.

2 In margin of MS.
1451 merchantys. Notwythstondyng hyt was wel remembryd. Wherfor, yf you haue any other of the same sorte, present them to remembrance.

122. Lepset. —Syr, I remembryr non other now at thys tyme, and yf case be that any come to my memory, hyt schalbe no thyng amys to put them forth in our communycatyon, that we schal haue2 to-morow,3 when we schal speke of the restoryng of thes fautys rehersyd before.

They adjourn.

123. Pole. —Nay, Mastur Lepset,1 bycause thys mater ys grete, let vs dyffer hyt ij or iiij days,3 that we come somewhat thebettur instructe to such a grete cause.

1464 124. Lepset. —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 prytyng of al bokys wyth pryvylege.
3 Compare “yesterday’s communycatyon” in line 17 on next page.
[PART II.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1. [Pole.]—*Master Lvpset,¹ to shew you in the
begynnyng the dysyficulty of thys day's communycatyon,
I am sure hyt nedyth nothyng at al, wych oft-tymys
haue before befoele in your mouth thys saying (wych to-
day we schal perceyue truth)—that much esyar hyt ys
to spye a hundred fauteys in a commyn wele, then to
amende one; cuen lyke as hyt ys in mannys body of
corporal dysseasys, they wych of euery man may wel be
perceyuyd, but of euery man they can not be curyd. 9
Wherfor, Master Lvpset, ye we haue put any dylygence
before in serchyng out the nature of a true commyn
wele, and they lakkys and fauteys 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 commenyent remedies
prudentely to be applyd to such sorys and dysseasys
in our polytyke body before notyd in yesturday's com-
munycatyon. Therfore, Master Lvpset, me thynke we
schal dow wel ye, in our fyrst begynnyng, 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 munkynyd commynthy al gudnes,
vertue, and grace, to¹ yllumynate and lyght our harty
and myndys (wych wythout hym can no truthe perceyue) 25

¹ MS. Lep.
² MS. so to.
that we may see the conuenvient mean of restoryng to our polytyke body hys perfayt state and commyn welth, of vs before descerybyd; wych, yf we desyre wyth pure affecte and ardent mynd, I dowte no thyng but we schal hyt optayne.

2. Lvpset.—Syr, you say ryght wel; for yf the old wrytarys and poetys, in descerybyng of storys and other theyr fansys, callyng to the musys and to theyr goddys, thought therby to optayne some spryte, succur, and ayde, to the furleryng 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 ever we ax of hys Father in hys name, that ys to say, what so ever vndowtydly schal redounde to hys *veray glory and true honowre.

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 mannys hart ys blynd and ignorant of al vertue and truthe.

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 fumysch our profytabul communycatyon thys day instytute.

5. Pole.—Now, Master Lvpset, syn we haue hard mas, and aftur that, as I trust, we haue conceyuyd some sparkyl of the celestyal lyght, let vs fyrst breudyly 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 wauceryng 61 sentence.

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

7. **Pose.**—Syr, in thys processe we wyl take nature for our exampul, and, as nere as we can, folow hyr steppyrs, wyth, in the generatyon of the nature of man, *fyrst formyth hys body, wyth al commynyent instrumentys to the settynyng forth of the natural bewty commynyent 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, fyrst, we wyl—receyuyng of nature the mater therof—forme and adorne thy po- 

lytyke body wyth al thynysgs commynyent and expedyent to the same; and then, secondaryly, intrete and touch al such thynysgs as pertynnyth to the poelytyke gouern-

ance of the same body;—thys general rule of experte physycyonys, in curyng of bodyly dyseasys, as much as we can, euery observyng,—that ys to say, fyrst to inserch out the cause of the dyseasys, wythout the wych the applying of remedys lytyl avaylyth.

8. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys ordur lykyth me wel, wych agreth much wyth our processe before taken; for euyn lyke as we haue, observyng thy ordur, found out the mysorduryys in our commynalty, so hyt ys veray con-

uenyent by the same ordur to reson of the remedys expedyent for the same.

9. **Pose.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, then, let vs procede. Fyrst, yf you remembyr, aftur that we had declaryd what hyt ys that we cal the true commyn wele, and aftur began to serch out such commyn fautys and lakkys as we coul fynd in our cuntrey concernyng the same, we agreed that we haue, consydering the place and fer-
tylyte therof, grete lake of pepul, the multytude wher-

Consumptyon.1

1 In margin of MS.

STARKEY. 10
96 of ys, as hyt were, the ground and fundatyon of thys our commyn *wele; the wych lake we calld, as hyt were, a consumptyon of the polytyke body, of the wych now, fyrst, ys requyryd to enserch out the cause: the wych, Master Lvpset, schal not be hard for to dow. For thys ys a necessary truth:—in as much as man growyth not out of rokkys nor of tres, as fabullys dow payne, but spryngyth by natural generatyon, thys lake must nedys come as of a pryncypal cause, that man doth not apply natural 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 cu??treys brought penury of pepul, as we may by experience see in many cu?tres desolate therby; yet now, to our purpos, the pryncypal cause of our lake of pepul ca,n not be attrybute therto. And yet yf percase hyt were so in dede, the way and mean to suffyce, multiply, and encrese them agayn to a conuenyent nombur, ys only natural generatyon. Thys may not be in any case denyd. How say you, Master Lvpset, ys hyt not so?

10. Lvpset.—Sir, thys ys no dowte; thys ys the only way to increse, not only man by the course of nature, but al other lyuyng creaturys here apyn erth wych are not gendryd by putrefactyon.

11. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvpset, then we must now denyse the mean for the remouyng of such impedymentys and lettys as be to thys cause, and so to allure man to thys natural procreatyon, aftur a cyuyle ordur and polytyke faceyon. For though nature hath gyuen to man, as to al other bestys, natural inclynatyon to hys increse; yet, by-cause man ys only borne to cyuylyte and polytyke rule, therfore he may not, wythout ordur or respecte, study to the satysfactyon of thys natural affecte. And for thys cause hyt hathbyn ordeynyd, I trow, from the fyrst generatyon of man, that he schold coupul hymselfe in laulful
matrimony, and so thereby multiply and increase. So that thys remenyth, Master Lvpset, in thys mater, now specially to vs, haung the lyght of Chrystys Gospel, to deuys *some waye to intyse man to thys laulfal maryage and couplyng togydur. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, 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 enuer ryght 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 fantys as we hane befor found in our commynalty. But, Master Lvpset, thys hathe byn tryde by processe of thousandys of yerys, thys hath byn concluyed by the most wyse and poltyke 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 poltyke, that where as man, blyndyd by affectys and vanytes therof, wold not folow the trade of ryght reson, he schold, at the lest by feare of punnyschment, be constraynyd to occupy 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 preserybyd by the law. Thys ys the end and vertue of al law, thys ys the faute that commyth therof, that man, custumyd other for feare of Payne or desyre of reward, myght 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 preserybyd by law, yet he wold abhorre as a thyng contrary to the nature of man and to hys dygnyte. Thys thyng, 

1 MS. le. 2 In margin of MS.
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 exampul of experte physycyonys, wych
are constraynyd to worke in theyr seyence accordyng to
the nature of theyr patyentys. Thys we must now
dow, and here aftur also, in the rest of our community-
catyon; 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
cynylyte. 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 nobur agayne, we
must both by privylege and payne induce men thereto,
and study to take away al obstaculys and lettys wych
we fynd thereto; in the wych thyng, Master Lypset, let
me here some what of your mynd.

12. Lypset.—Syr, bycause you wyl so, thys I schal
say, as touching the obstaculys and lettys wherof you
speke. You put me in remembrance of a thyng wych
to you I dare speke; for I wot not whether I may speke
thys 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 Chrystun
pepul, the law of chastyte ordeynyd by the Church,
whych byndyth so grete a multytude of men to lyueth ther-
aftur; as al secular prestys, monkys, frerys, channonys,
and nunnyys, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal
nombur, by the reson wherof the generatyon of man ys
maruelously let and mynyschyd. Wherfor, except the
ordynance of the Church were (to the wych I wold
neuer gladly rebel) I wold playnly juge that hyt schold

In this communication we must consider man's weakness of
mind,
[*Page 7.*]

and try to discover some means to allure him to do as he
ought;

that is, to marry.

L. refers to the law of chastity in the Church as a chief
hindrance to the increase of population,
be veray convenient somethyng to relese the band of thys law; specyally consyderyng the dyfficulty of that grete vertue, in a maner aboue 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 arbitryment whether we wold study to stryue agayne agayne nature, whose instyncte only by specyal grace we may ouercome. Wherfore hyt apperythe to me, to releysye 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 bycause we wyl not as many physycyonys dow, wych, wyle they dyspute of the dyscase, let theyr patyentys dye; *so now in thys place, when we seke remedy, consume the tyme in argumentatyon, but breuely therin sehow 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 begynnyng of the Church and settyng forth of Chrystys relygyon, was for that tyme veray expedient and necessary, so, for thys tyme, al cyrcumstance consyderyd, hyt ys no lesse commenyent the rygoure of the same somewhat to relese; for thys ys the nature of al mannys ordynance and cyuyle law, that, accordyng to the tyme, person, and place, they be varyabul, and euer requyre prudente correctyon and due reformatyon. 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, consydyryn now the grete multytude and nowmbur of them. But as touchyng monkys, chanommys, frerys, and nunnyss, I hold for a thyng veray convenient and mete, in al welordeynyd commyn welys, to hauce certayn monasterys and abbeys; to the wych al such as, aftur laufull proue He would allow secular priests to marry. He would have abbeys
of chastity before had, may retyre, and from the besynes and vanyte of the world may wythdraw\(^1\) themselfe, holly gyyung theyr myndys to prayar, study, and hye contemplatyon. Thys occasyon I wold not haue to be taken away from Chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete comfort to many febul and wery soulys, wych haue byn oppressyd wyth wordly vanyte. But as touchyng the secular presstys, I vvtturly 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 conuenyently, but lyue alway as co?zuenyently, but lyue alway as co??imyn cor-
The remedy:—ruptarys of chastity. Wherfor ther wold be, as I do not allow the-
ys thys 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 cu«trey, that the prynce and other nobul men schold byld them housys in placys conuenyent; appoyntyng thereto certayn portyon of theyr wast groundys, forestys, and parkys, wherof they take lytyl or no profyt at al, and gyue such tenementys to theyr servuantys, theyr heyrys, and assygnys, paying yerly a lytyl portyon as a chefe rent and recognysance of theyr lord. By the wych mean, as I thynke, they grete nombur of them wold be glad to set themselfe to matrymony; and so we schold not only haue the pepul incresyd in nombur, but also the waste groundys wel
\(^{1}\) MS. wythdryay.
occupyd and tylyd, wych ys in our cuntrey, as we haue sayd before, a grete rudenesse and faute. Thys thyng schold much intyse men to maryage, specally yf we gane vnto them also certayn pryulegys and prerogatyf, aftur the maner of the old and wyse Romanys; as to al such as by matrymony incresyd the pepul wyth v. chyl-dur, that they schold pay nother taske nor talage, ex-cept he were worth a hundred markys in guddys; nor he schold not be constraynyd to go forth to warre, ex-cept he wold of hys owne voluntary wyl, wyth such other lyke immumytes and pryulegys, 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 matrymony for theyr plesur wold abstayne. As, fyrsyte, they schold euer lake al such honowre and exy[st]ymatyon as ys gyue to maryed men, and neuer to bere offfice in theyr cyte or towne where they abyde; and, besyde thys, me semyth hyt were a comynt payne, that euery bacheler, acc-$
$وردینگ to the portyon of godys and landys, schold yereely pay a certayn summe, as hyt were of euery pownde xij $, wych yereely cmymth in, other by fe, wagys, or land; and euery man that ys worth in mouabul godys aboue iiiij li., of euery pound, iij $; the wych some schold euer be reseruyd in a commyn place to be dystrybutyd partely to them wych haue more chyldur then theyr abstayne vtturly from maryage dye in that maner, they schold be constraynyd, by ordur of law, to leue the one halfe of al theyr gudys to be dystrybutyd aftur the maner before prescrybyd; and prestys the hole: euery 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.
THE TRAINING OF THE YOUNG.

308 among other to be a syngular remedy for the sklendurnes of our polytyke body. How say you, Master Lupset, ys hyt not so?

14. Lupset.—Yes, truly; I thynke hyt were alone suffycyent.

313—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 dropecy; for though thy body be weke, sklendur, and lakkyth natural strenghth, yet hyt ys bollen and swollen out

318 wyth yl humorys, the wych we callyd before, by a symlytude, al idul personys. Thys dysease, ys the yl and idul bryngyng vp of youth here in our cuntrey, wych are mouyd therto wyth the hope

325 of plesant luyng in seruyce wyth the nobyleyte, 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

334 pryncypal thyngps perteynyng vnto hys offyce and duty. And, as I sayd before, also thys hope in luyung in seruyce wyth the nobyleyte must be cut away by the law befor rehersyd, that no man schold nurysch gretter nombur then he ys abul to nurysch wel, and fyud to

339 them some honest luyngyhs. That law schal helpe much to thys our purpos now, and be the occasion of mayntenyng of artys and craftys: wherin, also, I wold thynke hyt expedyent, that who so euer were in

1 In margin of MS. 2 MS. expedyent, also.
any seyence 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 wyth *thyng vndowtyly wold incourage basse
stomakys to endeuer themselfys dylygently to attayne
in al artys and crafte gret syngularyte. And thys were
also veray conuenyet, that yf any man had no craft at
al, but deleytyng in idulnes, as a drowne be doth in a
hyue, suckyth vp the hunny, that he schold be
bannyschyd and dryuen out of the cyte, as a person
vnprofytabul to al gud cyuylyte. Thys dyd the
Athenyens, wych wold suffir no man to abyde in theyr
cyte except he professyd some honest craft, or coude
make a lawful rekenyng how he lyuyd in theyr commynalty, and of thys thyng also the offycerys in evry
cyte cheffely schold take regard; and in the cuatrey 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 thying wych
ys the ground of al the hole commyn wele. For lytyl
avaylyth hyt to increse the nombur of pepul, except
proyysyon be made to take away thys idulnes and gret
dropey. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke you not
thys?

16. Lvpset.—Herin, Syr, you say ryght wel. How
be hyt, thys ys a veray short remedie; you must schow
somewhat more at large how the youth schold be
brought vp in artys and crafys more particularly.

17. Pole.—Nay, Sir; not so. That ys not my
purpos here now to dow; for hyt were vned then of
every cure almost for to wryte a hole boke. I wyl
only touch, as I sayd before, the most general poynysts,
and the rest leue to the cure of them wych in every
cause haue ordur and rule; whose prudence and pollycy
schal euere see, accordyng to the tyme and place of
every thyng perteynyng to theyr offyce, the particular
remedye. But of thys we may be assuryd, that yf thys general thyngeys before spoken were put in vse and effecte, they schold much remedy thys foule yl and grete dropecy. Let us, therfor, proceede to the other next in ordur to thythensuyng, wych, I trow, we callyd a palsy; for as much as many ther be wych occupye themselfe besyly, but to no profyt of the communalty; of the wych a grete *nombur we rekenyd then, as al such wych occupye themselfes about vayn plesuryys and nothyng necessary, as marchauntys therof and craftys men, syngarys and playarys upon instrumentys, lyuyng therby; ye, and also a grete nombur of thys wych we cal relygyouse men, and be not indede. The remedy wherof in general hangyth much of the remedy of the dysease before last rehersyd, for as much as the cause of the yl occupyeing of al such before notyd ys to satysfye the appetyte of the idul route. Wherfore yf they were wel brought vp wythout idulnes, the rote of thys dysease schold be cut away wythal. So they hangle togydur. For who doth not see thys, that al thes merchantys and artyfycerys of vanyte schold vtturly perysch wyth thyrr craftys, yf they were not maynteynyd by thyth idul sorte, wych be they hauntarys of thys vayn plesuryys and tryfelyng thyngys? Wherfor yf men were so brought vp in youthe, so instructyd and fornyd in tendur age, that they schold not delyte but in honest plesuryys necessary and natural, thys mater wold sone be remedye. Therfor, as I sayd before, the hedys, offycerys, and rularys, euer to thyth must haue theyrr yse, to thys they must study; for thys gad educatyon of youth in vertuse exercyeys 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 poynt in the cure of them al, as the thyng wyth-

1 * In margin of MS.
out the wych al other medycyns lytyl schal avayle. 414
Wherfor thys ys, as hyt were, the chefe key wherby
the rest of our song must be gouernyd and rulyd, and
so in thys al dylygence ys requyryd. How be hyt, for-
bycause that man ys so frayle and gyue?i to plesurc,
be-syde thys educatyon, hyt schalbe necessary to haue
some other lawys for the correctyon of thys faute then
be yet stablyschyd. As, for exampul, thys, I thynk,
schold be no thyng amys, fyrst, a ordynance to be had,
that mercantaunts *out of strange cuntreys be cum-
mundyd 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 them wych
be of powar; and so in thys poyst, schortly to say,
thysscholdalsobe 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 further, for the takying away of thes yl-occupydy
personys in vayn craftys, the same offycerys in euery
towne wych schal see [th]at ther be no idul personys
wythout crafte or mean to get theyr lyuyng, schal also
take hede that they occupye no vayn and vnprofytabal
craft to the commyn wele. Thes offycerys schalbe as
the Censorys were in the old tyme at Rome, wyche schal
see to thes materys, as wel as to the nonbur and to the
substance of pepul. To them hyt schal perteyne also, 449
450 to oversee the educatyon of vthe. To theyr cure schal be commyttyd the redresse of many grete dysaesys in thys polytyke body. But of thys hereafter in hys place, when we come to speke of the polytyke ordur. And by thys mean I thynke we schold helpe much to the gud occypying of our pepul in honest and profytabul craftys to the commyn wele.

L. agrees, but says religious persons are untouched.

455 18. Lvpset.—Syr, of thys ther ys no dowte but that thes ordynance schold be veray profytabul. But yet you haue left the one halfe of the yl-occupyd personys, and nothyng touchyd them at al. That ys to say, thes relygyouse personys in monasterys and abbeys.

P. owns there are plenty of [*Page 14.*] these men; he does not wish the abbeys to be destroyed, but he would reform them.

460 19. Pole.—Surely you say troth. Of them ther ys a grete nombur and vnprofytabul; but, *Mastur Lvpset*, as touchyng them, as I sayd before, I wold not that thes relygyouse men wyth theyr monasterys schold vturly be take away, but only some gud reformatyon to be had of them. *And*, schortly to say, I wold thynke in that behalfe chefely, thys to be a gud remedy, that youth schold haue no place therin at al, but only such men as, by feruent lone of relygyon mouyd therto, fly-ing the daungerys and snarys of the world, schold ther haue place. *And* yf that gape were onys stoppyd, I dare wel say theyr nombur wold not be ouer-grete: we schold haue fewar in nombur relygyouse men, but bettur in lyfe. But here ys not the place of them, nor to schow theyr reformatyon, the wych schalbe hereaftur when we schal speke of the reformyng of the faultys of the spirytualty. I can not tel how you brought them in and nombryd them among idul and yl-occupyd personys. How be hyt, to say the truthe, they are nother ydul, as they say, nother yet wel occupyd; but, how so ever hyt be, theyr propur place ys not here in thys purpos; and therfor we wyl dyffer thys mater, and so go forth to the next dysease and cure therof ensuyng to thys 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 poly-
tyke body, by the reson wherof they partys were not
wel knyt togydur, but dyssueredy asunder, no parte
dowyng hys propur offycy and duty. Thys ys, and euer
hath byn, the gretyst destructyon that euer cam to any
commyn wele. Thys ys the ground of al ruynge of
pollycy, wherof the cuntre of Ytaly ys in our days most
manyste exampul, where as by dyscord and diuysyon
among themselfe ys brought in much mystery and con-
fusyon. Wherfor of thys thyng aboue al other most
cure must be had; but, Master Lvpset, here you
must vnderstond, that euen as in the body of man many dys-
easys, as physycyonys dow say, spryng of the mynd, and
of the affectys therof, so, in thys polytyke body, a grete
parte of the mysordurys therin rysyth of that thyng
wych we resemblyd to the mynd in man,—that ys, po-
lytyke rule and cyuyle ordur; among the mysordurys
wherof thys pestylens ys one of the chefe. Wherfor
thys ys certayn, here ys not the place of hys 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 hereafter.

(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
by ltyyl of al such thyng as equally schold be dystry-
butydy accordyng to the dygnyte of al the cytyzyns,—
therfor, aboue al thyng, regard must be had of the prynee
and of them wych be in offycy and authoryte, chefely
to see that al such thyng may be dystrybute with a cer-
tayn equalyte; but how thys schalbe downe hereafter
we schal peramenture somewhat schow. But now, to
kepe thys body knyte togydur in vnyte, prouysyon wold
be made by commyn law and authoryte, that euery parte

1 In margin of MS.
may exercise his office and duty,—that is to say, every man in his craft and faculty to meddle with such thing as pertaineth therto, and intermeddle not with other; for this causeth much mallyce, enuy, and debate, both in cyte and town, that one man meddlyeth in the craft and mystere of another. One is not content with his own profession, craft, and inability of learning, but ever, when he seeth another more rych then he, and lyeth at more pleasure, then he despyseth his own faculty, and so applyth himself unto the other. Wherefore, a certayne penye must be ordred and appoynted upon euery man that contenteth not himself with his own mystere, craft, and faculty; whereby much schold be restored and reystreyned this curiosyte, a grete ruyne and destructyon of offenders to be to all good and just polity. Moreover, to all sedycyouse personys that openly despyseth this ordur, vnyte, and concord, whereby the party of this body are, as they were, wyth senewys and neruys knyt togyddur, perpetual bannyschment, or rather deth, must be by law prescrybyd, as to a corrupt membyr of the body, and so to be cut of, for feare lest het schold infecte the rest, corruptyng the whole. And so this compellyng of euery man to doe his office and duty, wyth dystrybutyng to euery man, according to his vertue and dygnyte, such thyngys as be to be dyuydyd among the cytyzyns wyth equyte, schal conserve much thy body in vnyte and concord; and, I thinke, by processe of tyme, vttrulie take away thys pestylent dysease and dysyson. How be hyt, as I sayd before, the perfayt cure thereof rysyth and spryngyth of the cure of all other particular misordurys in pollycy, for as much as this ys, as hyt were, a general ruynge of al cyuyle ordur and polityte rule. Therfore, Master Lweepse, let us go forward after this maner, breuely to touche the curse of other, by the reson wherof we more perfaytly schal also cure thys same pestylens
so corruptyng the body. Consequently to thy, yf you remembyr, Mastur Lupset, we found in thy body a grete deformyte, the wych, as we notyd, rysyth of the yl propor-tyon of the partys, some bying to grete and some to lytyl. As, by exampl, the thyng to declare, ther be among vs to few plowmen and tyllarys of the ground, and to many courtarys and idul servanys; to few artysanys of gad occupatyon and to many prestys and relygyouse, ful of vayn superstycyon; and thyss of many other ordurys we myght say. But the cause of thyss, to touch now to the purpos, after my mynd. Yf you remembyr, Mastur Lupset, we found in thy body a grete deformyte, the wych, as we notyd, rysyth of the yl propor-tyon of the partys, some bying to grete and some to lytyl.

The scarcity of husbandmen and the plenty of courtiers and servants; few artisans, but many priests.

The cause of this deformity.

Its cure can only be effected by choosing fit men for certain offices,

Deformyte.¹

The scarcity of husbandmen and the plenty of courtiers and servants; few artisans, but many priests.

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

20. Lyvset.—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 therunto: for in that thynge only men profyte commynly, wherto of nature they be inclynyd frely.

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

21. Polc.—Wel, Mastur Lyvset, let the effecte proue as hyt schal plese Hym who gouernyth al; and let vs procede fether in our processe. We notyd also a grete weknes in thys body, in so much that we though[t] hyt was not wel abul to defend hytselfe from vtward ennymys; the cause wherof, of the wych we must begin, chefely ys thys, as hyt semyth to me:—that the noblyte, wyth theyr seruantys and adherentys, are not exercysyd in feat of armys and chyualry, but gyue themselfys to idul gamys, as dysyng and cardyng, wyth such other vanyte; to the wych ensuth, by necessitye, thys gret wekenes of the chefe parte of the body. Wherfor ther must be a prohybytyon set out by commyn authoryte, fyrst, from al such vnprofytabul gamys and idul exercyse to be occupyd commynly, and the noblyte must be constrainyd, by lawful punmyschement, to exercyse themselfys in al such thyngys and featys of armys as schal be for the defence of our reame necessary; the 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 every cyte and good towne, to have a common place appointed to the exercise of the, wherein they might at void tyme exercise themselvses; the wych among the Romanys was a common thyng, and yet ye observeyd among the Swyeys; wych, I thinke, hathe byn the gretyst cause of theyre greate fame in dedys of armys. Ye and moreouer, in the vyllage of the countrey, when the pepul are assemblyd togyddur, such exercise also wold not be forgot; but how, in what mean, and in what exercise, men schold thys occupyc themselvys, that we schal leue to be prescrybyd of them wych be experte in feats of armys, and haue byn in the exercysyd therin. 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 countrey. Wherfor our pepul 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 contynue many yerys, and so schalbe in daunger of losyng of our countrey wythout thys prouysyon. Therfor, aboue al, we must study to restore thys polytyke body to hys old powar and strength, and by such exercise 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 hytselfe from al vtward injury.

(21.) And so now you haue hard, Master Lupset, certayn remedys for the most common dyseasys in thys polytyke body before notyd, wych, yf they be wel applyd, schal merucelously dyspose the parts also to receyue cure and remedy of the particuler dyseasys reynyng therin, wych cuer spryng out of the general, as you schal perceyue in our communucatyon hereaftur, when ouer-more the ground of the cure schalbe drawen

PEOPLE TOO MUCH GIVEN TO PLEASURE.
out of thes, of the wych now we haue spoken. For euen lyke as the sykenes of the partys for the most sprynghyth\(^1\) 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, thes general thyngys wel remedyd schold schortly bryng in gud ordur in the partys. Wherfore me thynke you passe them ouer-schortly. I wold that you schold have schowyd somewhat at large and partycularly the mean and fasyon of theyr cure and remedy.

23. Pole.—Master Lvpset, as touchyng that thyng, you must euer remembyr my purpos here intendyd, wych ys, as I schowyd before, only to touch certain general thyngys, as by a commentary to conserue 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 thes general thyngys of me notyd, they may be put in remembrancce 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 gadders certayn *thyngys, wherby prynces may be admonyschyd to put such other in executyon wych of thes may be schortly gdeduryd. And therfor let vs go on aftur the maner befors vsyd.

25. Pole.—We notydy, 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 partys schold easely

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\(^1\) MS. sprynghyth.
be helyd; for al hange apon thys. Therfor the wyse 696 phylosophar Plato in al hys commyn welth chefely laburyd to see gud offycerys, hedys, and rularys, the wych schold be, as hyt were, lyuely lawys; for the wych cause also, aftur myn opynyon, he thought no thyng necessary to wryte any lawys to hys commynalty; for yf the hedys in a commyn werele were both just, gud, 702 and wyse, ther schold nede non other lawys to the pepul. But how myght thys be brought to passe, Master Lvsset, in our commyn wele and cuntre? Theynke you hyt were possybul?

26. Lvsset.—I thinke by no mannys wyt. And therfor Plato imagynyd only and dremyd apon such a commyn wele as neuer yet was found, nor neuer, I thinke, 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 thinke hyt playn impossybul. 710

27. Pole.—Wel, Master Lvsset, 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 descrybe, and auneyent phylosoph[arys.] But aftur a more cyuyle and commyn sort, we wyl mesure theyr 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, euer haue theyr yes fyxyd to the commyn wele, and that aboue al thyng euer to pre- ferre, to that euer redresse al theyr actys, thoughtys, 721 and dedys. Such men, I say, yf we myght set in our commyn wel and pollycy, schold be suffycyent for vs. 726

28. Lvsset.—Sir, I thinke we were happy yf we myght such fynd.

29. Pole.—Wel, let vs consydur then, and procede. 731
WE MUST HAVE A GOOD PRINCE.

732 Fyrst, thys ys certayn in our commyn wel, as hyt ys instytute: a grete parte of thys mater hangyth apon one pine; for thys ys sure, our cuntrey ys not so barrayn of honest men, but such myght be found, specyally yf the vth were a lytyl brought vp aftur such maner as we schal touch hereafter. The pine that I spake of ys thys—to have a gud Prynce to gouerne and rule. Thys ys the ground of al felycyte in the cyuyle lyfe. Thys ys [the] fundatyon of al gud pollycy in such a kynd of state as ys in our cuntrey. The Prynce instytutyth and makyth almost al vnder ofycerys. He hathe authoritye and rule of al. Therfor, yf we coud fynd a mean to haue a gud Prynce commynly, thys schald be a commyn remedy, almost, as I sayd, for al the rest of the mysordurys in the pollycy.

30. Lvpset.—Mary, Sir, that ys trothe; but thys lyth in God only, and not in mannys powar.

31. Pole.—Master Lvpset, though thys be trothe, that al gudnesse commyth of God, as out of the fountayn, yet God requyryth the dylygence of man in al such thyng as perteynyth to hys felycyte. The prouydence of God hath thys ordeynyd, that man schal not hauie 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 ys the only marchant of al thyng that ys gud.

32. Lvpset.—What mean you by this? Wold you that man schold prouyde hym a Prynce, and forme hym aftur hys owne faseyon, as hyt were in mannys powar that to dow, and by dylygence to gyue hym wysedome and gudnes?

33. Pole.—Nay, Master Lvpset,1 I mene nothyng so; for hyt ys God that makyth man, and of hym only commyth al wysedome and gudnesse, as I sayd euen now.

1 MS. le.
But, Master Lypset, to see what I mean somewhat more clere, let vs consydyr thys mater a lytyl hyar. The gudnes of God, out of the wyth spyngyth al thynge that ys gud, hathe made man, of al creaturyrs in erth, most perfayt, gyuyng vnto hym a sparkyl of his owne dyuynyte,—that ys to say, ryght reson,—wherby he schold gonerne hymselfe in cyuyle lyfe and gud pollycey, accordyng to hys excellent *nature and dygnyte. But wyth thys same sparkyl of reson, thys to man gyuen, are joynyd by nature so many affectys and vycyouse desyrys, by the reson of thys erthly body, that (except man wyth cure, dylygence, and labur, resy[ls]te to the same) they ouer-ran reson, thys lytyl sparkyl, and so bryng man, consequently, from hys natural felycyte, and from that lyfe wych ys conuenyent to hys nature and dygnyte; in so much that he ys then as a brute best, folowyng not the ordynance of God, wych gaue hym reson to subdue hys affectys as much as the nature of the body wold suffur. For yf he had gyuen hym so much reson and wysedom that he schold neuer haue byn ouercome wyth affectys and vayn desyrys, he schold haue made man aboue man, and made hym as an angel; and so ther schold haue lakkyd here in thys world the nature of man. But the gudnes of God (wych only therby mouyd made thys sensybul world) wold suffur no thynge to lake to the perfectyon therof, who dyd communycat Hys owne gudnes and perfectyon to everey thynge accordyng to the capacyte of hys grosse nature. And thys man coude not be made, being by nature in such imperfectyon of hys erthely body, to any more perfectyon; hys body wold suffur no more of that celestyal lyght. Notwythstondyng, thys ys true, that to some man thys lyght ys more communyd, to some man lesse, accordyng to the nature of hys body, and accordyng to hys educatyon and gud instructyon in the commun welth, where he ys brought forth of nature.

P. answers: God made man, and gave him reason to govern himself;

[* Page 21.]

but with reason He joined affections and vicious desires, which, without care, overran reason and make man a brute.

If He had given him more reason, he would have been as an angel,

and so lacked the nature of man. But God would not suffer this.

Some have more light than others, according to their education;
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 poltyke then another. Howbehyt,
I thynke non ther ys so rude and bestely, but, wyth
cure and dylygence, by that same sparkyl of reson
gyen of God, they may subdue theyr affectyonys, and
folow the lyfe to the wych they be instytute and
ordelyn yd of God; the wych ordyr when man wyth
reson folowyth, he ys then gouernyd by the prouydence
of God. Lyke as, contrary, when he, by neclygence,
suffiryth thys reson to be ouercome wyth vycyouse
affectys, then he, so blynded, lynyth contrary to the
ordynance *of God, *and fullyth vtturly out of Hys pro-

[* Page 22.*]

when they do not,
they are under
the devil.

He could confirm
all this, but will
not.

Living in civil
order, nations
are governed by
God's providence;

but without good
order, by tyrants.

And theys thys of
old phylosophy and holy Scrypture; but,
bycause I see here ys not the place now to dyspute,
but to take and admytt the truthe tryd by ancyst
tyytys and celestyal wysedome and doctryne, I wyll
thys pretermytt and set apart.

(33.) And now to our purpos. Euen as euery par-
tycular man, when he folowyth reson, ys gouernyd by
God, and, contrary, blyndyd wyth ignorance by hys
owne vayn opynyon; so holle natyonys, when they
lyue togyddur in cyuyle ordyr, instytute and gouernyd
by resonabul pollycy, are then gouernyd by the pro-
ydence of God, *and* be vnder Hys tuytyon. As, con-
trary, when they [are] wythout gud ordyr and poltyke
rule, they are rulyd by the violence of tyranny ; they
are not gouernyd by Hys prouydence nor celestyal
ordynance, but, as a man gouernyd by affectys, so they
be tormentyd insfynyte ways, by the reson of such
tyrauntical powar; so that of thys you may se that hyt
ys not God that proudyth tyrannys to rule in eytes and townes, no more then hyt ys He that ordeleynyth ys affectys to ouer-run ryght reson. But now to the purpos, Master Lvpset. Hyt ys not man that can make a wyse prynee of hym that lakkyth wyt by nature, nor make hym just that ys a tyranne for plesure. But thys ys in manmys powar, to electe and chose hym that ys both wyse and inst, and make hym a prynee, and hym that ys a tyranne so to depose. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, thys I may truly say, to the wych al thys reson-yng now tendyth,—that yf we wyl correcte thys frenecy in our commyn wele, we may not at a venture take hym to our prynee, what so euery he be, that ys borne of hys blode and cumyth by successyon, the wych, and you remembyr, we notyd befors also to be one of the gretyst fautys, as hyt ys in dede, in our pollycy; the wych faute, onys correcte, schal also take away thys frenecy. Yf we can fynd a way to amend thys, we schal not gretely labur to cure the rest; for as to say, as many men dow, that the prouydence of God ordeleynyth 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 every partycular man folowyth hys affectys, blyndyd wyth ignornance and foly; and so hyt schold folow, the folly and vyce commyth of the prouydence of God, wych ys no waye to be admyttyd, but only as thys, that the prouyndence of God hath ordeleynyd of Hys gudnes such a creature to be, wych may, by hys owne foly, folow hys owne affectys. But when he doth so, thys ys sure—he folowyth not the ordynance of God, but, ouercome by plesure and blyndyd wyth ignornace, flythe from hyt and slyppyth from hys owne dygnyte. Therfor 873

God does not provide tyrants.

Man cannot make a wise prince, but he can elect a wise one, and can depose a tyrant.

Frenecy.¹

¹ In margin of MS.
neuer attrybute tyrann (of al yl the greyst) to the prouydence of God, except you wyl, consequently, attrybut al yl to the Fontayn of gudnes; wych ys no thyng conuenyent, but playn wykydnes and impyety. But, aftur my mynd and opynyon, you schal attrybut thys tyrann partely to the malyce of man (who by nature ys ambyceyouse and of al plesure most desyrouse) and partely to necligence of the pepul, wych suffyr themselfys to be oppresyd therwyth. Wherfor, Master Lupset, yf we wyl cure thys perrnycey freenecy, we must begyn to take away thys pestylent tyrann, the wych to dow ys no thyng hard for to deuyse.

(33.) But here you must remembryr, Master Lupset (as we sayd in our fyrt day's communycatyon) that al be hyt we haue now in our days, by the prouydence of God, such a prynce, and of such wyseydome, that he may ryght wel and justely be subyecte to no law,—whose prudence and wyseydome ys lyuely law and true pollyce,—yet we now (wych al such thyngys as syldome happun haue not in consyderatyon, but such thyngys only loke vnto wych, for the most parte, happun and be lykly, and such as be mete to a just and commyn pollyce) may not deny but that in our ordur here ys a certayn faute, and to the same now deuyse of some remedy. Wherin the fyrt and best mean ys thys, aftur my mynd and opynyon, here in our cuxtrey to be taken; aftur the decesse of the prynce, by electyon of the commyn voyce of the parlyament assemblyd to chose one, most apte to that hye offfyce and dygnyte, wych schalold not rule and gourne al at hys owne pleiure and lyberty, but euer be subiecte to the ordur of hys lawys. But here to schow how he schold be electe, and aftur what maner and fascon, that we schal leue to particular consyderatyon, and *take thys for a sure ground and foundatyon to delyuer vs from al confusyon; for truly thys ys the fyrt way wych wel and justely may delyuer
A COUNCIL OF FOURTEEN.

vs out of all tyranny. Thys hath byn euer vsyd among them wych haue euer lyuyd vnder a prynce wyth lyberty; wherby they haue byn gouernyd by lynely 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 electyon 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 remedy 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 thyng hurtful and prejudicyal to the same. Thys conseyl and authoryte of parliament schold rest in thes personys:—

fyrst, in iiiij of the greyst and ancyent lordys of the temporality; iiij of the chefe jugys; and iiiij of the most wyse cytyzyns of London. Thes men, joyntly togyddur, schold haue authoryte of the hole parlyament in such tyme as the parlyament were dyssol[u]yd. Thys authoryte schold be chefely instytutyd to thys end and purpos,—to see that the kyng and hys propur counsele schold do no-
and watch over the laws, and to call the Great Parliament when necessary.

thyng agayn the ordynance of hys lawys and gud policye; and they schold haue also powar to cal the grete parlyament when so euers to them hyt schold sene 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 mynystryd by the kyng and hys conseyl. But thys, aboue al, as a ground, schold be layd, — that the kyng schold dow no thyng pertynyng to the state of hys *reme wythout the authority of hys propyr conseyl appoyntyd to hym by thys authoryte. Thys counsel schold be of ij byschoppys, iiij lordys, and iiij of the learnyd and polytyke men, expert in the lawys, both spiritual and temporal. And so thys conseyl, though we toke our prync by successyon, for the avoydyng of sedycyon, schold delyuer vs from al tyrann, settyng vs in true lyberty. And so we schold haue, consequently, the ground of thys frenecy taken away; for, by the counsel 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 thyr prudence, justely punnyschyd. Al other inferyor lordys, knyghtys, and gentylmen, wych dyd not thyr offyce and duty in admynystryaton of justyce wyth equyte toward thyr 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 offyeerys to be ware and dylygent to dow thyr duty; wych yf they dyd, by and by schold folow the correctyon of the other parttycular fautys wych we notyd to be in the partys to the fety and handys of the commyn wele resembltyd; the wych fautys were no thyng els but other neclygense of

1 In margin of Ms.
the peul, 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 occupy whole, here in our natyon, hyt ys of no thyng chefuly but of necligence of the peul or vayn occupatyon. Wherfor, yf such necligence, perceuyd and prouyd at courtys openly in every vyllage and towne, bothe of plowmen and artysany, were by the offyczerys punnyschyd by certayn payn forfytyd, preserybyng the same, you schold haue bothe craftys bettur occupy whole, and the ground more dylygently tylyd; specyally yf the statute of inclosure were put in executyon, and al such pasture put to the vse of the plowgh as before tyme hath byn so vsyd; for in many placys herin ys enydently perceuyd much necligence and grete lake in the applying of the ground to the plowgh. Thys must be amendyd, and then you schal *se both al thyngs 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, specyally yf to thys also were joynyd a nother ordynance, of no les profyt, as I thynke, then thys; wych ys,—that al craftys men in cyys and townys wych are drunkerys, gyuen to the bely and plesure therof, cardarys and dysarys, and al other gyuen to ydul gamys, schold be by the same offyczerys observyd and punnyschyd. Of the wych thyngs the offyczerys schold haue as much regard as of robbying 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 offyczerys 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.

The ground lies untiled 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.

Such offences to be carefully observed by the officers appointed.
172 GLUTTONY, ROBBERY, AND POVERTY.

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 paratycular cause of the dede commynly. The glotonny of Englond and they idul gamys be no smal occasyon of al adultery, robbery, and other myschefe. Therfor, yf the offycerys

1023 in courtys, and curatys also, lokyd and studyd to the remonyng of thos causys dylygently, thys goute 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? Undowtydly 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 folowyth forth wythal abundance of thyngys necessary; specyally yf to that were joynyd a nother ordynance (wych, peraventure, schal sem to you but a smal thyng, but in dede hyt ys of gret weyght) wych ys, concernyng the frate of marchandyse; by whome the abundance of al exteryor thyngys may be much forderyd, yf hyt be orderyd to the commyn wele, wythout regard of pry-" "nate gayne and profyt apon any parte, wythout equyte. And, concernyng thys mater, thys ys the chefe poynyte: that the marchauntys cary out only such thyngys as may be wel lakkyd wythin our owne cuntre, wythout commyn detryment to our natyon; and bryng in such thyngys agayn as we haue nede of here at home, and as, by the dylygence of our owne men, can not be made.

1 In margin of MS. 2 MS. nordynance.
Woool and woollen cloths.

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

(35.) For, fyirst, to begyn wyth thyss:—the caryage out of wolles to the stapul ys a grete hurte to the pepul of Englund; though hyt be profytabul both to the prynee and to the marchant also. For by thyss mean the clothynge of Englund 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 thyss stapul were broken or otherwyse redressyd, and clothynge set vp in Englund agayne, thyss ys sure:—the commodye of our wolles and cloth schold bryng in al other thyngys that we haue nede of out of al other straunge partys beyond the see. Ye, and though our cloth, at the fyirst begynnyng, wold not be so gud peranewture, would not at first be so good, as hyt ys made in other partys, yet, in processe of tyme, but in a few years would *Page 23.* be as well made as the foreign cloths.

I can not see wy but that our men, by dylygence, myght attayne thereto ryght wel; specyally yf the prynee wold study therto, in whose powar hyt lyth chefely such thyngys to helpe. Ther be marchant men that, by the helpe of the *prynee, wyl vndertake in few yerys to bryng clothynge to as grete perfectyon as hyt ys in other partys, wych, yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the gretyst bunfyte to increse the ryches of Englund that myght be deuysyd. They wych now fach our wol schold be glad to fach our cloth made in our reame; wherby schold be occupyd infynyte pepul, wych now lyue in idulnes, wreehyd and pore. And the same thyng ys to be sayd both of lede and tyn. Our marchantys Cary them out at plesure, and then bryng the same in workyd agayn, and made vessel therof. And so of infynyte other thyngys we myght say, the wych the gudnes of nature hath to our yle gyuuen, they wych now ys not nede to reherse but thyss generally. They

[Wool not to be exported; cloths, too, made at home Clothynge.]

[1 In margin of MS.]
more cattle to be reared.

1084 Marchaunt must be prohybytyd to bryng in any such thyngys wych may be made by the dylygence of our owne men. Wyne, ueluettys, and sylkys, they may bryng in, but not in such abundance as they commynly dow, wych causyth much yl, as we sayd before. Wherefor the statute of apparyle must be put in executyon, and such commyn tanervys of wynys wold be forbyden. They cause much yl and mysery. But what thyngys they schal cary out, and what thyngys bryng in, the

1093 offycerys appoyntyd to the ouersyght therof must euers prescrybe; for thys cannot be determyd but accordyng to the abundance and penury of thyngys prudently consyderyd. Hyt ys to be reseryd. But thys offycerys 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 remembranc—I thynke [it] gud and profytabul—wych ys thys: that the vnresonabul custume commynly appoyntyd must [be] abatyd; and specially to them wych bryng in thyngys necessary, wherby they may be prouolyd more gladly to bryng in. For as the ordur ys now, the prynce hath more[than]halfe of theyr gayne, wych thyng gyuyth them lytyl courage to travayle and to take payn. Hyt schold be also no smal furtherance many ways, as I thynke, yf hyt were ordeynyd that our owne marchauntys schold cary out and bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, and not vse the straunteryss schyppys as they now dow; by the reson wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. *A nother grete thyng ther ys, as I thynke, wych schold much helpe to make abundance of al thyng necessary for the lyfe—to constrayn the plowmen and fermerys to be more dylygent in reryng of al maner of bestys and catayl; for by theyr neclygence vndowtyddly rysyth a

1098 grete parte of the darth of al such thyngys as for fode

1104 English vessellys should be em-

1107 [Page 29.]

strauungeryss schyppys as they now dow; by the reason wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. *A nother grete thyng ther ys, as I thynke, wych schold much helpe to make abundance of al thyng necessary for the lyfe—to constrayn the plowmen and fermerys to be more dylygent in reryng of al maner of bestys and catayl; for by theyr neclygence vndowtyddly rysyth a

1111 grete parte of the darth of al such thyngys 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 necligence, ys one chefe cause of the derth therof. And a nother ther ys wych few men observe; wych ys the inhaunsyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we sayd before; for yf they fermerys pay much rent, and more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of 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 rebatyld, and set to the old stynt of that tyme when the pepul of England floryscheid; for now they are brough[t] almost to the mysery of Fraunce, by the yl gourneance of late days, and anayrce of the hedys and rularys of them. Thys ground must be take away, yf we intend euer to remedy thys grete darth, wych ys now of al thyngys among vs reynyng. Wherof the ground surely ys thys, for thys makyth, wythout fayle, al kynd of vytyal more dere then hyt was wont to be, wych commyth al out of the cuntrey. And, consequently, when vytyal ys dere, then they craftysman must nede sel hys ware after the same rate; for hyt costyth hym more in nuryshyng hys famyly and artyfycerys therof then before hyt was wont to dow. And so, consequently, of thys rote spryngyth al darth of al thyngys wych we schold haue by the dylygence and labur of the pepul.

(35.) Wherfor we may surely conclude, that yf thys thyngys were remedyd aftur thys maner, both concernyng marchauntys, laburarys of the ground, and fermerys therof, we schold in few yerys haue abundance of al thyng aftur the old maner; we schold haue thys myserabul pouerty taken away. For, as for beggarys lusty and strong, ye, and thefs also, schold be but few or non at al of that sorte as they be now. For yf thys multytude of servyng men were *plukkyd away aftur the maner as I showyd you before, the rote of al that sorte schold

1 MS. chause.
1154 vtturly perysch. And as for thos the wych nature hath brough[t] forth impotent, or by syknes are fallen therto, they schold be but few, and easely schold be nyrscyd, aftur a maner lately deuysyd by the wysedome of the cytzyns of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundres, the wych I wold wyse to be put in vs 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 imbecyllyte of manmys nature. Wherfor hyt may be wel some sick persons 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 thyngys we schold haue hane in our cuntre.

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

37. Pole.—Thes ornamentys, Master Lupset, of commyn welys, as gudly cytes, castellys, and townys, wyl sone folow ryches and abundance as thyngys annexyd therto, yf ther were a lytyl regard therof and a lytyl more care put thervnto; for wher as ys ryches and abundance, 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 evert yere a certayn summe, accordyng to theyr abylyte, to the byldyng and

1 In margin of MS.
reformyng of al such commyn placys in euery grete cyte and towne. And conuenyent hyt were offycyrs to be appoyntyd to haue regard of the b[...wty of the towne and cuntrey, and of the clennes of the same, wych schold cause grete helth also, and (as I thynke) be a grete occasyon that the pestylens schold not reyne so much as hyt doth wyth vs in our cuntrey. But yf we wyl restore our cytes to such bewty as we see in other cuntreys, we must *begyn of thys ground. Our gentylmen must be causyd to retyre to cytes and townys, and to byld them housys in the same, and ther to see the gouvynance of them, helpinguer to set al such thynge forward as perteynyth to the ornamentys of the cyte. They may not conynually dwell in the cuntrey as they dow. Thys ys a gret rudenes and a barbarouse custume vsyd wyth vs in our cuntrey. They dwel wyth vs sparklylyd in the feldys and woodys, as they dyd before ther was any cyuylye lyfe known, or stablyschyd among vs: the wych surely ys a grete ground of the lake of al cyuylye ordur and humanyte. Wherfor thys must be amendyd, yf we wyl euer replenysch our cuntrey wyth gud cytes and townys, of the dekey wherof I thynke thys ys one grete cause and manyfest occasyon. Wherfor thys must be remedyd aftur thys maner now touchyd—to compel them at the lest to byld ther theyr housys, and sometymys ther to be resydent. The gret lordys and gentylmen wych for theyr plesure folow the court, wythout offycye or dygnyte, must be causyd to retorne and inhabyte the cytes of theyr cuntreys; by the wych mean shortly the cytes schold be made beautyful and fayre, and formyd wyth much cyuylyte. And so thys our cuntrey schold not only be replenschyd wyth pepul wel occupyd, euery man in hys offycye and degre, but also we schold haue grete abundance of al thynghys, as wel of such thynge as our cuntrey, by the dylygence of man, wold bere and bryng forth, as of

GENTLEMEN TO LIVE IN 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.

This custom must be amended,

and gentlemen compelled to live in cities.

If these things were done, our cities would be beautified, our country replenished, and the people have abundance,
ORNAMENTS FOR THE COUNTRY.

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 ornamenteys conuenyent to the nature of our cuntrey, wych wyl not suffir to be so ornat and so beautiful, in euery degre, 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 aftur such maner, notwyth-stondyng we haue and may haue by dylygence al such thyng as schalbe requyryd to thys commyn wel, the wych we haue before descrybyd. Wherfor, Master Lupset, we may now, consequently, procede to correcte the fautys wych be in the pollycy and in the maner of admynystratyon of our commyn wele; the wych ys, as hyt were, the soule to the body; for hyther to we haue schowyd and touchyd the maner of the correctyng only such mysordurys as be in the body and in the partys of the same. Wherfor, now, Mastur 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 curyd by the correctyon and cure of such as perteyne to the lyfe and soule of the same. Wherfor I thynke you may procede, yf you wold a lytyl schow more at large how thys body schold be kept and
conservuys continually in helth, and in thys prosperous state wych you have descrybyd.

2. Pole.—Why, Master Lupset, dow you not perceyue how that schal folow of necessity to the cure of the mysordury ys wych remayn in the lyfe, and, as hyt were, the soule of thys polytyke body, euyn lyke as hyt ys in mannys body, to the wych I oft resembyl the same, wherin you see the conservatyon therof? In helth and prosperous state muche hangyth upon the temper-ance and soburnes of the mynd, in so much that you schal see veray few of sobur and temperat dyat, but they have helthy and welthy bodys, except the[y] hurt themselfys by some exteyor cause manyfyst and playn; as ouer much or lytyl exercyse, or abydyng in some pestylent and corrupt ayre, and *such other lyke. Euen so hyt ys in this polytyke body, be you assuryd, yf we may fynd the mean now, in thys our communycatyon folowyng, to correcte the fautys in our pollycy, thys prosperous 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 reson of the gud ordur and pollycy that therin ys vsyd, hath contynuyd aboue a thousand yers in one ordur and state. Where as the pepul also, by the reson of theyr sobur and temperat dyat, be as helthy and welthy as any pepul now, I thynke, lyuyng apon the erth. Therfor, Master Lapset, by statute made and commynly receuyd concernyng our dyat, we must be compellyd at the fyrst to folow thes men in soburnes and temperance; and then you schold neuer haue any occasyon to dowte therof nor feare the stabylyte of our prosperous state and gud pollycy. Specyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur and rule, that theyr schal rest no faute thereyn; for that ys the sure ground of the conservatyon of the commyn wele in the polytyke
Causes of ruin of countries.

1. None can deny it: go on.

2. Tyranny is the root of every ill, and must have no place in our commonwealth.

Man is miserable when his reason is overcome by unruly affections.

[* Page 34.]*

An oppressed country must be wretched.

As no perfect prince can be found,

Tyranny.

we must, to avoid tyranny, take care that he

body. For, as you see manyestely dayly, the ruyne of cuntreys, cyte, and townys, rysyth euer of thys ground commynly, that ys to say, other of some tyranny, or

sedeycyon made by the reson of some mysordur in the poltytyke governance and rule.

3. Lvpset.—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 Lvpset, tyranny in al commynaltys ys the ground of al yl, the wel of al myschefe and mysordur, the rote of al sedeycyon, and ruyne of al cyuylyte, therfor we must aboue al pro-nyde 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 vnruylid affectys gouerne and ruyne in hys ordur of lyfe; ye, and the bettur helth of body and more abundance *of ryches that he hath and of wordly prosperity, the more myserabul he ys, and ful of wrechydnes; so ys a cuntrey, cyte, or town, when hyt ys oppressyd wyth tyranny—though hyt be neuer so wel replenyschyd wyth pepul helthy and welthy, and ornate wyth the most gudly cytes of the word, yet most myserabul and ful of al aduersyte, as we haue before more at large declaryd. Therfor, Master Lvpset, aboue al, as I sayd, of thys we must hame 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 pryncely state,—that ys to say, that passyth al other in wysedom 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 examplul of al huma[n]yty;—therfor we must, to avoyd al tyranny, wych in al realmys ruyntli in at thys hole (that ys to say, by

1 In margin of MS.
MIXED GOVERNMENT BEST.

guyuyn 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 upon the pepul any such authorysyd tyrannys, wyche the actys of parlyamentys in tyme past, vnder the pretense of princely majesty, hath grauntyd therto here in our cuntrey. Seing, therfor, that a pryncely state, as we haue prouyd before, ys most commenyent for our cuntivy and to the nature therof most agreabul; and seyng, also, that prynceys commynly are rulyd by affectys, rather then by reson and ordur of iustycy; the lawys, wyche be synccere and pure reson, wythout any spot or blot of affectyon, must haue chefe authoryte; they must rule and gourne the state, and not the prync after hys owne lierty and wyl. For thys cause the most wyse men, consyderyn the nature of prynceys, ye, and the nature of man as hyt ys inde, assyrme a myxte state to be of al other the best and most commenyent to conserva the hole out of tyrannys. For when any one parte hath ful authoryte, ye that parte chaunce to be corrupt wyth affectys, as oft we se in every other state hyt dothe, the rest schal suffer the tyrannys 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 manyst furth injury; the wych thyngys the actys of our prynceys in tyme so openly haue declaryd, that hyt nedyth, I trow, no proffe at al. I thinke ther ys no man that so lakkyth yes wych thys doth not see.

(4.) But now by what mean thys may be done partly 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 anuncturyrs, the instytutarys of our lawys and ordur of our reame, consyderyn wel thys same tyrannys, and for the avoydyng of the same,
ordeynyd a Connestabol of Englon, to conturpayse the authoryte of the prynce and tempur the same; gyuyng hym authoryte to cal a parlyament in such case as the prynce wold run into any tyranny of hys owne heddy jugement. But forbycause thys offyce semyd to the prynce over-hye, to haue any one man wyth such authoryte, and so often tyme was cause of sedycyon and debate, in so much that the pryncys of our tyme haue thys offyce vtturly suppressyd; therfor, for the avoydyng of al such occasyon of any dangerouse sedycyon betwyx the pryncys of our reame and hys noblyyte, me semyth much more conuenyent, as I haue schowyd before, to gyue thys authoryte vnto dyuerse, and not to one; euen lyke as the authoryte of the prynce may not rest in hym alone, but in hym, as the hede, joynyd to hys counsel, as to the body. Aftur the same forme, the Connestabul schold be hede of thys other conseyl, wych schold represent the hole body of the pepul without parlyament and commyn counsel geddryd of the reame. *Concernyng thys one poynt cheffely:—that ys to say, to see vnto the lyberty of the hole body of the reame, and to resyst al tyranny wych by any maner may grow apoun the hole commynalty, and so to cal parlyament of the hole when so ener they see any peryl of the losse of the lyberty. Thys conseyl schold euer be occasyon to redresse 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 conseyl appoyntyd to hym by the same authoryte. For thys may in no case be con-

1 About half way down the margin of this page, the author has written the words, "the thryd poynt of," but they seem to have no meaning.
myttyd to the arbytryment of the prynce to chose hys owne conseyl; for that were al one and to commyte al to hys affectys, lyberty, and rule. Thys therfor schold be the second thyng perteynyng to thys conseyl and as a lytyl parlyament:— to electe and chose euer such men as they schold juge mete to be about a prynce, and to be veray conseylarys of the commyn welthe, and not to be corrupte by feare or affectyon. Thys conseyl I wold haue to be of x personys: ij doctorys lernyd in dyuynyte, and ij in the law cyuyle, and ij of the commyn law—of the wych, ij I wold schold be appoyntyd to receyue complayntyys 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 thyngys perteynyng to the pryncely state schold be gouvneyd and rulyd; of the wych the kyng schold be hede and president euer when he myght or wold be among them. By them al byschoprykys and al hye offyce of dygnyte schold be dystrybut. The rest the kyng schold dys-pose, of hys owne propur lyberty, wher hyt schold plese hym. And so by thys conseyl the chefe mater and cause of al sedycyon schold be take *away out of our cuatrey; that ys to say, the inequalyte of dystrybutyon of the commyn offyceys of authoryte and dygnyte. For thys ys euydent and playn, that the chefe cause of sedycyon rysyth therof. For wher vertue ys not rewardyd worthyly, then hyt rebellyth sturdyly; then rysyth dysdayne and hate; then spryngyth emy and malyce. Wherfor, when men be regardyd accordyng to theyr dygnyte, the occasyyon most chefe of al sedycyon schalbe take away vndowtydly. Thys conseyl, therfor, schold be a grete and a wondurful stay of the pryncely state and stablyschyng of the true commyn

The king not to choose his own council:

it should consist of ten persons,

with the king as President when among them.

Thus all sedition would be done away.

Where virtue is not rewarded, it rebels.

This council would be a stay of the princely state.

1 Two pages bear this number.
A Prince Elected by the People.

184 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 ever supplyd by
the electyon of thyse counseyl, wych I sayd schold re-
present the hole state commynly. And thys schold be.

186 the second poynyt of theyr authoryte. The thryd
schold be thys:—that the materys of peace and warre,
debatyd by the other counseyl and propur of the prynce,
schoeld ever be confyrmyd by them and authorysyd by
theyr consent. Al other thyngys perteynyng to the

191 kyng and pryneely powar, as I sayd befor, to heng
only apon the authorys of hym and hys counseyl joinyd
to hym. By thys mean, Master Lvpset, we schold
avoid easely al daunger of tyrany; 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
vsyd many yerys, and takyth away much occasyon
of sedycyon, as you thinke, I wyl not stykke wyth you
in that, so that you wyl graunte me agayn hys powar,
aftur the maner before rehersyd, somewhat to be tem-

202 pryd and brought in ordur.

5. Lvpset.—Yes, Sir; that I must nede graunt, ex-
cpt I wold admytt playn tyrany, 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 famlyys,
or els hyt can not be chose but that we schold haue oft
cyuyle warre and sedycyon. For euery man wold
study to attayne therto, and so al schold fal into a
confusyon.

214 6. Pole.—Nay, Mastur Lvpset, I can not tel you
that; yf hyt were restraynyd, as I hane 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
polytyke, so wyth vs, also, schold be of our kyg, yf 222
hys powar were temperyd aftur the maner before des-
serybyd. Wheras now every man desyryth hyt by-
cause he may make hymselfe and al hys fryndys for
cuer rych; he may subdue hys enemys at hys plesure;
al ys at hys commandement and wyl. And thys hathe
mouyd cyule war in tyme past, notwythstondyng thys
ordynance of succesyon. But we wyl not entur no
ferther in dysputacyon now, for as much as I remem-
byr we haue resoynyd apon thys mate'; before, and
playnly cowcludyd the best way, yf man wolde lyfe
in cyule lyfe togyddur, to haue a prywee by fre
electyon and a prinoye elected by the people,
chosyng hym among other of the best. But for by-
cause we are barbarouse and rulyd by affectys, for
the avoydyng of gretur yl wych wold come among bar-
brouse myndys, therfor, in the second place, and not as
the best, we thought hyt co/myent, as you say, now to
take hym by succesyon, but temperyng hys powar, as
hyt ys before sayd.

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

8. Pole.—That ys troth, Master Lvpset, wyhout
fayle, as we schal see in our processe more playn. For
as physcyyonys 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-

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 comenument mean for to proccede to the cure of the rest. Among the wyche, as I remenbyr, was ther notyd the faute of bryngyng vp of the noblyyte, wych, for the most parte, are nuryschyd wythout cure, bothe of theyr parentys being alyfe, and much wers of them in

whose ward commynly they dow fal aftur theyr deth; the wyche care for nothyng but only to spoyle theyr pupyllys and wardys, or els to mary them aftur theyr pleasure, wherby the true loun of matrmony was and ys vtturly take away and destoyd; to the wyche, as euery man knowyth, succede infynyte myserys and mysordurys of lyfe. Wherfore thys thynge must be remedyled, yf we wyl proccede to our end and purpos. And, fyrst, as concernyng the wardys; of thys we must begyn al our old barbarouse custumys vtturly to abrogate, wythout respecte of the begynnyng in therof, though they appere neuer so gud. And euery thym thuy haue the noblyyte in ward must be bounden to make a rekenyng and count before a juge appoyntyd therto, not only of al hys intrate, rentys, and reuenewys, but much more of the orderyng and instytutyon of hys ward both in vertue and lernyng. But here ys, Mastur Lypset, not only in our cuntrey, but also in al other wych euery yet I knew, a grete lake and neclygenc of them wyche rule in commyn pollycy; and that ys thys:—that in no cuntre ther ys any regard of the bryngyng vp of vthe in commyn dyscepylyne and publyke exercyse. But euery man pryvatly in hys owne house hathe hys mastur to instructe hys chyldur in letturys, wythout any respecte of other exercyse in other featys perteynyng to noblyyte no les then lernyng and letturys, as in al featys of chyaulry. Therfor ther wold be some ordynance deuysyd for the joynyng of thes bothe *togyddur, wych mygh[t] be

\[ (=Page 29.)\]

\[1\] In margin of MS.
PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO BE ESTABLISHED.

downe aftur thy maner, lykewyse as we haue in our
Vnyuersytes, collegys, and commyn placys to nurysch
the chyldur of pore men in letturgy; 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 nobylyte, to the wych I wold the nobullys schold
be compellyd to set forward theyr chyldur and heyrys,
that in a nombar togyddur they myght the bettur pro-
fyt. And to thys company I wold haue appoyntyd
downe aftur thys mane—likewyse as we haue in our
Vnyyersytes, collegys, and commyn placys to nurysch
the chyldur of pore men in letturgy; wherby, as you
see, commyth no smal profyt to the commyn wele.

Here they schold be instructe, not only in vertue and lern-
yng, but also in al featyrs of warre perteynyng to such
as schold be hereafter in tyme of warr captaynys and
gouernourys of the commyn sorte. Thys schold be the
most nobul instytutyon that euer was yet deuysyd in
any commyn wele. Of thys surely schold spryng the
fountayn of al cyuylyte and polytyke rule; ye, and
wythout such a thyng, I can not tel whether al the rest
of our deuyse wyl lytyl avayle. I thynk hyt wyl neuer
be possybul to instytute our commyn wele wythout thys
ordynance brough[t] to passe and put in effect. Our
old fatherys haue byn lyberal in byldyng grete abbeys
and monasterys for the exeryse of a monastycal lyfe
among relygyouse men, wych hath downe much gud to
the vertuese lyuyng of Chrystyan myndys; whose ex-
ampul I wold that we schold now folow in byldyng
placys for the instytutyon of the nobylyte, or els in
chaungyng *some of thes to that vse, bycause ther be

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

2 Prebendyls schold be premia to yong gentylmen, maryd
and lernyd in scripture; by thys mean scripture schold be more
commynyd then hyt ys.

The above sentences are written in the margin. No refer-
ence mark is supplied to denote where they should be placed.

Abbey have done
much good;

change some of
these to institu-
tions for the sons
of nobles.

[* Page 40.]*
The nobles think they were born to spend what their ancestors provided.

Here they should learn all which pertains to their office.

And become nobles indeed, and the people would be glad to be governed by them.

L. confesses it would be a noble institution.

323 over-many of this sort now in our days; that, even like as these monks and religious men their living together, exercise a certain monastical discipline and life, so they nobly, by being brought up together, should learn them the discipline of the common wele. You see now how they nobly think of themselves borne they were born to spend what only to try it up and spend such lands, the which their ancestors have provided for them, in their way pleasure and pastyme. They never look to other end and purpose. But here I would have them in this discipline, first, to take heed and diligently to learn what they are, and what place they occupy in the common wele, and what is the office and duty pertaining to the same. Here they should learn how and after what manner they might be abul and mete to do and put in exercise that thing which pertains to their office and authority; and so plainly and fully to be instruct in the administration of justice both public and private. And, as I said, at voyd tyme also conuenient to the same, they should use to exercise themselves in feats of the body and chivalry, no lesse expedient for tyme of war than the other exercises be for tyme of peace. And this they should be worthy of the name which we now unworthyly give unto them common; then they should be nobly in dede; then they should be true lordys and masters; then they peul wold be glad to be governyd by them, when they perceuyd so playnly that they regardyd the wele of them no lesse then their owne pryauté. But, Mastur Lvp-set, the particular mean of bryngynge this mater to passe requyryth, as I sayd before, a hole boke. Hyt ys enough for vs now to schow and touch the manner and mean in general.

9. Lvp-set.—Syr, this should 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 anthoryte bend to put thys in
effece. Thys schold bryng forth in few yerys, I trow,
Plato's commyn wele, or els, rather, the true instytutyon
of Chrystyan doctryne; so that ther schold be wyse
men among thys vthe to instytute them in the summe
of Chrystys Gospel.

10. Pole.—Yes, Mastur Lypset,¹ that ys to be under-
stood; that ys the hede dysecylyne and publyke that
I spake of befor; in the wych, I thynke, in few yerys,
as you say, they schold more profyt to the commynynge
of Chrystyn caryte and the veray Gospel of Chryst,
then our monys haue downe in grete processe of tyme
in theyr soltytary lyfe, wych hath brough[t] forth, wyth
lytyl profyt to the publyke state, much superstycyon.
Thys vthe, as sterrys, schold lyght in al partys of the
reme hecaftur, and they schold put in effect that thyn
g wych thes soltytary men dreme of in theyr cornarys.

11. Lypset.—Vndowtydly suchan instytutyon schold
wel remedy thys matere of the wardys, and bryng in a
contrary fame into our cuntrey. For as we be now in-
famyd therwylth, so we schold be then of al other most
praysyd; and not only for the wardys and gud ordur of
them, but for the hole educatyon of noblyte, wych
ys in al placys, as you sayd, more neclecte then of the
nobyllys theyr hankys and theyr houndys, of whose
educatyon they haue grete care.

12. Pole.—Syr, you say truth; and specially 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 thynghys wych we haue spoked
of—that ys, the takyng away of al occasyon of tyrauny
and owleynyng of gud helys, and now thys gud edu-
catyon of the nobyllys—that had place and effeecte, that the
remedys of al other mysorduryrs schold, as I haue oft

¹ MS. 'c.
394 sayd, schortly be found and put in effect, as al other mysordurys of our lawys before notyd. As, fyrst, *remouynge of causys by wryte from schyre townys to London, wych we notyd a grete abuse, and not wythout a cause; for by that mean every man of powar vexyth hys aduersary wythout cause, and when he knowyth ryght wel hys mater ys vniuste. Thys thyng, I thinke, schold be remedyd by and by, wythout ferther payne or The duty of the puttnyschmewt appoyntyd therto, yf the nobyltyte and, nobility is chiefly to see justice gewtylmen of euery schyre wold cohysdur theyr offyce and done, and to keep, and, wych ys chiefly to see justyce among theyr serua?itys and subiectys, and to kepe them in vnyte and cowcorde. Wherfor thys must be ordeynyd:—that no cause must be reniouyd by wryte to London, but such only as, for some other resonabul cause to be prouyd before them. And at London the jugys schold admytt non in sute, but such only as, for some other resonabul cause, were remyttyd to them by the gentylmen of the scyre, wych hauze authoryte therin in the sessyonys and syssys at scyre townys appoyntyd. And moreover they partys both schold be sworne upon a boke that wyth gud opynyon of justyce they persue and defende ener theyr ryght, for the avoydyng of al calumnyouse contentyon and wyful vexatyon of theyr aduersarys. And besyde thys, the party condemned by the authoryte of the hye jugys, schold ener be awardyd to pay costys and al other dammage cumyng to hys aduersary 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 nobylte *rulyng in the cuntrey, and partely by feare of thys payne, both of perinry and of the paying also of costys and dammage, the controuersys of the comunys in euery schyre schold easelyar be pacfyyd and the commun

1 In margin of MS.
PUNISHMENT OF ADVOCATES.

191 quyetnes much incresyd; the wych, Master Lvpset, now ys much trowbyd by contentyous myndys and froward wyttys, not only of the partys themselfys, but also, much more, by the anarycouse myndys and countouse of the proktorys and attorneys, wych commynyd regard more theyr owne lucur then the justyce of theyr cleyentys cause. Wherfor the same othe that ys mynystryd to the cleyent hymselfe schold be gyuen also to hys proktor or advocat, and also punnyschement, not only of perjury, but also of promotyng vnyste causys, wold be joyynd therto. The punnyschement schold be after thys sort: bycause he for hys lucur deludyth bothe the partys and prolongyth the controuersy by hys crafty wytt, when so euer hyt myght be manyfestely prouyd, and hys countouse mynd openly declaredy, he schold pay the costys and dammage to both the partys, as wel to the aduersary of hys cleyent, wych by hys craft was long defraudy of hys ryght, as to hys owne cleyent, wych by hys dyssymulatyon and fare wordys was interteynyd in long sute. Thys ordynaunce, I thinke, wold helpe much to the settynge forth of the justyce of causys; thys schold cause the attorneys and prokturus to refrayyne from theyr crafty izenityonys; the wych ys the ground and the veray chefe key of the longe sute of causys in the Court at Westmonastere, wych we notyd and observyd consequentely for a nother grete faute and mysordur.

13. *Lvpset.—The couetuse myndys of the mynysturys of the law ys, wythout dowte, a gret parte cause of thes long sutys, wych, I thynk, schold be wel redressyd yf thys payne were set apone them before preserybyd; specyally yf you joyynd to thys some pronysyon concernynge the multytude of them. For of them are over-many, though ther be among them over-few gud. Therfor, yf hyt were ordeynyd that only such whose ver-tue and honesty and gud lernyng in the law were by

Advocates who prolong contro-versies to be punished, by paying costs and damages to both parties to a suit.

*Page 44.* L. has no doubt that the couetousness of the lawyers is the cause of long suits, Adovcatys.1 and he would only admit the virtuous and honest to practise;

In margin of MS.
464 Many yerys prouyd, schold be admyttyd to practyse in causys; and such as loke not for al theyr luyng of theyr clyentys, but gentylmen, wyche have other lande, offyce, or fee, suffycyently to maynteyn themselyfs wythaly, then I thynke ther wold not be so grete robbery 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?

469 But is there not another cause of these long suits?

P. answers yes; 14. Pole.—Yes, Master Lvpset, that ys troth, and that ys the fountayn and cause of the hole mater; the wych cause (as we haue downe in some other mys-ordurys before rehersyd) we must study to take away, yf we wyl vturly remedy thys faute of vs touchyd, Master Lvpset. Thys ys no dowte but that our law and ordur therof ys ouer-confuse. Hyt ys infynyte, and wythout ordur or end. Ther ys no stabyl grounde therin, nor sure stay; but euer one that can colour reson makyth a stope to the best law that ys before tyme deviceyd. The suttylty of one sergeant schal enerte and destroy al the jugementys of many wyse men before tyme receyuyd. Ther ys no stabyl ground in our commyn law to leyne vnto. The jugementys of yerys be infynyte and ful of much contronersy; and, besyde that, of smal authoryte. The jugys are not bounden, as I understond, to folow them as a rule, but aftur theyr owne lyberty, they haue authoryte to juge, accordyng as they are *in-structyd by the sergeantys, and as the cyrcu???stance of the cause doth them moue. And thys makyth jug-mentys and processe of our law to be wythout end and infynyte; thys causyty sulty to be long in decysyon. Therfor, to remedy thys mater groundly, hyt were necessary, in our law, to vse the same remedy that Justynyan dyd in the law of the Romaynys, to bryngh thys infynyte processe to certayn endys, to cut away
thys long lawys, and, by the wysdome of some poly-
tyke and wyse men, instytute a few and bettur lawys
and orlyncys. The statutys of kynys, also, be ouer-
many, euyn as the constytutyonys of the emperorys
were. Wherfor I wold wysch that al thys lawys schold
be brought into some smal nombur, and to be wryten
also in our mother tong, or els put into the Latyn, to
cause them that study the cyuyle law of our reame,
fyrst to begyn of the Latyn tong, wherin they myght
also afturward lerne many thynys to helpe thys pro-
fessyon. Thys ys one thyny necessary to the educatyon
of the nobyltye, the wych only I wold schold be ad-
myttyd to the study of thys 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
thys barbarouse tong and Old French, wych now seruyth
to no purpos els. Thys, Mastur Lyvset, ys a grete
blote in our pollycy, to see al our law and commyn
dyseropylyne wryten in thys barbarouse langage, wych,
aftur when the youth hath lernyd, seruyth them to no
purpos at al; and, besyde that, to say the truth, many
of the lawys themselfys be also barbarouse and tyran-
nycal, as you haue before hard. Wherfor, yf we wyl
euer bryng in true cyuyleyte into our cuntrey 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 famly, euer succede
(alway prouysyon had for the yongur also) so hyt ys
playny agayne nature in mean famlyys commynly;
and, as we sayd and scho[w]yd at large before, occasyon
of much hurte, as many other barbarouse custumys and
ordynancys be, of the wych we speake of before; the 535
starkey.
wych al by thys one remedy schold be amended 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 vnдовtlydly schold be occasyon of infynyte gudnes in the ordur of our reame, the wych I could 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 and rote that remeynyth in vs, to be gouernyd by the lawys gyuen to vs of such a barbarouse natyon as the Normannys be? Who ys so fer from rayson that consyderyth not the tyrannycal and barbarouse instytutyonys, infynyte ways left here among vs, whych al schold be wypt away by the receyuyng of thys wych we cal the veray cyuyle law; wych ys vn-

blynd that seth not the grete schame to our natyon, the grete infamy and rote that remeynyth in vs, to be gouernyd by the lawys gyuen to vs of such a barbarouse natyon as the Normannys be? Who ys so fer from rayson that consyderyth not the tyrannycal and barbarouse instytutyonys, infynyte ways left here among vs, whych al schold be wypt away by the receyuyng of thys wych we cal the veray cyuyle law; wych ys vn-

If the nobility were brought up [*Page 47.*] in better laws, our country would soon be improved.

through thys 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 lucer and gayne, bycause the popular men wych are borne in povertry only doth exercyse them for the most parte, wych ys a grete ruyne of al gud ordur and cyuyle. Wherfor, Master Lynset, yf
we myght bryng thys ij thyngeys to effecte—that ys to say, to haue the cyuyle law of the Romaynys to be the commyn law here of England with vs; and, secondary, that the nobyltye in theyr youth schold study commynly therin—I thynk we schold not nede to seke par-
tycular remedys for such mysorduryes as we haue notyed 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[i] 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 quykyly; for the law of hytselfe were eysyar to lerne then ys ourys in the French tong. Wher-
for ther lakkyth no thynge 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 procee to the second remedy, that ys, to correct par-tycularly the fautys wych we notydyd in the ordur before and pollyce. *And as touchyng the suc-
cessyon and intayling of landys, ther must nedys be prouysyon; and aftur thys maner me thynke hyt wold dow wel: that youngur brutherne schold haue a certayn portyon deputyd out of the hole inherytance, other by the wyl of the father, or els, yf he dyd intestate, by an offyce[r] appoyntyd therto; for hyt ys agayn reson and the ordur of nature that the eldyst brother schold haue al, and the rest non at al, as we haue resonnyd before. And as touchyng the intayling 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 laws.

L. thinks it would be hard to bring this to effect.

P, answers, a good prince would soon bring it about,

it only requires authority.

He proceeds to discuss the succession to, and entailing of, lands.

*[† Page 48.]

Younger sons should have a portion of the inheritance.

The entailing of lands should be abolished.
and the father have liberty to disinherit the son for just cause.

L. answers that this was a Roman ordinance.

L. asks what of theft and treason?

P. Remove the cause, and you'll soon find the remedy.

Theft.

Theft and treason are 608 of al feare and drede of theyr parentys; and much bettur hyt were that they schold stond apon theyr behaunyouir, and that, wythout they ordryd themselfys wel, hyt myght be at the lyberty of the father to dysheryte hys sone yf he wold, proveyngh hys cause before a juge; for wythout cause hyt were not mete that the father schold dysheryte hys chyld.

17. Lepset.—Sir, thys was the ordynawce of the Romanys, as I remembyr. Wherfor, as you sayd before, a compendyouse way for the amendyng of al were to procure the ordur of the cyuyle [law] here in our cuntrey, wych schold be a grete conservatyon of the true cyuyle lyfe and just pollycy.

18. Pole.—Ther ys no fayle but yf hyt myght be, that were the best way, as we haue before agred. But yf hyt wyl not be vnyuersally receynyd 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. Lvpset.—Sir, you say wel; and, therfor, go forthe; for as conceynynge 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 treson, what wyl you say?

2. Pole.—Fyrst (as in the other spoken of before) remone the cause, and shortly 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 thynys correctyd be-fore, the cause of thys grete faute schold wythal be re-

1 MS. Lep.

2 In margin of MS.
PUNISHED TOO SEVERELY.

mouyd; notwystondlyng, yf the fraylity of man fal therunto, and speecyally to preuy theft, as pykyng and stealing secretly, I wold thinke hyt gud that the felon schold be take and put in some commyn worke, as to labur in byldying the wallys of cytes and townys, or els in some other magnyfycal work of the prynce of the reame, wych payne schold he more greuuse to them then deth ys reputyd; and so by theyr lyfe yet the commyn welth schold take some profyt. For, as we resonyd before, dethe ys ouer-strayte punmysckmewt for al such theft pyruely commyttyd; but robbery by the hye ways, wyth murdur and mansloughtur, wold be, as hyt ys, justely wyth most cruel deth punyschyd. And in lyke maner treson, wych ys the gretyst faute that may be agayn the ordur of the commyn wele. How be hyt, thys semyth ouer-hard to punysch the chyld for the fatherys offence, being nothyng preuy nor consentyng therto. Wherfor, in such case re- quyryth a porcyon of hys godys to remayne to hys hayre. And lyke wyse he that brynyght not probabul argument and grete lykelyhood, wyche takyth apon hym the accusatyon in treson, schold be punnyschyd wyth the same punkyschement; for hyt ys no smal mater to accuse a man of. But yf tyranny were taken away, as we haue declaryd before, you schold nener haue occasyion of treson; for tyranny ys the mother of treson. Therfor surely thys ys a gospel word:—take away tyranny, and you schal haue lytyl occasyion of treson.

3. Lvpset.—Sir, as you sayd, dowtles the correct- yng of that faute amendyth, consequently, infynyte other. I thinke ther be but few faultys in our com- myn wele but they may be resoluyd to that pryncypal, or els to the yl educatyon and instructyon of the noblyyte.

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.


d For as the prince by prerogatyue and pryulege brekyth the ordur of the lawys and the knot of al cyuyle, so doth the Pope and hede of the Church, vsurpyng authoryte of dispensatyoun apone al *the lawys by general counseyl decred, wythout communyng wyth hys counseyl of Cardynallys wych are appoyntyd, ye, and schold be electyd, and not made by the fre wyl of the Pope by money as they be now—for thys purpos only, that ys to say, that in such causys of appellatyoun as perteyne to the welth of Crystundredome, or of any controynersy in any natyon therof, that they schold, hauyng the authoryte of the

1 In margin of MS.
Peter Pence to Be Paid.

79 The Pope usurps authority, accordyng to the law redresse such controersys, and by equyte and ryght defyne the same. Wheras, as now, contrary to the instytutyon and first ordur, the Pope, by hys propur authoryte, 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 apon such a hed so much as we dow. I wold not yet but we schold take hym as hede of the Chrystyn Church, seing that authoryte ys gyuen to hym by general counseyl; but I wold we schold in our reame gyue so much to hys authoryte, leynyng therto 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 seysme in the fayth wyth 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 controersys, I wold they schold be defynyd at home in our owne cunte. For thys hathbyn a grete dystructyon to our reame, wyth the mayntenyang of thys holy powar vnder pretense of relygyon. Thys hathbyn one of the greytyst ruynys that enuer hath come to the reame of Englond, as I coud, by many storys, both old and of late days, playnly declare. But thys ys to no *man vnknowen. 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 superyoryte, I wold that our reame schold pay thys Peter pence, 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 cunte, and schold
not haue neede to run to Rome for theyr instytutyon and authoryte, as they haue downe many a yere, payung therfor the fyrst frutys of theyr buzzycys, 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 thuyng 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 whorsys and harlatys and idol 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 cuystyre. How be hyt, Master Lvpset, here you touch a nother grete faute wych we notyd also before in our byschoppys and abbotys, wych tryumphhe no lesse then the temporal lordys, the wych thyng, Master Lvpset, we must also now in hys place tempur and amend. Aud, 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 dyngyd 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 dyoecysys; 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 nombrur con-senvent to hys dygnyte. Other prouysyon then thys nedyth not at al, sauyng that I wold haue them to be resyndent apyon theyr sees, except such as were necessary aboute the prynce. And as touchyng abbotys and pryorys in our cuystrey, 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

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 4 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;
rekenyng of theyr offyceys commynly, and to lyue among 
ys bretherne, and not to triumph in theyr chamburyys 
as they dow; wych causyth al the enuy in the cloysturyys, 
and ys the occasyon of the grete spens of the intrat of 
the monastery; for to hys tabul resortyth the idol 
cumpany dwellyng about hym. Thys maner surely 
schold be a grete reformatyon in the monasterys of 
Englond. But, as I haue sayd many tymys before, the 
partycular mean of thys and of other must be deyusyd 
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 fy/alyng 
of the rest.

(6.) Aftur thys maner, Master Lvpset, consyderyng 
that they wych haue grete possessyonys wyl not of 
theyr fre wyl lyberally spend them accordyng to reson, 
hyt were very commuenyent, by ordur of law, to constrayne 
them thereto; for when men privaty 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 consyderatyoun of them wych bere rule in com-
myn authoryte. Wherfor the old Romanys made a law 
agayn prodgyalyte, constraynyng men to frugalyte, wych 
ys to a commyn wele the ground of al other vertues. 
Therfor, lyke onldynance as ys determyd to byschoppys, 
wold be proporcyonably apon other inferyor dygnytes 
of the Church; for as *much as they are only dispens-
asterys of the godys of the Church. Therfor, me semyth 
ths were wel, that euen lyke as by ordur of law the pore 
men are bounden to pay theyr tythys to theyr curate, so 
lyke wyse, they wych are parsonys and curatys schold 
be bounden to dystrybut that wych they haue superfluose 
among the pouerty of theyr parreysch; and so they schold 
also be constraynyd to be resydent apon theyr bunfycys, 
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.

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

and after proof of virtue.

Thus the greatest cause of faults would be removed.

He would have schools instituted,

hyt were certayn aboute the prynce and also certayn in cathedral churchys, wych I wold not haue to be resydent wyth such an idol cumpany as they dow now, but to be,

as hyt were, conseyllarys to the byschope, men of grete lernyng and vertue, helpyng to set ordur in al the rest of hys dyocese; and obseruyng wyth al dylygence that the rest of inferyor prestys dyd theyre offyce and duty, and to se that non schold be admyttyd but such as in al poynys were mete for theyr offyce, both of lernyng and wysdom conuenyent to the same. For the wych I I wold admitted priests -

None ought to be wysdom conmenyent to the same. For the wyth and after proof of virtue.

Thus the greatest cause of faults would be removed.

The same ordynance also I wold schold be obseruyd in admyttyng of al other relygyouse personys of what ordur so euer they be, non vnder xxx yere of age. For thys admyttyng of frayle vthe wyth-out conuenyent profe of theyr vertue and lernyng, ys the *ground and mother of al mysorsd in the Church and relygyon, as you may se, Master Lypset, in every place. Of thys fountayn spryngyth al the skaludur of the Church by mysbehauyour. Wherfor, yf thys hole were stoppyd, surely the gretyt cause of al fautys in the Church of Chryst schold be taken away wythal, the wych remedyd, schold be a grete occasion of the remedy of the hole body; for as much as they commyn pepul loke chefely to the lyfe of prelatys and prestys, takyng theyr exampul of the ordur of theyr lyfe. Wherfor, Master Lypset, as we dyd schow a general mean of the bryngyng vp of nobilyte wych schold be in the temporalty, rularys, and hedys, so now a lytyl we must touch the bryngyng vp of the vthe determyd to the spirithally and exercyse therin. And, breuely to say, for as much as the Latyn tong and the Greke be the ground of lern-yng, in the study wherof they must spend theyr vthe, ther must be certayn and gud scolys instytute wyth
prudent masters and well lernyd to instructe thys company. Hyt were no thyng amys to put ij or iij of thes small scolys of xth. a yere togydur and make one gud, wyth an excellent mastur, and in every towne let the prestys instructe them and make them somewhat mete to lys handys; and then, affer they had byn brough[t] vp in lernyng a wyle, such as he schold juge mete wyttyw, wyth other lernynd men appoyntyd to the juge-ment therof, schold then be send to vnyuersytes, ther to be instructe in the lyberal seyence, and so to be made precharys of the doctrine of Chryst.

(6.) But here, aboue all thyng, the scolemastur must study no les to bryng vp thyss vthe no les in vertue then in lernyng; for loke, how they be custumyd in vthe, so affer the[.] 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-cyouse and pestylent. The same ordur must be take in vnyuersytes, that thos sedys wych are plantyd by the scolemastur may bryng forthe some gud and perfayt frute. But thys thynge in studys and vnyuersytes ys neclectyd and despysyd, as hyt ys in grammar-scolys. Wherefor ther must be reformacyon for that, as in thys maner of studys wych are confusyd, and by the reson of that, we haue few grete lernyd men in our cuntrey. The ordur of studys in vnyuersytes must, breuely, be amended, or els al lettreys and lernyng wyl fayle. How, and by what mean, I had though[t] before here for to schow; but now, even as hyt was in the educayon of the noblyte, so hyt ys in thyss, ouer-long partycularly to declare. Eche one of thes ij materys requyre a hole boke, and, besyde thyss, ther be wyse and lernyd men wych haue wryte in the same mater, whose counseyly I wold to God we myght fulfyl. Among thes, of late days the Byschope of Carpenteras, one of the wysyst men of our tyme, hath put forth a boke. Hyt schalbe now our 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 pernicious.

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 excellent booke, and our prince should
THE OFFICE OF CENSOR.

put his counsel into effect. duty only to persuade our prince to put thys same hys counsel in vse and effecte, the wych downe, I dowte not but that we schold haue such prestys in our cuntrey as are requyryd to thys our commyn wele before deuysyd. 261 [*Page 61.1]* And thys, Master Lvpset, I thynke we haue showyd in general the mean to correct the errorys before of vs observyd and notyd, except you remembryr any other.

7. Lvpset.—Sir, one thyngh among other I remembryr you haue not yet spoken of, and that ys thys: you haue not supplyd the lake of certayn offyceys wych semyd to lake in our cuntrey.

8. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you say veray truth. 271 How be hyt, in thys mater ther ys no grete lake; for yf euery offyceyd hys duty appoyntyd by the ordur of our cuntrey, I thynke you schold schortly agre therto. And, Syr, an offycey 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 particuler cure therof, I wold some man schold be appoyntyd in euery grete cyte and towne, the wych schold haue now other cure nor charge but to se that al other offyceys dylygeantly dyd execute theyr offyce and duty.

9. Lupset.—You say veray wel. Thys offyce was the thyngh that chefedly conservyd the state of Rome, and was among the Romaynys of hye authority. 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 offyce surely schold conserve the hole state meruolously. Wherfor I wold haue theyn to be callyd conservatorys of the commyn wele; and lyke as thes conservatorys schold haue cure of al other offyceys 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 thyngh 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 callyd Ediles, as you wold say, gouernowrys of templyys and housys, so wyth vs they schold be callyd ouersearys of the cyte. Of thes ij officyes 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 jurisdyyon al other vnder officyers schold be, wych haue parteycular care of certayn thyngys perteynyng to the same. I wold haue no officer of eye nor towne to be exempt from theyr authoryte, but as they myght, apon lawful profys of neclygence of every one, put them out of theyr officye and dygnyte; the wyth thyng schold cause al vnder officyers, partely for feare and partely for schame, to regard such thyng wyth cure and dyslgyence as perteynyth to them; and so, by thys mean, our polytyke body schold be kept in ordur and rule, aftur the maner wych we haue before deuyseyd.

10. [Pole.]—So that, Master Lvpset, now apon thyss poynt let vs conclude and make an end of our commum-catyon, that yf we myght now fynd the meanes to correct thes general errorys, wych we haue notyd, and specially by thys gud educatyon of the noblyte and of clerkys, of whom we schold aftur haue they hemys and rularys, ther ys no dowte but that we schold other haue a vera true commyn wele before descrybyd, or els, at the lest, one that schold most nere of al other approch thervnto. For by thyss mean we schold haue a multytyd of pepul conuenent to the place, floryschyng wyth al abundance of exteryor thyngys requyryd to the bodyly welth of man; the wych, lyuyng togyddur in cynyle lyfe, gouernyd by polytyke ordur and rule, schold conspyre togyddur in amyte and lone, every one glad to helpe a nother to hys powar, to the intent that the hole myght attayn to that perfectyon wych ys determyd to the dygnyte of mannys and perfection.
330 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 conclad now, at the last, aftur our long communycatyon, that, yf we coud put in effect such ordynance as you hane deuysyd, we schold hane 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 punnyshement, nor yet by any pleure or pro-

347 fyt alluryd therto; but only of hys fre wyl and lyberty, wyth prudent knowlege and perfayt loue mouyd, he euer applyth *hys mynd to such thynge as schal bryng hym to hys perfectyon; and to thys me thynke ys no law ys suffycyent. 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 wythout effecte.

12. Pole.—Mastur Lvpset, you entyr now into a grete mater, the wych, yf you remembryr, 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 menityon. 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 vtiurly to be despysyd. For, as Sayn Poule sayth dynemely, hyt ys the pedagoge

\(^1\) MS. thys wych.
of Chryst; that ys to say, hyt prearyth mannya mynd to the receuyung of vertue by profyt and plesure, payne and punnyschement; hyt dysposyth man some thynge to the way of vertue; ye, and as man ys of nature formyd rude and wythout perfayt knolege, hyt ys necessary to hauethe instytutyon therof, wythout the wych al cyuylo ordur wold dekay, wherof hyt ys the bande and sure grounde, as we hauue at large declarayd befor. And yet thys ys trothe, as you say, hyt ys not suffycyent to bryng man to his perfectyon, but to that ys requyryd a nother more celestyal remedy, the wych our Master Chryste cam to set and stablysch in the hartys of Hys electe pepul. 

He cam to make perfayt man, and supply the defecte of the law, by Hys *celestyal and dyuyne doctryne; and thys ys the thynge, Mastur Lvpset, that I perceyue you requyre. Thys ys the thynge wythout the wych al our communycatyon ys voyd and of lytyl or no effect. Wherfor now remaynyth, aftur that we hauue schowyd somewhat how by mannya prudence certayn fautys 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 thynge that I dyd requyre in veray dele; but to bryng thys to passe, to stablysch thys doctryne, hyt ys not the worke of man—hyt ys only the worke of God. Therfor in thys paynt how we schal behaue ourselfys I can not tell.

14. Pole.—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 mater to effect, or els al mannya labur ys spent in vayne, notwythyshouldyng the pronysyon of God hath orderneyd thys, that man schal hauue nothyng that ys gud, L. says yes; but this is the work of God.

God has ordained that man shall have nothing per-
nothyng perfayt, wythout hys owne labur, dylygence, and cure—

Virtutem posuere dii labore parandam.

Thys you may see in al thyngys wych perteyne to the perfectyon of man; for who ys he that can attayne that we may begyn of worldly thyngys, other ryches or honowre, except he wyth gret dylygence apply hys mynd therto? Who can kepe hys body in helth, except he put dylyge?e cure therto? Who can attayne to any excellency in any maner of art or craft, ye, or come to any hye phylosophy, except he wyth much cure, labur, and dylygence exercyse hym selfe in the studys therof? Vndowtydly, no man.

*Wherfor much more, wythoute lyke dylygence and labur, ther ys no way to attayne thys celestyal doctrine, wych ys not inspyryd into neclygent hartys, but only to such as, by grete study, haue purgyd ther myndys from al worldly affectys; and so, wyth perfayt fayth and sure trust, loke for such thyng as God hath pro-mysyd to al them wych, al worldly thyngys set apart, desyre contynually celestyal. Therfor, be you assuryd, that even as thys celestyal doctrine far excellyth and passyth al other, so hyt requyryth more dylygence, more cure, more andour, affecte, and desyre of mynd, then any other. And though hyt be heuenly and commyth only of God, and may not be by the powar of man, yet hyt ys neuer gyuen to idul and slepyng myndys, nor to such as haue no cure nor regard therof, no more then hyt ys to them wych by theyr owne natural powar, thinke themselfys abul to ophtayne and deserve such precyouse gyfte. Wherfor, al be hyt that hyt ys as you say, to stablysch thys doctrine 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 receyue thys heuenly doctrine; wherin we must vse other mean then cyuyle ordynance, wherof we haue spoken of before, the wych,
by fear of pyne and desire of pleasure, mouyth the cytyzyns to folow vertue.

(14.) *We must now take another way, and, as nere as we may, folow the exampl of our Master Chryst, the wych by no compulsyon instytute His law, nor by any drede or fear of anythyng. Two meanys I note He vsyd in the stablyschyng of His law at the fyrst begynnyng; the wych yf we folow we may, peraurentur, stablysch and confyrme that wych He began, or at the lest schow the way how hyt schold be downe. They ways were thes: exampl of lyfe and exhortatyon. By thes ij meanys Hys dyscyipullys 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 chiefly in hedys and rularys, as we haue sayd before, in so much that yf they be gud, al the commynality wyl folow the same, so the confyrmyng and stablyng of thys celestyal doctryne stondyth chiefly in the offlycerys therof; that ys to say, in the precharys, in the godly lyuyng and doctryne of them. We must, therfor, haue orldynance 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 sklaunter the word of God, rather then teche hyt, by theyr contray lyfe.

15. Lvpset.—Syr, you say truthe. No dowte gud precharys schold help to set thys forward wondurfully. But how schold we make *them? Thys ys the handyworke of God; hyt ys not in mannys powar. So al commyth to one poynyt; that ys, hyt ys not in our powar to bryng thys matyr to passe that we now speke of.

16. Pole.—Mastur Lvpset, we haue sayd befor, that man alone can not in dede bryng thys thyng to passe; but man may make orldynance that such only as God hath made met to prech Hys doctryne schold haue authoryte to exercyse the same. Thys man may dow, and not only
473 thys, but ordeyn mean how man schal be brough[t] vp in conuenyent mean mete for the same, as in commyn studys and vnyuersytes, and admyt non to that office 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, lyt ys wryten in our days of the most famuse dynyne 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 largely schowyth in hys Tretys of the

478 Study of Dyuynyte, and now a late in hys Boke of the Prechar. Thys myght, by polytyke rularys in our commyn wele, shortly *be brought to passe and put in effect; wherof we must begyn. The gud ordur of studys in the vnyversytes ys the fountayn and the ground of makyng thes precharys. Wherfor thos must be redressyd, wych

480 [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 arroganey wythout meknes, wych ys the ground of thys doctrine; in whome al affectys rule and reyne wythout any sparkyl of reson, as experyence schowyth. But I wyl not now stond to schow thyr fautys, nor partycularly schow thyr instructyon and instytutyon, wych Erasmus, wythe grete eloquence and wysdome, doth at large. As I sayd, we must ordeyne the mean to put hyt in executyon, wych ys, breuely to say, only thys way,—to cummand the hedys in collegys to se the vthe brough[t] vp aftar such fascyon as he descrybith, and other wyse men of our tyme, as the Byschope of Carpenteras, and other of that sorte. *And thys vndowytdly, 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

500 schowyd breuely how, by exampl of lyfe and by gud
exhortation of the preachers, thy doctrine must *be
taught so upon the parte of the people there may be cer-
tain ordinance made which may make them meet to
here thy preaching *and* teaching of their master and
doctrine. How be it, the prynecypal cause lyth in only
God. He must forme *and* light their hearts with *His*
grace, or else the preaching *can* take lytyl effect. But
the goodness of God ys such that, al men, what sort so
cuer they be, wych by prayer *and* by humlyte, make
themselfe apte to receyue thy light *and* grace, schal be
by *and* by parte-takers thereof. He ys not acceptor
personarum, but, euyn as the light of the sone schynyth
in al bryght bodys, wych of theyr nature be cleere *and*
bryght, so dothes thy grace *and* celestial light com-
mynycat hyt selfe, by the goodness of God, to al harts
*and* myndys wych wyll, wyth dylygence *and* ardent afect,
loungly desire hyt. But as touching the particuler
maner also how every man scholde institute his mynd
to receyue thy doctrine, Erasmus also, wyth grete wys-
dome, hathe declaryd in his boke, wych ys calld *the*
Instructyon of a Christyn Man. Wherfor, as concern-
yng thes particularytes, I schal referre you to the same
boke, the wych I thynde verie mete to be put into our
mother tong, to the intent that al such as haue lettyns
may be the rather instructe in Chrystyn lyfe *and* evan-
gelical doctrine.

(16.) *And* as for publyke onlyance touching thy
thyng, I haue thys only to say, that for as much as thy
doctrine of Chryst ys the end *and* perfaytnes of al law,
*and* the verie lyfe of mansys soule, to the intent that
hyt myght be the bettur *and* wyth more profit 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 thy thyng apperyth meruelouse straunge—
545 pepul to hau the lyne of theyr lyfe to be wryte in a strangue tong, as though the law were wryten to straunegrys, 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 blyndys commynly approuyd thyn this would be the destruction of all religion.

550 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, yt 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 ordynyd 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. Moreover, hyt were commenyt, aftur my mynd, to make men commynly more apte to receyue thys lyght and grace, to ordeyne al prayerys both pryuatly and commynly in churchys for the pepul rehersyd, to be made in the vulgar 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 storys of the Bybul commynly rehersyd, wych are rehersyd only for thy cause, that they pepul heryng them, may be the rather sterryd to folow the example of the old fatherys and holy men, whose vertuese are celebrate in our tempullys and churchys. For what avaylyth els thys rehersyng of thes legendys and loude syngyng thereof now in a strangue tong as they be rehersyd? Hyt ys as you wold tel a tale to a deffe man; for dyfference ys non, as touchyng the profyt of the word, betwyx a deffe man and hym that vnderstondyth nothyng at al.

571 (16.) Wherfor, Master Lvpset, breuely to conclude thys mater, thys I thynke, that [if] *they precharys were in

[* Page 68.]

All public and private prayers should be in the vulgar tongue.

To have service in a strange tongue is like telling a tale to a deaf man.

[* Page 69.]
vnyuersyte wel brough[t] vp in ryght studys, wych, as we sayd, are fer now out [of] frame, and therfor wyth al cure and dylygence to be reformyd, and the Gospell and law of Chryst convertyd wel and faythfully into our mother tong, and al dyynye servuyce celebrate in the same; then, I thinke, schortely you schold see more frute of the Gospel then we haue. You schold see wythin few yer ys men wyth lowe dow such thyng as now they cannot be brought to by no manmys law; you schold se then both reson and vertue in manmys lyfe to hane place; they schold then be the rularys of manmys lyfe, al vayn affectys troden under fotte. And so, by thys mean, man, fyrst inducyd by fere of punnyschement and payne, and by desyre of honest plesure and profyt by law prescrybyd, schold be inducyd by lytyl and lytyl to thys perfectyon, that he for lowe only of vertue schold folow vertue, and for lowe of Chryste, al plesure and payne set aparte, schold folow Chryst, and then at the last, thys lyuyng in perfayt concord and cyuylyte, schold attayne to the everlastyng lyfe due to the nature of man, ordeynyd to hym by the prouydecence of God in immortalyte. And thys, Master Lvpset, now breuely you haue hard in thses iiij days' communycatyon, what ys a commyn welth, and wherein hyt stondyth. What lakkys therof and fautys be in our countray, and how and by what mean, wyth gud prudence *and pollycy, they myght be correctyd and ameadyd, as much as may be by manmys powar redressyd, and cyuyle ordynance. For, as we haue ofte tymys before sayd, the chefe poynt therin lyth in God and in a gud prynce. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, let vs thys make an end, bycause hyt ys late, except you haue any [thyng] in thys mater further to say.

17. Lvpset.—Sir, I haue no thyng to say but only thys. Seyng that al men, as you sayd in the begynnynge of the fyrst day's communycatyon, are bounden as much as they can to ferdlur and set forward thys same true

If preachers were well brought up, the Bible faithfully translated, and Divine Service conducted in English, we should see more fruits of the Gospel than we now do.

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.

[* Page 70.]

1. wishes to say all men are bound to further this commonwealth,
and exhorts P. not to let this occasion slip, lest men call him an ingrate.

and exhort P. not to let this occasion slip, lest men call him an ingrate.

P. says he shall be ready when his Prince calls him—till then he "tarry his time."
content themselfys wyth pryuate lyfe. Wheras veray noble hearts desire to govern, nobul hartys euer desyre to gouerne and rule, to the commyn wele of the hole multytude.

22. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lypset, 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 noblyte, the wych you say so mouyth man to set forward al gud and just pollycy; the wych thyng at another tyme I wyl not refuse. But now, bycause hyt ys late, and perteynyth not gretyly to our purpos, I wyl dyffer hyt tyl more comeneynt lesur; and the mean tyme, of thys be you assuryd, in me you schal fynd no faut nor neclygenece; but that I schal euer, as occasyon mouyth me, be redy to dow servyce to my prywee and cuntrey, to Godlys honowre and glory, to whose gouernance and pronydence, the mean tyme, we schal commyt al; and thus make an end of our commyny catyon.

**[FINIS.]**

[Note to p. 294. 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 Loun; Gawayne, Sir Gawayne, ed. Morris; H., Halliwell's Dict.; L., Levius's Manipulus; L. S., Latimer's Sermons; M. A., Perry's Morte Arthur; P., Philips's Dict.; P. C., Fricke of Conscience; P. P., Promptorium Parvulorum; R. P., Romans of Parthenay. For the extracts from the Utopia and Latimer I have used Arber's excellent reprints.

1/16 means page 1, line 16.

| A, 123/821, an. | An affect, affection. L. 47. |
| A, 55/1013, on. | Affecte, or welwyllynge. P. P. |
| A, 70/55, of, or on. | Agayne, 18/612, against. |
| God uoryaf hys dyad to ham þet him dede a þe rode. | Alowyd, 131/1091, permitted, granted. |
| Agenbite, p. 114. | Als, 11/357, as. |
| A, 70/55, of, or on. | Altogether, | 49/790, altogether. |
| A, a late, 210/484, of late, lately. | Alye, 151/305, alienated. |
| Lubber, a mean servant, that does all base services in a house; a drudge, a lazy Drone. P. | Annexyd, 95/916, annexed, joined to. |
| Abhorre, 21/727, “abhor from,” to reject or renounce. See K. II. VIII. ii. 4. | Antyquyte, 78/327, antiquity. |
| Adherentys, 77/296, adherents. | Apon, 15/502, upon. |
| Affecte, 29/77, 31/142, affection; property of the mind. | Arryue, 57/1075, arrival. |
| Whose forests, hills, and floods then long for her arrive From Lancashire. | Drayton's Poly. p. 1192, quoted by H. |
Artyfyeerys, 86/623, artificers.
Artsy, 123/808, "lyberal artys," liberal arts.
Asper, 134/1174, rough, uneven. Lat.
Aunceturys, 84/556, ancestors.
God gave him ... more than ever anye of hys auncitours had. L. S. p. 71.
Avauncce, 3/61, advance. He ... announced himself righte inheritance of the crowne thereof. Utopia, p. 57.
A-worke, 96/955, at work, to work.
Ax, 130/1057, ask.

Basse, 113/470, base, low.
Be, 153/350, bee.
Bend, 105/160, bent, or bound.
Beryng, 113/464, bearing, conduct.
Bestys, 52/894, beasts.
Besyly, 3/67, busily, earnestly.
Besye with beveryne lokkes. M. A. 3631.

Besynes, 5/147, business.
Bollen, 152/317, swollen.
The barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolted. Exod. ix. 31.
Bolsteryd, 117/599, bolstered, upheld, maintained (by unfair means). Men haue sianes inough of their owne, although they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines. L. S. p. 155.

Bottle, 4/95, boat.
Breue, 126/911, brief.
Broderly, 109/311, brotherly.
Brokarys, 83/519, brokers.
Brokys, 16/533, brooks.
Bunfyeyal, 13/427, beneficial.
Bunfyeys, 133/1155, benefices.
Bunfyte, 14/481, benefit.

Butful, 98/1023, fruitful. Halliwell says batful, meaning fruitful, is used by Drayton. Cp. batten, to fatten.
Bylldyd, 9/280, builted.
Byth, 175/1125, buyeth.

Canteryng, 137/1295, to sing in such a manner that the people cannot understand what is sung.
To cant, to talk darkly ... so as not to be understood by others; to use an affected kind of speech. P.
Capitayne, 3/89, captain.
Cardarys, 171/1004, card-players.
Cardyng, 77/287, playing at cards.
As dysynge, and cardyng, And such other playes. B. B. p. 316.
Ouer night they carded for our english mens coats. Percy, B. ed. Furnivall, i. 125.
Cauyllatyonys, 10/334, cavillations.
Chamlet, 95/911.
Canalet, a sort of stuff made partly of camel's hair, and partly of silk or stuff. P.
Chanonyrs, 77/295, canons. Chanony, chanonicus. P. P.
Chepe, gud chepe, 89/725, cheap; bettur chepe, 141/1447, cheaper.
Theyr diligent vse in provision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good chepe, theyr common graner ... is in maner alwayes furnisshed. Historie of Itaye, etc., by W. Thomas, ed. 1561, ll. 82. See P. P. p. 72, note 2. 'A.Sax. Cedp. 1. A bargain, sale, business.
2. Any thing for sale, a chattle.
3. The price, also cattle, as they were used in barter. Cedpian, To bargain, chaffer, trade, to contract for the purchase or sale of a thing, to buy, to cheapen.' Bosworth.

Chesyth, 29/71, chooseth.
To-wardez Chthris they chese. M. A. 1619.
Christundome, 88/685, Christendom.

Chykdlur, 36/318, children.

Clene, 8/269; quite, altogether, entirely.

Cortaysye is closed so clene in hym-seluen.

Gawayne, 129S.

Clokyd, 36/331, concealed.

AVc should not dissemble nor cloke them. Bk. of Com. Prayer.

Cogytatyonys, 66/1414, cogitations.

Coleryke, 58/1100, choleric. Passiouate, hasty, apt to be angry, peevish.

Commyn, 6/175, communicate. Commynys, 90/748, commons.

Commynyng, 8/241, communicating.

Consumptyon, 76/248, consumption.

Conteyne, 110/341, contain, keep, restrain.

Conturpayse, 182/117, counterpoise.

Qua will study his wittis, and couterpace

The hie planetis.

Qu. Elizabethes Achaed. 100/191.

Descanterys, 80/412, composers of music. Descant, in music signifies the art of composing in several parts. P.

Deuysarys, 80/412, devisers, makers, or inventors.

Descant, in music signifies the art of composing in several parts. P.

Deuysys, 80/406, devices, contrivances, conceits, or fashions.


Downe, 77/286, done.

Dress, 57/1071, direct.

Men myghte don it wcl, that myght ben of power to dresse him thereto. Maundeville, p. 306 (ed. 1866).

Cortaysye is closed so clene in hym-seluen. Gawayne, 129S.

Cortaysye is closed so clene in hym-seluen. Gawayne, 129S.
Drowne, 77/303, drone.
Drunkerys, 171/1003, drunkards.
Dyat, 33/232, diet.
Dyffer, 206/364, defer.
Dyffynytyon, 11/364, definition.
Dymely, 206/364, dimly.
Dymme, or hard to be understande. Misticus. P. P.
Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
Dysceyue, 70/64, deceive.
Dysconuenyent, 140/1391, inconvenient.
Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit.
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. ed%, easy.
Si^en god so feire clofs ha%. At hau no feir Colour to day,
And schul to Morwe heo lad a way,
How muchel more may he ow elege?
As hos scib, fat 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.
Exystymatyon, 151/287, reputation, estimation. Lat. exsimatatio.
As one rather willing the harm or hindrance of the weale publike
then any losse or diminution of his owne exisimation. Utopia, p. 82.
Eysyar, 195/587, easier.

| Drowne, 77/303, drone. |
| Drunkerys, 171/1003, drunkards. |
| Dyffer, 206/364, defer. |
| Dysconuenyent, 140/1391, inconvenient. |
| Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit. |
| Enerte, 192/484, to render incapable of action; to inert. |
| Enyoy, 67/1429, enjoy. |
| Escheuyng, 71/70, eschewing. |
| Ether, 32/183, easier; A.S. ed%, easy. |
| Exystymatyon, 151/287, reputation, estimation. Lat. exsimatatio. |

Glossarial Index.

Drowne, 77/303, drone.
Drunkerys, 171/1003, drunkards.
Dyat, 33/232, diet.
Dyffer, 206/364, defer.
Dyffynytyon, 11/364, definition.
Dymely, 206/364, dimly.
Dymme, or hard to be understande. Misticus. P. P.
Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
Dysceyue, 70/64, deceive.
Dysconuenyent, 140/1391, inconvenient.
Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit.
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. ed%, easy.
Si^en god so feire clofs ha%. At hau no feir Colour to day,
And schul to Morwe heo lad a way,
How muchel more may he ow elege?
As hos scib, fat 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.
Exystymatyon, 151/287, reputation, estimation. Lat. exsimatatio.
As one rather willing the harm or hindrance of the weale publike
then any losse or diminution of his owne exisimation. Utopia, p. 82.
Eysyar, 195/587, easier.

| Enerte, 192/484, to render incapable of action; to inert. |
| Enyoy, 67/1429, enjoy. |
| Escheuyng, 71/70, eschewing. |
Fyschys, 77/314, fishes.

Gape, 156/472, gap.

Gardlyng, 80/406. Gard. A facing or trimming. II.

Garded, cote. Latciniatus. L. 49.

Geddur, 3/GO, gather; obtain. More commonly gader.

Godys, 38/408, goods.

Goo, of goo, 88/696, ago.

Gost, 126/926, ghost, spirit, conscience.

Hahundaunce, 62/1250, abundance.

Harduos, 27/3, arduous.

Harp, 126/923, to harp upon one string, phrase, meaning to repeat.

Hankyn, 77/287, hawking.

Hauyn, 43/591, haven.

Hayre, 197/28, hear.


Henge, 126/923, hang.

Her, 29/682, hear.


A rough valley which is neither eared nor sown. Deut. xxi. 4.

Hethys, 73/148, heaths.

Heyrys, 169/915, heirs.

Hole, 2/22, whole, entire.

Preche . . . . .

To by pareshe hole and fere.

Myre's Instructions, p. 13.

Holly, 137/1292, holy.

Holly, 150/238, wholly.

He, 88/695, isle.

Imbecyllyte, 43/571, imbecility.

Impedymentys, 69/21, impediments.

Indeuar, 25/850, endeavour, urge forward.

"Endeavour myself," to consider myself in duty bound. Alford.

"I do declare that I do hold there lies no obligation upon me ... to endeavour any change, or alteration of government. Act of Uniformity, xiv. Car. II.

Infamyd, 189/379, defamed, made infamous, slandered; Lat. infamo. Whosoever for any offense be infamed, by their ears hangyngs of golde. Utopia, p. 100.

Ingrate, 214/628, ungrateful.

Inhabitans, 72/116, inhabitants.

Injust, 71/67, unjust.

Insewth, 19/649, follows, ensues.

Intendyng, 74/180, "intending to," tending to.

Intrate, 186/278, ) income; Lat. Intrat, 201/154, ) intro.

Inuentyon, 116/574, invention, discovery, bringing out.

Inyoy, 79/368, enjoy.

Jaggyng, 80/406, cut, or slashed (applied to garments). Tag, lucin-
are. L. 10. "Vandyked" is, I think, the word now-a-days.
Jarryth, 63/1281, jars.
Jopardly, 43/569, jeopardy, danger.
Jugyd, 36/346, judged, esteemed.
Jurysdyceyon, 170/971, jurisdiction.
Knyfys, 94/865, knives.
Knyte, 58/1095, knit.
Laburyd, 73/155, laboured, tilled.
Labour, to cultivate the earth. H.
Laburyd, 92/831, "byn laburyd," have had experience.
Lake, 72/125, lack.
Lakkys, 91/774, lacks, hindrances, wants.
Leegys, 170/951, leagues.
Legys, 103/106, leagues.
Lene, 84/529, yield, give, produce.
Lykke, 71/99, likes, suits, pleasures.
Lykkun, 83/490, liken, to
Lykkyndyl, 83/492, compare.
Likenyd, assimilatus. P. P.
Lyke, 212/545, lyne of theyr lyfe, the course of their conduct; the guide of their life.
Lyst. 121/836, like, choose.
Lyth, 33/209, lieth.
Lyue, 78/338, life.
Lvuly, 63/1291, living.
Lyvly, or quyk, or fulle of lyvf.
Lyrar. P. P.
Lyrar, 176/1185, magnificent, splendid.
Melancolyk, 58/1099, melancholic.
Melancholy. a disease which proceeds from the overflowing of black choler. P.
Met, 6/186, meet, worthy.
Mete, or fytyt, or euque. Equus. P. P.
Metely, 122/783, meetly, worthily.
Mo, 59/1132, more.
Mow, 191/580, more.
Mowabul 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.
Mynychyng, 52/1133, minishing, diminishing.
Mysordurys, 69/20, misorders, disorders.
Mystere, 158/526, mystery. Mystery, or prevyte, Misterium. P. P.
Any particular art, trade, or occupation is termed a mystery. P.
Naroly, 23/804, narrowly.
Neclecte, 27/17, neglect.
Neclygence, 18/615, negligence.
Nonage, 115/516, the time of being under age. Nonage, anni pupillares. L. 11.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

Nother—nor, 38/411, neither—nor.
Nother—nother, 42/556, 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 Lazamon, ii. 421, 478.
On, 33/235, one.
On couctous and vsatisfie cor-marante . . . may compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers. Utopia, p. 41.
Onys, 186/258, once.
Oode, 12/386, wood; mad, foolish.
Optayn, 23/782, obtain.
Ornat, 178/1229, ornate.
Ornate, 178/1233, to adorn. The word is used by Latimer, according to Webster.
Other—or, 9/270, either—or.
Overcomyn, 43/574, overcome.
Over-hye, 182/122, over high.
Overlayd, 74/191, overlaid, overstocked. Ovyr leydôn, or oppressyôn. Opprime. P. P.
Ouerse, 156/1450, oversee.
Parreysch, 201/183, parish.
Partyes, 2/29, parts, regions.
Pastur, 74/191, pasture.
Pastymys, 77/288, pastimes.
Pattur, 132/1113. To patter and pray, to repeat many Pater-Nosters. B.
Pedagoge, 206/364, pedagogue.
Peraquentur, 19/660, peradventure.
Percase, 146/111, perchance.
Percase, forté. L. 7.
Part to you here, where that ye shall haue
Such thing that ye perce fele now shall. R. of P. 5637.
Perfayt, 20/672, perfect.
Perfyttyst, 62/1262, perfectest.
Perys, 106/207, peers.
Peter pens, 199/109. "Peter pence, called also Rome Scot, was a levy of a penny on every house wherein there were 30 pence viva 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 shaungue, and by bringinge them to beggerie. Utopia, p. 62.
Populos, 74/178, populous.
Prentense, 67/1445, pretence.
Pretermyt, 8/244, neglect; to leave undone.
Proportionabul, 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. 307, 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.


Quoted in the Index of English words, *ib.*

*Pylled and impouerished.* *Utopia,* p. 58.

**Pyne,** 209/437, pain, punishment.

**Quyke,** 171/998, quick, active. *Quick, citus, agilis.* *L.* 120.

**Rayne,** 73/166, reign.

**Rayson,** 194/549, reason.

**Ravynys,** 127/941, ravenous.

**Reame,** 88/684, realm.

**Rebatyld,** 175/1128, abated, lowered in amount.

**Rech,** 48/758, reach.

**Rechles,** 113/457, reckless, careless.

The Devil doth thrust them ... into *wretchedness* of most unclean living. *Thirty-Nine Art.,* xvii.

**Redunde,** 178/4, rebound.

**Refraye,** 120/713, refrain, restrain. To refraye, *refrenare.* *L.* 201.

**Relese,** 149/202, relax. *Releece,* or for-jeunesesse, *relaxacio.* *P. P.*

**Reproue,** 139/1374, reproof.

**Repugnyng,** 14/464, “repugnyng to,” repugnant to.

**Rensembyld,** 85/571, compared.


**Reuenewys,** 180/278, revenues.

**Reyn,** 31/148, reign.

**Rote,** 194/546. Rot, applied to the condition of the nation. *See* note—“tabes in corpore”—on margin of p. 100.

**Rotte,** 98/1024. Rot, a disease common among sheep. Rot, or rotyng, *corruptio, putrefacio.* *P. P.*


**Rotyd,** 13/445, rooted.

**Route,** 129/1025, a multitude, or throng of people.


Now haue ye shewed yow, my son, somewhat of *dyuere Iestis* ... *riele restis.*

**Rustycyte,** 70/62, rusticity.

**Ruynate,** 70/39, ruined, in ruins, or reduced to ruins.

**Ryse,** 130/1042, risen.

**Sanguyn,** 58/1099, sanguine.

Full, or abounding with blood, being of a complexion, wherein that humour is predominant. *P.*

**Sane,** 67/1416, safe.

**Sauseguard,** 141/1417, safeguard.

**Sayntuary,** 140/1410, sanctuary.


Say, a thin sort of stuff. *P.*

**Scaseness,** 47/714, scareness.

Cp. More’s *Utopia:* All the resy-dwe of the woomans bodye being covered with clothes, they estenc her *seascly* be one hande-bredeth (for they can se no more but her face). p. 124.

**Schrode,** 79/357, shrewd.

Shrewd, *praenus, malignus.* *L.* 49.

**Schypcotys,** 72/133, sheep cots.

**Schypmen,** 43/576, sailors.

**Scolastycal,** 69/17, scholastical.

**Scyre,** 190/408, shire. *Hu ho sette sciren.* *Luzamon,* iii. 257.
Seysme, 199/93, schism.
Secondary, 195/574, secondly.
Sellarys, 94/886, cellars.
Semblably, 46/691, similarly.
Senyor, 130/1055. Seignior, or Signior (Ital.), Lord, Master. P.
Serch, 50/822, examine, search into.
Seruytnte, 114/496, servitude.
Skabe, 98/1024, scab, a disease to which sheep are liable. Y's scab of sheepe, *mutilo*. L. 1.
Skant, 74/189, scant, scarce.
Skase, 87/650, scarce.
Sklender, 27/6, slender.
You shal have but sclender fare, one dish and that is all. 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 *sleender* fare, one dish and that is al. L. S. p. 89.
Slype, 40/484, slip, pass by.
Slyppyng, 72/113, slipping.
Smaterynge, 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.
Sparklylyd, 177/1205, sprinkled, scattered.
The chyldys clothys, ryche and gode,
He had *sparkylde* with that blade. II.
Spens, 201/154, expense.
He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be *spotted* with it. L. S. p. 151.
Spottyd, 198/50, spotted; corrupted, disgraced, or tainted.
Spryte, 144/34, inspiration.
Sprytual, 122/779, spiritual.
Spyce, 198/50, spice, a small quantity. The beginning, part, or remains of a distemper. B.
Squeakyth, 109/310, squeaks. The meaning seems to be endangers, or risks.
Stablyd, 42/534, established.
Stabul, 67/1449, stable, establish.
And *stables* the hert thare it restes. II.
Stabullys, 72/133, stables:
Stabyl, 99/1077, establish.
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.
Stregh, 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.

Sun'durly, 6/195, separately.
And to vchone sunderlyng
He 3af a dole of his fulnesse.
C. L. 290.

Sustenans, 75/195, sustenance.
Sustentayyon, 56/1050, sustenance; maintenance.
Susteyne, 49/786, sustain.

Syldon, 85/580, seldom.
For in him, Estelden sen any mekennes.
P. C. 260.

Syngular, 57/1065, singular, individual.

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 II., but a wrong reference is given.

Thys, 8/254, thus.

Togydur, 11/353, together.

Trade, 65/1345; 203/237, path, practice, or course. But see trade in Glossary to the Minor Poems of William Lauder, E. E. T. S.

Translated, 92/833, translated: removed, carried away.
By turninge, translatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they may destroye their enemies nauies. Utopia, p. 73.

Tryfullys, 80/415, trifles.

Tryumphe, 78/319, triumph; pomp, pride, or show.

Tukkarys, 95/914. tuckers.
Fullers. II.
Tucker, a fuller of cloth. P.
Otercy water is devidid . . . to serve Grist and Tukking Milles. Leland, It., iii. 55.

Tyllarys, 49/785, tillers.

Tyranne, 49/787, tyrant.

Vncomly, 52/903, uncomely, uncivilized.

Vnlusty, 79/377, unlusty, weak, powerless.


Vnwendly, 79/377, unwieldy

Vnyte, 54/983, unity.

Vnyte, 57/1094, united.

Vp so downe, 67/1427, upside down. kai be turned up-swa-doune. P. C. 7230.

Vth, 164/736, \{ youth.
Vthe, 161/636, \}

Vtward, 49/783, outward.

Vtylyte, 10/339, utility.

Vade, 35/315, fade.
All as a slope, and like the grasse Whose bewty soue doth vade. II.

Venge, 141/1421, avenge; Fr. venger.
Tell you the dauphin, I am coming on,
To venge me as I may, and to put forth
My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause.
King II. V., i. 2.

Veray, 33/218, very.

Vytayl, 74/195, \} victuals, food.

Vytel, 74/188, \}
Weddur, 90/752, weather.
Welthys, 88/685, wealthiest.
Wornyth, 76/256, wasteth, weareth. For-gecornian, to grow old, wear away. Weran, to wear. Bosworth.
Worstyd-makyr, 95/914, worsted makers.
Wy, 38/391, why.
Wyle, a wyle, 203/229, awhile.
Wyt, 92/816, whit, “neuer a whit,” none at all.
Wytyng, 66/1393, knowing.
Witandly thar ghair knawyn. P. C. 5727.
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.
Abbey-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.
Arches, 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.
INDEX.

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.
Bysham, the place where Pole and Lupset are, 1. See Note.

Caesar, 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 sheepcots 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, 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.
Fragility 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, 150; 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, 122; 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, 102, 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 virtue. 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, 145; 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 princey courts they keep, 129; their bad education, 129; their extravagance, 130; their idleness, and its consequences, 130; 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, 150.
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.
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 tarry 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; its 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 superstitions, 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, 180.

Priests, 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, 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, 15; 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, 122.
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, 121; 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, 10.
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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