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EDWARD ARBER,
Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

HUGH LATIMER,
Seven Sermons before Edward VI. 1549

SIR THOMAS MORE,
Utopia. 1516

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5, QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
Ex-Bishop of Worcester.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI,
On each Friday in Lent, 1549.

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1. Thomas Simeon's dedication of the sermons, to Lady Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk.

2. The argument of the Sermon.

3. ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.

In this world God has two swords; a temporal in the hands of Kings, magistrates, rulers; and a spiritual in the hands of ministers and preachers. The king corrects transgressors, yea and the preacher also, if he be an offender. The preacher corrects and reproves the King, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes.

The text, Deuteronomy xviii. 24-27.

i. 'The godly election' of a king.

Story of the two friends and the horse.

ii. 'Who goeth plainly, goeth safely.'

It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege King and Lord, of our own nation, an English man, one of our own religion. God has given him to us and he is a most precious treasure, and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be King over us. The King's grace hath sisters, my Lady Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue God knoweth. But God grant they never come unto our court nor succeeding.

iii. The King must not have too many horses. &c.

'S What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the King's stable; but only that he would be Master of his horses. God is great master of the King's house, and will take account of every one that beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices, whether they have justly and truly served the King in their offices or no. Yea God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not.'

'Im was once offended with the King's horses [which were then stabled in the Abbeys] and therefore took occasion to speak' to Henry VIII.

'If the King must not have too many wives.

It is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and regularly. For a woman is frail and inclined unto all evil: a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man, and bring him into evil.

'We have now a pretty little shilling, indeed a very pretty one. I have but one I think in my purse, and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat, and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see: but thereon is printed a fine sentence, Timor Domini, fons vitae vel sapientiae.'

A notable history of the French king Louis [IX.]

'This king did well, and had the fear of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by-walks, where are many balks [i.e. ridges] amongst many balks is much stumbling, and by stumbling it changeth many times to fall down to the ground.' [A saying, see p. 56]

iv. The King shall not multiply to himself too much gold and silver.

If there be sufficient treasures, and the king ask his subjects for more, it is too much. Who shall see this too much? The king himself, with spiritual eyes: a pair of spectacles, viz. Faith; not a reasonable faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith which continues in God: and Charity, which is fervent towards his Christian brother.

Chrysostom's saying: 'I marvel if any ruler can be saved.'

If God will not allow the King too much, he will not allow a subject too much.

A description of the King's honour. In that (1) his subjects be led in
the true religion: in (2) a wealthy commonwealth; and in (3) the great multitude of the people.

The Clergy had too much, but now have too little.

The Yeomanry is made slavery. Latimer's father was a farmer.

His position and that of the present holder of the farm contrasted.

"By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and has been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons?"

"A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the King's majesty when he comes to age will see a redress of these things so out of frame. The second hope I have is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful Day of Judgement I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries."

2. The secunde sermon. 15 March, 1549.

2. ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.

THE TEXT. Deuteronomy xvii. 18-20.

"Before I enter into this place . . . I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with a story or two which I left out in my last sermon."

Episode in this sermon. The revolt against Solomon and death of Adonijah. A startling parallel to the case of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, High Admiral of England, then in the Tower, attainted for high treason. I Kings ch. i. and ii.

Story of the Cardinal Beaufort, Bp. of Winchester and the good Duke Humphrey.

"As God set an order in the King's stable . . . so will he appoint what pasture the king shall have."

He must be a student, he must write God's book himself.

The Holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, has been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God.

"What a bishop of this realm once said to me" about the Bible.

The Homilies are called 'homely, and in dide they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled."

The Scala cali, the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven.

"How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?"

Foolish step. How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" 46-48.

"How shall they hear without a preacher?"

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"II. The King must not be proud above his brethren."

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"I must desire my Lord protectors grace to hear me in this matter, that your grace would hear poor mens suits yourself."

"Poor folk come to Latimer to get their causes heard."

"The unjust judge that Christ speaks of."

"The poor woman that saith in the Fleet."

3. The thyrde Sermon. 22 March, 1549.

ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.

CONSIDERATIONS.—A digression.—The preacher hath two offices.

"By sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."

This day I must somewhat do in the second office. I must be a giver, and I must stop their mouths . . . and confute that they speak slanderously of me."

Relief of the previous sermons.

"Now is my consideration. (3) There is a certain man that shortly after my first sermon, being asked—before the King's majesty, P. 78—"If he had he at the sermon that day, answered Yes. I pray you, and how liked you him? Marry said he, even as I lyked him always," 78."

A meditacious fellow."

(2) How Latimer was accused of sedition to Henry VIII.
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(a) So this gentleman commeth up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my audience, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat (p. 35). I was herein noted to speake seditions.

(b) When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loved a singularity in all that I did. ... Marry sir this was a sore thunderbolt I thought it was an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me as of Christ in John ch. vii. “I thought I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the Prophet [i. 32.] Ah seditious wretch what had he to do with the Mint?" Here be meddled also with vintners? (I must tell you more news yet. I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. The clothmakers have become apothecaries.) Isaiah goeth yet on. He calls magistrates unfaithful and fellows of thieves. There are two kinds of thieving. Robbery is a gross kind and Bribery a princely kind of thieving. Giff-gaff was a good fellow. This Giff-gaff led them clean from justice."

Story of the good fellow and the pudding 'Bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster, than the fellow would follow the pudding.'

The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross. He answered he was there. And being asked what news there. Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I dare say the mule never slandered the Preacher. Oh what an unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass on his back. I was there at the sermon myself. In the end of his sermon the preacher gave a general absolution, &c.

(c) Another man quickened with a word I spoke (as he said opprobriously against the nobility that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates.), (p. 41) was offended with me. I did not mean so, but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word. Howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part.


Now I will to my place again. In the later end of my sermon I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great. The delaying of matters of the poor folk, is a sinful before the face of God as wrong judgement.


i. Why our Saviour Christ, rather used the example of a wicked Judge than a good.

Bylyke good judges were rare at that time, and trow ye the devil has been asleep ever since?

ii. It is good and lawful for God's people to use the laws of the realm as an ordinary help against their adversaries: so they do it not of malice.

'The greatest man in the realm cannot so hurt a Judge as the poor widow. ... And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the Judges' skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him.'

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ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.

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The book the Cardinal sent Henry VIII. Pro ecclesiasticis criminibus
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memory of this determines the subject of this day.'
(Whether God's people may be governed by a governor, that
name of a king or not!)
The Text. 1 Sam. viii. 1—3, and xii. 2—5.
The unlearned (although I am sure, here be a great many
Story of Samuel
i. Samuel in his old age took his sons as helpers and consлов
have his office well discharged.
ii. The wickedness of his sons.
I am sure this is Scylla infernalis, [the ladder of hell, A 139] the
way to hell; to be covetous, to take bribes, and to pervert justice.
a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would show him this.
First let him be a covetous man, then let him go a little further,
take bribes, and lastly pervert justice. There lacks a fourth to
up the mess. Hangum tunicam, a Tyburn tippet.
The innocent widow executed, within these thirty years
Story of the rich Preator of Rome, in Pope Julius' time.
It is possible for a man to answer at the bar, to have the form of law,
and yet have wrong done to him: and to be attainted in his absence,
and yet have right done to him.
Men may be condemned in their absence, but not often: so that it be
rarely used, seldomly, for avoiding disturbance in the commonwealth.
'Some liken me to Doctor Shaw, that preached at Paul's Cross, that
King Edward IV.'s sons were bastards.
The Council need not my lie for the defence of that which they do.
Lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever chiding, and ever
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Why you will say, We touch none. No Marry, but my mistress your wife
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Moncriue.
Story of the Merchant that killed the Searcher.
A murderer saved by bribery. 'Here was a Not guilty for twelve
crowns.' If there crowns were shaven to the shoulders, they were
served well enough.
The mother guilty of infanticide, acquitted by friends and bribing
An innocent gentleman 'a professor of the word of God (he sped
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ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.

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The excellency of archery.
'My time, my poor father, was diligent to teach me to shoot.'
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A joyous text by Dyonisius [de Leuvis de Rickel. b. 1391—d. 24 Mar. 1471."

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The speech to Peter did not make him a great man, any more than that to Judas afterwards.

There is never a wherryman at Westminster Bridge but can give a natural reason why Christ spoke in the singular to Peter Launch out into the deep, and in the plural, Loose your nets. He knows that one man is able to shove the boat; but that one man was not able to cast out the nets.

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A multitude of what Christ did for us.

'You have many goodly gardens, I would you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour suffered in his garden.'

There is a difference between being tempted and entering into temptation. To be tempted is no evil thing. For what is it? No more than when the flesh, the devil, and the world do solicit and move us against God. To give place to these suggestions, to yield ourselves, and to suffer ourselves to be overcome of them: this is to enter into temptation.

'The Lord Admiral a conserver of common [i.e. family] prayer.'

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What a do was it to bring the blood of Hales of the king's [Henry VIII.] mind.

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'The life of a Christian man is nothing but a readiness to die, and remembrance of death.'

'Not your pleasures with the remembrance of Christ's bitter passion.'

Conclusion.
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of Master HUGH LATIMER,
chiefly referring to or illustrated by these
SERMONS.

* Probable or approximate dates.

Hugh Latimer is born at Thurstaston. A church—built in 1568, on the site of a more is usually called Latimer's house. F. Nicholls of Leicester. iii. 1056, 1061-70.
His account of his parentage, p. 40.
How they called pigs in his country (Leics). His father carefully trains him in archery.
He goes to Cambridge.

1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.
The merry monk of his college, p. 106.
Graduates B.A. Univ. Regr.
There were several Latimers at Cambridge at this time. This professor of Greek there was a former, not Hugh Latimer; as stated in The Life of Latimer, 1668.

1510. Jan.

*1491.

1514. July.

1510. Jan.

*1505.

1510. Jan.

at 18.

at 22.

at 18.

at 22.

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What a Bishop said once to him, p. 65.
Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his letter in 4 books, Pro ecclesiasticæ imitatiæ desiderio.

At Cambridge.

1537. May—June.
Latimer becomes Bishop of Worcester.

1537. May—June.

1535. Oct. 5.
Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his letter in 4 books, Pro ecclesiasticæ imitatiæ desiderio.

1538. Mar. 10.

1535. Oct. 5.

1535. Oct. 5.

1538. Mar. 10.

1535. Oct. 5.

1535. Oct. 5.

1535. Oct. 5.
CHRONICLE.

liberty: also to ete fleche and whet me in Lent, so that it be don without hurting of weke consciences, and without sedition, and lykewise on Fridaye and all days. — Cottonian M.S. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 110. [See Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries, Ed. by T. Wright, p. 58. Ed. 1843.]

I was once at Oxford ... I lay there a night. The execution there, p. 101.

† May 1.

Riding home from London, he intends preaching in a town on his way, 'because it was a holy day.' [Feast of the Apostles Philip and James.] He expects to find 'a great company' in the church: but is forced to give way to Robin Hood, p. 173.

†

Is accused of sedition in presence of the king, p. 83.

Is accused of a singularity in all that he dyd, p. 84.

†

He resigns his bishoprick. 'As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd,' p. 108.

†

Is defrauded of his Pentecostal due of £55, p. 83.

Is in ward with Bp. of Chichester, and in daily expectation of death, p. 120. For nearly the next eight years he is 'commanded to silence.'


†

In the morning of Jan. 1. In the morning of Jan. 1. doctor Latimer preached at Paules cross, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent unto them, and therefore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike: he also preached at Paules crosse on the 8. of January; where he affirmed, that whatsoever the cleargye commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargye are such as sit in Moses chaire, and breake not their masters commission: adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing therefrom: and such a cleargye must be obeyed of all men, both high and lowe. He also preached at Paules on the 15. and on the 29. of January. J. Stow, Chronicles, p. 102. Ed. 1605.

Mar. 7. The 7. of March, being Wednesday was a pulpit set vp in the kings prime garden at Westminster, and there in doctor Latimer preached before the king, where he ought be heard of more than foure times so manie people as could haue stod in the kings chappel: and this was the first sermon preached there. Idem.

[The Literary Remains of Ed. VI. Edited by J. S. Nichols. Roxburgh Club, 1857, and Burghley State Papers, Edited by Rev. S. Haynes, 1740, are recommended for full details as to the following.]

†

(Palm Sunday) Latimer preached before the King: and receives the usual 20s for his labour.


Jan. 18. Latimer preaches in St. Paul's 'shrouds,' the sermon on The Ploughers.

He lives with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace. Poor people come to him in the garden to have their suits heard, p. 72.

Feb. 23. The council go in a body to the Tower to examine the Lord Admiral on 33 articles. He refuses to answer, except on arraignment.

The King consents to his prosecution.
25. A deputation from both houses of Parliament, to the Tower. Lord Seymour replies to 3 articles to answer the rest.


Mar 5. (Friday) The first sermon, in Lent, by a gentleman at Westminster. "The duty of a King." "I have no cause to complain, for I that King I have sufficient," p. 46.

A gentleman, "such an one that rode in the King's service to sedition to the king," p. 78. A bishop's opinion of this sermon, p. 108.


15. (Friday) Goodrich Bp of Ely sent to the Admiral for death.


17. (Sunday) The Lord Admiral's execution. Council for the following Wednesday. Eyre, D.D., preaches before the King.

19. (Wednesday) The Lord Admiral is beheaded.

22. (Friday) The third sermon. "The unjust Judge." Rev. Matthew Parker, after preaches before the King.

28. (Thursday) xxxiiij. Martij.—This day Stanhope knpt. by commandment and order of the protector's grace and counsel, received of such the King's money as came of or now delivered by the exhortation of the said the summe of iiij. li. [400] by way of the King's gift to the said Sir Latimer in respect of his absence from court this Lent, and the rest to be used for the charge." Privy Council Register, M.S. Mus. 14, 024: fol. 107. See Litt. Rem. of E. Latimer—his defence of the Government to Dr. Ralph Shaw, who on 29 June, 1489, preached that Edward IV.'s sons were bas

29. (Friday) The fourth sermon. "The unjust Judge." Rev. James Curthop, Dean of the preaches before the King; see p. 106.

31. (Sunday) Rev. James Curthop, Dean of the preaches before the King.

Apr. 5. (Friday) The fifth sermon. "The lawful Judge." Name of preacher on this day.

6. (Sunday) Rev. Richard Coxe, D.D., preaches before the King.

12. (Friday) The sixth sermon. "The most of Fishes." Andrew Coxe, Bp of Ely, preaches before the King.

INTRODUCTION.

In a time of seething change, of not a little uncertainty, and of exciting conflict in religious and social life; the Great Preacher of England once more comes forth to preach. Not on this occasion chiefly to citizens, as in the four sermons upon God's feed and God's ploughers, to the Londoners in the 'Shrouds at pauleschurche' two months ago; but now, he stands in the presence of the young King, of the Lord Protector and the Council, of the Court, and— in so far as any spontaneous assembly could represent it— of the Nation at large.

From the 1st July, 1539, when Latimer laid down his bishophood rather than accept 'The Act of the Six Articles,' until the accession of Edward VI.,—nearly eight years—he, John Stow tells us, had been 'commanded to silence.' He had signalized his reappointment of the office of a preacher, with a sermon at Paul's Cross on 1st January, 1548; and Augustine Benner, his Swift's servant, testifies 'he continued all Kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part every Sunday two Sermons.' So that his fame increased yet more and more, and the knowledge that he was about to preach attracted a large audience.

This was the third time he had preached Lenten sermons before his Sovereign. In 1534, fifteen years previous, he had preached every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. But a year ago, John Stow tells us,—

The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set up in the King's privie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor Latimer preached before the King, where he ought be heard of more then four times so manie people as could haue food in the King's chappell: and this was the first sermon preached there. And now once more he is summoned to like duty, unexpectedly and upon short notice.

The time apparently is in the forenoon. He comes from Lambeth Palace, sometimes on horseback, or—when he has a purpose to serve—in a wherry down the river. Here is his own picture of himself:
Introduction.

"I... whyche am thorough age, bothe weake in bodye, and obliuous, vnapt I am, not only because of paynful flte, but also for the short warning," p 26.

He picture his audience in thus reproving them.

"He [Chrysoftom] meane they hard hym [Christ] quiet with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkyng vp and downe. Sulely it is an yl myforder, that folke shalbe walkyng vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue fene in this place to Lente) and there shalbe fuche buffynge and buffynge in preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget matter. O let vs confider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, that this place was prepared for banketynge of the bodye, and hyghe foonthe hath made it a place for the comforte of the soule, and haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that God would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possiblle. Confide what the Kynges Maiestye hath done for you, he allow you all to heare wyth hym. Confider where ye be, fyrst ye ought to haue a reverenc to Gods word, and though he be preach by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Saviour spake.

Confider also the religion of the Kynges Maiestie Gods hys wordes in earth, hauing a respect to his personage, ye ought to haue reverenc to it, and confider that he is goddes hyghe mat ter, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of heryng of gods word. This benefite of his would be thanke taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Heare in silenc Chrysoftom sayeth. It maye chaunc that fume in the compayr may fall sicke, or be disaeased, if therebe any suche, let them leue away with silence, let them leue their salutaciones tylly they come in the courte, let them departe with silence. I take occasion Chrysoftomes wordes to admonyse you of thys theynge.' p 25.

From which it would seem that the assembly met within doors, in a banqueting room of the Palace.

Preaching extempore, with hardly any specific preparation (the subject of the fifth sermon was determined upon, while riding from one Palace to another), one guiding duty directed his thoughts, viz, to adapt his subject to his audience."

"If he [a preacher] preache before a kyng, let hys matter concerne the offyce of a kinge.' p 25.

"I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to re membrance wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afor kyngs maiestit I thought it mete to frame my preching accord ing to a king.' p 133.

But he remembers others as well; and following a praifeworthy habit of summarizing at the beginning of each sermon the teaching of the previous one, we'
in his own opening words of the Seventh, the design and purpose worked out by him in this Lenten series.

's Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thyss texte (moost honorable audience) I haue walked thyss Lente in the brode freele of scripture and vfed my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for thyss auditory. I haue had a do wyth many eftates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Judges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good and disallowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all fynners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all fay, yea all the packe of vs, *peccamus cum patribus nofiris*. We haue offended and fynned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes*. There is none of vs al, but we haue in fondry things greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of fynnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of fynne. We be in the place of repentance, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in this worlde. We be all fynners, euen the best of vs al. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of fynne. This day is commonly called good Fryday, although euery day ought to be with vs good fryday. Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembrance of the passioun of our sauiour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory his bytter Passioun and death, which is the remedy of our fyn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of his passioun. I am not able to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre foules and myne both, I thal defyre you to praye etc.'

This, then, is what he had to say. How he said it must be seen in the discursive discourses themselves.

The sermons of Latimer, T. Lever, and others, preached in king Edward's reign are endued with interest, partly as revealing the reforming spirit of the Reformers, their honesty, courage, and defence of the poor; and partly shewing us how the Protestants thought and purposed in the new sunshine of favour that gleamed for a while over them and their works. We must forget all we know since the date of these sermons; and anticipate, as Latimer anticipated, a long life to the King, and the progressive but uninterrupted establishment of the Protestant faith in the land.

*The manhood of the champions on both sides of*
religious belief is most striking. Men fl
up on the truth of their credence, yet eq
ready to exact the lives of others for wh
be hereies of faith. So Anabaptists sir
only for their belief, extort from Latin
admiration. Such frightful mislakes ha
committed, thinking they were ‘doing

Of the body of Latimer’s sermons; the E
King constitute, as it were, the official p
with national affairs. The Seven on The Lo
and those preached ‘in Lincolnshire,’ deal m
votional exposition and the personal religious

Besides a number of autographical ren
the Preacher, these sermons contain most d
data towards the history of England at this T
They must be read in constant remembran
great Attainder for High Treafon just con
they began, and which resulted in the beh
Tower Hill—on the Wednesday morning be
Third and Fourth sermons—of the king’s unc
Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudely—brother t
Protector, the Duke of Somerset. Hence t
wife hardly necessary episode at the beginn
second sermon. Latimer there narratives the d
death of Adonijah, to an audience who cou
apply the startling parallel to the great prif
Tower. Further on in these sermons he gives d
and details as to the death and character of t
some of which were omitted in subsequent e

These sermons for the times also bear wit
times. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, forti
viously, had complained of the ‘great dearth of
in England. Everything had since become, a
coming, dearer. These economic changes, b
being of more value—now accepted as a test
prosperity—were looked upon at the time as n
gated evil. So that from facts narrated in f
ings, we now can approximately measure the w

wealth in England, subsequent to the wars o
But the Preacher has not simply to do with earthly things. His sermons are interpenetrated with Scripture; his whole thought is Biblical. To Thomas Some and others he was more than a preacher, he was to them a prophet like unto Elijah.

"Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the messe of the Iuyynge God, to supplanke and rote out al finnes and vice, to plante and grafte in mens hartes the plenteoufnes of al spiritual blisfynges in Iefus Chryft our Lorde?" 19.

These 'playn Paatuyls . . . . that kepeth nothing back,' these unspiring denunciations of wrong-doing and good-omission, these merry or shocking tales, this homely but abundant eloquence: these, all these, were not all Latimer. He had a vivid, though it may be a rough grasp of the unseen, of the spiritual. He equals Luther in his conception of the Evil one; and 'the Contemplation of Hell,' the ugome and horrible the noble Duchess's Faith, and her attendants, are all most striking realizations.

Truly Latimer did what he could with all his might; and a lasting fame is but due to his consistent life, his noble deeds, his martyr's death.

Finally, the Preacher takes leave of King, Court, and People in words of mingled hope and warning: words worthy of him, and as true now as when, with their laft found, closed 'the famous Friday sermons of Lent,' 1549.

'Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin alfo. Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentleman wher going before her, the confessing of finnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commandementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentleman wher with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be wayting upon her. Ya if you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremongers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding houle, and ther you shal haue two dices, wepyng and gnashing of teeth, muche good do it you, you fe your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowledge your fynnes, you shal come to ye blest communion of the bitter passion of Christ, worthily, and so attayne to euerlaistyng lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringe you and me. Amen.'
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. As a separate publication.


Editiones principes. These sermons were originally printed in two separate small volumes. The first sermon alone, of which see the title on the opposite page and the Imprint at p 44: and the other six sermons together, with a somewhat misleading title, as at p 45; the address to his second volume being dated 23 June [1549], p 54. Whether these two works were separately published I do not know. It is possible that the first may have been issued in advance; as an instalment towards satisfying the readers' patience. In all subsequent editions in 4to, the seven sermons are treated as one series.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

5. 1 Feb. 1669. London. 1 vol. 8vo.

English Reprints: see title at page 1.

II. With other works.


27 Sermons preached by . . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad Clerum. 3 Hys fourth sermon on the Plough. 3 Hys 7 sermons before Kyng Edward. AMES Typ. Ant. iv. 94. Ed. 1810.

3. 1571. London. 1 vol. 4to.

Frutiful Sermons preached by the Right reverend father, and constant Martyr of Jesus Christ. M. Hugh Latymer &c. Printed by John Day.

4. 1575. London. 1 vol. 4to.

The edition of 1571; with a fresh title-page dated 1575, and a new imprint dated 1571.

5. 1578. London. 1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by John Day.

6. 1584. London. 1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by John Day.

7. 1590. London. 1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Reprinted by Valentine Sims.

8. 1635. London. 1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by Thomas Coates for the Companie of Stationers.


The Sermons of . . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. The present seven sermons are in vol. i.


The Sermons on various subjects by Hugh Latimer. The present sermons are in vol. i.


The Sermons . . . . of Hugh Latimer &c Ed. by John Watkins L.L.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.


British Reformers. Select sermons and Letters of Dr. Hugh Latimer. Includes the seventh of the present sermons only.


Parker Society. The works of Hugh Latimer &c. Ed. by G. E. Corrie, B.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.

III. Abridgments, Extracts, &c.


The fyrste
Sermon of May-
stere Hughe Latimer, whi-
che he preached before
the Rynge's Maiest.
wythin his gra-
ces palayce at
Westmyn-
ster M.
D. *LX*. the viii.
of Marche.
(,)

Cum gratia et Privilegio
ad imprimendum folum.
To the ryghte vertuous and gracious Lady Katheryn
Douchesie of Suffolk, Thomas
Some, her humble and faith ful Oratour, wysheth
Godly favour
and euerla- fting fal-
uation from God the father
through Iesu Christ our mercyfull Lorde.

Han man is borne for man, that one to another should be a God, and not a devyl, an helper, no hynderer, vnto whom all ye vfe of the tonge is only geuen, wherby they do both expres and shewe the affections of their mindes, there is no man which can say, I haue no nede of any man.

But amonges infinite mishiefes and euyls of mans pouertie and anguysh, by which he hath nede of other mens helpe, is the instruction of prudence or vertue and of science. For mankynde in this do pre[ex]cel chieflie brute beastes because thei helpe one another by mutual communication.

In learnyng good and vertuous maners, the vfe of commonyng is required chieflie, that men erryng and ignoraunte should be taught, for there is none which shal euere lerne of hym selue, all though he be neuer fo happily borne.

Therfore, it shal become euery man, which do intende to lyue godly, to here and learne godly bookes, to prynye heauenly documentes in their hertes. For as euyl doctrine, deuilysh bokes, and fylthyte talke do corrupt good maners, so faithful preceptes, godly bokes, chafl commonynge and honest shal edifie, and confirme.
Wherfore, intending to do good vnto al men and
namely vnto such, as erre and be ignorant, I haue
gathered, writ, and brought into lyght the famous
fryday sermons of Mayster Hugh Latimer, which he
preached in Lente last past, before oure most noble
King Edward the syxt, at the new Palacie of West-
minster, the third yeare of hys reigne. Whiche Ser-
mons (most vertuous Lady) I dedicate vnto your honor-
able grace, nothyng doubtyng but yat you wyl gladly
embrace them, not onely because of their excellencie,
but chiefly for the profyte whych shall enfue thorough
them vnto the ignorante.

For in them are frutefull and godlye documentes,
directing ordinatly not only the steps, conuerfacyon,
and lyuing of kynges; but also of other mynisters and
subiectes vnder him. And let no man be greued
though it be not so exactlye done as he did speake it,
for in very dede I am not able so to do, to write word
for word as he dyd speake, yat passeth my capacyte
though I had xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes
to wryte with all. As it is vnposyble that a litel ryuer
should receiue ye recourfe of ye mayne fea with in his
brymnes, so yat no water shoulde ouer whelme the siedes
therof. In lyke manner is it more vnylke my fymple
witte to comprehende absolutly the abundante elo-
quence and learnyng which floweth most abundantly
out of godly Latymers mouth.

Notwithstandyng, yet had I rather with shamefaulnes
declare charitably thys parte of his godly documentes.
and counsel, then wyth flowthfulnes forget or kepe clofe
folisly, that thyng which may profete many.

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the
docetyne of godly Latymer? Whome God hath ap-
poynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and
vnto our Realme of England, to declare the messiage
of the luyynge God, to supplanle and rote out al fynnes
and vice, to plante and graffe in mens hartes the plen-
teoulines of al spiritual blislynges in Iesus Chryft our
Lorde?
Mofes, Ieremyas, Helias, did neuer declare ye true message of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a more sincere spirite, faithful mynde and godly zeale, then godlye Latymers doth now in oure daies vnto our moyst noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme. Furthiij. Kyng xxij thermore, also Iosia receyued neuer the boke of gods wyl at the handes of Helkia the hye prestat, or ye admonicion of Hulda ye prophetesse, with a more perfect and godly seare, then our moyst noble King dothe moyst faithfully, geue credyte vnto the wordes of good father Latimer. And I haue no doubt but al godly men wil lykewise receiue gladly his godly Sermons and geue credit vnto the same. Therfore this my rude laboure of another mans swet (moost vertuous lady) I offer moost humbli vnto iour grace, mouid there vnto of godli zeale, thorough the godly fame, that is dispersf vnyuersally of your moost godly disposition, and vnfayned loue towards the lyuyng, amyghte, eternall God and hys holye word, praftysed dayly both in your graces moost vertuous behauour, and alfo godly charitie towards the edification of euerymembre graffed in Chryste Iesu, moost humbly desiring your grace to accept favorably thys my temerous interprise. And I your moost humble and faithful Oratour shall paye vnto Iehouah, the God which is of him self, by whom, and in whome, all thyngs lyue, moue, and be, that, that good worke whych he hath begonne in you he may performe it vnto your laft endyng, thorough our Lorde Iesu Chryst, who preferue and kepe your grace now and euer. So be it.
The argument of the Sermon.

In this first Sermon is declared, and taught the godly election of a Kyng, and a rule of godly lyuyenge as touchynge hym owne person. Where he proueth our most excellent King Edward, to be our most lawful king both by natuittie, and contrye, yea, and now appoynted in these our dayes to deleyuer vs from the daunger and captuittie of Egypt and wicked Pharaoh, that is from, erroour and ignorance and the deuelishe antichrist the Pope of Rome. The forme of his godly rule also he deuyded here in this sermon in thre partes. Fyrst that he shul not truste to muche vnto his owne styrngth and policy, but only to walke ordintly with God and to make him his lodes man and chiefe guyde. Secoundly that he lyue not lassyuyously and wantonly, following venereall affectiones, but to lyue chastly. And whan time shal require, to leade a pure lyfe, vnder the yoke of matrimonye, admonisheing both his grace, and al other Maiestrates to be circumspecte in chofynge a wyfe, eyther for them selues or for theyr children, hauing this alwaies in minde, that she be, of a fauthfull house, godlye broght vp, and of a pure lyfe. Thirdly he admonishe the kynges grace, that he shul not desyre gold and syluer to muche, prouynge by many arguments that kynd of vice wyth the other forsaid, to be destruccion not only vnto the kynges grace: but also vnto the whole realme and people. In these thinges consyflieth the whole summe of this sermon.

[The equivalent passages in the authorized English version, of the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]
Of M. Latimer.

Vaeunque scripta sunt: ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.* Whatsoever thynge are written a fore tyme, are written for our learmynge, that we through pacience and comfort of scripturs, might haue hope. In takynge thysy parte of scripture (moost nobill audience) I playe as a trowant, which when he is at schole, wyl chosse a lesson, wherin he is perfight, becaufe he is loth to take payne in audieng a newe leasson, or elles feareth strypes for his slothfulness. In lyke maner, I might seme now in my olde age to sum men, to take this parte of scripture, becaufe I woulde wade easilye awaye there wyth, and dryue my matter at my pleasure and not to be bounde vnto a certayne theame. But ye shall confyder, yat the forsayd words of Paul are not to be vnderstande of all scriptures, but only of thos, which are of god, written in goddes boke, and all thynge whiche are therein, are written for our learmynge, The excelleynce of thys worde is so greate, and of hye dignitie, that there is no earthly thynge to be compared vnto it.

Paul speketh of gods worde only.

Gen. i. a. and xvii. a.
Deut. iii. iiij. a.
Isa. xxvi. a.
Prou. viij. c.
Daniel viij. c.

The authour therof is great that is God him selfe, eternal, almighty, euerlaftynge. The scripture because of hym, is also greate, eternal, moste mightie, and holy. Ther is no kyng, Emperour, maiestrate, and ruler, of what state so euer they be, but are bounde to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto hys holy worde in directynge their fleppes ordinauly accordyng vnto the same word, yea truly they are not only bound to obey comfort of the scriptures might have hope.—Rom. xv. 4.

Al men ought to obey god, to beleue hys word, and to folowe it.
Gods boke, but also the minister of the same, for the 
wordes sake, so fer as he speaketh fyttyng[e in moses 
chayre, that is, if hys doctryne be taken 
out of Mowys lawe. For in thys world 
God hath. ii. swerde the one is a temporal 
swerde the other a spiritual, The temporall swerde 
resteth in the handes of kynges, maiestrates, and rulers 
under hym, where vnto all 
subiectes, as well the Clearyg as the laite be subiect, and 
punisheable, for anye offence contarye to the same boke.
The spiritual swerde is in the handes of the minisiters and 
preachers, wher vnto all 
Kynes, Maiestrates, Rules oug[h]te to be obediente, 
that is, to here, and folowe, so longe as the minisiters 
fythe in Christes chayre, that is speakyng 
out of Chrystes boke.
The kyng correctyth transgressours wyth the temporall 
swerde ye and the preacher also yf he be an 
offender, But the preacher can not correct the Kyng 
if he be a transgressor of goddes word, wyth the temporall 
swerde. But he muste correcte and reprowe him 
wyth the spyrtyual swerde, fearynge no man, setting 
God only before hys eyes, vnder whom he his a min-
ister to suppleante and roote vp all vice and mychye 
by Goddes worde, where vnto all menne oughte to bee 
obedyente, as is mencyoned in many places of scrip-
ture, and amonges many thys is one.

Quaecunque inueniesint vos feruare, feruate, et facite.*
What so euer they byd you obserue, that 
obserue and doo. Therefore let ye preacher 
teach, improue, amende, an[d] instrucc[e in] rightwernes, 
wyth the spyrtyual swerde, fearynge no man though 
death shoulde infue. Thus Mowys fearynge no man 
wyth thys swerde, dyd reprowe Kyng 
Pharao, at Goddes commandemen.
Micheas the prophet a[ls]o dyd not spare to blame 

* All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.——
Matt. xxiii. 3.
to goddes wil and to prophese of his destruction contrary vnto manye false prophetes.* These forfayde kynges being admonished by the ministres of gods worde, because they woulde not folow their godly doctrine and correcte their lyues, came vnto vther Kyng Pharo punishshed. Pharao geuyng no credit vnto Moyse the prophet of God, but applyant vnto the lustes of his owne herte, what tyme Exod. xiiiij he hard of the passage of Goddes people, hauyng no feare or remembraunce of gods worke, he did prosecute after enteynyng to destroye them and was drowned in ye red sea. Kynge Acab. iij. Reg. xxi. Acab also because he wold not herken vnto Micheas was kilde with an arrowe. Likewise iij. Reg. xiiiij. also the house of Iereboam with other many, came vnto destruccion, because he woulde not heare the ministres of Goddes worde, and correcte his lyfe accordyng vnto his wyl, and pleasure. Let the preacher therefore neuer feare to declare the message of God vnto all men. And if the king wyll not heare them then the preachers may admonyshe and charge them with God and praye for them. But if the preachers digresse out of Christes chaire, and shal speake their owne phantafyes, then in flete of, Quacunque iussert vos facere, facite, et feruatae. What so euer the[y] byd you obserue that obserue and doe. Change it into these wordes folowyng: Cauete vero vobis a pseudo Prophetis Math. vii. g. qui veniunt ad vos etc.† Be ware of falfe Prophetes which come vnto you in shepnes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenynge wolves, ye shal knowe them by their frutes: Yea, change Quacunque iussert, (yf their doctrine be euel) into Cauete a fer- Luke. xij. a. memento phariseorum, etc.‡ That is: Take

* Ahab. — r Kings xxii.
† Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.— Matt. xvi. 6.
‡ Beware of the leaven of the Pha- risees and of the Sadducees.—Matt. xvi. 6.
hede and beware of the, leaue of the Phariseis, and of the Saduces. In teaching euel doctrine, all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wyse to be harkened vnto. In speakeynge trueth: thei are to be hard. All thynges written in goddes boke, are moost certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is contayned mete matter for Kynges, Prynces, Rulers, Byshops, and for alle staters. Wherfore, it behoueth euery preacher, sum what to appoynt and accomodate hym selue, and hys matter a greeable vnto the confort, and amendemente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preache before a kynge, let hys matter be concernyng the oflyce of a kinge, if before a byshoppe, then lette hym treate of byshoplye dutyes and orders, and so forthe in other matters, as time and audience shal require.

I haue thoughte it good, to intreate vpon these wordes folowyng whyche are written in the. xvii. Chapter of Deuteronomye. Cum ueneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederis que eam. Deut. xvii.

*That is. When thou arte come vnto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geueth the, and enioyesthe it, and dwelleste therin: If thou shalt say, I wil set a kynge ouer me: lyke vnto al the nacions that are aboute me: Then thou shalt make him kynge ouer the, whome the Lorde thy God shal chose.

One of thy brethren muste thou make Kynge ouer the, and mayste not set a stranger ouer the, whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyse, let him not holde to manye hoffes, that he bringe not the people

* When thou art come unto the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me;

Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.—Deut. xii. 14—17.
agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horses, for as muche as the Lorde hath fayd vnto you: ye shall hence forth go no more agayne that waye. Also he shal not haue to many wyues, lefte hys herte turne awaye, neyther shal he gether hym fyluer and gould to much. As in dyuerfe other places of scripture is mete matter for al estates. So in thys forfayede place is describyd cheyfly the doctryne fyt for a kynge. But who is worthye to vter thys doctryne before oure mofte noble kynge? Not I God knoweth, whyche am thoroughge age, boethe weake in body and oblivious, vnapte I am, not only because of paynful studdy, but also for the short warming. Well vnto God I wyll make my mone, who neuer fayled me. Auxiliator in necessitatibus.*

God is my helper in all my necesseties. To hym alone wyl I make my peticion. To praye vnto sayntes departed I am not taught, to desyre like grace of god as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no leffe mercyfull vnto vs (beinge faythful) then he was vnto them, greatlye comfortable it is. Therfore only vnto God let vs lyfte vp our hertes and fay the Lordes prayer.

Thynges touched moste chieflye in the hole sermon. i.

Thynges touched moste chieflye in the hole sermon. i.

Cum veneris, etc.† When thou art come vnto ye land which the lord. etc. Thou shalt appoint him king. etc. One of thi brethren must thou make king ouer the, and must not set a straunger ouer ye which is not of thy brethren.

But in any wyfe let not suche one prepare vnto him selfe manye horses that he bryng not. etc.

Furthermore let hym not prepare vnto hym selfe manye wyues, leaft his herte recede frome God.

Nor he shal not multiply vnto hym selfe, to much golde, and fyluer. As the text doeth ryfe, I wyl touche and go a lyttle in euery place, vntyl I come

* God is mine helper.—Ps. liv. 4. † See text on previous page.
unto to much. I wyl touche al the forsayd thynges, but not to muche. The texte is, when thou shalt come into the land, etc.

To haue a kyng the Israelites dyd wyth mucche importunitye call unto God, and God longe before promised theim a kyngge and were full certified thereof, that God hadde promised that thyngge. For unto Abraham he sayd; Ego cresceere te faciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt. Gen. xvii. a.

That is, I wil multipli the exceeding, and wil make nations of the, yea and kings shal spring out of the. These wordes were spoken long before the chyldren of Israel had any king. Notwithstanding, yet God prescribid unto them an order, howe the[y] shulde chose their kyng, and what manner a man he shoulde be, where he faith; when thou shalt come in to the lande, etc. As who should say. O ye children of Israel I knowe your nature ryght well, whiche is euyl, and inclined unto al euyls. I know that thou wilt chose a kyng to raygne ouer the and to apere glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentyles. But because thou art suffe necked, wilde, and art geuen to walke without a brydell, and lyne. Therfore now I wyll preuente thy euyl and beftly manners I will hede stronly thy waye, I wyll make a durable lawe, whiche shal compell the to walke ordinatlye, and in a plain way, that is thou shalt not chose the a kyngge after thy wyll and fantayse but after me thy Lord and God. Thus, god condicioned wyth the Iewes, that theyr king shoulde be suche a one as he hym self wold chose them. And was not much vnlyke [t]he bargayne that I A notable fa-
herd of late shulde be betwixte two fryndes for a horffe, the owner promysed the other shuld haue the horffe yf he wold, the other axed ye price, he sayd: xx. nobles The other wold geue hym but iii. pound: ye owner saide he shuld not haue hym then, The other claymed the horffe bycause he sayd, he

* I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and kings shall come out of thee._

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* Gen. xvii. 6.
The first sermon

fhoulde haue hym if he wold, Thus thyg bargayyne became a westminister matter, the lawyers gote twyse the valure of the horfe, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit. the Israelites could not go to lawe wyth God, for chosynge theyr kyNGe, for would they, nyl they, theyr kinge shold be of his chosynge, let they should walke inordinatly, in a deceuyable way, vnto theyr vtter losse and destruccion. For as they say commonly Qui vadit plane, vadit jane. that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh safely. As the Iewes were flyjnbecked, and were euery ready to walke inordinatelye, no lesse are we Englyshe men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walkynge after oure owne fantasies and braynes. We wyl walke wythouthe the limites of Goddes worde, we wyl chose a kyng at our owne pleasure.

But let vs leanre to frame our lyues after the noble king Dauid whych when he had manye occasions, geuen of kyng Saul to worke euyl, for euyl, yea, and hauynge manye tyme oportunity to performe mishief and to slay kyng Saule. Neuerthelesse yet fearyng, would not folowe hys fleshly affections and walke inordinatelye, wythoute the wyl of Gods worde, whych he confessed alwayes to be hys direcution, sayinge. Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis.* Thy worde, O Lorde is a Lanterne vnto my feete, and a lyght vnto my fpettes. Thus hauynge in mynde, to walke ordinarlye he did alwayes auyoide to do euyl. For whan kyng Saul was in a caue without anye man. Dauid and hys men fyting by the fydes of the caue, yea and Dauids men moyng hym to kyl Saul, Dauid made anfwer and sayd vnto them: Servet me dominus, ne rem islam. etc. contra dominum meum Messian etc.† That is The Lord kepe

* Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.—Psa. cxix. 105.
† The Lord forbid that I should do this thing unto my master, the Lord's anointed.—† Sam. xxiv. 6.
me from doyng this thing vnto my maister yat is the lorde anointed. At another tyme also, moued by Abifay to kyl Saul fleping, Dauid fayd: Ne interficias cum, quis enim impune manum suum inferret i. Reg. xxvi. b. vnelo domino etc.* That is: Destroye hym not, for who can laye hys handes on the Lorde anoynted and be gyltlese. etc. I wold God we wolde folowe King Dauid, and then we shuld walke ordinatly, and yet do but yat we are bounde of dutye to do, for God sayth:

Quod ego praecipio, hoc tantum facito.†

That thing which I commande that only do. There is a greate errour rifen now a daies among many of vs, which are vayyne and new fangled men clymbing beyond the lymites of our capaciye and wytte, in wrenching thys text of scryptrure, hereafter folowyng, after their owne phantasie and brayne, their erroure is vpon this text: Audi vocem populi in omnibus quae i. Reg. vii.
divunt tibi, non enim te reprobant sed me reprobant ne regnum super eos.‡

That is: Heare the voyce of the people in all that they say vnto the, for they haue not caste the a way but me. Thei wrench these wordes a wrye after their owne fantasies, and make much doubte as touchynge a kynge, and hys Godlye name. They that so do walketh inordinatly, they walk not directely and playnly, but delite in balkes, and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walke ordinarily with god, and dereect their steps with god. For both patriarches Judges, and kynges, had, and haue their authorytie of God, and therfore Godli. But this ought to be considered which God sayeth. Non praecicere tibi potest hominem alienum.§

that is. Thou muist not set a straunger over the.

* Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lorde's anointed, and be guiltless?—1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

† What thing soever I command you, observe to do it.—Deut. xii. 32.

‡ Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.—1 Sam. viii. 7.

§ Deut. xvii. 15: see text at v. 25.
It hath pleased God to graunt vs a

Kynge Eden,

The kyng Edan,

natural lige kynge and Lorde, of our

ye vs in our na-
turall kynge

owne nation an Englysh man, one of our

and a most pre-
oces treasur.

owne religion. God hath geuen hym

to vs, and is a mooste precious treasur, and yet

vnto vs, and is a mooste precious treasur, and yet

manie of vs do desyre a straunter to be kynge ouer

vs. Let vs no more desyre to be bankers, but lett vs

endevoyre to walke ordinatelye and plainly, after the

word of God. Let vs folowe Daniel, let vs not feke

the death of oure moste noble and ryghtfull Kynge, our

owne brother, boeth by natuyry, and

Godly relygion. Let vs pray for hys good

slate, that he may lyue long among vs.

Oh what a plagge were it, that a straunget kynge of a

A strang

straunget land, and of a straunget religion shold raygne

wold rote out

ouer vs. Where nowe we be gouerned in

al godlynes

the true relygion. he shold extirpe and

and plante a-

plucke away all to gether, and then plante

gayan al abomynacyon, and popery, GOD

agayn al hypocrasy.

kepe suche a kynge from vs. Well the kynge's grace

hath systers, my Ladye Mary, and my Ladye Elizabeth,

hath systers, my Ladys Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth,

whych by succesfion and course are inheritours to the

crowne. Who yf they shulde mary with straungets,

whate shuld ensue GOD knoweth. But god graunt they

never come vnto courfying nor succedyng. There

fore to auoyd thys plagge, let vs amende our lyues and

therefore to auoyd thys plagge, let vs amende our lyues and

put awaye all pryde, whych dothe drowne men in

put awaye all pryde, whych dothe drowne men in

thys realme at these dayes, all couetousnes where in

thys realme at these dayes, all couetousnes where in

the magistrates and ryches men of thys realme are

in the magistrates and ryches men of thys realme are

ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessyue vyses,

ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessyue vyses,
prouokynge gods wrath, were he not mercyful, euen
to take from vs our naturall kynge and leyge Lorde,
to take from vs our naturall kynge and leyge Lorde,
yea, and to plagge vs wyth a straunget kynge for oure

yea, and to plagge vs wyth a straunget kynge for oure

vnrepentaunte herte. Wherfore (yf as

vnrepentaunte herte. Wherfore (yf as

they that

ye faye) ye loue the kynge, amende your

loue God or

lyues, and then ye shalbe a meane that

the kyng wyl

GOD shal lend hym vs longe to raygne

amende theyr

ouer vs, for vndowtedlye fynnes prouke muche goddes

sinful lyuing.

wrath scripture faith; Dabo tibi regem in furore meo,

* I gave thee a king in mine anger.—Hos. xiii. 11.
Of. M. Latimer.

That is: I wyll geue a kynge in my wrathe. Now we haue a lawfull kyng, a godly kynge, neuertheles yeuyls do raygne. Longe tyme the mynistsers appoynted, hath studied to amende, and redres al euyls, long tyme before thys greate laboure hath the bene about this matter, great crakes hath bene made that al shoulde be well. But when all came to all for theyr booles, lyttle or nothynge was done, in whome these words of Horace mai wel be veri-

fied sayinge. Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus. The montaines swelleth vp, the pore moufe is brought out, long before thys tyme, many hath taken in hande to brynge manye thynges vnto pahte, but finally theyr worckes came vnto small effect and profyte. Now I here say all things are ended after a Godly maner, or els shorthelye shal be. Make haft, make haft, and let us learne to couer, to repente, and amende our lyues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, our fynnes and unthankefulnes, an Hipocrit kynge ouer vs. Long we haue bene

es and in bondage, seruyng the in Egypte. God hath geuen vs a

er, a natural kynge. Let vs seke no stranger

other nacion, no hypocrite whiche

shall brynge in agayne al papistrie, hipo-
cricie, and Idolatyre. No diabolicall

minister whycha shall maytayne all deueli
de worckes and euyl exercices. But let us pray

that God maytayne and continue oure

most excellente kynge here presente,

ture inheritore of thyss our realme, both by

atyuytte, and also by the special gift and

ordaunce of God. He doth vs rectify

in the libertie of the gospel, in that therefore let us

nos liberavit.* Stande ye in the libertye, wherwyth

Chryste hath made vs free. In Chrystes lybertye,

* Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.
—Gal. v. 1.
we shall stande, If we so lyue that we profyte. If we call away all euyl, fraude, and deceyte, with such other vices, contrary to Gods word. And in so doing we shall not onely prolongede and mayntayne our most noble kynges dayes in prosperitie: but also we shall prosper our owne lyues, to lyue not onelye prosperously, but also godly.

In any wyfe, let no suche a woned prepare vnto hym self manye horsyes, etc. In speakyenge these wordes, ye shal vnderstand, that I do not entend to speake agaynste the strengthe, pollysfye, and provision of a kyng, but agaynst excessie, and vayne trusle that kynges haue in them selues, more then in the liuing god the authour of al goodnes, and geuer of all victorie. Many horsies are requisite for a king, but he maye not exceede in them, nor triumphe in them, more then is nedeful, for the necessary assayres and defence of the realme: what meaneth it, that god hath to do wyth the kynges flable? But only he would be mayster of hys horsyes, the Scripture sayeth, In altis habitat. He dwelleth on hye, it foloweth. Humilia respicit,* He loketh on lowe thynges, yea, vpon the Kynges flables. and vpon al the offayres in hys houfe. God is great grand mayster of the Kynges houfe, and wil take account of euery one that beareth rule therin, for the executing of their offices, Whether they haue iustlye and truely ferued the kyng in their offices or no. Yea god loketh vpon the kynges hym selfe, if he worketh well or not. Euery kyng is subiecte vnto God, and all other men are subiectes vnto ye king. In a king god requireth faith, not excess of horsyes. Horfies for a kyng be good and necessarye, if thei be wel vfed. But horsyes are not to be preferred aboue pore men. I was ones offendid with the kynges horfies, and therfore toke occasion to speake in the prefens of the kynges maiestye that dead is,

* Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly.—
Psa. cxxxviii. 6.
when Abbeis stode. Abbeis were ordeyned for the comforte of the pore, Wherfore I sayde it was not decent that the kings horsies shuld be kept in them (as manye were at that tyme) the lyuyngge of poore men therby minished and taken a way: But after ward a certayne noble man sayd to me, what haft thou to do with ye kinges horses? I answere, and sayd, I speake my conscience as goddes word directeth me. He saide horses be ye mayntenances and parte of a kynges honoure, and also of hys realme, wherefore in speakyng against them ye are against the kynges honoure. I answered, God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kyng and for al other men accordynglye vnto their vocations. God apoyntyth euerie king a sufficient lyuinge for hys state and degre boeth by landes and other customes, And it is lawfull for euerie kyng to enjoye the same goodes and possesyons. But to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynste the honoure of the kinge. And you do mue the kinge to do after that manner, then you speake agaynste the honoure of the kyng. For I ful certifye you, extorcioners, violent opressers, in grossers of tenementes and landes, throughse whose couetousnes, villages decaye and fall downe, the kynges leige people for lacke of suffynaunce are famished and decayed. They be those whyche speke a gaine the honour of the kyng. God requireth in the king and al magistrates a good herte, to walke directlye in hys wayes. And in all subiectes, an obedi-ence dewe vnto a kyng. Therefore I pray god both the king and alfo we his people maye enduer diligent[ly] to walke in his wayes, to hys greate honoure and our profite. Let hym not prepare ye dyshonors of a kyng playnely and most truelye. He describeth ye dyshonors of a kyng.

An answer declarynge the true honoure of a kyng.

God requireth a good herte.
Kinges of the Iewes had a dispensacion to have no wyues then one.

and to thinke that we may take also many wyues.

For Christe hath for byden thys vnto vs Christians. And lette vs not impute fynne vnto the Iewes because they hadde many wyues. For they hadde a dispensation so to do. Christe limiteth on wyfe vnto vs only And it is a greate thynge for a man to rule one wyfe ryghtly, and ordinarly. For a woman is frayll and proclue vnto all euels, a woman is a very weake vesel, and maye fone deceyue a man, and brynge hym vnto euell. Many examples we haue in holy scripture. Adam had but one wyfe, called Eue, and howe fone had she brought hym to content vnto euell, and to come to destruction. How dyd wycked Iesabell preuente kynges Hachabs herte from god and al godlines, and finallly vnto destruction. It is a very hard thynge for a man to rule wel one woman. Therfore let oure kyng, what tyme hys grace shalbe so mynded to take a wyfe to chose hym one whych is of god, that is, whych is of the housholde of fayth. Yea let all estates be no leffe circumfpecht in chofyng her, takynge great deliberation, and then shal not need dyuorfemente, and such myschewe to the euel example and scanger of our realm, And that she be one as the kyng can fynd in hys hert to loue and leade hys life in pure and chast espoage, and then shall he be the more prone and redy to aduance gods glorye, punishe, and extirpe, the great lecherye vset in this realme. Therefore we ought to make a continuall prayer vnto god, for to graunt oure kynges grace suche a mate as maye knyt hys hert and heres, accordyng to goddes ordynaunce and lawe, and not to consider and cleave onely to a politike matter or conjunction, for the enlargynge of dominions, for fuerstre and defence of contres, settyng apart the instituon and ordynaunce of God. We haue nowe a pretyst sermone.
little shilling, in dede a very pretie one. I haue but one I think in my purse, and the laste daye I had put it awaye almooste for an olde grote, and so I truste some wyll take them. The fynes of the filuer I can not se. But therin is prynted a fyne sentence: that is, *Timor Domini fons vitae vel sapientiae.* The feare of Prouer. xvi.
the Lorde is the fountayne of lyfe or Wysdome. I wolde god this sentence were alwaies printed in the herte of the kyng in chosynge hys wyfe, and in al hys officers. For lyke as the feare of God is *fons sapientiae* or *vitae,* so the forgetting of god is *fons flulticia* the fontayne of folishnes or of death, although he it be neuer so politike, for vpon such politike matters death doth ensue and folowe. All their deuormences and other lyke condicones to the greate displeasure of all myghtye God, whiche esyilles I feare me, is much vset at these daies in the mariage of noble mens children, for io[i]ning landes to landes, possesions, to possesions, neither the vertuous educacion, nor liuinge being regarded, but in the infancy such marriges be made, to the displeasuer of god and breach of espoufals. Let the king therfor chose vnto him a godly wyfe, wherby he shal the better liue chaft, and in so liuyng all godlines shal encrease and ryghtewesnes be maynteyned. Notwithstanding, I knowe here after, some wyll come and moue your grace towards wantonnes and to the inclinacyon of the fleshe and vayne affections. But I would your grace should beare in memorye, an hystorie of a good kyng called Lewes, that travedled towards the holye lande (whiche was a great matter in those dayes) and by the wyse syckyned, beyng longe absente from hys wyfe. And vpon thys matter the phisitians dyd agre, yat it was for lacke of a woman. And dyd consulte with the

*The fear of the LORD is a fountain of life.—Prov. viii. 11.*
bishops therein, who dyd conclude that because of the
distance of hys wyfe (beyng in an other contrye) he
should take a wenche. Thys good kyng hering their
conclusion would not assent there vnto, but sayde, he
had rather be sycke euen vnto death then he wold
breake his espoupals. Wo worth such consellers,
bishops, nay rather buffardes. Neuertheles if the
king shoulde haue consented to their conclufyon, and
accomplished the same, yf he had not chafed well,
they wolde haue executed the matter as I haue harde
of two yat haue consulted together, and according to
the aduyfe of his friend the one of them wroght
where the succesion was not good.

The other imputed a pefe of reproche to hym for hys
such counsell geuen. He excused the matter sayinge:
that he gaue hym none other counfel, but if it had byne
hys caufe he woulde haue done likewise. So I thinke
the bishops wolde haue excused the matter, yf the king
should haue reproued them for their counsell. I do not
Note. rede that the King did rebuke them for their
councel, but yf he had, I knowe what woulde haue
ben their aunfwere. They would haue sayde, we gene
you no worse counsell, then we wolde haue folowed ourse
felues, yf we had ben in like case. Wel sir, thyng Kyng
dyd wel, and had the feare of god before
hys eyes. He wold not walke in by-
walkes, where are many balkes. Amongst
many balkings, is much flumbling and by flombling it
chaunceth many tymes to fal downe to the ground.
And thersore, let vs not take any biwalkes, but
let gods word direc te vs, let vs not walke after, nor
leane to our owne judgementes and procedynges of
oure forfathers, nor seke not what they dyd, but
what th[ey] shoulde haue done, of which thyng scryp-
Deut. xii. a. ture admonyfeth vs sayynge: Ne incineminus
preceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod
videtur reellun in oculis nostris.

* Walk ye not in the statutes of
your fathers.—Ezek. xx 18. Ye shall not do after all the things
that we do here this day, every man
whatsoever is right in his own eyes.
—Deut. xii. 8.
Let vs not inclyne our selues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do that semeth ryght in our eyes. But fuerlye, we wyll not exchange oure fathers doynges and tradicions, with scripture, but cheifely lene vnto them and to theyr prescrition, and do that semeth good in oure owne eyes. But fuerly that is goyng downe the ladder, Scala cali as it was made by the Pope came to be a Masse, but that is a false ladder to bringe men to heauen. The true ladder to brynge a man to heauen is the knowledge and folowyng of scripture. Let the kyng therfore chofe a wyfe whych feareth god, let hym not feke a proude, wanton and one ful of rich trea-
fures and worldelye pompe. He shall not multyplye vnto hym selfe to mucche gold and siluer.
Is ther to mucche thynke you for a kyng? God doeth alowe mucche, vnto a kyng, and it is expediente that he shoulde haue mucche, for he hath great expenes, and many occasions to spende mucche for the defence and fuertie of hys realme and subiectes.

And necessary it is that a kyng haue a treasure all wayes in a redines, for that, and such other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treasure, if it be not sufficiene, he maye lawfully and wyth a salue conscience, take taxis of hys subiectes. For it were not mete, the treasure, shoulde be in the subiectes purfes when the money shoulde be occupied, nor it were not belt for themselues, for the lacke there of, it myght cause both it, and all the rest that they haue shold not long be theirs. And so for a necellarye and expedient occacion, it is warrantted by goddes word to take of the subiectes. But if there be sufficiente treasures, and the burdenyng of subiectes be for a vayne thyng, so yat he wyl require thus much, or so much of his subiects, whyche perchaunce are in great necessitie, and penurye. Then this couetous intent, and the request thereof, is to mucche, whych god forbiddeth the king her in this.
place of scripture to haue. But who shal fe this to much, or tell ye king of this much. Thynke you anay of the Kynge preuy chamber? No. For feare of loss of fauer. Shall any of his sworne chapelins? No. The bee of the clauset, and kepe clype such matter. But the Kynge him felfe must fe this too much, and yet shal he do by no meane other than the corporal eyes: Wherfore, he must haue a pair of spectacles, which shal haue two clear fyghtes in them, yat is, ye olde is fayth, not a feasonable fayth, which shal lasse, but a whyle, but a fayth, which is continuallynge in God. The seconde cleare fighte is charitie, which is fermennt towards hys Chrysten brother. By them two, must the Kynge se euere whan he hath to muche. But fewe therbe that seeth these spectacles, the more is theyr dampancion, Not wythoute cause Chriostomewyth admiration fayeth.

Chrysostoms sayinge.

Mirof fyi alquy sectorum potest faluari. I maruell if anye ruler can be faued. Whyche wordes he speketh not of an impossibilitie, but of a great difficulicie. For that their charge is maruelous great, and that none aboute them dare shew them the truth of the thing how it goth. Wel: then, if God wyly not alowe a king to much. Whither wyly he alowe a subjewe to much? no, yat he wil not. Whether haue any man here in England to much? I doubte most riche men haue to muche, for wythoute to muche, we can get nothyng. As for example. The Philiscon. If the pore man be dyleased, he can haue no helpe without to much? and of ye lawyer, the pore man can get no counsell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, excepte geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no ye funde of wares can be had, except we geue for it to muche. You landelordes, you rentreffers,
I maye saye ye steplordes, you unnaturall lordes, you haue for your possession yerely to much, For that here before went for xx. or xl. pound by yeare, (which is an honest porcion to be had gratis in one Lordehyp, of a nother mannes sweate and laboure) now is it let for l. [fifty] or a. C. [hundred] pound by yeare. Of thys to much commeth thys monstreous and portentious dearth is made by man, not with standynge God doeth fende vs plentifullye the fruites of the earth, mercyfullye, contrarye vnto oure desertes, Not wythstandynge to muche, whyche thefe riche menne haue, causeth fuche dearth, that poore menne (whyche liue of theyr laboure) can not wyth the sweate of theire face haue a liuinge, all kinde of victales is so deare, pigges, gese, capons, chickens, egges, etc.

These thinges with other are so vareonably enhansed. And I thinke verely, that if it this continewe, we shal at lengthe: be confrayned to paye for a pygge a pounde. I wyl tel you my lorde, and maysters, thys is not for the kyngey honoure, Yet some wyl saye, knowest thou what belongeth vnto the kyngey honoure better then we? I answere, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is moost perfectely mentioned and painted furth in the scripture, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme yat ye cannot reade it, albeit, that your counsaile be never so politike, yet is it not for the kyngey honoure. What his honoure meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kyngey honoure yat his subiectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and Cleargie be set about their worcke in preaching and studyng, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Alfo it is ye Kinges honoure that the commen wealth be auansed, that the dearth of these forsaied thynges be provided for, and the commodities of thys Realme so emploied, as it may be to the letting his
subjectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes.
And herin refleth the kinges honour and his office. So
doyng, his accompte before God shalbe alowed, and re-
warded. Further more, if the kinges honour (as sum men
fay) standeth in the great multitude of people.
Then these grauers, inclosers, and rente-
rearers, are hinderers of the kings honour.
For wher as haue bene a great meany of
householders and inhabitauntes, ther is
nowe but a shepherd and his dogge, so thei hynder the
kinges honour most of all. My lorde and maisters,
I say alfo, that all suche procedynges which are
agaynst the Kynges honoure (as I haue a
part declared before) and as far as I can
perceie, do intend plainly, to make the
yomanry slauery and the Cleargye slauery.
Forsuche worckes are al fyngular, priuate welth and com-
moditie. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is
taken away, and nowe we haue to little.
But for myne owne part, I haue no cause to
complaine, for I thanke God and the kyng.
I haue sufficient, and God is my iudge I came not to
craue of anye man, any thyng, but I knowe them that
have to little. There lyeth, a greate matter by these
appropriacions, greate reformacions is to
be had in them. I knowe wher is a great
market Towne with diuers hamelets and inhabitauntes,
wer do rife yereli of their labours to the value of. l.
[fifty] pounde, and the vicar that serueth (being so great a
cure) hath but. xii. or. xiii. markes by yere, so that of
thys pension he is not able to by him bokes, nor geue
hys neyghbour dryncke, al the great gaine goeth
another way. My father was a Yoman,
and had no landes of his owne, onylye he
had a farme of. iii. or iii. pound by yere at the ytter-
moist, and here vpon he tilled so much as kepte halfe
a doyen men. He had walke for a hundred shepe,
and my mother mylked. xxx. kyne, He was able and
did find the king a harnesse, wyth hym felle, and hys
horsfe, yvelle he came to ye place that he shoulde receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hyis harnes, when he went vnto Blacke heath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinques maieftie nowe. He maryed my systers with v. poundes or xx. nobles a pece, so that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almes he gaue to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth, xvi. pounde by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himselfe, nor for his children, or geue a cup of drinke to the poore. Thus al the enhansinge and rearing goth to your pryuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single to much, you haue that; and syns the fame, ye haue enhaned the rente, and so haue encreased an other to much. So now ye haue doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be wore to the flomps, nothing is amended. We haue good flatutes made for the commen welth as touching comeners, enclosers, many metinges and Sessions, but in the end of the matter their commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thynge I wyll fayre vnto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, enen, from the deuill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to passe, that the yo manry be not able to put their fonnes to schole (as in dede vniuersities do wonderously decaye all reddy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the auoidyng of whoredome, I say ye plucke saluation from the people and vtterly distroy the realme. For by yomans fonnes, the sayth of Crist is, and hath bene mayntained chiefly. Is this realme taught by rich mens fonnes. No no, reade.
the Cronicles ye shal finde sometime noble mennes
fonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching byfhoppes and
A notable
thynge, but ye, shal finde none of them
learned men. But verily, they that
shouulde loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the
greatest against them. In thyss realm are a great
meany of folkes, and amongst many, I knowe but one
of tender zeal. at the mucion of his poore tennauntes,
hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their
reliefe. For goddes loue, let not him be a Phenix, let
him not be alone. Let hym not be an Hermite closed
in a wall, sum good man follow him and do as he
gueth example. Surueiers there be, yat
gredyly gorge vp their couetousse, guttes
hande makers, I meane (honest men I
touch not) but al suche as suruei thei make vp their
mouthes but the commens be vterlye vndone by them.
The crye of
the poore.
Whose bitter cry ascendying vp to the
cares of the god of Sabaot, the gredy
pyt of hel burning fire (without great repentance)
do tary and loke for them. A redresse God graunt.
For fuerly, fuerly, but yat ii. thynges do comfort me I
wold despaire of the redresse in these maters. One is,
that the kingses maieftie when he commeth to age:
wyll fe a redresse of these thinges fo out of frame.
Geuynge example by letting doune his owne landes first
and then enioyne hys subiectes to folowe him. The
second hope I haue is, I beleue that the general ac-
compyng daye is at hande, the dreadfull daye of judg-
ment I meane, which shall make an end of al these
calamities and miseries. For as the scryptures be
*Cum dixerint pax pax.* When they shal say peace, peace:
Omnia tuta, all thynges are sure: Then is the day at
hand, a mery day I faye, for al fuch as do in this
worlde studye to serue and pleafe god and continue in
his faythe, feare and loue: and a dreadful, horrible day
for them that decline from God walking in ther owne
wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the. xxv of

* Saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace.—Jer. vi. 24.
Mathew is sayd: *Ite maledici in ignem eternum.* Go ye cursed into everlaftynge punishfment. Wher shalbe waylinge and gnaffing of teeth. But vnto ye other he shal faye: *Venite benedici.*† come ye blessed chyldefren of my father, posfesse ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginninge of the worlde, of the which god make vs al partakers.

Amen.

* Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.—Matt. xxv. 41.
† Come, ye blessed of my Father.—ver. 34.
Imprinted at London by Ihon Dap
dwellynge at Aldersgate, and
Mylliam Seres, dwellyng in Peter Collidge. These bokes are to be
sold at the new shop by the
lytle Condypite in Chepespyde.

a Cum gratia et Privilegio ad
imprimendum solum.
The seconde
Sermon of Master
Hughe Latemer,
which he preached before the
Kynges ma-
jestie, within
hys grac-
res Palayce at
Westminster
pe. ye day of
Marche.
M. cccc.lix.

Cum gracia et priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum,
To the Reader.

Ven as in tymes past, al men whiche were honestly bent to the promoting of vertue and learnynge, found meanes, that the workes of worthye oratours, of famous and renowned Philosophers, hold be bye benefitt, of publyshing redeemed from the tyrannye of obliuion to the great and hygh profyte of countryes, of common wealthes, of empyres, and of assemblies of men: lykewyse oughte we to fette our presydenyte from those men, and suffre no worthi monument to perish, wherby any good may grow, either to the more godly admynistration of poltyke and cyuyl affayres, or elles to the better establyshyng of christiann judgement. Numa Pompilus, who was in-augured and created king [of] the Romaynes next after Romulus, was far more careful and busier in groundyng of Idolatrus religion, as vpon rytes, ceremonies, sacrifies and superstitious, then we are in promotyng of christiann religion, to the aduauncement of the gloriye, due, to the omnipotent maieftie of God hymselfe, who hath reveale and yttered hym worde vnto vs by hym Prophetes, and laft of all, by hym onely begotten fonne Iesus Christ wherby he hath confyrmed our consciences in a more perfect certentie of the truth, then euie they were before. This Numa instituted an Archbyshop for the preferuyng of the Commentaries, contaynyng the solemnities of their religion wyth manye other appendixes, ynited to the office of the high bishoppe. What do we? We haue suppressed. We haue wrestled with fyre, and sworde, not onely to deface the wrytynges of such learned men as haue paynefullly trauelled to publysh Gods word: but also we haue flurred evry shore, and fought al deuellish deuises, to deteine yat same word of god it selfe from his people.
May not we (and not vnwortheli) be accompted far vnnder ye Ethenickes, who wrought onely by naturall mocion and anticipations, wythout breathyng and inspiryng of the holy goft, if we wold not (I meane not be equall wyth them) but be farre more zelous in promotyng good learnyng and religion then euer thei were. Thei, when thei had suche noble and worthy clearkes (as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) with al diligence, caused ye fruietes of those moost rare and profound wyttes, to be preferued for their pofteritie, that the eyes of al generations myght enioye the fruiacion and vfe of them, thinking that such wonderful vertues shuld not be buried in the same graue that theyr bodyes were. After fo manifold and daungerous shyp wrackes of religion, as in oure tymes we may well remember, wheras the ambitious and blinde prelates (some of wyly wilfulnes, some of grofe ignoraunce) ruleth the sterne and euermore blemished the true knowledge of Goddes worde, and dyd theyr indenoure to obscure the same wyth their poltycke and decente ceremonies and trompery of superflicions, how oft hath religion bene toft on the stormy fourgis and daungersous rockes of the Romyshe feas? Howe oft hath it bene in suche a desperate state, that the true mynyflers haue bene inforfed (as you woulde say) to hoyfe vp ancker (the tackling of the shyp beyng broken) and deffytute of all other helpe and fuccours, to geue ouer the rulyng of the shyppe to God hymfelfe, who is only able to faue, when al the world by mannes reafon iudgeth it past cure. Such O Lorde is thy mercie and ineffable power, what criften heret yat favoureth the glory of God, did not euen lament and bewaile the state of religion, and thought verely the vitter ruine of Chriftes church to be at hand, feing the late martyrdoome of those that suffered? Yet didst thou lord furre vp thoufandes out of their ashes, and what was done of a popysh polycye to fuppreffe and kepe vnder thy truth, that, of al other, dyd moft set fourth the same. Thou haft deliuered Danyel out of the denne of the liones, and we
hath set forth thy word abroad. But now countreemen, whom God hath blessed by deliverye you from the tyranny of the lions and her whelpes, (which went thorow the whole realme stucckynge the innocent bloude) how unthankfull are you vnto God so greatly negleectynge so specyall a benefyte, falling into such a loufenes of lacyuyouse lyuing as the lyke hath neuer bene hard of hereto fore. Euen as ye are growne to a perfeccion in knowledge, so are ye come to a perfeccyon in al mischye. The Heathen, whyche had no other gyde but the law of nature, grauen in the tables of their hart, were neuer so poioned with the contagion of most horryble herefesies, as some of vs Christianes which are not ashamed to brag and boaste of the spirite. But it is a phanaticke spirite, a braincicke spirite a sedigious and a malingnante spirite. Christ breath his spirite vpon you yat ye may rede ye scriptur with al humblenes and reverence, to fetch from thence comforte for youre wounded consciences, not to make that lyuely fountayne of lyfe to serue for the fedynge of your idle braines, to dyspute more subtellye thereby, or else by myunderstandynge of the same to confciue pennisious and annabaptistical opinions. Remember that the feruaunte whiche knoweth hys maysters wyll and doeth it not, shalbe beaten wyth many strypes. God is a good God, a merciful God a father whych beareth muche wyth oure croked nature and vnchristian behauiour, and very floyth to reuenge hys blasphemie this maintenance of so many vnscripterlye opinions, these brablynges and scifmaticke contencions wherin a great packe of vs dele bye and repose our glory, al though as fondly, as eroniously, to ye great claunader of the godyly learned, and also to the hynderaunce of the good successe and fre passaige of the word of God. But as truly as god is God if we repent not shortly, his plages and vengaunce are not far of, hys indignacyon and wrathe shall be poured from heauen vpon our vngodlynes. He is long a commyng but when he comes he wil paye whome and (as Lactancius sayeth)
recompence his long sufferaunce wyth greuous repunishments. The world and the deucl hath bewitched vs that we in our dedes (I feare me to manye of vs) deny God to be God whatsoeuer we pittle pattle with our tonges. Gods word must not be talcked of only, for that is not inough. It must be expressed. Then must we as wel liue the worde as talke the worde, or else, if good lyfe do not infue, and folow vpon our readynge to the example of other, we myghte as well spende that tyme in reading of prophane hyftories, of cantorburye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode. Let vs ioyne good lyfe wyth our readyng, and yet al wylbe to lytle. Remembre that the worlde al that is in it, is mere vanitie, and shall haue an ende. Thou I say, yat thus abueth the gyfte of Godes holy word, and the gratiousnes of the Kynges maiestie, which hath lycensed the to rede the same, for the comfort of thynye owne soule, for the instructing of thi famyly, the education of thy chyldren, and edefyng of thy neyghbour. Thou that art so gorgiously appareld, and feadeth thy corruptible carkeffe so dayntely, thou that purchasest so faft, to the vter vndoynge of the poore, consider wherof thou camedist, and wherunto thou shal returne. Where is then all thy pompe? wher is all thy ruffle of thy gloriousnes become? What wylt thou say for thy selve in that horrible daye of judgment, wher thou shalt stand naked before God, where the tables of thine owne confycyence shalbe opened and layed before thyne eies to accuse the. Thou which reyfeth the rentes so gredely as thoughe thou shouldeft never haue inough. Thy judgemente is, throw miserable mammon, so captyuate and blinded, that you canit not tel when you haft inough, or what is inough? Truly, a litle is to much for him yat knowes not how to vfe much well. Therfore learne ysrft the vfe of moneti and riches, and some other honester meanes to attayne them, that thys thynye insfaciable cowntousnes and vnlawful deferyng of other mens goodes, maye be reduced to some reaonable measure,
and that it do not exceed the lymettes or compass of honestie, and the bondes of brotherly loue, left God (before whom thou shalt appere one day, to rendre a strayght accomptes, for the dedes done in thy flesh) burden and charge the wyth thy vnmercifull handling of thy Tennant (but yet notwythstandyng thy brother) whom, wyth newe Incomes, synes, inhauncyng of rentes, and such lyke unreasonable exactions, thou pilles, polles, and miserablie oppresses. When that terrible day shall once come, a lytle of Gods mercy wyll be worth a masse or a whole h[e]fe of thy monei. Ther thy wicked Mammon, whom thou seueste lyke a flaue can purchase the no mercy. There thy money so gleaned and gathered of the and thyne (to the impoueryshment of many to make the only rych) can not preuyale the, nor yet redeeme thy caufe before that iustte and feuere judge, which then, and ther, wil render to ye, the selve same measure yat you measureste to other men? What dyd we speake of preuaylyng, or redeeming of thy caufe with monei. Nay then thy monei, and the rouft of thy gold shal be a wytnes against ye and shal eat thy flethe as the fyre. Howe frantrycke and follythe myght al wyfe men, wel iudge and deme him to be, which agaynste the daye of hys araignemente (when he shoulde stand upon the tryall of death and lyfe) woulde bufy him self, his folkes, and his frendes, to prepare and get many wytnesses agaynste him to caft him awaye by theyr evidence and witnes: and to prouide suche menne as shoulde be the onelye cause of hys death. Euen. So frantrycke, and so foltythe art thou which doth toyle, travaule, and turmoyle to earnestly and buslye aboute the gettyng of goodes and rytches, before thou haft well learned and taken furth of the lesson, of well vyng the tame. Howbeit, truelye I doute much of the well vyng of yat, which Proverb. xix. was neuer well nor truelye gotten. Learne therfore first, to know what is inough. For the wyfeman sayth, it is better to haue a lytle with the fear
of the Lorde, then great and infaciabel rytches. Sopho-
yye sayne the their golde shall not be able to 
delyuer them in the day of the Lorde's wrath. [Zephaniah
L. xii.] Let your conuerfacion be without couet-
ousnes, and be content with that ye haue alredy
Godlines is a great ryches, if a man be content wyth
suche as God sendes. For we brought i. Timoth. vii
notheyng into thyss world, neither shal we carry anye
thynge out. When we haue foode and rayment, let vs
therwyth be content. Behold, thy Scholemafter
Paule teaches the here a good lefson. Here thou
mayst learne wel inough, to know what is inough.
But left thou shouldeft feare at any time, the want or
lacke of thyss inough. Here farther the rest of thy
leffon. For god verely sayth. The Lorde is myne
helper, I wyll not fere what man doeth to me. If
the Reuennes and yerely Rentes of thy patrymony
and landes, be not inough, nor sufficien for thi
fyndyng, and wyl not suffice thy charges, then
moderate thyne expences, borrow of thy two next
neighbours, that is to say, of thy backe and thy belly,
Learne to eat within thy teather. Pul downe thy
fayle. Saye downe proud hert. Maytayn no greater
port, then thou art able to bear out and support of
thyne owne prouision. Put thy hand no further then
thy fleue will reache. Cut thy cloth after the mefure.
Kepe thy house after the spendyngre. Thou must not
pil an[d] powle the Tenant, that thou mayest haue (as
they fai) vnde, and that thy neuer inough to ruffil it out
in a riatusus ruffe and a prodigal, disolute, and lifen-
ciaufe liuing. We rede in the scripture, geue to
every manne his dutye, tribute, to whom tribute be-
longeth, cuftome to whom Cuftome, is due. Feare
to whom Feare belongeth, honoure to whom honoure
partayneth. But we finde not there, nor elles where,
fynes to whom fynes, incomes to whome incomes.
Paul was not a quainted with none of those termes.
Belyke they wer not vfed and commen vp in his time,
or else he wold haue made mencion of them. Vext
not withstanding, we deny not but these reasonable required and upon honest covenantes and contractes, are more tollerable, and so vsed, so maye be permitted. But the covenantes and the contractes we remitte to the godly wyfdom of the hie magistrates, who (we pray god) may take such order and direction in this, and al other, yat the commen people may be relyued and eafeed of, many importable charges and injuries, which many of them, contrary to al equyte and ryght, sustaine. But wo worth this coughtoufnesse, not without skyle called the rote of all, euyl. If coughtoufnes were not, we thincke many things amisse, shoulde shortlye be redrefeed. She is a mighty Matrone a Lady of great power. She hath reteyned moo feruantes then any Lady hath in Englande. But marke how well in syne, She hath rewarded her feruantes, and lerne to be wyse by another mans harme. Acham by the commaundement of God, was stoned to deat, because he toke of the excommunicate goodes. Saul moued wyth coughtoufnes disjobered goddes worde, referringe the King, Agag and a parcell of the fatteste of the cattie, and lost his kyngdome therby. Gehize was strycken wyth leaprofy and all his posteritie, because he toke money and rayment, of Naaman. The rich and vnmerciful gloton, which fare well and depletsly every day, was buried in hel, and there he taketh nowe such fare as the dewyl hymself doth. Woo be to you, that toyne house to house, and feelde to feelde, shal ye alone inhabyte the yeart. Let these terrible examples suffyce at thys preasent, to teache, and admonysh, the inhaunfer of Rentes, the vnrefonable exactour and gredye requirer of fiennes and incomes, the coughtoufe leafe monger, the deouerer of townes and contryses as M. Latimer tearneth them rightly. If these scriptures (with yat which thei may rede in these godly sermones) do not pearse their stone hertes (we feare) more wil not serue. The Lord be mercyful to them. But nowe to the wycked Judge, which corruptes iustyce
for Brybes. Here he may learne also the lesson that Moses taught long before this time, be maiefrates and Judges in the common wealth of Israel. Be no accepter of persons neyer be desirous of gifts, for they make wise men blinde, and change the mynde of the righteous. In judgement be merciful to the fatherles as a father, and be in stead of an husband vn[to] theyr mother. The vngodly taketh gifts out of the bosom, to wraft the ways of judgement. Let hym that rules be dylygent sayth Paul. What meaneth he by this terme, diligent? He requyres no such diligence as the most part of our lucratuie lawyers do use, in desferryng and prolongyng of matters, and accions from Term to Term, and in the tractynge of tyme in the same. Wher perchaunce the lytle or the ryght of the matter myght haue come to lyght, and bene tryed long before. If the Lawyers and the Judges would haue vsed such diligence as Paule would haue them to do.

But what care ye lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a mad man of lawe to controle them for their diligence. Paul, yea and Peter to, coulde better skil of mending of an olde net, of clotting of an olde tent, then to teach lawyers what dyligence they sholde vs in the expedicion, of matters. Whi? but be not lawyers diligent say ye? Yea truly are they and to diligent to for some mens profytes. And about their own profit there are no more diligent men nor busier persons in al England they trudge in ye tearme tyme to and fro. The[y] applye the world harde. They for slow no tyme. They follow Sifes and Sessions, Letes, Lawdays and Hundredes, they shold serue the kyng, but thei serue them selues. And howe thei vse, nay rather abufe, their office in the same, some good manne wyl tell theym thereof. We lacke a fewe moo Layymers, a fewe moo suche Preachers. Such playn Paunqueys, we pray God prouide for vs, that kepeth nothing backe. Of the whych sort and nombre, we
may most worthely reckon this faythful myynifier of
God, and constante Preacher of his word Master Hugh
Latimer, which by his perfeueraunce and stedfastenes
in the truth hath stablyshed this waueryng world. He
hath bene tost for the truthes sake, and tried with the
stormes of persection, as golde in the fornae. He
is one, whom, as well for his learned, founde, and
chatholyke judgement, in the knowledge of Gods
worde, as for his integretie and example of christian
conuerfation, all we and (specially myynifiers and
prelates) ought to set before our eyes, as a pryncipall
patrone to imytate and follow, defyryng God, who
hathe fthyred vp in him, the bold spyrte of Helias,
maye dayly more and more augment the same in hym,
and may also prouide many such preaching prelates,
which both so wel could, and so willingly wolde
franckely vtter ye trueth, to the extollinge of vertue, the
warde of well doers, the suppreffing of vice, the abo-
lishmente of all papesfrie. It is oure parte therefore
to praye diligently for his continual health and that
he may liue longe amonge vs in a florishinge old
aegae, and not (as some in grate in humaine perfons)
to maliyne and depraue him for yat he so frankly
and liberallly taxed perstringed and openly rebuke
before the Kinges Magestie ye peculiar fauts of cer-
tayne of his auditours, but it is oure part, rather
thankfully to accept and in good part take his godly
aduertisfment, onles we be mynded to prefer oure
muckye monie and false felicite before the joye of
heauen, or els beleue (as ye Epecurs
do) that after this life ther is neither
hel nor heauen. Receiue thankfully
(gentle reader these sermons faith
fullie colected) without al fi-
nifter suspicion of anye
thyng in the same ad-
ded or ademppe. ♦

Finis.

The. xxii. day of Iune. ♦
The seconde sermon

Vae cuncte scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam, etc.* All things yet are written in God's boke, in the holye Byble, they were wrytten before oure tyme, but yet to continue from age to age as long as the worlde doeth stound.

In thys Boke is contayned doctrine for all estastes, euen for kynges. A kyng herein maye learne how to gyde hymselfe, I tolde you in my lste sermon muche of the dutye of a kyng. And ther is one place behynd yet, and it foloweth in ye texte. Postquam autem federit in folio regni sui, et cete.† And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys kyngdome, he shall wryte hym out a boke and take a copy of ye priestes or Leuites. He shall haue the boke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys Lawes and other thynges, as it foloweth in the texte wyth the appurtenaunces and hangynge on, that he turne not frome God, neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the lefte. And wherfore shal he do thys? that he may lyue longe, he and hys children. Hytherto goeth the texte. That I maye declare thyse the better to the edifynge of youre soules and the glory of God, I shall defyre you to praye etc.

Et postquam federit, etc. Before I enter into thyse

* Rom. xvi. 4.
† And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Leuites:
And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—Deut. xvii. 18—20.
place (right honourable audience) to furnysh it accordingly, whych by the grace of god I shal do at leyure, I woulde repete the place I was in last, and furnysh it wyth a story or two whyche I lefte oute in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdines of the Iewes, a frowarde and styfnecked kynde of people, much lyke oure Englyshe men nowe a dayes, that in the minoritye of a Kynge, take upon them to breke lawes and to go by wayes. For when god had promised them a kynge, when it came to point they refued hym. Thefe men walked by walkes, and the fayynge is many biwalkes, many balkes, manye balkes muche stumblynge, and where muche stumblynge is, there is sometyme a fal, howbeit ther were some good walkers among them, that walked in ye kynges highe waye ordinarilye, vprightlye, playne Dunstable waye, and for thys purpofe, I woulde shewe you an hystorye whiche is written in the thyrde of the kynges.*

Kynge Daviud beynge in his chyldhode, an old man, in hys seconde chyldhode, for al old men are twife chyldren, as the Proverb is. *Senex bis puer.* An olde manne, twyfe a chyld, it happened wyth hym, as it doth oftentymes, when wicked men, of a Kinges chyldhode take occasioun of euyl.

Thys Kynge Daviud beyng weake of nature and impotente, in so muche that when he was couered with clothes, he coude take no heate, was counfayled of hys ferauntoes to take a fayre yonge mayde to nouryfhe hym, and to keepe hym warme in hys boodye, I supposse she was hys wyfe. Howe be it he hadde no bodielye companie wyth hyr, and wel she myghte be hys wyfe. For though the scripture doeth faye. *Non cognouit eam.* He knewe hyr not, he had no carnal copulation with hyr yet it sayeth not. *Non duxit eam Vxorem.* He maried hyr not. And I canne not thanke that king Daviud woulde haue hyr too warme hys boosome in Bedde, excepte shee hadde

* Kings, i. and ii. chys.
bene hys wyfe, hauynge a dispensation of God to haue as manye wyues as he woulde. For God had dispensed wyth theym to haue manye wyues. Wel, what happened to kyng Davyd in hys childhode, by ye chylde of the devyll? Ye shall heare. Kyng Davyd hadde a proud sone, whose name was Adonyas, a man ful of ambition, deyferoufe of honoure, alwayes clymbyng, clymbyng. Nowe, whylche the tyme was of his fathers childhode, he wold depose hys father, not knoweyng of hys fathers mynde, kiying. *Ego regnabo.* I wil raigne, I wyll be kyng, he was a stoute stomaked chyld, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde, he wold not confente to hys fathers frendes, but gate hin a charet, and men to runne before it, and dyuerfe other adherentes to helpe hym forwarde, worldelye wise men, fuch as had bene before of hys fathers counsayle, great men in the world, and fome no doute of it, came of good wil-thynkynge no harme, for they woulde not thynke that he did it wythoute hys fathers wyll, hauynge fuch greate men to set hym forth, for every man cannot haue accesse at al tymes to the kyng to knowe hys pleasure, well: algates he would be Kyng, and makes a great feast, and thither he called Ioab the ryngleader of hys fathers armye, a worldly wyse man, a bywalker, that would not walke the Kynges wyse way, and one Abiather the hyghie priesyte. For it is maruayle if any mishyfese be in hand, if a priesfe be not at some ende of it, they toke hym as Kyng, and cried, *Vivat rex Adonias.* God saue kyng Adonias. Davyd suffered all thys, and lette hym alone, for he was in hys childhode a bedred man.

But se howe God ordered the matter, Nathan the Prophete and Sadoc a priesfe, and Banaya, and Crethytes, and Phelethyts the Kyngs gard, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and woulde not walke bywayes, therefore it was foly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counsell.
Therefore Nathan when he hearde of thys, he commeth to Bethhabe Salomons mother and sayeth. Heare ye not howe Adonias the sonne of Ageth, rayneth kynge, Dauid not knowinge? And he bad hyr put the kynge in mynde of hys oth that he swere that hyr sonne Salomon shoule be kynge after hym, thys was wife counsayle accordyng to the Prouerbe. Qui Vidi plane, vadiit fane.

He that walketh in the hye playne waye, walketh safelye. Vpon thys she wente and brake the matter to Dauid, and desiered hym to shewe who shold raynge after hym in Hierufalem, addinge that if Adonias were kynge, she and hyr sonne after hys death shoulde be destroyed, saynyng. Nos erimus pecctatores. We shalbe sinners, we shalbe taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme but walked vpriyghtly yet bicause we went not the byway with hym, he beynde in authoritie wyl destrey vs. And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh hyr tale by the ende, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted kynge and that he hadde byd to diner the Kynges servantes, al saynyng hym and Sadoc, and Banaia and al hys brethren the kings fonnes saue Salomon. Kyng Dauid remembryng hym selfe swore, as sure as God lyueth, Salomon my son shall rayghe after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and hys garde the Cerethes and Philites, to take Salomon hys fonne and sette hym vpon hys mule, and anoynt hym Kyng, and so they dyd, crynyng, Vinit Salomon Rex. Thus was Salomon throned, by the adviue and wyl of hys father, and though he were a chylde, yet was his wyl to be obeyed and fullylled, and they ought to haue known hys pleasure. Whylse this was a doing there was suche a Ioye and outcrye of the people for theyr newe Kynge, and blowynge of trumpetes, yat Ioab and the other company beyng in theyr iolitye, and kepyng good cheare: herde it, and sodaynlye asked what is thys ado? And when they perceiued yat Salomon by ye aduyse of hys father was annoynted
Knyg, by and by ther was all whyght, all theyr good chere was done, and al yat were wyth Adonias wente away, and lette hym raygne alone, if he woulde, and whye? He walked a bywayne and God would not propere it.

God wyll not worcke wyth priuate authoritie, nor wyth anye thinge done inordinatlye. When Adonias saw this that he was left alone, he toke sanctuary, and held by the hornes of the aultare and sware that he woulde not departe thence, tyll Salomon woulde swere that he shoulde not leafe hys life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and greate mercy of Knyge Salomon.

Lette hym fayeth he order hym selfe lyke a quiete manne and there shall not one heere fall from hys head.

*Sed si inuentum fuerit malum in eo.*

But if there shall be any eyyll found in hym if he hath gone aboute anye mischyfefe, he shall dye for it. Upon thys he was broughte into Salomon, and as the boke fayeth, he dyd homage vnto hym, and Salomon fayed to hym. *Vade in domum tuam.*

Gette the into thy house, bilyke he meante to warde, and ther to fe hys wearynge, as if he shoulde faye, thewe thysselfe wythoute gall of ambition, to be a quiet subiecte, and I wyll pardon the for thys tyme. But I wyll fe the wearynge of the.

Here wee maye fe the wonderfull great mercye of Salomon for thys notorious treafon, yat Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he suffered hymselfe to be called kynge, it hung not of vehement suspition or coniecyture nor fequel or consequent yet notwythstandyng Salomon for that present, forgau hym, sayynge. I wyll not forget it ytterlye, but I wyll kepe it in suspensye, I wyll take no advantage of the at thys tyme. This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came boeth of a straung mother, and Absolon lykewyfe was a traytour, and made an in-

* But if wickedness be found in him, he shall die.—1 Kings i. 52.
† Go to thine house.—ver. 53.
surrection agaynst hys father. Beware therefore these mothers and let kynges take hede howe they mary, in what houffes, in what fayeth. For strang bryngyng vp, bringeth straunge maners. Nowe geueth Davi德 an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutye of a Kynge, and geueth hym a lesion, as it foloweth at large in ye boke, and he that lyfte to reade it, maye se it ther at full. But what doeth Adonias all this whyle? He muyst yet clyme agayne, ye gal of ambition was not out of his hert. He wil now mary Abifaas the yonge queene that warmed king Daviuds boosome, as I told you, and commeth me to Berfabe, defyering hyr to be a meane to Salamon hyr sonne that he myght obtayne hys purpose. And bryngeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For fyrlte he would haue bene Kynge wythoute hys fathers consente, and now he wyl mary his fathers wife, and the ii. lyes are thefe. Fyrste, sayed he to Berfabe, thou knowest that the Kyngedome belongeth to me, for I am the elder. The kyngedome was myne, he lyed falsely it was none of his. Then sayed he all the eyes of Israel were caste vpon me, that is to saye, all Israel consented to it, and there he lyed falsely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wyfe men, neuer agreed to it. Here was a grete enterprice of Adonias, he wyl be climeing fyll. Well Berfabe wente at hys requete to hyr sonne Salomon, and asked a boune, and he graunted hyr what fo euer she did ask. Notwithstanding he brake his promis afterward and that right well, for all promifes are not to be kept, speciallye if they be agaynste the worde of God. Or not standyng with a commune profit, and therefore as fone as Salomon heard yat Adonias would haue maryed the yonge queene Abifaak: naye then let hym be kyngge to: sayed he. I perceive now that he is a naughty man, a proude herted fellow, the gal of ambition is not yet out of his herte, and so commaunded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, wher as if he had kepte
hys house and not broken hys iniunction, he myght haue lyued fil. Abiathar, what became of him. The king (because he had serued his father before him) woulde not put him to deth, but made him as it were a quondam. Bicaufe thou haft bene with mi father faied he, and didest Cary the arke before hym I wyl not kyl the.

But I wyll promyse the thou shalte never minisler anye more. *Vade in agrum tuum?* Get the to thy lande, and lyue there. A greate matter of pity and compassion, so God graunt vs al, such mercy. And here was the ende of Elis flocke, accordyng to the promife and threatenynge of God. As for the Phelethites we do not read yat they were punyshed. Mary Semei traungresed his Iniunction for he kepte not hys house, but wente oute of Hierufalem to seke two feruauntes of hys yat had runne from hym, and when it came to Salomons eare, it coste hym hys life. I haue ript the matter nowe to the pyll, and haue tolde you of playne walkers, and of biwalkers, and how a kynge in hys childehode is a kynge, as wel, as in any other age. We reade in scripture of suche as were but, xii. or. viii. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Goofte called them kynges, layinge. *Cepit Regnare.* He began to raygne, or he began to be kyng. Here is of bywalkers. Thys hyftorye would be remembred, the Prouerbe is.

*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

Happy is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdy. For if we offende not as other do, it is not oure owne defertes.

If we fal not, it is Goddes preseruation. We are all offenders. For other we maye do, or haue done, or shall do (excepte God preferue vs) as euyll as the worde of them. I pray God we maye all amende and repente. But we wyll all amende nowe I truflte. We mustes neades amende our lyues euerye man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receyve it vnworthelye.

*Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields.—1 Kings 1. 26.*
Wel, to returne to my history. Kynge Dauid I say was a kynge in his second childehode. And so, yonge kynes though the be chylde, yet are they kynes notwythstandyng, and though it be wrytten in scripture. Væ tibi O terra ubi puer es. rex.* Wo to the, O Lande, where ye king is a chylde: if soloweth in another place. Beata terra ubi rex nobilis.† Blessed is the Lande, where there is a noble kynge. Where Kynes be no banketers, no players, and they spendi not the tyme in haukynge and huntyngene.

And when hadde the kynes maiesty a Counsell that toke more payne boeth night and day for the fettyng forthe of Gods word, and profit of the commune wealth. And yet there be some wycked people that wyll faye.

Tufhe, thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protectours, and my Lorde of Canterburies doynge. The Kynge is a child, he knoweth not of it.

Iesu mercy, how lyke are we Englyshe men to the Iewes, euer stubburne, flyyngecked, and walkynge of bye wayes. Yea I thynke no Iewe woulde at any tyme faye. This geare wil not tary. I neuer hearde nor read at any time yat they sayed.

These lawes were made in such a kynes dayes, when he was but a chylde. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitie is thys that we shoulde be worse then the Iewes?

Blessed be the lande faith the worde of God, wher the Kyng is noble. What people are they that faye. The kynge is but a chylde? Haue not wee a noble Kyng? Was there euer Kynges so noble? So Godlye? broughte vp wyth so noble counsaylours? so excellent and well learned Scholemaisters? I wyll tell you thys, and I speake it euen as I thynke. Hys maiesty hath more Godlye wytte and vnderstandyng, more lernynge and knowledge at thys age, then. xx. of hys

* Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.—Eccles. x. 16,
† Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles.—Eccles. x. 17.
progenitors that I coulde name had at anye tyme of theyr lyfe.

I tolde you in my lafte sermon of ministres of the kingses people and had occation to shewe you howe few noble men were good preachers, and I left out an hystory then whyche I wyl nowe tell you.

There was a byshop of Winchester in Kyng Henry the vi. dayes, whyche kyng was but a chylde, and yet were there manye good Actes made in hys childhode, and I do not read that they were broken.

Thys byshoppe was a great man borne, and did beare such a stove, that he was able to shouder the Lord Protectour. Well, it channced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byshoppe would beare nothyng at all wyth hym, but played me the Satrapa, so that the regente of Fraunce was faine to be sent for from beyond the Seas to set them at one, and to go betwene them.

For the byshoppe was as able and readye to buccle wyth the Lorde Protectoure, as he was wyth hym.

Was not this a good prelate? he shoule haue bene at home a preachynge in hys Dioces in a wanian. Thys Protectour was so noble and Godly a man, that he was called of euerye man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept suche a houffe as neuer was kept fence in Engelande, wythout any enhaunsyng of rentes I warrant you, or any such matter. And the byshop for standing so styfely by the matter, and bearynge vp the order of our mother ye holie church, was made Cardinall at Calice, and thyther the byshop of Rome sent hym a cardinals hatte, he shold haue had a Tiburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all suche proude prelates. These Romish hertes [hats?] neuer broughte good into Engelande.

Vpon thys the bishop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perwaded hir that if ye duke were in suche authoritie styly, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. And ye king shoul
not be set by, and so betwixt them, I can not tel how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundes bury in a parliment the good Duke Humfrey was smothered.

But nowe to returne to my texte, and to make further rehearsing of ye same, the matter beginneth this. *Et pos[t]quam fesus rex* And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banke? hauke and hunte? No fortothe fyre. For as God set an order in the Kynes stables as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyl he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He muste wryte Goddes boke hym selde. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kyng, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your self sir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntynge or sych lyke pleasures. But he muste vs them for recreation when he is wery of waughty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more luftye, and this is called pastyme with good companye. He must write out a boke hym selde. He speaketh of wryntyng bicaufe printyng was not vsed at yat tyme.

And shal the Kynge wryte it out hym selde? He meaneth he 'shall ye it wrytten, and rather then he 'shoulde be wyhout it, wryte it hym selde.'

Iesu mercy, is God so chary wyth a kyng to haue hym wel brought vp and instructed? Yea forsoth. For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is wel ordered. Where shal he haue a copy of thys boke? of the Leuits. And why? Bicaufe it shal be a true copye, not falsifyed.

Moyyes lefte the boke in an olde cheste, and the Leuites had it in kepyng. And bycause ther should

* And . . . when he sitteth, &c.—Deut. xvii. 18; see text at p. 35.
Of. M. Latimer.

be no errour, no addition, nor takynge away from it, he byddeth hym fetch the copy of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how this boke was preferued? It had layne hyd many yeres and the Iewes knew not of it.

Therefore at lengthe when they had found it and knew it: they lamented for theyr ignoraunce, that had so long bene wythoute it, and rente theyr clothes, repentyng theyr vnfaithfulnes, and so ye holye byble Goddes boke, that we haue among vs, it hath the bene preferued hytherto by a wonderful miracle of God (though the kepers of it were neuer so malitiose) firste euer fythe the byhop of Rome was firste in authoritye, they haue gone about to destroy it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hatht preferued it maugre theyr beardes, and yet are we vtnthankefull that we cannot consider it. I wil tel you, what a byhoppe of thys realme fayde once to me, he sent for me and merueyled that I woulde not confente to fuche traditions, as were then sette out.

And I anwered hym that I woulde be ruled by Gods boke and rather then I woulde differ one iote from it I woulde be torne wyth wylde hordsles.

And I chaunced in our communication to name the Lordes supper? Tylhe sayeth the Byshop. What do ye call the Lordes supper? What newe terme is that? There stode by hym a dubber, one Doctour Dubber he dubbed hym by and by and sayed that this terme was feldome rede in the doctours.

And I made anwer, yat I wold rather folowe Paule in vflyng hys termes then them though they hadde all the doctours on theyr fyle. Whym sayed the byshoppe, can not we wythoute scriptures order ye people? How dyd they before the scripture was fyrste wrytten and copied out? But God knoweth, ful yl. yet woulde they haue ordered theim. For felyng that hauyng it, they haue deceuyed vs in what cafe shold we haue bene nowe wythout it? But thankes be to God yet by so wonderful a miracle he hatht preferued ye boke
ftyll. It foloweth in the texte Habebit secum etc.* He shall haue it with hym in hys progresse, he muste haue a man to carry it, that when he is haukyenge and hunting or in any pastime, he maye alwayes commune with them of it. He shall reade in it not once a yeares, for a tyme, or for hys recreation when he is weary of haukyenge or hunting but Cunctis diebus vite sua.† All ye dayes of hys lyfe. Where are those worldlynges now? These bledder puffed vp wylye men? Wo worth them that euer they were about any Kyng. But howe shall he read thys boke? as the Homilies are read. Some call theym homlyes, and in dede so they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled.

For though the prieses reade theym neuer so well, yet if the Paryshe like them not, ther is suche talkynge and bablynge in the churche, that nothynge can be heard, and if the parish be good, and the pries naught he wil so hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for them to be wythout it for any worde that shal be vnderstande. And yet the more pitye. Thys is suffred of your grace byhops in theyr dioces vnpunished.

But I wyll be a fater to youre grace that ye wyll geue youre byhoppes charge yer they goe home, vpon theyr allegiaunce to loke better to theyr flocke, and to fe your maiesties inunctions better kepte, and sende youre visitours in theyr tayles.

And if they be founde necligente or fauty in theyr duties oute with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye wil saye. Where shall we haue anye to put in theyr roumes.

In dede I were a presumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them oute, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But youre maiestye hath diuers of youre chaplyns, well learned men, and of good

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* And it shall be with him, &c — + All the days of his life. — idem

Deut. xvii. 19; see text at p. 55.
knowledge, and yet ye haue some that be bad inough, hangers on of ye court. I meane not thosse. but if your maiesties chaplayns, and my Lorde Protecors be not able to furnishe theyr places, there is in thys realme, thankes be to God, a greate fyghte of laye men wel learned in the scriptures, and of vertuous and Godly conuerfation, better lerned then a greate fight of vs, of the cleargy.

I can name a numbrec of them that are able and woulde be glad I dare say to minifter ye function if they be called to it. I moue it of conscience to youre grace, lette them be called to it orderly, let them haue institution, and gyue them the name of ye cleargye. I meane not the name onlye, but lette theym, do the function of a byshope, and lyue of the fame. Not as it is in many places, that one shoulde haue the name, and eyghte other the profytte.

For what an enormitie is this in a christian realme to serue in a ciuilitye, hauynge the profyt of a Proue- shyp and a Deanry, and a Perfonage.

But I wyll tell you what is lyke to come of it. It wyl bryng the cleary shortely into a very flauerye. I maye not forget here my Scala celii, that I spooke of in my laste sermon. I wyll repete it now againe, desier- yng your grace in Goddes behalfe that ye wyll remembre it.

The Byshope of Rome had a Scala celii, but his was a mas[s] matter. This Scala celii, is the true ladder that bryngeth a manne to heauen, the toppe of the ladder or fyrt greese, is thys.

Who so euer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, shall be faued. The seconde stepe. Howe shall they call vpon hym, in whom they haue no beleue.

The thyrd stayer is thys. How shal they beleue in hym of whom they neuer heard? The fourth stepe. Howe shall they heare wythout a preacher. Nowe the nether ende of the ladder is. Howe shall they preach, except they be fent. This is the fote of the ladder, so that we maye go backward now, and vie ye
schole argument. *A primo ad ultimum.* Take awaie preachinge, take awaie falsation.

But I seare one thyng, and it is: left for a falsity of a little money, you wyll put in chauntrye Priests, to faue theyr pentions.

But I wyll tell you, Christe bought Soules wyth hys bloude, and wyll ye fells theym for golde or fyluer.

I woulde not that ye shoulde do wyth chauntrye priesstes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbotes, when Abbeyes were put downe.

For when theyr enormities were fyrstlre read in ye parliment house, they were so greate and abhominable, that there was nothyng but downe with them. But within a whyle after, the same Abbottes were made byhops as there be som of them yet a lyue to faue and redeeme theyr pentions. O Lorde, thinke ye, that God is a fole, and seeth it not, and if he se it, wyl he not punyfhe it. And so nowe for falsity of money, I wold not yat ye shoulde put in chauntrye priesstes, I speake not now against suche chauntrye priesstes as are able to preache, but those that are not able I wyll not haue them put in. For if ye do thys ye shal Answere for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare god, he shal haue the dreade of God before hys eyes, worke not by worldelye polycye, for worldly policie feareth not God.

Take hede of these claubacks, these venemouse people that wyll come to you, that wyll folowe lyke gnatoes and Parasites, if you folowe theym, you are oute of youre boke. If it be not accordyng to Gods worde that they counsayle you, do it not for any wordly policye, for then ye feare not God.

It foloweth in the texte. *Vt non eleuetur cor eius.*
That he be not proude aboue hys brethren. A kynges musle not be proude, for God myght haue made hym a shepheard, when he made hym a kyng, and done hym no wronge.

* That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.—Deut. xxvi. 19; see text at p. 35.
There be many examples of proude kynges in
pature.

As Pharao that woulde not heare the messaage of
1. Herode also, yat put Iohn Baptift to death, and
de not heare hym, he tolde hym that it was not
efull for hym to marye hys brothers wyse.

Heroboam also was a proude kyng. An other
gere there was that worhipped straunge Gods and
is, of those men whom he had overcome before in
ayle, and when a prophet tolde hym of it. What
he. Who made you one of my counsell. These
proud kynges, theyr enfamples are not to be fo-
ced.

But wherefore shal a kyng feare God, and turne
ther to the ryght hande, nor to the left? Wherefore
he do all thys? Vi longo tempore regnet, ipse et filii
:* That he may raigne long, he and hys children.
membre thys I befeech your grace. And when thefe
ferers, and flybberybes an other daye shall come
clawe you by the backe and say.

yr trouble not your selfe? What should you study?
y shold you do this or that. Your grace maye
ver them thus, and say. What Syrra, I perceyue
are wery of vs, and our posteritye. Doeth not
fai in such a place. That a king fhold wryt ote
oke of Gods lawe, and reade it? learne to feare
And whye? That he and his, might raygne
ge, I perceyue nowe thou arte a traytoure.

tell hym thyg tale once, and I warrant you he wyll
be no more to you, neyther he, nor any other after
a forte.

And this shal your grace driue these flatterers and
backes awaye. And I am afrayed I have troubled
to longe.

Therefore I wyll furnyfhe the texte nowe wyth an
tory or two, and then I wyll leaue you to God. Ye
he heard how a kyng ought to passe ye tyme. He

That he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children.—
Deut. xvii. 20: see text at p. 55.
muste read the boke of God, and it is not inough for hym to reade, but he must be acquainted wyth all scripture, he must studye, and he muste praye, and howe shall he do both these.

He maye leanne at Salomon,

God spake vnto Salomon, when he was made a kynge, and bade hym aske of hym what he woulde, and he shoule haue it. Make thy petition fayed God, and thou shalt obtayne.

Nowemarke Salomons prayer. domine, O domine deus, sayd he. O Lorde God, it is thou that haft caused me to raigne, and haft sete me in my fathers seate, for thou God onelye doest make kynges. Thus shoule Kynges praye God, and thanke God as Salomon dyd.

But what was his petition? Lorde, sayed he. Da mihi cor docile. He afeke a docible herte, a wyfe herte, and wyfedomo to go in and to go out, that is to begyn all myne affayres well, and to brynge them to good effecte and purpofe, that I maye learn to guyde and gouerne my people. When he had made his petition it pleased God wel that Salomon asked wifdome, and neyther ryches nor longe lyfe, and therefore God made hym thys answere. Bycaufe thou haft chofen wyfedomo aboue al thynges I wyl gyue ye it, and thou shalt be ye wyfeste kyng that euer was before the, and so he was, and the wifest in al kyndes of knowle[d]ge that euer was fyth; and though he did not afke riches, yet god gaue him both ryches and honoure, more then euer anye of hys auncitours had.

So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, nowe studye, nowe praye. They must be yoked togither, and thys is called paisme wyth good company. Nowe when God had geuen Salomon wyfedomo, he fente hym by and by occasion to occupy hys wyt. For God gaue neuer a gyft, but he fente occasion at one tym before other to shewe it to Gods glory. As if he fente riches, he fendeth pore men to be helped wyth it. But now must

* 1 Kings iii.
men occupy theyr goodes other ways. They wil not
loke on the poore, they mufte helpe their children, and
purchase them more land then euer their grandfather
had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ
sayd. He that loueth his child better then me is not
worthy to be my disciple. I can not se how ye shal
flande before God at the later daye, when thys sen-
tence shall be layd agaynste you.

But to returne to my purpose, there were two pore
women came before Salomon to complayne. They
were two harlots, and dwelled togyther in one house,
and it chaunced within ii. dayes they chyled both.
The one of these women bi chaunce in the nyght had
kylled hyr child and robe prieuely and went to the other
woman, and toke hir lyue chylde away, and left hir
defdead chylde in hys place.

Vpon that they came boeth before Salomon to haue
the matter iudged, whose the child was. And the one
fayed, it is my chylde. Naye, sayeth the other, it is
myne. So there was yea, and naye, betwene them,
and they helde vp the matter wyth skoldinge after a
womanly fashyon. At length Salomon repected theyr
tale as a good iudge, ought to do, and sayd to the one
woman.

Thou sayst the child is thine, yea fayed she. And
thou sayste it is thyne to the other. Well, fetche me a
swerd fayed he. For there was no way now to trye
whyche was the true mother, but by naturall inclina-

And so he fayed to one of hys servante. Fetche
me a swerde and deuyde the chylde betwene them.
When the mother of the chylde that accused the other
hearde hym faye so. Naye for Goddes fake fayed she,
let hyr haue the whole chylde, and kil it not. Naye
quod the other, nether thyne, nor myne, but let it be
decided.

Then fayed Salomon. Geue thys woman the chylde,
this is the mother of the chylde.

What came of thys? Auduit omnis Ierusal. When
all Israel heard of this judgement, they feared the
king. It is wisedom and Godly knowledg that
causeth a king to be feared. One word note here
for God's sake, and I will trouble you no longer.

Would Salomon beyne so noble kyng heare ii.
poor women. They were pore, for as the scripture
faith. They were togyther alone in a house, they
hadd not so muche as one seruaunt betwene them
boeth.

Woulde kyng Salomon I say heare them in his own
person? Yea forsothe. And yet I heare of many
matters before my Lorde Protectour, and my Lorde
Chaunceloure that can not be hearde. I must pr
fyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in this
matter, that your grace would heare poor mens futes
yourselfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them
not be delayed. The faying is, nowe that mony is
harde every wher if he be ryche he shall soone haue
an ende of his matter. Other are fayn to go home
with weeping teares for ani help they can obtain at ani
Judges hand. Heere mens futes your selfe I reuere
you in godes behalfe and put it not to the hering of
these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man
can fkarfe knowe them from an aunguent Knyght of
the country.

I can not go to my boke for pore folkes come vnto
me, desirynge me that I wyll speake yat that they
matters maye be heard. I trouble my Lord of Can-
terburye, and beyne at his hause nowe and then
I walke in the garden lokyng in my boke, as I canne
do but little good at it. But some thyng I must
nedes do to satisfye thys place.

I am no roner in the garden and haue red a whyle,
but by and by commeth there some or other knocking
at the gate.

Anone cometh my man and sayth. Syr, there is
one at the gate woulde speake wyth you. When I
come there, then is it some or other that desirereth me
that I wyll speake that his matter might he heard,
and that he hafte layne thys longe at grete costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one especilly moved me at thys tyme to speake.

Thys it is fyr. A gentylwoman came to me and tolde me, that a greate man kepeth certayne landes of hyrs from hir, and wilbe hyr tenaunte in the spite of hyr tethe. And that in a whole twelue moneth she coulde not gette but one daye for the hearynge of hyr matter, and the same daye when the matter shoulde be hearde, the greate manne broughte on hyss syde a greate fyghte of Lawyers for hys counfayle, the gentilwoman had but one man of lawe: and the great man shakes hym so that he can not tell what to do, so that when the matter came to the poynte, the Judge was a meane to the gentylwoman, that she wold let the grete man haue a quietnes in hyr Lande. I beseeche youre grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

Heare them your felse? Vieue your Judges? And heare pore mens caufes. And you proude Judges herken what God sayeth in hys holye boke. *Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum.* Heare theym sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the rych. Regarde no perfon, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.* The judgement is Goddes.

Marcke thys sayinge thou proude Judge? The deuyl will brynghe thys sentence at the daye of Dyme. Helwyl be ful of these Judges if they repent not and amende.

They are worshe then the wicked Judge that Chrifte speaketh of, that neyther feared God, nor the worlde. There was a certayne wyddowe that was a futer to a Judge, and she met hym in every corner of the streate, criynge. I pray you heare me, I besech you heare me, I aske nothyng but rght.

When the Judge fawe hyr so importunate, though I fere neyther God, fayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.

* Ye shall hear the small as well the face of man; for the judgment is as the great, ye shall not be afraid of God's. — Deut. i. 17.*
But our Judges are worse than this Judge was. For they will neither hear men for God's sake, nor fear of the world, not importunatenes, nor any thing else. Yea some of them will command them to ward, if they be importunat.

I heard a fayre, that when a suter came to one of theym, he said. What fellowe is it that gaueth these folk conjecture to be so importunate, he would be punished and commytted to ward.

Mary, punish me then, it is euene that gave them conjecture, I woulde gladly be punished in such a cause. And if ye mend not, I will cause them to crye oute upon you stille: euene as long as I lyue, I will do it in deede, but I haue troubled you long. As I began with this sentence. Quae cuncta scripta sunt, etc.* So wyl I end now witch this texte. Beati qui audient verbum dei et custodiant illud.† Blessed are they that heare the worde of God and kepe it.

There was an other suter and I had almooste forgotten it.

There is a poore woman that lyeth in the Flete, and can not come by any means that she can make, to hyr answer, and woulde fayne be baylled, offerenge to put in suerties worth a thousande pounde and yet she can not be hard. Me thinke this is a reasonable cause, it is great pitie yet such thynge hold so be. I beseech God, that he will graunte that all that amye may be amended yet we mai hear his word and kepe it, yet we mai hear his worde, and kepe it, yet we maye come to ye eternall bliss, to the which bliss I beseeche God to bryng both you and me. Amen.

† Blessed are they that hear the. 28.
The thyrde

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whiche he preached before the Rynge wythin hys graces
Palaye at Westmister
the. xxii. daye of
Marche.

Vsecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.* Al things yat are wrytten, are wrytten to be oure doctrine. Al things that be wrytten in Gods holye Boke the Byble, were wrytten to be oure doctrine longe before our tyme, to ferue from tyme to time, and so forth to the worldes ende.

Ye shall haue in Remembrance, mooste benyng and gracyoufe Audience, that a preacher hathe. ii. offices, and the one to be vsed orderly after an other.

The syrste is Exhortari per fanam doctrinam.† To teach true doctrine He shall haue alfo occation offten tymes to vse an other, and that is. Contradicentes convincere.† To reprehende to conuynce, to confute gaynesayers and spurners against the truth.

Whye? you wyll faye, wyll anye bodye gayne faye true doctryne, and found doctryne? Well, let a preacher be fure, yat hys doctryne be true, and it is not to be thought, that anye bodye wil gaynesaye it. If S. Paule had not forfene that ther shold be gaynesayers, he hadde not neede to haue appoynted the confutation of gaynesayinge.

* Rom. xv. 4.
† [A bishop]. . . that he may —Titus. 1. 9.
be able by sound doctrine both to
Was there euer yet preachers, but ther were gaynfaiars? that spurned? that winst? yat whymphered agaynstrate him? that blasphemed, that gaynesfayed it?

When Moyfes came to Egipt wyth founde doctrine, he had Pharao to gaynesfay hym. Yeremy was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainayers the priestes, and the fals Prophets borne vp by Achab.

Ely[as] had all Bals priestes supported by Iesabel to speake agaynstrate hym.

John Baptistte and our Saviour Iesus Christe, had the Phariseis, the Scribes, and the priestes gaynfyasers to them. The Apostles, ye Apostles had gayne fayers also, for it was sayd to laynt Paule at Rome. Notum est nobis quod ubique sectae huic contradictitur.* We knowe that every man doth gaynesfaye thys lernyng. After the Apostles time the trueth was gaynesfayed with tyrantes, as Nero, Maxentius, Domicianus, and suche lyke, and also by the doctrine of wicked heritikes.

In the popishe masse time, ther was no gaynsfaynyng, al thynges semen to be in peace, in a concorde, in a quiet agrement. So longe as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popyfhe masse, we were then without gaynfsaying. What was that?

The same yat Christe speakeyth of. Cum fortior armatus excluderit atrium etc.† When Sathan the deuyl hath the guyndyne of the house, he kepeth all in peace yat is in his possesyon: when Sathan ruleth, and bereth domynion in open Religyon, as he dyd with vs when we preched pardon matters, purgatory matters and pylegremage matters, al was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumfpect for stiryn vp any fndicion. When he kepeth his territory al is in peace.

Yf there were any manne that preached in England in times paft, in the popes tymes, (as peraduenture ther was. ij. or. iij.) straithways he was taken and naped in ye head wyth the title of an heretique. When

* For as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against. —Acts xxviii. 22.
† When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. —Luke xi. 21.
he hath the religyon in possesyon he sturreth vppe no fedytyon, I warrent yow.

Howe many discentions haue we hearde of in Turkye? But a fewe I warrant you. He busyeth hym selfe there wyth no discention. For he hathe there dominion in the open Religion, and neadeth not to trouble hym selfe any further.

The Iewes lyke vonnagates where so euer they dwell (for they be disperst and be tributaries in all contryes where they enhabyte) loke ye Heare ye anye herifesis amonge them? But when *fortis superuenerit* when one stronger then the Deuyl, cometh in place, whych is our Sauioure Iefus Christe, and reueth hys worde, then the Deuyl roareth, then he bestyrreth hym, then he rayseth diuerstitie of opinions to flauder Gods word. And if euer concord should haue bene in Religion, when shoule it haue bene but when Christe was here? Ye fynde faulthe wyth preachers, and 'faye, they cause sedition. We are noted to be raffh, and vndiscrete in our preachynge. Yet as discrete as Christe was ther was diuerstitie, yea, what he was him self. For when he asked what men called hym. His Apostles answered him. Some faye, you are Iohan Baptiste, some faye you are Helias, and some faye, you are one of the prophets, and these were they yat spake beste of hym. For some fayed, he was a Samaritane, that he had a Deuyl wythin him, a gloser, a drincker, a pot-companion.

There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet was ther neuer more discention then when he was, and preached hym selfe.

If it were contraried then, wil ye thynke it shal not be contraryd nowe, when charitie is so colde and iniquitye so stronge. Thus these backebitters, and sclanderers must be conuinced.

Saincte Paule fayed. There shal be infractibles, that wil whympe and whine, ther shal be also Vond-

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* But when a stronger than he shall come unto him.—Luke xx. 20.
The third sermon

loqui, vayne speakers. For the whyche Saynt appoynteth the preacher to stoppe theyre moune it is a preachers office to be a mouthe stoppe.

Thys daye I muste somewhat do in the offe, I muste be a gaynsefaver, and I muste theyre mouthes, conuynce, refell, and confess they speake scluanderouslye of me.

There be some gaynsefayers gaynsefayers, be some scluanderouse people, vaynefyeak *intraclabiles* whych I must nedes speke agayn.

But fyrtte I wyll make a shorte rehearsell of memorye of that, that I spake in my lasste And that done, I wyll confute one that flate me. For one ther is yat I must nedes anfwere for he scluandereth me for my preachyng that kynges maieflye. There be some to blame, the a preacher is weareye, yet they wyll haue hym all at once.

Ye must tary till ye here more. Ye must offended till ye here the rest. Heare al an judge al. What ye are very hastie, very quitte youre preachers? But before I enter further matter I shal desyre you to praye. etc.

Fyrt of all as touchyng my fyrt fermoyn runne it ouer *curforie*, ryppinga a lytle the more brought in an hystorye of the cytinge my audience to beware of kynges, to walke ordinatelye, plaise kynges hygh way, and agre to that, which wyth the ordre of a Realme.

I shewed you how we were vnder the hand God, for our kyng is *Nobilit*, I shewed you a noble Kyng. True inheritore to the crowne out doubte. I shewed furthermore of hys gracion. He hath suche schole Maysters as are gotten in all the Realme a gaine. Wherefore be fuer yat God blessed thys Realme though he curssed ye realme, which is a chyld, vnder whom the
climbynge and glenynge, fyrungye, scrachynge, and
screpyng, and volupetouselyt set on banketyng and for
the maynetenaunce of their volupteousnes, go by
walkes. And although he be yong he
hath as good, and as sage a counsayle, as
euer was in England, which we maye we!
know by their godly procedinges, and
fetynge fouerthe of the worde of God:
Therfore lette vs not be worse, then the
stiffe necked Iewes. In kynge Iofias tyme,
(who beyng yonge dyd alter, chaunge and
correcte wonderfully the religion) it was
never harr in Ieurye that the people
panyned or layed, The kynge is a child. This geare
wyl not last long. It is but one or two mens doinges,
It wyl tarye but for a tyme. The kynge knoweth it
not. Wo worth that euer such men were borne.
Take hede lest for our rebellion God take hys blest-
ynge a waye from vs. I entred into the place of the
kynge pastyme. I tolde you howe he
mythe passe hys tyme in redyngye the
boke of God (for that is the kynge past-
yne by gods appoyntemente) in the whyche boke
he shal lerne to feare God.

Oh howe carefull God is to set in an
order all thynges that belong to a kyng,
in his chamber, in hys stabe, in hys trea-
ure houe.

Thefe peuishe people in this Realme haue nothyng
t but the kynge, the kinke in theyr mouthes,
when it maketh for theyr purpose. As ther
was a doctor that preached, the kinges
maister hath his holy water, he crepeth to
the croffe, and then thei haue nothyng but the Kyngge
the king in their mouthes. Thefe be my good
people that mythe haue their mouthes stopte, but if a
man tell them of the kynges proceadynges, nowe they
have theyr shyttes, and theyr putotys faigne,
we maye not go before a lawe, we maye

The Coun-
sayle of
Englande
haue theyr
condyngne
and worthye
prayse wor-
thely.

The people
dyd not re-
pyne against
Kyngge losy-
as in hys mi-
norite.

What is a
Prynce lyke
pastyme.

God is care-
full for a king-
nes house and
the order of the
same.

The kynge is
in euer man
nes mouthe
when it mak-
es for theyr
purpose.

Many
shyttes and
put offes,
breake no order. These be the wicked prether mouthes mustle be flopte, these be the gayne.
Another thing ther is yet I told you of, Ne.
a kyng must not be proude. corregris etc.* The kyng must
proude ouer hys brethren. He
order his people wyth brotherly loue and cl
Here I broughte in exemples of proude kyng
ij Kyndes of pryde in a kyng.
this is a great pride in kynges and ma
when they wyl not heare, nor be
formeable to the found doctrine of god. It is a
kynede of pride in kynges, when they thinke
felues so high, so lofty that they diddaine and
it not for their honour to heare poore mens
them felues. They haue claublickes
vnto them. What sir? what need
trouble your selfe? take you your
fure, hunte, Hauke, daunce, and
let vs a lone: we wyll gourne and
the commune weale matters well y
Wo worth them, they haue bene the roote
mychife and destrucion in thys Realme. A
ought not only for to reade and studi
alfo to praye. Let hym borowe ex
at Salomon, who pleased God hyghlye wy
petition, defyringe no worldly thing
wifedom, whych God did not onely
hym, but because he asked wyfedom, he gat
manye mo thynges. As ryches, honoure, and
like. Oh, how it pleased God that he asked wy
And after he had geuen him this wisdome he
hym alfo occasion to vfe the same by a cou
strumpets. Here I told an example of a meke
who so continued, vntyll he came into the co
of strange women. He hard them not by n
Salomon
herd the ca
es and com
playtes of

* That his heart be not set up above his brethren.—Deut.
see text at p. 55.
not herd the cause hym selfe. They were hys people in hys owne persone.

Meritices. Hoores althoughge some ex-cuceth ye matter, and say they were but typpers, such as kepe alehouges. But it is but foly to excuse them, feyng ye Iewes were such, and not vnylke, but thei had theyr ftewes and the mayntenance of whordom as they had of other vyces. One thynge I must here defier you to reforme my lords. You haue put downe the Stues. But I praye you what is the matter a mended? what a vayleth that? ye haue but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom awaye. God shoule be honored every where. For the scripture sayth Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.* The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place shulde be then within a Christian realme left, for to dishonour God. I must nedes shewe you such newes as I here. For thoughge I fe it not my selfe, notwithstandinge it commeth faster to me then I would wishe. I do as S. Paule doth to the Corinthians Auditur in vos suprum.† There is such a whoredome amonge you as is not amonge the gentiles. So lykewise. Auditur, I here fay, yat ther is such whoredome in Englande as neuer was fene the like. He charged al the Corinthians for one mans offence fayinge. They were al gilty for one mans synne, if they would not correcte and redresse it, but winke at it. Lo, here may you se how that one mans finne poluted al Corinth. A litle leauen as S. Paule fayeth, corrupteth a greate deale of dowe. Thys is, Communicare alienis Peccatis;‡ to be partaker of other mens sines I aduertise you in goddes name leke to it. I here fay, ther is now more whoredom in London, then euer ther was on the bancke. These be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true.

* The earth is the Lord's, and the excellency thereof.—Psa. xxiv. 1.
† It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you.—1 Cor. v. 1.
‡ Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.
The third sermon

Ye ought to here of it, and redresses it, I here of it, and as paul sayeth, Aliqua ex parte credo.∗

There is more open whoredome more fluode whoredome then euery was before. For Gods sake let it be loked vpon. It is youre offyce to te ynto it. Now to my confutation. Ther is a certaine man that shortly after my syrft sermon, beynge asked if he had bene at the sermon that day, answered, yea: I praye you saide he how lyked you hym? mary sayde he, euyn as I lyked hym always, a sedicous fellowe. Oh lord he pinched me ther in deede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my self with that, that Christ hym selfe was noted to be a sturrer vp of the people against the Emperoure, and was contented to be called sedicious. It becommeth me to take it in good worth, I am not better then he was. In the kings daies that dead is, a meanye of vs were called togethet before hym to faye our myndes in certaine matters. In the end one kneleth me downe, and accuseth me of sedicion, that I had preached sediciouse doctrine. A heuye falutation, and a harde poynyt of suche a mans doynge, as ye I shoulde name hym, ye woulde not thynke it. The king turned to me and sayde. What faye you to that fyr? Then I kneled downe, and turned me firste to myne accusuer, and requyred hym.

Syr what foureme of preachinge woulde you appoynte me to preache before a Kynge? Wold you haue me for to preache nothyng as concernynge a Kynge in the Kynges sermon? Haue you any commyssion to appoynte me what I shal preache. Befydes this, I asked hym dyuers other questions, and he wold make no answere to none of them all. He had nothinge to faye. Then I turned me to the Kynge, and submytted my selfe to hys Grace

∗ I partly believe it. — 1 Cor. xi. 18.
of M. Latimer

and sayed I never thought my selfe worthy, nor
I never sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and
would be willynge if you mislike me, to give place to mi betteres. For I graunt ther be a great many more
worthy of the roume then I am. And if it be your
graces pleasure so to allowe them for preachers, I
could be content to bere their bokes after them. But
if youe grace allowe me for a preacher I would de-
syre your grace to give me leaue to dyfcharge my
conscience. Geue me leaue to frame my
doctrayne accordyng to myne audience.
I had byne a veri dolt to have preached
so, at the borders of your realme, as I
preach before your grace. And I thanke almyghtye
God, whych hath all wayes byne my remedy, that my
sayinges were well accepted of the kyng, for lyke a
gracious Lorde he turned it into a nother communi-
cacyon. It is even as the scripture saith. Cor Regis
in manu domini.* The Lorde dyrected the kynges
hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares
in theyr eyes, and tolde me, they loked I shoulde have
bene in the tower the famye nyghte. Thus haue I euer
more bene burdened wyth the wordes of sedition. I
haue offended God greuouflye, transgresyunge hys
lawe, and but for hys remedy and hys mercy, I woulde
not loke to be fauened. As for sedicion, for ought
that I knowe, me thynkes, I shoulde not nede Chrif,
if I myght fo fayye. But if I be cleare in anye thynge,
I am cleare in thys. So farre as I knowe
myne owne herte, there is no man further
from sedicion then I, the whyche I haue
declared in al my doynges, and yet it hath
bene euer laied to me. Another tyme, when
I gaue euer mine office, I shoulde haue receuyed a cer
tayne dutye that they cal a Pentecostal,
it came to the summe of fyfte and fynue
pound, I sent my commissarye to gather

* The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord.—Prov. xxv. 21.
Thus they burdened me euer wyth sedicion. So thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth sedicion. And wote ye what? I chaunced in my laste Sermon to speake a merye worde of the newe shilling, to refreshe my auditorie, howe I was lyke to put away my newe shilynge for an olde grote, I was herein noted to speake sediciously. Yet I conforte my selfe in one thyng, yet I am not alone, and that I haue a fellowe. For it is, Consolatio miserorum. It is the comforte of the wretched to haue company. When I was in trouble, it was objected an[d] sayed vnto me, yat I was singular, that no manne thought as I thought, that I loued a synglearyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke a way, contrary to the kyng, and the whole parliamente, and that I was trauayled wyth them, that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al. Marye fyr thys was a fore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrksome thynge to be alone, and to haue no fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. In the vii. of Iohn the Prefles fente oute certayne of the Iewes to bring Christ vnto them vvolentlye. When they came into the temple, and harde hym preache, they were so moued wyth his preachynge, that they returned home agayne, and sayed to them that fente them. Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo. There was neuer man spake lyke this man. Then answered the Pharisees Num et vos seducti estis? What ye brainfylcke fooles, Ye hoddy peckes, Ye doddye poules, ye huddes, do ye beleue hym? are you seduced also? Num quis ex Principibus credidit in eum? Did ye se any greate man, or anye great offyceer take hys part? doo ye se any boddy follow hym, but beggerlye fythers, and suche as

* Never man spake like this man. —John vii. 46.
† Are ye also deceived?—Ver. 47.
haue nothyng to take to? *Num quis ex Phariseis? Doo ye se anye holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? Turba qua ignorant legem execrabilis est.* Thys laye people is accursed, it is they that know not the lawe, that takes hys parte, and none elles.  

Lo here the Pharifes hadde nothyng to choke the people, wyth al, but ignoraunce. They dyd as our byshoppes of Engelande, who vp-brayded the people al wayes wyth ignor-aunce, where they were the cause of it themselves. There were sayeth saith John. *Multi ex principibus, qui crediderunt in eum.*† Many of the chyefe menne beleued in hym, and that was contraruy to the Pharisyes sayinge. Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.  

So thought I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of sedition, and wot ye who is my felowe? Esai the Prophete, I speake but of a lytely preaty shyllynge. But he speaketh to Hierufalem after an other forte, and was so bold to meddle with theyr coine Thou proude, thou couetusse, thou hauyte cytje of Hierufalem. *Argentum tuum verfum est in scoriam.*˝ Thy fyluer is turned into, what? into testyons? *Scoriam,*‡ into droffe. Ah sediciouse wretch, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why shoulde not he haue lefte that matter to some mayfler of policy to reprove?  

Thy Syluer is droffe, it is not fyne, it is counter-fayte, thy siluer is turned, you haddest good fyluer. What pertained that to Esay? Mary he espyed a pece of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengaunce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couet-

* But this people who knoweth not the lawe are cursed.—John xii. 42.  
† Among the chief rulers also many believed on him.—John vii. 49.  
‡ Thy silver is become dross.—Isa. i. 22.
in Essaye tyme was more baser and worse. 

ousnesie, whych became hym to rep... or els that it tended to the hurte of sore people, for the naughtines of fyluer, was the occasion of deareth of all thynges in the Realme. He imputeth it to them as a gueryne. He may be called a mayster of sediciouse dede. Was not thyss a sediciouse harlot to tell thyss to their beardes? to their face.

Thys sediciouse man goeth also forthe, faste

Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.* Thy wyn is mynded wyth wyth wyntyners. Here he medeleth wyth vyneners be like ther were brurers in dayes, as ther be nowe.

It had bene good for our missal priestes to dwelled in that contrye, for they might haue bene to haue hadde theyre wyne wel myn wyn wyth wyntyners. I remembre howe for loufe I was in my tyme of bylyndness ignorauncye, when I shuld faye maken wyth wyntynge, in so muche when I haue bene my Memento, I haue had a grudgynge, fearynge that I hadde not putte in Vynynge. And that which is here spoked of he meaneth it of al actes in the cypertal kindes of facultyes, for they haue theyr medles and mynglichynes. That he speake one thyngge, he meaneth generally of al. I must you more newes yet.

Cloth makers are come Potica- yres, yea and amonge the Gospellers.

poticaries

Yea and as I heare faye, in suche a place, as they haue professede the Gospell, and the wo- God most earnestly of a longe tyme. Se how bu

* Thy wine mixed with water.—Isa. i. 22.
Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god? Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl fet hym on a racke, and freach hym out wyth ropes, and racke hym tyl the feneuws shrinke a gayne, whyles he hath brought hym to xxvii. yerdes. When they haue brought hym to that perfeccion, they haue a prety feate to thycke him againe. He makes me a poudre for it, an[d] playes the poticary, thei cal it floke poudre they do so in cor-porate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to confider, truely a goodly inuention.

Oh that fo goodly wittes shold be fo yl applyed, they maye wel deceuye the people but they can not deceuye God. They were wont to make beddes of flockes and it was a good bed to, howe they haue turned theyr flockes into a poudre to playe the falle theaneus with it. O wicked deuill what can he invent to blaspheme Goddes worde? These myxtures come of couetousnes. Thei are playne theft. Woe worthe that these flockes shoulde fo flander the worde of God.

As he faied to the Iewes, thy wyne is myngle wyth water, so myghte he haue fayd to vs of thys Lande. Thy clothe is myngle wyth flockepoudre. He goeth yet on. Thys fedicieuose man reproueth thyshonorable cytye, and faied. Principes tui insideles.* Thou land of Hierufalem, thy magystrates, thy Iudges are vnfaithfull, they kepe no touche, they wyll talke of many gaye things, they wil pretende this and that, but thei kepe no promife. Thei be worsle then vnfaithfull, he was not a Fryady to call the offycers vnfaithful. Et focii furen.* Felowes of theues, for theues and theues felowes, be all of one forte They were wonte to faye. Aske my felowe yf I be a thyfe. He calleth prynces theues. Why, as[e] prynces theues? What a fedicieuose harlot.

* Thy priaces are rebellious, and companions of thieves.—Isa. 1. 23.
The third sermon

was thys? was he worthi to liue in a commune wealth
that would call prynces on yat wyfe, felowes of
theues? Had they a standynge at shootres hyll, or
Stangat hole to take a pourfe? Why? dyd they
stande by the hyghe waye fyde. Dyd they robbe? or
breake open any mans houfe or dore? No no.
They are two
ynede of the-
uynges, a
grosse kynde
of theuynge
and a prince-
ly kynde of
theuynge.
Brybery is
a kynde of
theuynge.
Brybes haue
gotten a new
name and un-
der a co-
lloure are cal-
yd gentyl re-
wardes, but
that is not
theyr chrysten
name.

That is a groffe kind of theuynge. They
were princes, they had a pryncely kynde of
theuynge. *Omnes diligunt munera.*
They al loue brybes. Brybery is a pryncely
kynde of theuing. Thei wil be waged by
the rich, eyther to geue sentence agaynste
the poore, or to put of the poore mannes
causes. This is the noble thefte of princes,
and of magistrates. Thei are bribetakers.
Nowe a dayes they call them gentle re-
wardes, let them leaue their colouryng,
and cal them by their Christlian name.
Brybes. *omnes diligunt munera.* Al, al
all the prynces, all the Judges, all the
 Prestes, all rulers are brybers. What?
were all the magistrates in Ierusalem, all brybe takers?
none good? No doubte there were some good,
This word *omnes,* signifieth the mooste parte, and so
there be some good I doubte not of it in Englande.
We are worre
se the stiffe necked
lewes.

But yet we be farre worse then those flyf-
necked lewes. For we reade of none of
them yat winfed, or kicked agaynt Efaies
preachinge, or sayd yat he was a seditioufe fellowe.
It behoueth the magistrates to be in credite, and ther-
fore it might feme yat Esay was to blame to speake
openly against the Magistrates. It is very sure that
they that be good wyl beare, and not
spourne at the preachers, they that be
faute they muste amende, and neyther
spourne, nor wynce, nor whyne. He that
fyndeth hym selte touched or galled, he
declareth hym selfe not to be vpryghte.

*Every one loveth gifts.—Isa. i. 23.*
Wo worth these gifts, they subuerst iustlyce euerye where. *Sequentur retributiones.* They follow bribes. Some what was geuen to them before, and they muffle nedes geue somewhat againe, for giffe gaffe was a good fellow, this gyffe gaffe led them cleane from iustice. Thei follow gifts.

A good fellow on a tyme had an other of hys frendes to a breakefaste, and fayed: Yf you wyl come you thalbe welcome, but I tel you afor hande, you shal haue but sclender fare, one dish and that is al, what is that fayed he? A puddinge, and nothyng eels. Mary fayed he, you cannot please me better, of all meates that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. Thee brybyege magyfrates, and iudges follow gifts faster, then the fellow wolde followe the puddyngye.

I am contente to beare the title of sedicion wyth Efai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone I am in no singularitye. This same man that layed sedycyon thus to my charge, was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the sermon at Paules crosse, he anwered that he was ther, and beynde asked what news ther. Mary quod he, wonderful newes, we were ther cleane absoluued, my Mule and al had ful absolucion, ye may fe by thys, that he was fuche a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentylman.

In dede hys Mule was wyser then he, for I dare faye, the Mule neuer fclaundered the Preacher. Oh what an unhappy chaunce had thys Mule to carye fuche an Asie vpon hys backe. I was there at the sermon my selfe, in the ende of hys sermon he gaue a generall absoluucion, and as farre as I remember thes, or fuche other lyke were hys wordes, but at the leafe I am sure, thys was hys meanynge. As manye as do knowledge your felues to be fynners, and confesse the fame and flandes not in de-

*And followeth after rewards,—Isa. i. 23.*
fence of it, and hartelye abhorreth it, and wil beleue in the death of christ, and be conformable therunto, Ego abolutus us, quod he. Now sayeth thyngentlyman, his mule was absolued. The preacher absolued but suche as were forye, and dyd repente. Be lyke then Mule. The dyd repente her stumblyng, his Mule was wyser then he a greate deale. I speake not of worldely wyseedom, for therin he is to wyse, yea, he is so wyse, that wyse men maruayle, howe he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wyseedom which confiseth In rebus dei, In rebus factis, in godlye matters and appertaynyng to oure saluacion, in this wyse he is a byld as a beatel. They be. Tanquam equus et Mulus, in quibus non est intellectus.* Like Horfed and Mules, that haue no vnderstandyng. If it were true that the Mule repented hyr of her stumbling I thinke she was better absolued then he. I praye God fop his mouth, or els to open it to speke better, and more to hys glory. An other man quickned wyth a word I spok (as he sayed opprobriously agaynst the nobility that theyr chyldefr dyd not fet fourth Gods worde, but were vnpreachynge prelotes) was offended wyth me.

I did not meane so, but that some noble mens chyldefr had fet forth Gods worde, howe be it the poore mens fonnes haue done it alwayes for the mooyste parte. Iohannes Alasco was here a greate learned man, and as they faye, a noble man in his contrye, and is gone hys way a gayne, if it be for lacke of intertaynement, the more pytyle. I woulde wyse suche men as he to be in the realme, for the realme shoulde propere in receuyng of them. Qui nos recipit, me recipit.† Who

* As the horse, or as the mule, † He that receiveth you receiveth which have no understanding.—Psa. me,—Matt. x. 40.
receyueth you receiueth me (sayed chrift) and it shuld be
for the kynges honour to receyue them and
kepe them. I heardfayre Mayster Melancthon,
that greate clarke, shoulde come hyther. I
woulde wyshe hym, and suche as he is, to
haue CC. [two hundred] pound a yere. The
king tynd neuer wante it in hys coffers at the yeres ende.
There is yet among vs. ii. great learned men Petrus
Martyr, and Bernardine, whych haue a. C.
hundred] marckes a pece. I woulde the
kyng wold beftowe a thousand pound on
that fort. Nowe I wil to my place againe. In the
later ende of my fermon I exhorted judges to heare
the small as wel as the great. *Iustte quod iustum est
indicate.* You must not onelye do iustice, but do it
iustlye, you mufs obserue all the circumstances. You
must geue iustice, and minimize iust judgemente in time.

For the delayinge of matters of the poore folke, is
as synfull before the face of god as wrong judgemente.
I refered here a parable of a wycked
Judge, whiche for importunities fake, herde
the poore womans caufe, et. cetera.* Here
is a comfortable place, for al you that crye oute and
are oppresed, for you haue not a wycked judge, but a
mercifull judge to call vnto. *I am not so ful of holythe
pytye, but I can consider well ynough, that some of
you complayne with out a caufe. They wepe, they
wayle, they mourne I am sure some not wyth out a
caufe. *I dyd not here reproue all judges, and finde
faute wyth all. I think we haue some as
painfull magistrates, as euer was in Eng
lande, but I wyll not sweare they be all so,
and they that be not of the beft, mufs be

* There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither re
garded man:
And there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, saying,
Avenge me of mine adversary.
And he would not for a while; but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard
man

Yet because this woman troublith me, I will avenge her, lest by her
continual coming she weary me.
And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.
And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto
him, though he bear long with them?
I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.—Luke xviii. 4-8.
The third sermon

A good reason for such as are magistrates, but none of the best. contente to be taught, and not disdain to be reprehended. David saith. Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.* I refer it to your conscience.

Vos qui iudicatis terram.* Ye that be judges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens causes wyth expedicion or no, Yf ye haue not, then erudimi, be content to be touched, to be tolde.

You wydowes, you orphanes, you poore people, here is a confortable place for you.

Though these Judges of the world wyll not heare you, there is one wyl be content with your importunity, he wyll remedye you, if you come after a ryghte forte vnto him.

Ye say. The Judge doth blame you for youre importunity, it is yrckelome vnto him. He entered into this parable to teache you to be importune in your petytion. Non defatigari. not to be weary.

Here he teacheth you, how to come to god in aduerfitie, and by what means, whyche is by prayer. I do not speake of the meryte of Christ, For he sayeth. Ego sum via.† I am the way. qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam‡. Who so beleueth in me hath euerylastynge lyfe. But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remdy aduerfitie? in anguysh, in tribulacions? in our necessities? in our injuries? The waye is prayer.

We are taught by the commandement of God. Inuoca me in die tribulationis et ego eripiam te.§ Thou wyddowe, thou orphane, thou fatherles chylde, I speake to the that haft no frendes to healpe the, call vpon me in the daye of thy triybulacion, cal vpon me, Ego eripiam te.§

The swete promysse of Christe:

I wyll plucke the a waye, I wyll deluyuer the, I wyl take the a waye, I wyll releue the, thou shalt haue thy hartes desyre. Here is the promyse.

* Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.—Psa. ii. 10.
† I am the way.—John xiv. 6.
‡ He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.—John vii. 47.
§ Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.—Psa. i. 15.
here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me.* Thanke me, accepthe me for the author of it, and thanke not thy creature or that for it. Here is the Iudge of al Judges, come vnto hym, and he wyll heare you. For he saith, quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo. etc.† What so euere ye aske my father in my name, shall be geuen you thorough my merytes. You my rable people that are wronged in the world, aske of my father in your distrefes, but put me a fore, looke you come not wyth bragges of youre owne merytes but come in my name, and by my meryte.

The order of our prayer and askynge.

He hath not the propertye of thys stout Iudge, he wyl beare your importunatenes, he wyll not be angrye at your cryinge and calling. The prophet faith. *Sperauerunt in te Patres nostri, et exaudierunt illos.*‡ Thou god thou god, our fathers dyd crye vpon the, and thou heardest them. Arte thou notoure God as well as theyres. Ther is nothinge more pleaunafe to God, then for to putte hym in remembranunce of hys goodnes shewed vnto our forefathers. It is a pleaunafe thynge to tell God of the benefytes that he hath done before oure tyme.

The order of our prayer of vs and wher-in he deyltys.

Go to Moyse, who hadde the guadynge of Goddes people, ye howe he used prayer, as an instrumente to be deluyered out of aduersifies, when he hadde greate rouglye mountayne on everye side of hym, and before hym the redde sea, Pharaohs hooste behynde hym, peril of death round about him. What did he? dispayred he? no, Whyther went he? He repayed to god with this prayer, and sayed nothing. Yet with a great ardency of spjritt he perceyd godes earres. Now helpe or neuer good lord, now helpe, but in thi hand quod he. Though he neuer moued his lyppes, yet the scripture sayeth he cryed out and the lord heard hym, and sayd, *quid clamass ad me?*§ Why cryest thou oute to loude? the people

* Than shall glorify me.—Psa. I. 15.
† Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.—John. xvi. 23.
‡ Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted, and thou didst deliver them.—Psa. xxii. 4.
§ Wherefore criest thou unto me?—Exod. xiv. 15.
heard him say nothyng, and yet God sayend.

Exodi. xiii. crieft thou out. Straight wayes he the water with his rodde, and it deuided, and vp lyke two walles on eyther fyde, betwene the goddes people passed, and the persecutors were drowned. Iosue was in angwythe, and lyke distressed at Iericho, that true captayne that sayethfull Iudge no follower of retributions, no brybe taker, he was no money manne who made hys peticione to almyghty God to shewe him the cause of hys wrath toward hym, when hys arm was plaged after the takynge of Ierycho. So he obayned hys prayer, and learned, that for one mannes faulte al the rest were punyshed. For Achans couetuousnes, many a thousande were in agony, and feare of deathe, who hyd his money, as he thought from God. But God sawe it well enough, and brought it to lyght.

Thys Achan was a bywalker. Wel, it came to passe, when Iosua knewe it, strayghtwayes he purged the army, and tooke a waye. Malum de Israel, that is wyckednes from the people. For Iosua called him before the people, and sayed. Dagloriam deo.* Gyue praye to God, tell trothe man, and forthwyth he tolde it. And then he and all hys house suffered deathe.

A goodly ensample for al magistrates to followe. Here was the execution of a true Iudge he was no Paralo. xx. gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no bywalker. Alfo when the Assirians with an innumerable power of men in Iosaphates time ouerflowed the lande of Israel. Iosaphate that good king goeth me strayght to god, and made his praire Non est in nostra fortitudine said he, huic populo reslfere;† it is not in our strength, O Lord, to resit this people, and after his praire God deliuered hym, and at the same tyme. x.M. [ten thousand] were destroyed. So ye miserable people, you must go to God in anguyshes, and make your prayer to hym.

* Give ... glory to the Lord God great company that commeth us.—2 Chron. xx. 12.
† We have no might against this.
Arme your selues wyth prayer in your aduersitie. Manye begun to praye, and fodaynelye caste awaye prayer, the Deuyll putteth suche phanta-

fyes in theyr heades, as thoughe God could e not entend them, or had some-

what els to do. Many begin to praye, but few per-

seuer and contynue in pray-

er. Caste awaye synne and then praye.

But you must be importune and not werye, nor caste awaye prayer. Naye you muste caste awaye fynne. God wyll heare your prayer, albeit, you be synners, I send you a judyce yat wyll be glad to heare you. You that are oppressed, I speake to you. Christ in this parable doth paite the good wyll of god towaerde you, o miserable people, he that is not re-

ceived, let him not dylpayre nor thinke yat god hath forfaiken him. For god tarieth tyl he feith a time, and better can do al things for vs, than we our selues can with.

There was a wycked Iudge etc. What meaneth it that God boroweth thyss parable rather of a wycked Iudge, then of a good? Bylyke good iudges were rare at that tyme, and errone ye the deuyll hath bene afleppe euer fence? no, no. He is as bufy as euer he was. The commune maner of a wycked Iudge is, neyther to feare god nor man. He considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man bycaufe of hys pride. He loketh hye ouer the poore, he wyll be hadde in admiration, in adoration. He semeth to be in a protection. Well, shal he scape? Ho, ho, est 

deus in caelo.* There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no perfones, he wyll punishe them.

Ther was a pore woman came to thyss iudge, and sayd vindeca me de aduerfastio.† Se that myne aduer-

fari do me no wrongful. He would not heare her but droue her of. She had no money to wage eyther him eyther them that were a boutte hym. Dyd thys

* God is in heaven.—Eccles. v. 2. † Avenge me of mine adversary.—Luke xviii. 3—see text at p. 91.
Whether Christian people may seek to be avenged. woman wel to be avenged of her sarye? maye Christyan people feke a vance? The Lord saith, mihi z et ego retribuam.* When ye re take myne office vpon you.

Thys is to be vnderlande of priate venge. It is lawful for goddes flocke to vse meane awaye wronges, to resorte to iudges, to res a haue sentence gene of ryght. Saynte Paule Actes xxii. Lias the tribune to haue thys remedy, and Chrifle also sayd. Si male loci etc.† If I haue spoken euyl rebuke me? ch Math. xxvi. answered for him self. Not Lorde and maisters what case poore wyddow orphanes be in.

I wyll tell you my Lorde Judges, yt ye thes matter well, ye shoulde be more a frayde pore wyddowe, then of a noble manne wyth frendes and power that he can make. But nowe the Judges be a fraied to heare a poore man the rych, in so muche, they wy pronounce agaynst hym, or fo dri poore mannes fute, that he han able to go thorowe wyth it. The woman in a realme can not so hurte a the poore wyddow, suche a shrewd she can do him. And with what armure I pr She can bringe the Judges of this age, hys eares, and neuer lay handes vp. And how is that? Lachrimae meli are defcendunt ad maxillas the tears poore fall downe vpon their checkes, Et aet calium, and go vp to heauen, and cry for venge before god, the judge of wyddowes, the father widowes and orphanes. Pore people be oppre by lawes. Vae iis qui condunt leges iniquas.‡ woe.

* Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the LORD.—Rom. xii. 19.
† If I have spoken evil, bear witness righteous decrees!—Isa. Rom.
them that make evil laws. If we be to them yet make laws against ye poore, what shal be to them yet hynder and mare good laws? *quid facietis in die vultus.* What wyl ye do in the day of vengeance, when God wyl visit you? He sayeth, he wyl heare the teares of poore women when he goeth on visitacion. For theyr fakes he wyl hurt the Judge, be he neuer so highe. Deus transfert regna. He wyll for wyddowes fakes chaunge Realmes, brynge theym into subiection, plucke ye Judges skinnen ouer theyr heads.

Cambises was a greate Emperoure, suche Cambises, an other as oure mayster is, he had many Lorde deputies, Lord preesidentes, and Leutenauntes vnder hym. It is a greate whyle a go fythe I reade the hystory. It chaunced he hadde vnder hym in one of hys dominions a bryber, a gyft taker, a gratifier of rythce men, he folowed gyftes, as fast as he that followed the puddynge, a hande maker in hys office, to make his fonne a great man, as the old sayinge is, Happye is the chylde, whose father goeth to the Deuyll.

The urge of the poore widdow came to the Emperours eare, and causd him to slay the Judge quycke, and laied his skinne in hys chayre of Judgemente, that all Judges, that shoulde gyue Judgement afterwyrde, shoulde fytte in the fame skinne Surely it was a goodly sygne, a goodly monument, the sygne of the Judges skynne, I praye God we maye once fe the fygne of the skynne in Englande. Ye wyll fayre peraduenture that thys is cruellye and vncharitabilye spoken, no, no, I do it charitably for a loue I bere to my contrye. God fayeth. *Ego vultus,+ I wyll visit. God hath two visitations. The firste is, when he reuieleth

*What wyl ye do in the day of + I will visit. — Exod. xxxii. 34.*

\*Volunian:* [Text: E. 2.]
The third sermon

his word by preachers and where the fyrf
cepted, the seconde commeth not.

The seconde visitation is vengeance. If a visitatyon, when he broughte the iudges flys
hys eares. If hys worde be despised he wyth hys seconde visitation with vengeaunce.

Noe preach-ed Godes worde an. C. [hundred] yeares, and was la-
yeares and fckorne, and called an olde doty
was called yse a foole for
hys labour

Bycaus they would not accepte the visitation, God visit the seconde
poured downe showeres of rayne tylly all the wy-
drowned.

Genesis xix.

Loth was a visitour of Sod-
Gomorre, but because they regarded not hys
ynge, God visited theym the seconde tyme, and
theym all vp wyth brymstone fauynge Loth.

Exodi: vi. came fyrf a visitation into Eg-
goddes word, and because they woulde not h
God visited them agayne, and drowned they-
redde sea, God lykewyse with his firft visitatial
ye Israelits by his prophete, but becaus the
not heare his Prophetes, he visited them the
yme, and desparsed them in Assiria and Baby-

John Baptiste lykewyse and our Sauior
visited theym after warde declarynge to them
wyll, and bycaus they desperd these visit-
destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Vespasian

Germany was visited, xx. ye-
goddes word, but they dyd not e
embrace it, and in lyfe folowe it,
a myngle mangle and a hotchpot-

I can not tell what, partely poperye, part
religion mingeled together. They say in my
when they cal theyr hoggges to the fwynge.
Come to thy myngle mangle, come pyr, co-
euen so they made mingle mangle of it.

They coulde clatter and prate of the Go-
when all commeth to al, they ioynd poperye
it, that they marde all together, they scratched and
scraped all the lyuynges of the churche,
and vnder a couloure of relygyon turned it
to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre.
God, feynge that they woulde not come
vynto hys worde, now he visiteth them in
the seconde tyme of hys viiitacion with
his wrathe. For the takyng awaye of
Goddess word, is a manyfyl token of hys wrath. We
have now a fyrfth visitacyon in Englant, let vs beware
of the seconde. We haue the mynytracyon of hys
worde, we are yet well, but the house is not cleane
sweppe yet.

God hath fente vs A noble Kynge in thys hys vyfytac-
con, let vs not prouoke hym again, let vs beware,
lette vs not dypleafe hym, let vs not be vn-
thanketull, and vnkynde, lette vs be ware
of bywalkynge and contemnyng of Gods
worde, let vs praye dylygently for our kynge, let vs receyve wyth all obedience and praier, the worde of God.
A worde or twoo more and I commyte you to God.
I wyll monyshe you of a thynge. I heare faye ye
walke inordinatlye, ye talke vnsemelye other wayes
then it becommeth Christian subiectes.

Yetake vpon you to Judgethe Iudgementes of Iudges.
I wyll not make the kynge a Pope, for the Pope wyll
haue al thynges that he doth, taken for an Article of
oure fayth.

I wyll not faye but that the kynge, and hys councell
may erre, the Parliamens houffe both the hyghe and
lowe maye erre. I praye dayely that they maye not
erre.

It becommeth vs what foever they
decree to fylde vnto it, and receyve it
obedyentlye, as farre forthe as it is not
manyfylte wycked, and dyrectlye agaynte
the worde of God, it pertayneth vnto vs to
thynke the beyte, though we can not tender
a cause for the doynge of evry thynge.
For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat.* God the beleue and tru*st al thinges. We ou* r expounde to the bese al thynges, although we not ye* lde a rea*son.

Therefore I exhorte you good people prono* good parte al the fa*te and dedes of the magistrat*es. Charyte iudgeth the bese of al men, a* cyallye of magistrat*es. S. Paule fayeth. *Noli e*care ante tempus donec dominus aduenerit.*† In* before the tyme of the lordes commynge, *a* cor hominis.‡ Mans hart is vnferchable, it is a* pece of worke, no man knoweth his owne h* therfore Dauid praieth and faieth *culis meis munda me.*§ Delyuer me from my vn* faultes. I am a further offender then I can* man shalbe blynded in loue of him self, and* so much in him selfe as in other men, let vs not* judge iudges. We are comptable to god, and* thay. Let them alone, thay haue theyr cou* make. Yf we haue charytie in vs we shal do th* Charitas operatur. Charite worketh. What is* it? marye *Omnia credere, omnia sperare.* to al* thinges in good part. *Nolite iudicare ante tem* Judge not before the Lordes commynge.

How Anti*christe is kno* we learne to know Antichrist, why* we leuate hym selfe in the church* iudgeth at his pleasure before y* Hys canonizations and iudging of men bei* lordes judgment, be a manyfelt token of An* How can he know? Saynetes? He knoweth* owne hart, and he can not knowe then by me* For some myracle workers shal go to the de* wil tel you what I remembred ye*er nyghte in* A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how in* the herte is. I was once at Oxford, (for I hadde o* to come that waye, when I was in my office*

*Charity believeth all things, hendeth all things.—I Cor. xiii. 7.
† Judge nothing before the time, untill the Lord come.—I Cor. iv. 5.
‡ The heart is deceitful, all things.—Jer. xvii. 9.
§ Cleanse thou me from faults.—Psa. xix. 12.
tolede me it was a gayner waye, and a sayrer waye, and by that occasion I lay ther a nyght. Beyng ther, I hard of an execution that was done vpon one that sffered for treafon. It was as (ye know) a dangerous worlde, for it myghte sone coft a man hys lyfe for awordes speakyng.

I can not tel what the matter was, but the judge let it so out that the man was condemned. The. xii. men came in, and sayed gyltye, and vpon that, he was judged to be hanged, drawen, and quartred. When the rope was about hys necke, no man coulde perusade hym that he was in anye faute, and floode there a great whyle in the proteftation of his innocency. They hanged hym and cut him downe somwhat to sone aforc he was cleane deade, then they drewe hym to the fyre, and he reuued, and then he commyng to his remembraunce confessid his faute, and sayed he was gylty. O a wonderful example, it may well be sayed, prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.* A crabbed pece of worke and vndercheable. I wyll leue here, for I thinke you know what I meane wel ynoogh.

I shal not neede to appylie thys example any further. As I began euer with thys sayng quacunque scripta sunt,† like a trouant and so I haue a commune place to the ende, yf my memory fayle me, Beati qui audiant verbum dei, et custodiunt illud.‡ Blessed be they that here the word of god, and kepe it. It must be kepte in memory, in lyuynge, and in our conuerfacion. An yf we so do, we shal come to the blessednes, vs thorow his sone Iefus Chrift, ne to ye which he bring vs all.

Amen.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. † Rom. xv. 4. ‡ Luke xi. 28.
The fourth
Sermon of Mayster Hughe
Latimer, which he preached before
the kynges Maiestye within
hys Graces Palacie at
Westminster the
xxix. daye of
Marche.

Vsecumque scripta sunt, ad nostram doct
rinam scripta sunt.* All things yet
are wrytten, are written, to be our
doctrine. The Parable that I toke
to begin with (most honorable audi-
cence) is wrytten in the. xviii. chapter
of S. Luke. and ther is a certayne
remnant of it behind yet. The
Parable is this There was a certayne Iudge in a cytye,
that feared neyther God nor man.

And in the same cytye there was a wyddowe that
requyred Iuftyce at hys handes, but he woulde not
heare hyr, but putte hyr of and delayed the matter.

In proceesfe the Iudge seynge hyr importunitye,
fayed, though he feare neyther God nor manne, yet
for the importunitye of the womanne, I wylly heare hyr
leaste she rayle vpon me, and moleffe me wyth exclama-
tions, and oute cries I wylly heare hyr matter, I
wylly make an ende of it.

Oure Sauyoure Chrifte added more vnto thys and
fayed. Audite quid iudex dicat. et. cetera. Heare you
fayed Chrifte, what the wycked Iudge fayed.

And shall not God reuenge hys elecote, that crye
vpon hym daye and nyghte? Al though he tarye
and dyfferre theym, I fay vnto you, he wylly reuenge

* Rom. xv. 4.
them and that shortlye. But when the sonne of manne shall come, shall he fynd fayth in the earth.*

That I may haue grace so to open the remnaunt of thys parable that it maye be to the glorye of God, and edifyinge of youre foules, I shall defier you to praye. In the whiche prayer. etc.

I shewed you the latte daye, (moothe honourable Audience) the cause why oure Sauioure Christe, rather vised the example of a wycked Judge then of a good.

And the cause was for that in those dayes ther was greate plentye of wycked Judges, so that he myght borrowe an example amonge them well ynoughe. For there was muche scaristie of good Judges. I did excuse the wyddowe alfo for commynge to the Judge agaynst he aduerfarye, because the dyd it not of malyce, the dyd it not for appetite of vengeance.

And I tolde you that it was good and lawfull, for honeste vertuose folke, for Gods people, to vse the lawes of the realme, as an ordinari helpe agai[n]st theyr aduerfaryes, and oughte to take them as Gods holy ordinance, for the remedies of theyr injurys and wronges, when they are distresse. So that they do it charitiablye louyngelye, not of malyce, not vengeably, not couetously.

I shoulde haue tolde you here of a certayne secte of heritike that speake agaynste thys order and doctryne, they wyll haue no magistrates nor Judges on th'[e] earthe.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hearde of late by the relation of a credeble perfon, and a worshipful man, of a towne in thys realme of Englynde that hath aboue v. C. [five hundred] heritikes of thys erronious

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1. And the Lord said, Hear what the majest judge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which crye day and night, though he ear long with them?—Luke xviii. 7—8.

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?—Luke xviii. 6—8.
The fourth sermon

Howe busye the Deuyll is to hynder the worde and sclaunnder the gospel.

The deuyll is busy sturring is an euydent argument that thys doctrine is true.

opinion in it as he sayed. Oh so busye the Deuyll is nowe to hynder the woorde commynge oute, and to sclaunnder the Gospell. A sure argumente and an euydent demonstration, that the lyght of Gods worde is a brode, and that thys is a true doctrine that we are taught now, else he woude not rore and flyrre a boute as he doeth when he hathe the uppere hande. He wyl kepe his possefion quyety as he dyd in the popyshe dayes, whan he bare a rule of supremacye in peaceable possefion. If he regyned now in open relygyon, in open doctrine as he dyd than, he woude not flyrre vppe erronyouse opynyons, he woude haue keppe vs wythout contencion, wythoute dysliencion. There is no suche dyuerfytie of opynions amonoge the Turkes, nor among ye Iewes And why? For ther he raygneth peaceably in the hole relygyon. Christ sayth. Cum fortis armatus custodiet atrium, etc.

When the stronge armid man kepeth thys house, thos thinges yat he hath in po[s]ision, are in a quietnes, he doeth enioye them peaceably. Sed cum fortior co supervenerit.* But when a stronger than he commeth vpon hym, whan the light of goddes word is ones reuele, than he is busi, then he rores then he fyshes a brode, and flyrreth vp erronious opinions, to sclaunnder godds word. And thys is an argumente that we haue the true doctrine. I be[f]eche God continuwe vs and kepe vs in it. The dyuell declareth the fame, and therfore he rores thus and goeth a bout to flir vp these wanton headdes and busye braynes. And wyll you knowe where thys towne is? I wyll not tell you dyrectlye. I wyll put you to mufe a lyttele. I wyll vttre the matter by a cyrcumloquion. Wher is it? Wher the byshop of the dioces is an unpreachynge prelate. Who is that? If there be but one

* When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.—Luke xi. 25, 26.
suche in al England, it is easi to gesse. And if ther were no mo but one, yet it were to many by one. And yf there be moe, they have the more to aunswere for, that they suffer in this realme an vnpreachynge prelacye vnrefourmed. I remember wel what, S. Paule sayeth to a byshop. And though he spake it to Timothe beynye a byshop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for al is one case, al is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis.* Thou shalt not be partaker of other mennes faultes. Laye not thy handes rashely vpon anye, be not to hauly in makynge of curates, in receyyynge menne to haue cure of Soules that are not worthye of the office, that eyther, canne not or wyl not, do theyr dutye. Do it not. Whye? *quia communicabis Peccatis alienis.* Thou shalt be partaker of other mennes sinnes. Nowe methinke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens sinnes we shal find inough of our owne. And what is. *Communicare peccatis alienis.* To be partaker of other mennes euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachynge prelates, and to suffer them to continue fil in their vnpreachynge pr[e]lacye?

If the kyngye and hys councel should suffer euil Judges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iustice and suffer the great, to ouer go the poore; and shoulde loke through his fingers, and wynke at it, shoulde not the kinge be partaker of theyr naughtynes? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? what? is ye supremacye a dygnytye and no thynge else? is it not a dygnitye wyth a charge? is it not comptable? I thinke it wylbe a chargeable dygnytye whan accompte shal be asked of it. Oh what a vaunting hath the Deuyll? what entrye hath the wolfe whan the shepard tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good pasture? Saynt Paule doth say *qui bene præsunt præf.*

*Neither be partaker of other men's sins.* — 2 Tim. v. 22.
biteri duplici honore digni sunt.* What is thys Praefete. It is as much to say as to take charge and cure of foules we say *ille praefete,* he is sette over the flocke. He hath taken charge vppon hym. And what is To rule wel *Bene Praefete?* To discharge ye cure. To rule well, to sede the flocke wyth pure foode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *qui bene praefunt duplici honore digni sunt.*

Thei yat discharge their cure wel are worthy duble honour? What is thys duble honour? The fyrl is reuerenfed, to be had in estima\-\tion and reputacion with the people, and to be regarded as good pastours. A nother honoure is, to haue al thynges nece\-\fiye for their state, mynifi\r\nred vnto theym. Thys is the double honour that they ought to haue. *Qui praefunt Bene,* that discharge the cure if they do it *Bene.*

There was a merye moncke in Cam\-\bryge the Colledge that I was in, and it chaunced a greate companye of vs to be together, entendynge to make good cheare, and to be merye (as scholers wyll be mery when they are dispos\-\ed). One of the company brought out thys sen\-\tence. *Nil melius quam le\-\tari et facere bene.* There is nothyng better then to be mery and to do well. A ven\-\gageance of that *Bene* (quod the Monke) I would that, *Bene* had bene banished beyonde the sea, and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I coulde be mery, and I coulde do, but I loue not to do well, that *Bene* marres altogether. I woulde *bene* were out quod the mery monke for it importeth many thynges to lyue well, to discharge the cure. In deede it were better for then, yf it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It wyll be a heuy *Bene* to some of them, when they shall come to thyr accompt. But parr\-\uenture you wyll faye What and they preache not at all? Yet *praefunt.* Are they not worthye double

* Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour. —
1 Tim. v. 17.
honoure? is it not an honorable ordre they be in? naye a horrible misorder, it is a horror rather then an honoure, and horrible, rather then honourable, if the preacher be naughte, and do not hys dutye.

And thus go these prelates aboute to wrestle for honoure that the Deuyll maye take hys pleatuer in sclaunderynge the realme, and that it maye be reported abrode that we breede, herifyes amonge our felues. It is to be thought that some of them would haue it so, to bring in poperye agayne.

This I feare me is theyr entente, And it shalbe blowen abrode to oure holye father of Romes eares, and he shall sende forth hys thonderboltes vpon these brutes, and al thys dothe come to passe thorow theyr vnpreachinge prelacye.

Are they not worthy double honore? Nay, rather double dyshonore, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed amonge the people, and to haue no liuyng at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: so vnpreachinge prelates be worthy double dishonoure: They muste be at theyr doublets. But now these. ii. dishonoures, what be they? Our sauiour christ doth shew. *Si jugum tuum sustulit, non dispicio.* Math. v.

If the falte be vnflauere it is good for nothinge, but to be cast out and troden of men. By thys falte is vnderstande preachers, and such as haue cure of foules. What be they worthye then? Whatfore servue they? For nothing elles but to be cast oute. Make them quondammes, out with them, cast them out of ther office, what shuld thei do with cure yat wil not loke to them? An other dishonor is this. *Ut conculcentur ab hominibus.* To be troden under mens fete, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed. They be at theyr doublets flyl. S. Paule in hys epistle qualifeye a bishop, and faith that he must be forth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. – Matt. v. 13.
Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum apte.

and to confute all manner of false doctrine.

shall a man do wyth aptenes, if he do not come to the lafte daye, and wyth me for a certayne Season made in this place.† Hys chaplaine complayned agaynst me by spoken agaynst vnpreaching.

Naye quod the byshoppe, indifferent a Sermon the fyfth daye.

I thoughte he woulde marre a prohibiting me.

he is, As for my quondamshyp I thanke gaue me ye grace to come by it by fo hone.

I dyd. I thanke hym for myne owne quondammes, dominus regnuit.

and as for them I wyll not haue them damms yf they dyscharge theyr office. I theym do theyr dutye. I wyll haue them damns as God healpe me. I owe them malyce then thys, and that is none at al. Thys byshop anwered hym well (fayes he) well I dyd wyth him for I was goyng to hym remembred me that I had neither fayre mattens. And homarde I gate me coulde, and I thanke god well, and let hym vnfruteful lyvyng, Vnfruteful fayth one, and sedidious. Wel, vnfruitfull.

and whether it be vnfruitfull or no, I can lyvyng not in me to make it fruitfull. And not in your hertes: my preachers do you but lyttle good. I must giue the encrease, and yet preachynge.

For take a waye preachynge, and taksion. I toould you of Scala cali and I

* Apt to teach.—1 Tim. iii. 2. † The 3d
ynge matter, not a maffyng matter. Christ is the preacher of all preachers, the patrone and the exemplar, [c]hat all preachers oughte to folowe. For it was he by whome the father of heauen sayde: *Hic ef B Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite.* Thys is my welbeloued sonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on the earth, as wysely, as learnedlye, as circumstentli as he preached, yet hys fede fell in thre partes so that the fourthe parte onelye was fruiteful, and ye he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we looke for? yet was ther no lacke in hym, but in the grounde: And so now ther is no fault in ye preachynge, the lacke is in the people that haue stony hertes and thorny hertes. I befeche God to amend them. And as for these folke that speake against me, I neuer loke to haue theyr goode worde as longe as I lyue. Yet wyll I speake of their wickednes, as long as I shalbe permytted to speake As longe as I lyue, I wyl be an enemy to it. No preachers can passe it ouer wythy sylence. It is the originall roote of all mychies. As for me I owe them no other yll wyll, but I praye God amende theym, when it pleafeth hym. Now to the parable. What dyd the wycked Judge in the ende of the tale? The loue of god moued hym not, the lawe of god was this, and it is written in the fyrfth of Deuteronomye, *Auditeeos.* Heare them. These two wordes wylbe heuyes wordes to wycked judges another daye. But some of them peraduenture wyl fay. I wyl heare them, but I wil heare suche as wyl geue brybes, and thefe that wyl do me good tournes. Naye ye be hedged out of that lybertye. He sayth, *Ita parvum ut magnum.* The smalle as well as the greate. Ye must do *insum, deale*

*This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Mt. xvi. 9.*

*Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God’s; and the cause is too hard for you, bring it unto me; and I will hear it.—Deut. i. 17.*
Iustelye? mynster iustice, and that to al men, and you muste do it iustlye. In tyme convenient, wythout any delayes, or dryuynge of, wyth expedycion.

Well, I faye, neyther thys lawe, nor the worde and commandemente of God moued thys wycked Judge, nor the myserye of thys wyddowe, nor the vpryghteouenes of hys cause, nor the wronge whyche she tooke, moued hym, but to auoyde importunitie, and clamoure, and exclamation, he gau hyr the hearynge, he gau hyr fynall sentence, and so she hadde hyr requeste

Thys place of Judgement it hathe bene euer vnperfecte, it was neuer fene that all Judges dyd thyer dutye, that they woulde heare the small as well as the greate. I wyll not prowe thys by the wytnes of anye pryuate maiestrate, but by the wyfete Kynges savyng that euer was. vidi in loco iusticie, impietatem, et in loco equitatis iniquitatem.* I haue fene vnder the sunne, that is to say, ouer all, in euery place wher right judgement shoulde haue bene, wickednes, as who shoulde faye bribes takinge, deceatynge of iustice, oppressing of the pore Men sent away with wepynge teares, wythout anye hearinge of their causyes, and in the place of equitie sayth he: I haue fene iniquity. No equitie. No iustice a fore worde for Salomon to pronounce vniuersallye, generallye, and if Salomon sayd it, there is a matter in it.

I wene he sayed it not onely for hys owne tyme, but he fawe it both in those that were before hym, and also that were to come after hym.

Nowe comes Esay and he asfyremeth ye fame speaking of the judgemementes done in hys time in the commune place as it myghte be Westminister hall, the gyldhe hall, the Judges hall, the pretory howse.

* And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that iniquity was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.—Eccles. iii. 16.
Of M. Latimer.

Call it what you will. In ye open place.
For judges at that tyme (accordynge to the
maner) sate in the gates of the cytye in
the hye waye.

A goodly and Godly order for to fitte,
so that the poore people maye eateily come
to them. But what sayeth Elaye that sedi-
tioufe fellowe? He sayeth of hys countrey
this. Expeclausi ut fueret iuditium, et
feicit iniquitatem. I loke the judges should do theyr
duty, and I saw them worke iniquitie.

There was brybes walking, money makyng, makyng
of handes (quod the Prophete) or rather
almghtye God by the Prophete, suche is
theyre parcialitye, affeccion, and brybes.
They be suche money makers, inhauncers, and pro-
moters of them felues.

Elaye knewe thys by the crynyng of the people.
Ecce clamor populi. sayeth he. And though some
amonge theym be vnreasonoble people (as manye be
nowe adayes) yet no doubt of it some
cryeth not
wythoute a cause. And why? Theyr
matters are not hearde, they are fayne
to go home with wepeing teares, that fall
downe by theyr chekes, and ascende vp to
heauen and crye for vengeaunce. Let
Judges loke about them, for surellye God
wyll reuenge hys elect one daye.

And surellye me thynke, yf a Judge woulde followe
but a worldelye reason, and wey the
matter politikelye, wythoute these examples
of scripturere, he should feare more the hurt
that maye be done hym by a poore wyddowe, or a
myerable man, then by the greatest Gentyll man of
them al. God hath pulled the judges skines over
their heades, for the pore mans take yea, the pore
wyddowe maye do hym more hurt wyth hys pore.

* He looked for judgment, but be-
hold oppression; for righteous-
but behold a cry.—Isa. 5. 7.
The fourth sermon

pater nostre in tyr mouth, then any other weapon, and wyth. ii. or thre wordes shall bryng hym downe to the grounde, and destroye his iolitye, and cause hym to lofe more in one day, then he gate in feuen yeres, for God wyll reuenge these misereable folkes, that can not helpe them selues. He fayth. Ego in diuistationis etc.* In the daye of visitation I wyll reuenge theym? An non velisfetor anima mea?† Shall not my soule be reuenged? As who shoulde faye,

I must nede take theyr part. Veniens veniam et non tardabo.‡

Yes though I tary, and though I feme to linger neuer fo longe yet I wyl come at lengthe, and that shortely.
And is god spake this, he wil perfourme his promis. He hath for theyr fakes as I tolde you, pulled the skynne ouer the iudges ears or thys.

Kynge Dauid truute some in hys olde age, that dyd hym no very good seruice.

Nowe if in the people of God there were some folkes that fell to brybing, then what was ther amonge the Heathen?

Afsalon Dauids sonne was a bywalker, and made a diurbaunce amonge the people in his fathers tyme.

And though he were a wycked man and a bywalker, yet some there were in that tyme that were good, and walked vptyghtlye.

I speake not thys agaynste the Iudges seate. I speake not as though all iudges were naught, and as though I dyd not holde wyth the Iudges, maiestrates, and officers, as the Anabaptistes thes Faulfe heretykes do. But I Iudge them honorable, necessary, and Goddes ordinaunce. I speake it as scripture speaketh to giue a Caeuat and a warnynge to all maiestrates, to cause theym to loke to theyr ofiicys, for the deuyll, the greate maiestrate, is

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* Isa. x. 3.
† Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?—Jer. v. 29.
‡ Though it tarry, wait for it because it will surely come, it will not tarry.—Hab. ii. 3.
He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 31.
verye bufy nowe, he is euer doynge, he neuer cea-
eth to go about to make them like hymselfe. The
prouerbe is. *Simile gaudet simili.* Lyke woulde haue
lyke: If the iudg be good and vpyrgh he wyll aysaye
to deceaue hym eyther by the subtyll suggezio- 
ning of crafty lawyers or els by 
fałfe wytnesfe, and subtyl vtterynge of a wronge
matter. He goeth about as much as he can to cor-
rupt the men of lawe, to make them fal to brybery, 
to laye burdens on poore mennes backes, and to 
make them fal to periurye, and to bryng into the
place of iudgement al corruption, iniquytie, and im-
pietie. I haue spoken thus much, to occafyon al
Judges and maiestraute to loke to theyr offyces. They
had neede to loke about them.

This geare moued saint Chrisostome
to speke thys senteence. *Miror fi. aliquis 
reflorum potest saluari.* I maruaile (faied 
this doctoure) if anye of thes rulers or
great maiestrautes can be faued.

He spake it not for the impossibilitie of
the thynge (God forbyd that all the maiestrautes and
judges shoulde be condemned) but for the difficultye.

Oh that a man myghte haue the con-
templation of hell, that the deuyll woulde
alowe a man to loke into hel, to se the
state of it, as he shewed al ye world when
he tempted Chrift, in the wyldernes. *Commonsfrat
illl omnia regna mundi.* He shewed him al the
kyngedomes of the worlde, and all theyr
Math. iiiii. 
iolitye, and tolde hym that he woulde gyue hym all,
if he woulde knele downe and worshyp hym. He
lyed lyke a faulfte harlot, he could not gyue theim he
was not able to giue so much as a golfe wynge: for
they were none of hys to gyue.

The tother that he promyfed them vnto: had mor
ryghte to them then he.

* Sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of
But I fay, if one were admitted to view and beholde it thorowly, and the devyll, and yonder fyde are punished.

Prelates are wyth the devyll in hell.

God saue vs, but they be not there alone, for bynyng judges are wyth them in company.

He returneth to his former matter.

On yonder fyde are punished prelates, I thinke a man shoulde as a kennyng and fe nothyn preachynge Prelates.

He myghte loke as farre as warrant you. And then if he went the other side, and shewe what yng judges were, I thinke so many, that there were scanned any other. Our Lord ameneth to our matter. This Judge I said. Though I feare neyther God, nor did he thinke as he fayed? Dyd he that? Is it ye maner of wicked Judges to confess their faultes nay he thought not so.

And a man had come to hym, and wycked, he woulde forth wyth haue comming to ward, he woulde haue defended hym for Whi the judge was forseyed then to confess his faultes. It was god that spake in hym God putteth hym to utter faultes as he fawe in hym herte, and to hym selue.

And there be lykethynge in ye scripture insipiens in corde suo non est deus.* The wyld in his hert, there is no God, and yet we haue bene asked the question, he would haue.

Elsay the prophet fayeth also, mendatio propter We are defended with lyes. We haue put out And in an other place he saieth. Ambule tate cordis mei.† I wyll walke in the wycke herte. He uttereth what lyeth in hys knowne to hym selue, but to God. Ezechiel described the herte of man.

It was not for noughte the describeth mannes hert in

* The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.—Psa. xiv. 1.
† We have made lies our refuge.—xxiii. 17.
Isa. xxviii. 15.

† Every one imaginings of
The heart is deceitful above all things, and is very wicked. — That rule well. — 1 Tim. vi. 2.

The truth gettes hatred.
The fourth sermon

Thys is no good argument my frendes. A man femeth not to feare death, therfore hys can se his good. Thys is a deceauable argumente. He went to hys death boldly, ergo he standeth in a iust quarel.

The Anabaptistes that were brente here in dyuers townes in England, as I heard of credibele menne (I sewe them not my selfe) went to theyr death, even Intrepide. As ye wyll faye with out any feare in the world chearfully. Well, let them go.

There was in the olde doctours tymes an other kinde of poynoned heretikes, that were called Donatistes. And these heritiikes wente to their execution as thoough they should haue gone to some iolye recreation or bauket, to some bealye chere, or to a play. And wyll ye argue then? He goeth to hys death boldely, or chearefully, Ergo he dyeth in a iust caufe Naye that sequell foloweth no more then thys.

A man femes to be a frayded of death, Ergo he dyeth euyl. And yet our Sauioure Christe was a frayded of death him selfe.

I warne you therefore, and charge you not to iudge theym yat be in authority, but to praye for them. It becometh vs not to Iudge greate maiestrates, nor to condemne theyr doinges, vnlasse theyr dedes be openly and apparantly wycked. Charitye requireth the fame, for charitye iudgeth no man, but well of erybodye. And thus we maye trye whether we haue charitye or no, and if we haue not charitye wee are not Gods disciples, for they are known by that badge He that is hys disciple, hath the worcke of charity in hys breast.

It is a worthye sayinge of a clarke. Charitas si est, operatur, si non operatur, non est. If there be charity it worketh, Omnia crede re, omnia sperare. To beleue

* Believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.
all things, to hope al, to say ye best of the maiesistrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. I wil go farder with you now. If I should haue sayed al that I knewe, youre eares woulde haue yrked, to haue hearde it, and nowe God hathe brought more to lyghte. And as touchyng the kynde of hys death, whether he be saued or no, I referre that to God onely. What God can do, I can tell. I wyl not denye but that he maye in the twynkeling of an eye, saue a man, and turne hys herte. What he dyd I can not tell. And when a man hathe two f strokes wyth an axe, whoo can tel that betwene two f strokes he doth repente. It is very hard to iudge Well, I wyl not go fo nye to worke, but thys I wyl say, if thei afke me what I thinke of hys deathe, that he dyed verye daungerously, yrkefomelye, horrablye.

The man beyng in the tower wrote cer-
tayne papers whyche I fawe my selfe. Thei were two lytte ones, one to my Ladye Maryes grace, and an other to my Ladye Elizabethe grace, tendyng to thys ende, that they shoulde conpyrae a gaynste my Lorde protectours grace.

Surely to sedityouli as could be. Nowe what a kind of death was thys, that when he was readye to laye his head vpon the blocke, he turns me to the leuetenantes seruaunte and sayeth.

Byd my seruaunte speede the thynge that he wottes of? Wel, the worde was ouer heard.

Hys seruaunte confessed these two Papers, and they were founde in a shooe of hys. They were fowen betwene the soules of a veluet shooe. He made his ynke so craftely, and wyth fuch worke-
manship as the lyke hath not bene fene.

I was prisoner in the tower miselde, and I coulde nieuer inuente to make ynke so. It is a wonder to heare of hys subuitie. He made hys pen of the aglet of a poynte that he plucked from hys hofe, and thus wrote these letters
foo seditiously, as ye haue hearde, enfor
t matters agaynste my Lorde protectours goorth. God had lefte hym to him selfe
cleane forsfaken hym. What wolde he ha
he had liued styll? that wente a bout this go
he layed hys head on the blocke at the en
lyfe. Charitye (they saye) worketh but Go
after thyse sorte. Well, he is gone, he kno
fare by thyse, he is eyther in ioye or in pay
is but two flates if we be once go
is no chaunge. Thyse is the
the scripture. *ubiunque lignu
ibi erit, suae in astra, suae in aq
Wherefoever the tree falleth, or
the southe, or into the north, there it shall a
By the fallynge of the tree, is signifysed the
man. If he fall into the Southe, he shall b

For the Southe is hote, and the charitye or faluation. If he fall in the no
colde of infidelity, he shal be dampned.
but two flates, the flate of faluation, and the
damnation.

Ther is no repentaunce after thyse lyfe
dye in the flate of dampanation, he shal rife in
Yea, though he haue a whole Monkery
for hym. He shall haue hys fynall Sentenc
dyeth.

And that seruaunte of hys, that
and vittered thyse gere was an hon
He dyd honestlye in it. God gy
hys herte. And as for the th
ther he be saufed or no I leaue
But surelye, he was a wycked man, the m
well rydde of hym.

It hathe a treasure, that he is gone. He
hys fare by thyse.

A terrible example fuerlye, and to be y
man. Nowe before he shoulde dye,

* If the tree fall toward the south, where the tre
or toward the north, in the place be.—Eccles.
had commendations to the kynge, and spake manye wordes of hys maiestye. All is the kynge, the Kyngke. Yea Bona verba. These were sayre wordes the kynge, the kynge, I was travailed in the tower my selfe (wyth the kynges commaundemente, and the counsayle) and there was fyr Roberte Cunstable, the Lorde Husbye, the Lord Darfy. And the Lorde Darfy, was tellynge me of the fayethull servise that he hadde done the kynges maiesty the dead is. And I had fene my Soueraygne Lorde in the syde (sayd he) and I had fene hys grace come a gaynste vs. I woulde haue lyghted from my horse, and taken my fwerde by the poynt, and yelded it into hys graces handes. Mary quod I but in the meane seapon ye played not the parte of a fayethull subjecte in holdynge wyth the people in a commotion, and a disturbunce. It hath bene the cast of al traytours to pretend nothing agaynste the kynges person, they neuer pretende the matter to the kyng, but to other.

Subiectes maye not refyfete anye magistrates, nor oughte to do nothinge contraye to the kynges lawes. And therefore these wordes, the kynge and so forth, are of smalle effecte. I hearde once a tale of a thinge yat was done at Oxforde. xx. yeres a go, and the lyke hath bene fence in thyse realme as I was enformed of credible persons, and some of them that sawe it be alyue yet.

There was a prieste that was robbed of a grete summe of money, and there were. ii. or. iii. attache for the same robberie and to be bryeke were condemned and broughte to the place of execution. The fyrtie manne, when he was vpon the ladder denied the matter utterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer consented to the robberie of the prieste nor neuer knew of it. When he was deade, the seconde felowe commeth and makesth
his protestation and acknowledg'd that among other grieveous offences that he was accesseary to thys robberye and fay my parte of it, I crye God mercy so hath that dyed before me hys parte. Now whether thys fellow dyed wel or no? It is hard to judge a mans herte? The one daunger, and the tother confesse Judgment of suche matters, muche wyckednes of thys manne, and oft, Iesu, what wyl worth, what wyl thys man?

When I was wyth the byshop of warde (I was not so wyth hym, but might come to me, and talke wyth hym) I was desirous to heare of execution. I was eueri weke, some at the citie or other) for there sessions at newgate, and sessions at the Marshialhy, and I was desirous I faie to heare of execution. I loked that my part shoulde haue euvery daye to be called to it my selfe.

Among all other I heare a woman, a naughtye lyue vayne bodye, yat was ledde to the place of execution, for a certaine she had committed, and she hadde a communication by the waye. He occasion to moue your grace an learned menne as shall be put to death and exhortation.

For the reverence of God be put to execution, let thy tours, for manye of them are cast as instruction, and dye miserably for preaching.

This woman I say as she went
wanton and solythe talke, as thys, that if
good felowes hadde kept touch wyth hyr,
She hadde not bene at thys tyme in that
cafe, and amongest falle other talke, she saied, that
suche a one, and named this manne, hadde hyr
maidenheade fyrshe, and herynge thys of hym at thay
tyme, I loked euer what woulde be hys ende, what
woulde be come of hym.

He was a manne the fardeste frome the feare of
God that euer I knewe or heard of in Englande.
Fyrshe, he was author of all thys womannes whoredome.
For if he had not had hyr maydenhead, she
myghte haue bene maried, and become an honetle
womanne, wher as nowe beynge nought wyth hym,
shes fell afterwarde by that occasion to other. And
they that were nought wyth her, fel to robbery and
she folowed, and thus was he author of all thys.

This geare came bi Sequels. Peraduenture thys
maye seeme to be a lyghte matter, but surelye it is a
greate matter, and he by vnrepentance fell frome
cynil to worfe, and frome worfe, to worfe of all, til
at the length he was made a spectacle to all the
worlde. I haue hearde faye, he was of the opinion
that he beleued not the immortalitye of the soule that
he was not ryght in yat matter. And it myghte well
appeare by the takynge of hys death. But ye wyl
faye. What ye sclauder hym, ye breake charitye.

Nay it is charitie that I do. We canne haue no
better vse of hym nowe, then to warne other to beware
by hym.

Christ faith Memores eflote uxoris
Loth. * Remembre Lothes wife? She
was a woman that wold not be content
with his good state, but wreeled wyth
Gods callynge, and she was for that cause turned into
a fale stone, and therefore the scripture doeth name
hir as an example for vs to take hede by. Ye shall se
also in the second Epistle of saint Peter the seconde

* Remember Lot's wife.—Luke xvii. 32.
Chapter, howe that God almyghtye. 

God spared not his angels, which againste hym to make them vs to beware by. He drowned the whole world in the time of Noe and for synne the cities of Sodom and Gomorhe and why? Fecit eos qui impii forent aeturi.* Here is an example to them that are wyckedlye in tyme to come. If God would have taken them, thynke ye he wyll fauour vs? thys man be an example to vs. Let vs judge wel of our magistrat matters and be contente to doynges, and loke not to be faile.

And thus toke I occasion to speake of him, and to profyt you therby, you so to take it. He may be a good example to vs, and this is the best vse that we can nowe.

I wil go on a word or two, in the application of the parable, and then I wyll make an ende, and to what purpose broughte I the parable of the wycked judge.

To what end? The ende is, that we should continually in prayer. Prayer is of all other duties the most rupe but by wickednes. We therefore walk orderly, vpyrghly, callying vs to all our troubles, and aduerfities, and purpose there is not a more comfortable leafrable scripture, then here now in the lapping water. Therefore I wyll open it vnto you wholesome people, if there be any here amonge you oppr presses with grete men and can get no justice. To whom in I speake for youre comfort.

* And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes condemned after should them with an overthrow, making
unto you, whither ye shall resort, when ye be in any distres. Hys good wyll is dydry at alwayes at hande, when so euer we shal cal for it. And therefore he callis vs to hym selfe. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Mark what he sayth to cause vs beleeve that oure prayers shal be hearde. *Et deus non faciet vindicati.* He reasons after thys fashyon. Wyl not GOD, sayeth he, reuenge hys electe? and heare thei.n? seyng the wycked judge heare the wydowe? He semeth to goe plainely to worcke, he willeth vs to praye to God, and to none but to God. We haue a maner of reasonyng in the scholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius.* From the lesse to the more, and that may be vned here. The iudge was a tirante, a wicked man, God is a patron, a defender, a father vnto vs. If the iudge then, beyng a tyrante, woulde here the poore wyddowe, suche more God wyll her vs in all distreses. He beynge a father vnto vs, he wyll heare vs sone, then the other beynge no father, hauynge no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturally mercifull.

The iudge was cruel, and yet he healped the wyddowe, suche more then God wyl help vs at oure neede. He sayeth by the oppressed. *Cum ipso fum in tribulatione.* † I am with hym in hys trouble. Hys trybulacion is myne. 

I am touched wyth hys trouble. If the Iudge then beyng a cruell man hearde the wydowe, suche more GOD wyll healpe vs, being touched wyth oure affection. Furthermore, thy s iudge gaue the wydowe, no commaundemente to come to hym, we haue a commaundemente to refert to GOD for he sayeth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis:* ‡ call upon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, whys as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis.* § Thou shalt not steale.

* And shall not God avenge his elect?—See text at p. 103. † Call upon me in the daye of trouble.—Psa. 1. 15. ¢ I shall be with him in trouble.—Ex. xxv. 39.
He that spake the one, spake the other; foeuer he be that is in trouble, and calleth God, breaketh his commandement: therefore. The judge dyd not promisely helpe, God promiseth vs help, and we forume it? He wyll, he wyl. The dyd not promyse the wyddowe healpe, vs both hearing and helpynge. He had it vs wyth a dubble othe. Amen, and verely, verely, he doubles it.

Quecumque petieritis etc.* whatsoeuer my name, ye shal haue it. And though somes fynner for a tyme, and suffer hym the brydell, to prowe hym (for there be many but fewe continewars in prayer) yet thincke that he hath forgotten vs, and vs vs. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit.† Why is mooste nedefull, then he wyll come at Heknoweth when it shalbe best for healpe, though he tary he wyll come at the trouble you but halfe a quarter of an application of the parable, and so commonly.

What should it meane that god would haue vs diligent and earnest in prayr, and such pleasure in our word talke of prayer, and make ynge. Praying is not babling is not monkerye.

It is to miserable folke that are opper forte, folace, and a remedy.

But what maketh our prayer to be God? It lyeth not in our power. We by an other meane.

Remembre what God sayd of his why our pray er is acceptab le to God.

* *Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.—John xiv. 13. I am well.
† This is the filius meus dilectus, bene complacui. This is
and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.
Whom I delyte. He hath pleasure in nothyng, but
in hym.

How cometh it to passe then, that oure prayer
pleaseth God. Oure prayer pleaseth God, because
Christ pleaseth God.

When we praye, we come vnto hym, in the confi-
dence of Chrystles merytes, and thus offerynge vp oure
prayers, they shalbe heard for Chrystles fake. Yea,
Chrystle wyl offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once
hys Sacryfycyse to God, whych was acceptable, and he
that commeth wyth anye other meane then thys, god
knoweth hym not.

This is not the misfayl Sacrifice, the pop-
isishe sacriyfycyse to stand at the aultare, and
offer vp Chryst agayne. Oute vpon it,
thateuer it was vfed.

I wyl not fay naye, but that ye shall fynde in the
olde doctores thys word Sacrificium, but there is one
generall solution for all the doctours that
S. Augustyne sheweth vs.

The fygne of a thynge hath often times
the name of ye thing that it signifieth. As
the supper of the Lorde is the Sacrament of an other
thyng, it is a commemoration of his death whych
suffered once for vs, and because it is a signe of Chrystles
offering vp, therefore it beares the name therof. And
thys Sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man.
Yea, a poore woman in the belfre: hath as good
authoritie to offer vp thys sacriyfycyse, as hath the byshopyn
in his pontificalibus, with his myter on his head, hys
ringes on his fyngers, and Sandales on hys fete.
And whosoever commeth asking the father remedy in
hys necessyte for Chrystles fake, he offereth vp as
acceptable a sacriyfycyse as any byshopy can do. And fo
to make an ende.

Thys must be done wyth a conflaunte fayeth, and
a fure confyndence in Chrystle. Fayeth, Fayeth, Faythe is al
togther.

Chrystle nameth fayth here, Fayeth is al.
together. When the sone of man shall come, shall he fynde fayeth on the earthe? Why speake he so muche of faythe? because it is harde to fynde a true faythe. He speake not of a politcall fayth, a faythe set vp for a tyme, but a constaunt, a permanent, a durable faythe, as durable as goddes word. He came many tymes. Fyrstle in the tyme of Noe, when he preached, but he founde lytle fayth. He came also when Loth preached, when he destroyed Sodome and Gomorhe.

But he founde no fayth, and to be shorte he shall come at the latter daye, but he shall fynde a lytle fayth. And I wene the daye be not farre of, and when he was here carnallye dyd, he fynde anye faythe? Manye speake of faythe, but fewe ther be that hath it.

Chrysfle mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he founde no fayth.

Thys fayth is a great state, a Ladye, a Dutches, a greate womanne, and the hath euer a great companye and trayne about her (as a noble state ought to haue) fyrstle she hath a Gentleman vsreth that goth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth.

This Gentleman vsreth is called Agnito peccatorum, knowledge of synne is gentle man vsreth to Lady fayth.

Fayth hath a trayne after her & they are the workes of our vocation.
vhen euerye man confydereth what vocation he is, what callyng he is in, and doeth the worckes of the me, as to be good to hys neighbour, to obey good etc.

Thys is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayeth, as or an exemple. An unfaythful Iudge hath fyrste an beauye rekenyge of his faulchte, repentynge him self of his wickednes, and then forfakeneth his iniquytie, hys impeietie, feareeth no man, walkes vpryght, and he that doeth not thus, hath not Ladye fayth, but rather a boldnes of synne, and abusinge of Christes passion. Ladye faeth is neuer withoute hyr Gentylman where, nor wyth out hyr trayne, shee is no Anckres, she dwells not alone, shee is neuer a pryuate woman, she is neuer alone, and yet many therbe that bothe them selues that they haue fayth, and that when Christe shall come they shall do well ino[u]gh. Nay naye, thefe that be fayethfull shall be so fewe, that Christ shall scarce se them. Manye there be that runnes fayeth Saynte Paule, but there is but one that receuyeth the rewarde, it shall be wyth the multytude when he shall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the tyme of Loth.

In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkyng, buyldynge plantynge, and sodenyely the water came vpon them, and drowned them:

In the tyme of Lothe alfo, they weare eatynge and drynkyng, etc. And fodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and dewoured them. And nowe we are eatynge and drinkyng. There was neuer suche buyldeynge then, as is nowe, plantynge, nor maryynge. And thus it shallbe euen when Christe shall come, at the Judgetyme.

Is eatynge and drynkyng and marying, reprooued in scripture? Is it not? Naye he reprooued not al ynd of eatynge and drynkyng, he muste be other eyes vnderstand.

If the scripture be not trulye expounded what is
more erronious? And though there be some eatynge or drykynge in the scripture, it speaketh not as though all were nought.

They may be well ordered, God's allowance, but to drynk as they dyd in Noe's time, and they dyd in Lothe's tyme. And drykynge, and marynge is spoken

To eate and drinke in the forgetfullnesse of commandement, voluptuously, in every gluttonie, this kind of eatynge and nought, when it is not done moderatly, with all circumspection. And to marrye for fleshely luste, all owne fantasies. There was manny marriage in Englande, as is nowe. I flealynge of wardes to marre to. This is a strange kynde, but it is not the wardes, it is that they fleale. And some ther be them marriages to gether not for any love or the parties, but to get free, make them strong in the re
crease their possessions and to lande. And other ther be mennen daughters, in the company of their fathers, and go about to have without their consent. This is vngodlye, and many parents confine

fonnes and daughters to marrye in a forgetfulness of goddes commandementes

of the tyme of Noe, sodenyly a

their bosomes, so shall it be the latter day when Christe shall have as lytyll conscience;

when he shall come, he
yeth, wel is them that shalbe of that a man can nei-
le flocke, that shall be set on the righte yet se it.
ende. etc.
I haue troubled you longe, partelye beynge out of
y matter, partelye beyng in. But now I wyl make
ende. I begane wyth thyss text. *Quaecunque scripta
unt. etc.* So wyl I ende now for myne owne eafe, as
olde treuante wyth thyss fentence. **Beati qui
audient verbum dei etc.†**
Blessed are they that heare the worde of God, and
kepeth it. I tolde you in the begynning of thyss
Parable of Bene. *Nil melius quam laetari et facere.* If
I had ceaft ther all hadde benne wel, quod the
merye Moonke, so blessed are they that heare the
Our blessednes commeth of the kepynge.
It hanges all on the ende of the tale, in
crediting and assentyng to the worde,
and folowynge of it. And thus
we shal begyn oure blessed
nes here, and at the
length we shal
come to
the
blessynge that neuer shal
hauc ende, whych
God graunt
both you
and me,
Amen.

* From xxv. 4.  
† Luke xi. 38.
The fifte
Sermon of Mayster Hughe
Latimer, whyche he preached before
the kynges Maiestye wythin
hys Graces Palacie at
Westminster the
lyfte daye of
April.

Vacunque scripta sunt, ad nostram
doctrinam scripta sunt.* Al things
yate are wrytten, thei are written, to be
oure doctrine. What doctrine is writ-
ten for vs in the parable of the Judge,
and the wyddow, I haue opened
it to you, mosle honorable audience.

Some thinges as concerning the
Judge, I woulde wythe and praye, that it myghte be a
lytle better kept in memorye, that in the seate of
Iuslyce, no more iniquitie and vnryghteous-
nes, myght raygne.

Better a lytle wel kept, then a greate
deale forgotten. I wold the Judges woulde
take forth theyr lesson, that there myghte
be no more iniquitye vfed, nor brybe-
takyng, for if there shall be brybyng, they
knowe the peryl of it, they knowe what
shall followe. I wolde also they shoulde
take an example of this Judge that dyd
faye, not that that he thought hym felse,
but our sauioure Chriſt puttes him to faye
that thynge, that was hid vnto him felse.
Wherfore I wold ye shoulde kepe memorye, how
fearcheable a mans hert is. I woulde ye shoulde
remembere the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby,
the fall of the olde worlde, and beware therby.

The fal of Sodome and gomorhe, and be-

* Rom. xv. 4.
The fall of Lothes wyfe, and beware thereby. The fall of the manne that suffered of late, and beware therbye.

I woulde not that miserable folke should forget the argument of the wycked Iudge, to induce them to prayer, whyche argumente is thys. If the Iudge beynge a tyraunte, a cruell man, a wycked man, whych did not call hir to hym, made hir no promife, nor in herynge nor helpynge of hir caufe, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunitye sake dyd helpe hyr, muche more almighty god which is a father who beareth a fatherlye affectioun, as the father doeth to the chylde, and is naturallye mercifull, and calleth vs to him wyth hys Promife that he wyll heare them that call vpon hym, that be in distres and burdened with aduerfitie. Remembre this. You knowe where to haue youre remedy. You by youre prayer can worcke greate efficayce. And your prayer wyth teares is an inßrument of great efficacy. It canne brynge many thynges to passe. But what thinge is that, that maketh our prayer acceptable to god? is it our babling? No, no. It is not our babbling nor our long prayer. There is an other thyng then it.

The dygnitie and worthines of our wordes, is of no such vertue. For whosoever resorthe vnto God, not in the confidence of hys own merites, but in the sure trute of the deseruinge of oure Sainour Iefus Chryfte, and in hys paffyon.

Whosoever doeth inoculate the father of heauen, in the trute of Chrisplies merites, whyche offerynge is the mos comfortable and acceptable offerynge to the father. Whosoever I faye offereth vp Christe, whyche is a perfecte offerynge, he can not be denied the thinge he desyreth, so that it be expedient for hym to haue it. It is not the bablyng of our lippes, nor digniye of our wordes, but the prayer of our heart is the offerynge that pleaseth thorowe the
only means of his sonne. For our prayer vs bycause we offer Christ to his father. Whosoever referteth to God Christ, he referteth in vayne. pleaseth, because of Iesus Christ we offer. So that it is faith, is the matter. It is no pity without faith, it is but a lyppet labmonkery without faith. It is but a lytle I spake also of lacke of faith, and vs fayed, the ende of the worlde is neare another is lacke of faith nowe. Also the dece and swaruing from the faith the man of sinne, the sonne reuiled, the latter daye is vs not thinke his commyning But when foeuer he cometh h iniquitie inough, let him come when he is nowe behinde? we be eatynge and do they were in Noes tyme, and Mariynge wyckedly as euer was. We purchachinge, planting in the of Gooddes worde. He maye lye when he wol, for there is chiefe and swarung from (raynynge nowe in our dayes) as euer age. It is a good warntyng to vs all to agayntle his commyng, Thys lyttel re made of the thynges I speake mon. I wyll nowe for thys c to my question and dissolu goddes people maye be gone uernour that bereth the name or no. The Jewes hadde a lawe they should have a kynge they haue hym accordynge to god, he would not leaye kynge to thir owne braine, some buffe braynes, we saye, the name of a k

Conjectures why the ende of the world is supposed to be neare at hande.

As much wickednes vsyd in our tyme as euer was in the time of Noe.

M. Latimer returneth to his former question and to the dissolution of the same.

Wether Goddes people maye be governed by a kyng or no.

The kynges of the Jewes were elected and chosen of God.
name and wrieth this text of the scripture, when god semeth to be angrye and displeased with the Israelites for asking a kyng expounding it very euill and odiously. As who wold say a king were an odious thyng. I comminge rideinge in my way, and calling to remembrance wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maiefti I thought it mete to frame my preching according to a king. Mysynge of thyss I remembre mistcliffe of a boke that came from Cardinall Pole, maister Pole the kynges traytor, whysche he sent to the kynges maieftiye. I neuer remembre that man me thyncke, but I remembre hym wyth a heauye herte, a wyttye man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in fauoure that if he had tamed in the realme, and woulde haue conformed hym selfe to the Kynges procedynges, I hearde saye, and I beleue it verelye, that he hadde bene Byshope of Yorke at this day. To be a bidden by, he wold haue done muchegood in that parte of the Realme. For those quarters haue all wayes had greate neade of a learned man, and a preachinge prelate. A thyng to be muchelamented that fuche a man shoule take fuche a waye. I here saye he readeth muche Saynté Iermes workes, and iswel sene in them. But I woulde he woulde folowe saynte Ierome, wher he expoundeth thyss place of scripture.

Exxxde illa populus meus.* All mightie god sitheth. Get you from it, get you from Rome, he calleth it, the purple houre of Babillon. It had bene more commendable to go from it, then to come to it. What his sayings be in his boke, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest ende of my memorye. He declareth hym selfe in it, to haue a compete judgemente, I haue but a glim-

* My people, go ye out of the midst of her.—Jer. li. 45.
meringe of it Yet in generally the scope of it. He goeth diffuade the kynge from his fayeth that a kynge is an odious touched the place how god with the Israelites for calling.

Verylyghtely he femeth to the title of a kynge. As though meane: what is a Kinge? What shoule a vpon hym to redresse matters of religion? to ooure holy father of Rome. A kynge and a title rather suffered of God as an then alowed as a good thyng.

Callynge thys to remembrance, it was that I spake altogether before. Nowe I to thys. For the anfwere I mufte fom the eyght Chapter of the fyfte boke of And that I mai haue grace, etc.

O come to ye opening of the muft begyne at the begin Chapter, that the vnlerned (afure, here be a greate meany maye the better come to the inge of the matter. Factum est cum fem. i. Regu, viii. fecit filios suos iudices populo.* to passe when Samuell was stricken in age, fonnes Judges ouer Ifraell. Of Samuell I proceffe a far of, of ye storie of Elcana, wher, and who was his mother, Elcana hys wyues, Anna and Phennenna, put theym auaie, as men do. Ther was debate betwene: Phennenna in the doing.

A taunt (by the waye) to suche as vse vnlawful diuorcemente. brayed Anna bycaufe she was barrer.

*And it came to passe, when sons judg.

Samuel was old, that he made his viii. 1.
I might take here occasion to entreate of the duty betwene man and wyfe, whiche is a holy religyoun, but not religiously kepte. But I wyll not enter into that matter at thys tyme. Well, in processe of tyme, God made Inna fruitful, thorowe hyr deoute prayer. She broughte forth Samuell, whose by the ordinaunce of God, was made the hyghe pryestle. Father Samuell a good man, a singuler example, and singuler patron, none alone, fewe suche men as father Samuell was. To be shorte he was nowe come to age, he was an old man, an impotente man, not able to goe from place to place to minister iustice, he electeth and choses two suffraganes, twoo coadiuators, two cohelpers, I meane not hallowers of belles, nor Christiners of belles, that is a popysh suffraganship, he made them to healpe hym, to discharge his office, he chose his two sonnes rather then other, because he knewe them to be well broughte vp in vertue, and learmynge, It was not foranye carnall affection, he cared not for his renowne, or reuenewes, but he appoynted them for the case of the people, the one for to supply his place in Bethfaie, and the other in Bethlem.

As we haue now in England, for the wealthe of the Realme, two Lordes presidentes, Surelye, it is wel done, and a goodly order, I wold ther were a thyrd in an other place.

For the case of his people, good father Samuell, and to discharge his office in places wher he could not come hym selfe, he fette his twoo sonnes in office wyth hym, as his suffraganes, and as his Coadiuatores.

Here I myghte take occasion to treate what olde and impotente Byshoppes should do, what olde preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to ioyne wyth them preachers preachers, not Belhalowers, and to departe, parte of theyre lydyng wyth theym.

I myghte haue dylated this matter at
of preaching large. But I am honestelye preuented of thys commune place, and I am verye glad of it.

There are to many suche flese feders

It was very well handeled the lafte Sondaye. They that wyl not for the offycy fake receuye other, regarde more the flese then the flocke.

Father Samuel, regarded not hys reuenewes. Our Amen,

Lorde gyue them grace to be affected as he was, and to followe him. etc. Though I saye that I would wiste mo Lorde presidentes. I meane not that I woulde haue prelates, Lordes presidentes, nor that Lorde byshoppes shall be Lorde presydentes. As touchyng that, I sayed my mynde and conscience the last yeare.* And al though it is sayed, 

Praefunt, it is not mente that they should be Lorde presidentes, the offfice of a Lorde presidenshyp is a ciyyll offfice, and it canne not be that one manne shal dyfcharege bothe. Wel, it followeth in the texte. Non ambulatorum filii eius in uinis eius, etc.† Hys sones walked not in hys wayes, heare is the matter, here ye se the goodnes of Samuell, howe, when he was not able to take the paynes him selfe for theuyr owne eafe, he appoynted them Judges neare them as it were in the further partes of hys Realme, to haue Iustycyge ryghtly ministere. But what followed.

Though Samuel were good, and hys chyldeyne well brought vppe, looke what the world can do? An crafty world? Whome shall not thys world corrupte and deceuye at one tyme or other?

Samuel thoughte hys sones shoulde haue proued well, but yet Samuels sone walked not in theuyr fathers waye. Why? what then? Is the sone alwayes bounde to walke in the fathers waye?

*†According to the old reckoning, the Sermon on The Ploughers (see references to this subject at pp. 23 of Ed. 1608) preached on 38th Jan., 1549, was by Latimer, preach- ing on 5th April following, be then referred as in 'the last year' (old style).  
+ His sons walked not in his waye.
No, ye muste not take it for a generall rule. All sonnes are not to be blamed in theyre fathers wayes.

Ezechias dyd not folowe the steppes of his father Ahaz, and was well alowed in it. Iosias the beste kyng that euer was in Iewry, reformyd hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policye.

In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purdged hys Realme of it, and set a good order in al his Dominions, wrestled with Idolatrye.

And althoughe hys father or hys grande father Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented hym in the ende he had no tyme to reforme thynges, he left it to hys fonne to be done.

Iosias beganne and made an alteracon in hys chyldehode, he tourned al vpvydowne, he would suffer no Idolatrye to fland.

Therefore, you must not take it for a general rule, that ye fonne muste euer walke in his fathers wayes.

Here I wyll renewe, that whyche I sayed before of the styfnecked Iewes, the rebellioffe people (that is theyr tylte) they neuer spake so rebelliouslye, as to saye, they woulde not receyue any alteracon, tyl theyr kyng came to age. Muche lefle we Englyshe men, if (there be anye suche in Englande) maye be ashamed.

I wonder wyth what conscience folke can heare suche thinges and alowe it.

Thys Iosias made a notable alteration, and thersere take it not for a general rule, that the fonne shal always walke in hys fathers wayes.

Thinke not because he was flayn in battayle, that God was displeased wyth hym. For herein God Iewed hys goodnes to hym wonderfulllye, who woulde not suffer hym to be the captiuite that he would bringe vpon the Iraelites. He would not
hym to have the sight, the sealyngge, and the beholde-
yngge of hys plage, he suffered hym to be taken away
before, and to be slayne of the kyng of Egipt.

Wherfore a iuste man mylde be glade when he is
taken from miferie. * 

\textit{Iuslius [i] morte praoccupatius fuerit
in refrigerio erit.}† If a iustle man be preuented wyth
deathe, it shal be to hys relyefe. He muft thyynke that
he is one of thofe, whome the worlde is not worthy
to haue, it came of a singuler goodniffe of god, that he
was by death delyuered frome the syght of that capti-
uitie. Therfore take it not for a general rule, that the
fonnes be alwaies bounde to walke in the fathers wayes.

\textit{Nolite in praeceptis patrum uestrorum incedere.}† Walke
not in the commandementes of youre fathers. For so
it is layd in another place of scripture. It is spoken to
the reproche of Samuells fonnes that they walked not
in hys waye, for he was a good man.

A wonderful thyng that thefe chyldren beyng fo
ewell brought vp shold so fal and be corrupte, 'Yf the
dyuell can preuayle and hath power agaynste them,
that had fo Godlye education, what vaungtage hath he
at them yat be brought vp iniquitie and couetouns? It
is a Prouerbe that \textit{magistratus uirum comonstrat.}

Authorite
Office and authoritie sheweth what a man
and offfyce
is. A man knoweth not hym selue, tyl he
tryeth what a man
be tryed. Many there be that being with-
out office can rebuke magistrates, and fynd
fault with men that be in office and pre-
eminence. After when it commeth to
their chaunce to come to office them-
selues, then they haue taken out a newe
leffon. \textit{Cum esse paruulus sapiebam ut par-
ulus.}† When I was a child, I fauere as a childe.

Do as the
They wyll do then as other men do,
most do, and they are come to haue experience, to be
the fewest
practitioners. The maydes chylde is
shal wonder
is euer beft taughte, for he hath "stances vpryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer
at theym.

\textit{The righteous is taken away from your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 18.}
\textit{The evil to come.—Isa. lvii. 1.}
\textit{When I was a child—1 Cor. xiii. 11.}
haue thought that hissones shold haue bene so corrupted. It is a perillous thyng, a daun-
gerous state to be a judge. They felte ye
maker of the worlde, a perillous thyng.
And therefore S Chriostom sayth. *Miror si
aliquis rectorum saluabitur.* I maruaile
(fayeth he) yat ani ruler can be faued. If
the peril were wel considered men would not be so
defirous as they be. The world ye world
hath many subtill fleightes, it is a craftie
thyng and verye deceitfull, a corrupter,
and who is it whom the worlde doeth not
corrupte and blynde at one tyme or other.

What was the waye they walked? *Declinauerunt
post avaritiam.* That is one. Thei stouped after gayne,
they turned a syde after lucre. What followed? *Accep-
runt munera.* They toke rewardes gyftes,
berybes I shoulde cal theym, for that is theyr
ryghte name. What then? *Peruerterunt iu-
ditium.* They turned Iustice vpsedowne.
Eyther they would gyue wrong judgemente,
or els put of and delaye poore mennes matters.
The se were theyr wayes, here is the
Deuyles genealogye. A gradation of the
Diuyles making. This is, *Scala inferni.*
The ladder of hell.

I tolde you before of *scali cali,* the ladder of heauen,
I wolde you shoulde not forget it. The stappe
thereof are set forthe in the tenth to the
Romaynes. The fyrste is preachynge,
then hearynge, then beleuynge, and laste
of all Saluation. *Scala cali,* is a preachynge matter I
tell you, and not a massyng matter, goddes instrument
of saluation, is preachynge.

Here I moued you my Lorde, not to
be greadye and outragiousle in enhaaffen-
ynge, and rayfinge of youre rentes, to the
ministranye of the office of saluation. It

\* And his son Menuel, a verye vnderlorn men, is soke bribes, and perverte
I've followed for all that, woulde pyt ye a mans hert to heare that I heare of the state of Cambridge, it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be fewe studie diuinitie, but so many as of men siti must furnyth ye Colledges. For lyuynges be so small, and vytyale so tarry not ther, but go other wher feke lyuynges and so they go aboute. Nowe the a fewe gentylmen and they studye a little diuinitie. Alas, what is that? it wil come to passe that we hal haue nothynge but a lyttele Englyshe diuinitie, that wyl brynge the Realme into a verye barbarouynes, and vter decaye of learnyng. It is not that, I wyse, that wyl kepe oute the suprema-cye of the byshoppe of Rome.

Here I wyl make a supplicacion, that ye would beshowe to suche the fyndynghe of schollers, of good wyttes, of poore mens fonnes, to exercisethe office of falution, in releuing of schollers, as ye were wont to beshowe in Pylygrime matters, in rentals, in massyes, in purgatorye matters, Ye beshowed that lyberallye, bountifully, but thys was not wel spente.

You hadde a zeale but not Secundum scientiam. Not accordyng to knowledge. You may brefure yf you beftowe youre goodes on thys wyfe, ye shal beshowe it wel to supporte and upholde Goddes worde wherin ye shal pleafe God.

I requyre no more, but that ye beshowe so muche Godlye, as ye were wonte to beshowe vngodlye.

It is a refonable peticion, for Goddes sake, look vpon it I say no more.

They that haue least nede haue most helpe waye thyss office of preachynge, is prynct at.

* For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not ing to knowledge.—Rom.
I wil speake no more of *Scala celci*, But I am fuer thys is *Scala inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be couetous, to take bribes, and peruerse iustice. If a judge shoulde aske me the waye to hell, I wolde shewe hym thys waye. Fyrste let hym be a couetoufe man, let hys herte be poyfoned wyth couetousnes. Then let hym go a lyttle further and take brybes, and laste peruerse iudgemente. Loo, heare is the mother and the daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is the mother, the brynges forthe brybe takynge, and bribe takynge, peruerntyng of iudgement.

Ther lacks a fourth thing to make vp the messe, whyche fo God helpe me if I were iudg, shoulde be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburne tynpet to take wyth hym, and it were the iudge of the kinges bensch, my Lorde chyfe Iudge of Engelande, yea, and it were my Lord Chaunceloure hym felte, to tiburne wyth hym.

Ther was wyth in these. xxx, yeares a certain wydow, whych sodaynlye was attached, had to pryson, indyted, condemnyd, and there were certayne learned men that visitid her in the prifon. Oh I wolde ye wolde reforte to Pryfonnes. A commendable thynge in a chrystlen realme, I wolde wyfhe there were curates for prysonnes, that we myght faye, the curate of Newegate, the curate of the det, and I wolde haue theym well wagd for theyre laboure. It is a holy daye worcke to vyset the prifoners, for they be kepte from fermons. Ther was that resorted to thys wo- man, who, when she came to preson, was all on hyr beades, and nothyng else, a popisyf woman, and sauered not of Iesu Christ. In procefe she was to applyd that she tafted. *Quam fuaui est dominus.* She had suche a saure, suche a sweetenes and felyngke that she thought it longe to the daye of execution. She was wyth Christ al ready the daye before, foweth...
She had suche a desyre that she sayd wyth sayd Paule. Cupio distolui et esse cum Christo. I desyre to ryd, and to be wyth Christ. The word of God had wrought in hir, when she was brought to punyshme. She desyred to confesse hir faulte, the toke of death, that she was gytytlesse in that thynge the suffered for, and hir neyghboors woulde haue borne hir wytnes in the same. She was alwayes an hones ciuyll woman, hir neyghboors woulde haue gone on hir purgacion a greate waye.

They would nedes haue hir confesse, then faith she. I am not gyty, wold ye haue me to make me gylye, wher I am not? Yet for al thys, she was a trespasser, she had done a greate offence.

But before I go forwarde wyth thys, I must fyrst tel you a tale.

I hearde a good whyle ago, a tale of one, I sawe the man yat told me the tale not londe ago, in thys auditorie. He hath trauelled in mo countries then one.

He toulde me that there was once a pretour in Rome, Lorde mayre of Rome, a ryche manne, one of the richest Marchauntes in all the cytye, and fodaynelye he was caste in the caste Aungell. It was herde of, and euerye man, whypered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hath he kylled any man? No. Hath he medled wyth Alam, our holye fathers merchandice? No. Hath he counterfaited our holy fathers Bulles. No. For these were hye treasons.

One rowned an other in the ear and sayd, Erat diues. He was a riche man. A greate fault. Here was a goodlye praye for that holye father. It was in Popes Iulius tyme, he was a greate warrioure. Thys praye woulde healpe hym to maynetayne hys warres, a iolye praye for oure holye father.

So thys woman was Diues. She was a ryche woman. A gentleman of a long nose. He had hir landes by the Shyriffes of. She had hir landes by the Shyriffes of.

* Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is fa —Phil. 1. 23.*
Such a cup, suche a cruse. She would not depart from her own. Thys Shryffe was a couetuous man, a worldly man. The ludge at the enpanelynge of the queste, hadde hys gravelookes, and charged them wyth thys. It was the kynges matter, loke wel vpon it.

When it makes for theyr purpos, they haue the Kynge, the kinge, in their mouthes.

Wel, some what there was, ther was walkynge of angelles betwene them. I would wyshe that of suche a ludge in Englande nowe, we might haue ye skin hanged vp. It were a goodlyigne the sygne of the judices skynne. It shouulde be Loths wyse, to all Iudges that shouulde folow after. By thys ye may perceiue, it is possibl for a manne to answere for hym selfe, and be arraigned at the barre, and neverethelough to haue wronge. Yea, ye shal haue it in fourrne of lawe, and yet haue wronge to. So it is possibl in a cafe, for a manne that hath in hys absenience atintamnent [attaintment] to haue right, and no wronge.

I wil not say naye, but it is a good lawe for a man to answere for hym selfe, thys is reasonable, alowable and good. And yet suche an vrgent caufe maye be, suche a respecp to a commune wealth that a man may rightlye be condemned in hys absenience. There be suche caufes that a man may in hys absenience be condemned, but not ofte, excepte they be such caues that the resoyn of the generall lawe maye be kepte. I am prouoked of some to condempe this lawe, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and vpon wayghty consideracion, so that it be vfed rarely, seldomly, for soouldyng disturbaunc in the commune wealth, such an epicyk and moderation maye be vfed in it.

And neverethelough it is verye mete and requisite that a man shouulde answere for hym selfe.

We mufle consider the ground of the lawe: for Ratio legis, anima legis. The reason of the lawe, is ye foule of the nose, I praye God, Libera nos et salua nos.
law. Whi? what is the reason and ende of the lawe? It is thys, that no man should be injured. A man may in his attainement have no more wronge done hym then if he aunswered for hym selue.

Ah then I am not able to faye, that in no wyse, and arraignment maye be tourned in to attainement, A man may haue wronge and that in open judgement, and in forme of lawe, and yet alowd to answere for hym selue: and euyn so is possible he maye haue ryghte though he never aunswere for hym selue. I wyll not fay but that the parlament houfes both hys and lowe, may erre, and yet they may do wel, and christen subiecutes must take all thinges to the beft, and expounde their Doyleys well, althoigne they can no ytelde. A reason for it, except their proceedings be manifestly wicked. For though they can not attayne to fe for what purpose thinges be done, it is no good reason that they be caale euell done therefore. And is thys a good argumente, he is not allowed to answere for hym selue in thys place or that place, where he wyll appoynte: Ergo, he is not allowed to answere for him selue? No.

He myght haue aunswered the beft he coulde for hym selue before a greate meanye, and haue hadde moe to, if he had requyred them. Yea, and was commanded vpon his allegiaunce to speake for hym selue, and to make aunswere, but he woulde not, nedes he woulde come ouyte to Iudgemente, and appoynte the place hymselfe.

A manne that aunsweres for hym selue at the barre, is not allowed hys manne of lawe to answere for hym, but he muste aunswere hym selue. Yet in the Parliamente, although he were not there hym selue, anye frende he had, had lyberty to aunswere for hym, franke, and fre, I know of olde the manner. The tenoure of the wryttes is thys, Euerye man to speake the best he knoweth of hys confiencyce, for the kynges magesties honour, and the wealth of the realme. There were
in the Parliament in both houses, a great many learned men, confectionable men, wyse men. When that man was attaynted there, and they hadde lybertye, there to say naye, to his attayntmente yf they woulde. Sure I am the mooste allowed it, or else it could be not haue gone forward.

These premises considered. I woulde haue you to beare suche a hart, as it becommeth christen subiectes. I knowe what men saie of me weyl younogue, I could pourge my selfe.

There is that prouokes me to speake ag[a]ynst thys lawe of attayntemente, they saye I am not indyfferente. Surelye I woulde haue it to be done rarely vpon some great respete to the commune wealth, for auoedyng of greater tumulte and peryll.

Saynt Paule was allowed to anfwer for hym selfe, yf Lias the tribune hadde not pluche him awaye from the wynge of his matter, it hadde coste hym hys lyfe.

Where he was saued by the magystrate, beynge but a pryuate manne. Wyll ye not alowe that some thynge be done as wel for sauynge of the magystrates lyfe? It behoues them of the Parliament to looke well vpon the matter. And I for my parte thynke not but they dyd well, else I should not yelde the dutye of a subiecte.

Some likene me to doctoure Shaw, that preached at Pauls crose, that Kyng Edwardes sones were baftardes. An easie matter for one of the counfell to induce Latimer to make a lie as doctour Shaw dyd. Me thinke you beynge the kynges servaunt and his officer, shoulde thynke better on the Kyng, and his counsell, though I were lyghte of belefe. If he had bene a true man to hys mayster, he woulde neuer haue spoken it.

The counsyle needed not my lyfe, for the defense of that, that they do. I canne beare it of my selfe. Concerninge my selfe, that, that which I haue spoken, hath done some good.

You wyl faye thys. The Parliamentte house a\nher then I am, you myghte leaue thym to defe
of theym selues. Althoughe the men of the Parliament house can defende them selues, yet haue I spoken thys of a good zeale, and a good ground of the Admyralles wryttynge, I haue not fayned, nor lyed one iote. Vse your Judgement and languages, as it be-commeth Christian subiectes.

I wyll nowe leave the honourable counsffyale to answere for themselfes. He confessed one facte, he wolde haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maiestye. And wot ye why? He sayed he would not in his minoritie haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am sure he hath bene brought vp fo Godly, wyth such Sholemayfters as neuer kynge was in Englande, and fo hath prospered vnder them, as neuer none dyd, I wotte not what he mente by hys bryngyng vp lyke a warde, onles he wolde haue hym not to go to hys boke and learn as he doeth.

Kynes shulde be leamed neyther, but I pray God amende hym, or els God sende hym short lyfe, that wolde haue my foueraygne not to be brought vp in learnynge, and wolde plucke hym from hys booke. In adevryte the therfore my fellowe subiecte, vse thy tonge better, and expounde well the doynges of the magystrates.

Nowe to the purpose, for these thynges lette me of my matter, and yet they be necessarie.

Some faye preachers shoulde not meddle wyth suche matters, but dyd not oure Sauioure Iesus Christe medle wyth matters of Iudgemente, when he spake of the wycked Iudge, to leaue ensample to vs that folowe, to do the same?

Ye se here, that Ladye couetousnes is a fruitfull woman, euer chyldeynge, and euer bryngyng forthe her fruities. It is a true sayinge, *Radix omnium malorum avaritiae.* Coue-toues is the roote of all wykednes. One wyll saue peraduenture, you speake vnlmeslye and in convenientlye so to be agaynste the offfcers, for takynge of *rewards* in doyynge pleyures.

*The love of money is the root of all evil.—1 Tim. vi. 10.*
Ye confyder not the matter to the bottome. Theyr offyces be bought for great sommes, nowe howe shall they receyue theyre money agayne, but by brybynge ye woulde haue them vndone. Some of them gaue. CC. [two hundred] poundes some. v.C. [fiue hundred] pounde, some. ii. M [two thousand] pound, And how thal they gather vp thy money agayne, but by healpynge them selues in theyre offyce. And is it to trowe ye?

Are ciuile offyces bought for monie?

Lorde God. Who would haue thought that? Let vs not be to hasti to credit it. For then we haue the old prouerbe, Omnia uenalia Roma. All thynges are solde for mony at rorne, and rorne is come home to oure own dores. If thei bei, thei must nedes sel, for it is wittely spoken. *Vendere iure potest, emerat ille prius,* he may lawfully sel it, he bought it before. God forfend that euer any such enormitie shuld be in England, that ciuile offyces shoulde be boughte and fould, wher as men shulde haue them gyuen them for theyr worthines, I would the kinges maiestye shuld seke throrow his realme for mete men, and able men, worthye to be in offyce, yea and gyue them liberally for theyr paynes, and rather geue them money to take the offyce in hande, then they to geue money for it. Thys byinge of offyces is a makynge of brybery, it is an enducynghe, and enforcynghe, and compelling of men to brybery.

Holye scripture qualifyeth the offycers and sheweth what maner of men they shulde be and of what qualites, *Viros fortes,* Some Translacions haue *Viros sapientes.* The Englyshe translacion hath it verye well. Menne be.

* Ye must vs derstande, yea, as well as cyuy! oyle* to make the sentence perfect.

*It is a brybery to bye offyces.*

*What maner of men ofENCYCRES shulde.*

*They must haue, till prymarys.*

*They shulde be wyfe, harte, hardye men a good stomake. Secondly, he quali-"
fyeth them wyth the feare of god. He saith they must be *Timentes deum.* fearyng God: for it he saire God shall have no bryber, no paruerter of iudgemente, ful. Thyrdly they must be choisen oficer. *In gest verilatis.* In whome is trueth. If he faile it shall be done. Fourthly. *Qui oderunt auaritiam.* Hatynge couetousnes, farre from it, he wyll not nere it, that hath et it. It is not he that wyll geue.

[fiue hundred] pounde for an offeyce, Wyth these qualitics Goddes dome would haue magistrates to qualified. Thys commeth from the deudles siftor to pay. v. C. [fiue hundred] pounde for one offeyce. If they paye so much, it must followe that they take brybes, that they brybe takers. Such as be mete to office feke them out, hyere them, them competente and lyberall fees or fayl, they shall not nede to take anye brybe. And if ye be at seling ciuile office and ther are as they which fell theyr benefice and so we shal haue. *Omnia uidere.*

Al things boughte for money. I saile the ground that not and doe, how be it, we ought not to marke. Surely it is, the great lenitie of god that suffers it. Lorde in what case are we If the great men in The Turk shoulde in the rygn of Mahomete to sele and patrons commonelye fell benefices here, the office preaching, the office of faliucion it shoulde be as an intollerable thing. The turke would not suffer it in his common wealth, and the patrons be charged to se the office and not to feke a lucre and a gaine by his patronship. Ther was a patron in England (it was) that had a benefice fallin in his hande and a good brother of mine and gaue them hyss man to care.
hys mayiler. It is like he gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and o ther was xxxi. This man commeth go his mayiler and presented hym wyth the dyhe of Apples, sayinge. Syr fuche a man hathe fente you a dyhe of frute, and defyreth you to be good into hym for fuche a benefyce. Tufhe tufhe, quod he, thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcheard. The man came to the pryef agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayiler sayed. Then quod the prieft, defyre hym yet to prowe one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for. He cut one of them and founde ten peces of golde in it. Mary quod he, thys is a good apple. The pryef standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, they are all one apples I warrante you Syr, they grewe all on one tree, and haue all one taste. Well, he is a good fellowe, let hym haue it quode the patron, etc, Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede for they shall aunswere for all the foules that perysche throughe theyr defeute. There is a sayeing that ther be a grate maenye in Engelande that faye there is no foule, that beleue not in the immortalite of mans foule, that thyncke it is not eternal, but lyke a dogges foule, that thynke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord, what a wayghtye, matter is thys? What a lamentable thynge in a chriften common wealth? I can not tell what they faye, but I perceyue by their worckes that they thyncke fo, or elles they woulde neuer do as they do. These fellers of offices shew that they beleue that there is neyther hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughtynge matter, wel, I wyl gooe on. Nowe to the Chapiter. The childryn of Irauell came to Samuell and sayed. Senuifli.* Thou tale of the patron that sold a benefyce for a dewayne dyse of Apples.

A graft of gold to get a benefyce wyth al is worth a great deale of learnynge.

The error of such as beleue not the immortalitie of Soules.

* Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.—1 Sam. viii. 5.
The lyttle sermon

arte grown into age. Gene vs a King? Thy sonnes

Samuel was

warie for the

swaryng of

hys sonne

and from hys

wayes.

father Samuells herte, to here that his

sonnes (hym he hadde so well brought

dppe) shoulde swarye from hys wayes that

he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth

to god to know hys wyll and pleasure in thys matter,

God anfwyar, let them haue a Kynge. They haue

not caste the awaye but me, that I shoulde not raygne

i. Sam. viii. ouer them. Thys is thyr grounde that

faye a kynge is an odious thing and not acceptable

before the face of God. Thus they force

and violent thys place to make for thyr

purpoze, wher no fuch thynge is mente.

Shewe the Israelites (sayth god) and testifie

to them a Kynges authorite, and what a

thing a kynge is, and what a kynge will do. And y

wyl not perwayne them. I wyl not here them her

after, when they fhall crie vnto me. I mufte ned

conffesse that the Iewes trespasst against almighty

God in askyng of a King. But hear is the

matter, in what thynge ther offence fowles

whether absoutelye in askyng a kynge

other circumstauence. It was in a circ-

flaunce. They layd not. Aske y

kynge of God: but make vs a kynge

iudge vs as al other nacions haue.

would haue a Kynge of thyr owne swinge and of

owne election, as thoughe they paffe not of God

a nother pointe there was pryde. They would

lyke the heathen and ijudged vnnder kynge as thei

Thyrdly, they offended God because they asked a

to the injury and wrong of good father Sam-

depose hym, so thys was a wrong toward Sam-

was not with Samuell and his

lyke as wyth Ealy and his children

and Phines. They were craf-

hukes takyng the fleche out of

when that sacrifice was

d brought the people into a contempt
They were lecherers. Theirs synne were manifestlye and notoriously knowne: but their father Elye knowyne and herynge of it dyd blame them, but nothinge to purpose, he dyd not ernestly and substancially chastise them, and therefore he was iustlye defosed of God. The synnes of Samuell's sonnes were not knowne, they were not so notorious, wherfore it was not wyth father Samuell as it was wyth Elye, his sonnes fautes were takynge of brybes, and peruertrynge of judgementes. Ye knowethat, brybery ye is a secrete faute, and therefore it was not knowne. It was done vnder a colour and a pretence of justice, hidlye and couerelye done. Theryfore because it stode in brybes it was not like in Samuell as in Ely. It is a daungorous thynge to be in office for. qui attingit picem coquinabitur ab ea, He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribery may be assembled to pitch, for euyn as pytche dothe pollute their handes that medle with it: so brybes wyl brynge you to peruertrynge of iustyce. Beware of pytch, you judges of the wyrld, brybes wyl make you peruer iustyce. Why you wil say. We touche none. No mary. But my Mylsters your wyfe hath a synge synge the toucheth it for you or els you haue a feruaut a Muster. he wyl saye if you wyl come to my maister and offer him a yoke of oxyn, you shal speede newer the worsse but I thincke my Myster wil take none, when he hath offered them to ye maister, then commes another feruaut and sayes. If you wyl bring them to the claerke of the kichen, you shalbe remembred the better. Thys is a fryerly fashion that wyl receyue no moneye in theyr handes but wyl haue it put vpon theyr fleues. A goodly rag of popylye religion. They be lyke graye fryers, they wyl not be sene to receyue no brybes them felues but haue other to receive for them.
Though Samuelsonsoness were priuye bry
kepte the thynge verye close, yet the crye of
ple brought it to Samuel, It was a hyd
ynne. For men in thys poynpte, woulde fa
brace it and make a shewe of vpryght dealyn
they be most gylte, Neuerthele
ere came out. Oh wycked for
brought both theyr father to di
and them felues to shame. Wher
herde of theyr faute, he went not
excuse theyr fautes. He would
wyth hys sonnes. He woulde n
municare peccatis alienis. Be partaker wyth
offences, he sayed. Ego jenui, ecce filii mei
funt.* As tone as he hearde of it, he dely
sonnes to the people to be punyfhed. He w
aboute to excuse them, nor sayed not, th
fyrst tyme, beare wyth them, but present
and by to the people fayinge: Loe here th
eym, do wyth theym accordyng to theyr
Oh. I woulde ther were no more bearers
mens synnes, then this good father Samuel
hearde of late of a notable bloudshedd. Aue
S. Paule and so do I. I know it not, but I
it. Ther was a seacher in london, which ex
his office displeased a marchaunt man, in for
when he was doinge his office, they were a
the marchant man threatned hym, the search
the kyng shuld not lose hys custome. Th
chant goes me home and sharpe[n]s his wod
comes a gaine and knockes hym on ye h
killes him, thei yat told me yat tale sai it i
at, thei loke thorow ther fyngers and wil not
Weyther it be taken vp wyth a pardon or
not tel, but this I am sure, and yf
wyth such matters the devill shal
awaie to hel. Bloudshedd and my
haue no bearing. It is a h

Ye but it
were better
to go to God
then to be
borne to the
deuill.

*I am old and grayheaded; and, behold, mysome
xii. 2.
hedyngge and especially voluntary
and prepenged murder. For in
rye God saith it pollueth the whole
Polluitur illa terra, etc. et non potest
fine sanguine.* The lande cannot be purged
enred agaynetyl his bloud be shed that shed it. It
offeye of kyng to se such murders punished with
Non frustra gefat gladium.† What wylye make
ynge? He beareth a swerde before
not a Pecokes fether. I go not a
or ylrrre you nowe to cruelditye, but
ke agaynste bearynge of bloudshed.
bearynge must be loked vnpon. In certayne
of murther such great circumstaunces may be,
ne kyngge may pardon a murther. But if I were
ye to be of counsaylle, or if I were asked myne
, I wolde not haue the kyngge to pardon a volun-
murther, a prepensd murther.

In tell where one man fley an othre, in a toun-
and was attached vnpon the same. xii. men were
eled, the man hadde frendes, the Shryue laboured
ch, the. xii. men stacke at it and fayed, excepte
ulde disburfe. xii crownes they wolde fynde
yltye.
anes were found that the xii. crownes was
. The quest commes in and fayes not giltye.
re was a not gyltye for xii. crownes. This is
ng. And some of the bench were hanged, thei
wel ferued. This makes men bolde to do mur-
don slaughter. We shouled areferue murderynge
e come to oure ennemyes, and the Kynge bydde
ht. He that wolde be slurre he him than, were a
elow in dede. Crownes?
heyr crownes were shauen to the shoulder they
ferued well inoghe. I knew where a womanne
st wyth chylde, and was a shamed at the matter,
to into a secrete place, where she hadde no

blood it defileth the land: the blood of him that shed it.—Num.
cannot be cleansed of xxxv. 35. beareth not the swor.
women at her travaile and was delivered of thre children at a byrthe.

She wroungetheyr neckes and caste theyrn into water, and so kyldhe their children. Sodaynelye, he was gaunte agayne, and her neyghboures fyspecyng the matter caufed her to be examened, and she graunct all. Afterwarde she was rayned at the barre for it, and dyspatched and founde not gylte, throughe berynge of friendes and brybrynge of the judge.

Where at the same seffyons, another poore womanne was hanged for sleylynge a fewe ragges of a hedg, that were not worthe a crowne.

There was a certayne gentleman a profeffour of the word of God (he spede de neuer the better for that ye maye be sure) whoo was accufed of murtherynge of a manne, where vppon he was caft into pryfon. And by chaunce as he was in pryfon one of hys frendes came vnto hym for to visite hym, and he declared to hys frende that he was neuer gylty in the murtheringe of the man. So he wente hys wayes, the gentle man was arayned and condemnpd, and as he wente to hys execution, he fawte hys frendes seruaunte, and said vnto hym. Commende me to thy master, and I pray the tel hym, I am the same man styl I was when he was wyth me.

And if thou tary a whyle, thou shalt se me dye. There was fute made for thys mannes pardon, but it couldse not be gotten. Belike the Shriues or some other bare hym no good wyll. But he dyd for it. And afterwarde I beynge in the Tower, hauynge leau to come to the Lieuetenauntes table, I hearde hym faye that ther was a man hanged afterwarde, that kylle the same manne for whomse this Gentyllman was put to death. O Lord what bearyng what bolstering of naughtye matters is thys in a Chrystian realme? I desyre youre Maiestye to remedye the matter, and God graunt you to se redresse in this realme in your owne persone.

Although my Lord Protecor I doe not and the reste of the countayle doin
meane whyle all that lyeth in them to redresse things. I would such as be rulers, noble men and maisters shold be at thys poynht with theyr feruantes to certify them on thys sort. If anye man go about to do you wrong I wyl do mi best to helpe you in your right. But if thou breke the law thou shalte haue iustice. If ye wyl be manquellers, murdererers, and traungfressours, loke for no bearynge at my handes. A straunge thynge. What nede wee in the vengeance to burden our felues wyth other mennes swynes? Haue we not swynes inowe of oure owne? What neade haue I to burden my selye wyth other mennes swynes? I haue burdens and. ii. heapes of swynes. One hepe of knowen swynes, an other of vnknowen swynes. I had nede to say. A Boccultis meis munda me domine* O Lord deliuer me from mi hidden and my vn knowe[n] swynes.

Then if I beare with other mennes swynes, I maste faye Deliuer me frome my other mennes swynes. A straunge sayinge, from my other mens swynes. Who beareth wyth other folkes offences, he communicateth wyth other folkes swynes. Men haue swynes inough of their owne, although they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines, thysh earinge, this bolsterynge and lokynge thorowe their fingers: is naught. What the fayr happe should I (or any else) encrease my burden. Myne other mens swynes forgue me O Lord.

A straunge language they haue hyd synes of theyr owne inough although they beare not wyth gyltines of other mens swynes.

Oh father Samuell would not beare whysh owne swynes. He offered whysh owne swynes to punyshment. And sayd. Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.† Euen at the fyrste tymhe he sayed. Lo, here they be, I discharge my selye, take them vnto you, and as for my parte.

Prefa sum loqui coram domino et Christo eius.‡ I am

* Cleanse thou me from secret
‡ Behold, here I am; witness
‡ Behold, my sons are with you.—
‡ Behold, before me before the LORD, and be-
against me before the LORD, and be-
before his anointed: whose ox have I
— whose ass have I taken? or whose ass have I taken?
here ready to anfwere for my selfe, before the Lord and hys anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lorde. *Vtrum cuiusquam bonum, etc.* Whether I haue taken any mans oxe, ani mans ase, or whether I haue done any man wronge, or hurte anye man, or taken any bribes at anye mans hande, I canne commend the Englysh translation that doth interprete *munera* bribes, not gyftes. They answered, naye forfooth. We knowe no such thinges in you. *Teftis est mihi deus,* faieth he, God is witnes, *Quod nihil inuenieritis in manu mea.* That you have found nought in my handes. Fewe suche Samuels are in Englande nor in the world.

Why dyd Samuell thyse? marye to purge hym selue, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfully depoofed.

Then bi this ye mai perceiue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in akynge for a kinge but for akking for a kinge to the wrongyng and deposition of good father Samuel. If after Samuels death the people had asked of God a kyng they hadde not faulted, but it is no smale faute to put an innocent out of his office. Kyng David likewyse commanded hys people to be numbred, and therewith offended God greuously. Why? might he not knowe the numbre of hys people? Yes, it was not the numbringe of the people that offended God, for a king may numbre hys people, but he dyd it of a pride of an elation of mynd, not according to Gods ordinance, but as hauinge a trul in the numbre of hys men, thys offended God.

Lykewise the Iewes asked a kynge, and therewith they offended not God. But they asked hym with suche cyrcumfauentes, that God was offended wyth them.

It is no smale faute to putte a iulte man oute of hys office, and to depose hym vnworthely.

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*Or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppresed? or of whose hand have I received anye bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will reprete it you.—1 Sam. xii. 3.*

*And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any mans hand. And he said unto them, the Loan is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, He is witness.*

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*1 Sam. xii. 4, 5.*
To chose a Kynge contrarynge the ordinaunce of God is a caflyng away of God and not of a kyng.

Therfore doubt not, but the tytle of a kynge, is a lawefull thynge, is a lawefull tytle, as of othermaiefrates. Onelye lett ye kings take hede that thei do as it becometh Kynges to do, that thei do their office wel. It is a great thing, a chargeable thynge. Let them beware that they do not. Communicare peccatis alienis.*

That they beare not wyth other mens faultes for they shal geue a strayte accounte for all that periseth, thowre theyr negligence. We perceyue nowe what thyse texte meaneth.

It is wrytten in the lafte of Iudicum. In diem ius non erat rex in Israel.† In thofe dayes there was no kynge in Israel euerye manne dyd that whyche femed ryght in hys owne eyes. Men were then allowed to do what they woulde. When men maye be alowed to do what they wyl, then is it as good to haue no king at al. Here is a wonderfull mater, that vnpresching prelats shuld be suffered so long. They can alledge for them selues. vii C. [seven hundred] yeares. Thyse whyle the Realme had bene as good to haue no kyng, likewise these brybing iudges hathe bene suffered of a long tyme, and then it was, Quasi non suisset rex in anglia. To fuffer this is asmuch to fay, There is no king in England, it is the dutye of a kyng to haue al states set in order to do their office. I haue troubled you to long. I wil make an end breffly. Beati qui audiunt verbum.‡ Blessed be thei yat hear the word of god, but so that thei folowe it, and kepe it in credite, in memori, not to deprauie it and flaunder it, and bring the preachers out of credite, but that folowe it in theyr life, and liue after it. He graunt you al that blessing that made both you

and me. A-

men.

* Neither be partaker of other men’s sins. — Tim. v. 22.
† In those days there was no king in Israel.—Judg. xxi. 25.
‡ Luke xi. 28.
The sixte
Sermon of Master Hughe
Latimer, whyn he preached be-
fore the kynges Maiesty wyth
in hys Eraces Palaie at
Westminster the
vii. daye of
Aprill.

Vae cuncta scripta sunt ad nostram
doctrinam scripta sunt.* Al thin-
ges that are written, they are written
be our doctrine. What doctrine
written for vs in the. viii, Chap.
of the fyrst boke, of the kynges
dyd partely shewe vnto you (n
honorable audience) this day:
night, of that good man father Samuell, ye good
howe good a man he was, what helpers and coadiuto-
he toke vnto him, to haue hys offfyce well discharg-
I tolde you also of the wyckednes of hys fonnes, he
they toke bribes, and lyued wyckedlye, and by t
meanes, brought both theyr fathyr, and them selue
deposition. And howe the people dyd offende God
asking a Kynge in father Samuells tyme. And he
father Samuel was put from his offfyce, who deter-
it not. I opened to you also, howe father Samu-
cleares hym selfe, that he know not ye fouts of
fonnes he was no bearer with his fonnese he was
for it, when he herde it, but he wold not beare
them in their wickednes. Filii mei vobiscum sunt.†
sons are with you faith he. Do wyth theym accordy-
to theyr desertes, I wyl not maintayne them, nor be
with them. After that he cleares him self at
kinges fete, that the people had nothinge to be

* Rom. xv. 4.  
† 1 Sam. xx. 2.
hym with al, neyther money, nor money worth. In
treating of that part, I chaunced to shewe you, what
I heard of a man that was slayn, and I heare fayre it
was not well taken.

Forsoth I intend not to empayre ane mannes
esimation or honestye, and they that enforce it to
that, enforce it not to my meanynge. I sayd I heard,
but of suche a thynge, and toke occasion by that, that
I heard, to speake agaynst the thynge, that I knewe
to be noughte, that no man shoulde beare with any
man to the mayntenence of voluntary and prepensd
murder. And I here fayre fyns, the man was otherwise
an honest man, and they that spake for hym, are
honest men. I am inclinable inough to credyte it.
I spoke not by cause I woulde haue anye mannes hon-
estye impayred. Onelye I dyd as Saynt. Paule dyd,
who hearynge, of the Corinthyans, that there shoulde
be contencions and mysfordre among them, dyd wryte
wnto theym that he harde, and there vpon by occasion
of hearynge he set fyrth verye holysome doctrine of
the supper of the Lorde. We might not haue lacked
that doctrine I tel you. Be it so the Corinthians
had no suche contencions among them, as Paule
wrote of. Be it so, they had not misordred them
selues, it was neyther of nor on, to that that Paule
sayed. The matter laye in that, that vpon hearynge he
would take occasion to set out the good and true
document. So I did not affirm it to be true yet I
hard. I spake it to aduertise you, to beware of bear-
inge, wyth wyful and prepensd murder. I wold
haue nothing enforced against any man. This was
myne entent and meanynge. I do not knowe,
what ye call chaunce medly in the lawe, it is not
for my stude. I am a scholer in scripture in
gods boke, I stude that I knowe what voluntary
murder is before God. If I shal fale out wyth a man.
He is angre wyth me, and I wyth hym, and lackynge
opportunitie and place, we shal put it of for that tyme,
in the meane season I prepare my wepon, and charpe
it agaynst a nother tyme, I swell and boyle in thys passion towards hym. I seke hym, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reasone my weapon is better then his, and so furth, to kyl hym, I gene hym his dethes stoke, in my vengeaunce and anger.

Thys call I voluntarye murder in scripture, what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a greate synne, and therefore I call it voluntarye. I remember what a greate Clarke wrytteth of thys.

_Omne peccatum adeo est Voluntarium ut nifi sit voluntarium non sit peccatum._

Every synne (layeth he) is so voluntarye, that if it be not voluntarye, it can not be called synne. Synne is no actuall synne, if it be not voluntarye. I would we woulde all knowe our faults and repente, that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe agayne. God is mercifull, the Kynge is mercifull, heare we maye repente, thys is the place of repentance. When we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content wyth such order as the magyfrates shall take. But fuer it is a perillous thing to beare wyth anye suche matter. I toulde you what I hard faye, I woulde haue no mans honefye empayred by me tellynge. I harde faye syns of a nother murder, that a Spanyarde shoulde kyll an Englisheman, and ronne hyn thorowe wyth hys fwerde: they faye he was a tall man. But I here it not that the Spanyarde was hanged for hys laboure. If I had, I woulde haue tould you it to. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord what whordom is vfed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeste men, whyche tell it not after a worldlye sorte, as thoughe they rejoyved at it, but heuely, wyth heuy heretes, howe God is dyshonored by whoredome in thys ctye of London. Yea the bancke, when it flode, was neuer fo commune. If it be true _that is toulde, it is maruayle yat it doeth not fincke, and that the earth gapeth not and swaloweth it vy._

_It is wonderfull that the ctye of London doeth rush_
such whordom vnpunished. God hath suffered long
of hys great lenitie, mercye, and benyngnitye, but he
wyl punishe sharply at length, if we do not repente.
There is sum place in London, as they saye, immuni-
tie, impunitie. What should I call it? a preuledge place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath
nothynge to do there, the Sheriffs, thei can not medle
wyth it. And the queste, they not enquire of it, and
there men do brynge thayr whores, yea other mennes
wyues, and there is no reformacion of it.
There is suche dyfynge howses also, they saye, as
hath not bene wunne to be, where yong Gentlemen
ayne away theiir thriste, and where dyfynge is, there
are other solyes also.
For the loute of God lette remedye be hadde, lette
vs wrestle and fryue agaynste synne?
Menne of Englande in tymes past, when they
woulde exercye them felues (for we must nedes haue
some recreation, oure bodyes canne not endure wythoute
some exercye) they were wunnto goo a brode in the
fyeldes a shootynge, but nowe is turned in to glossyng,
gallyng, and whoring wythin the house.
The arte of shutynge hath ben in tymes past much
enlemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God that he
hath geuen vs to excell all other nations wyth all.
It hath bene goddes instrumentes, whereby he hath
gyuen vs manye victories agaynste oure enemies.
But nowe we haue taken vp horrynge in tounes, in
flee of shutynge in the fyeldes. A wonderous thyngye,
that so excellente a gyft of God shoulde be so lytle
elemenyd. I defyer you my Lordes, euen as ye loun
the honours, and glory of God, and entende to
remowe his indignacion, let ther be sente fourth some
proclimacion, some sharpe proclimacion to the iustices
of peace, for they do not their dutye. Iustices now
be no iustices, ther be manye good actes made for
thyss matter already. Charge them upon their allegi-
sence yat this singular benefit of God maye be
practised, and that it be not turned into bollyng,
L.
glossyng and whoryng wythin the townes, for they be negligente in executyng these lawes of shuting. In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to shote, as to learne anye other thynge, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taught me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye. I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holsome kynde of exercys, and much commended in phisike. Marcius Sycinus in his boke de triplici uita (it is a greate while fins I red hym nowe) but I remembre he commendeth this kinde of exercys, and sayth, that it wresyleth agaynst manye kyndes of diseases. In the reverence of God, let it be continued. Let a Proclamation go furth, charyng the Iustices of Peace, yat they fe suche Actes and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose. I wyl to my matter. I entend this day to entreate of a pece of scripture, written in the begynynge of the v. Chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take thys place by a boke sent, to the Kynges May[e]lye that deade is, by Mayster Poel. It is a texte, that he doeth greatly abuse, for the supremitye. He rackes it, and yvolentes it, to serue for the mayntenance of the byshop of Rome. And as he did enforce the tother place, that I entreated of laft, so dyd he inforse thys also, to serue hys matter. The storye is thys.

Our Sauione Chryse was come nowe to the banck of the water of Genezareth.

The people were come to hym and flocked aboute hym to here hym preachye.

And Iesu toke a boote that was standyng at the poole, it was symonnes bote, and wente into it. And fittynge in the bote he preached to them that were on the bancke. And when he had preached and taught
them, he spake to Simon and bade hym launch out
fourther into the depe, and lose hys nettes, to catcbe
fythe. And Symon made aunswere, and sayed. May-
ster, we haue labored all nyght, but we caught nothing
howe be it at thy commandement because thou byddeft
vs, we wyll go to it agayne. And so they dyd, and
cought a greate draught, a miraculus draught so much
that the net bracke, and they called to theyr fellowes
that were bye, for they had. ii. botes to come to healpe
them, and they came and filled both theyr botes so
full, that they were nygh drounynge.* Thys is the
florye: That I maye declare thys texte so, that it may
be to the honour of God and edification of youre
soules and myne boeth. I shall defier you to healpe
me wyth your prayer in the whiche. etc.

Factum est autem. (Sayth the text) cum turba irrueret
in eum.* Saynte Luke telles the florye, and it came
to passe, when the people presed vpon him, so that he
was in perill to be cast into the pond they rushed so
faste vpon hym and made such throng to him. A
wonderous thynge, what a defyre the people had in
those dayes to heare our sauioure Cristle preache,
and the cause may be gathered of the latter end of the
Chapter that went before. Oure Saiduoure Crist had
preached vnto them, and healed the fycke folkes of
fuche diseases and maladies as they had and therefore
the people woulde haue retayned hym flyll. But he
made them aunswere, and sayed.

* And it came to pass, that as the
people pressed upon him to hear the
word of God, he stood by the lake
of Gennesaret,
And saw two ships standing by the
lake: but the fishermen were gone
out of them, and were washing their
netts.
And he entered into one of the
ships, which was Simon's, and prayed
him that he would thrust out a little
from the land. And he sat down, and
cought the people out of the ship.
Now when he had left speaking, he
said unto Simon, Launch out into
the deep, and let down your nets for
a draught.
And Simon answering said unto
him, Master, we have toiled all the
night, and have taken nothing: nev-
evertheless at thy word I will let down
the net.
And when they had this done, they inclose a great multitude of
fishes: and their net brake.
And they beckoned unto their
partners, which were in the other
ship, that they should come and help
them. And they came, and filled both
the ships, so that they began to sink.
Et aliis ciiitatibus oportet me evangelifare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.* I must preach the kyngedome of god to other cyties also, I must shewe them my fathers wyll: for I came for that purpose. I was fente to preache the worde of God. Our Sauioure Christ sayed, howe he muste not tarye in one place, for he was fent to the worlde to preache euerye where. Is it not a meruaylous thyng, that oure vnpreaching prelates can read thys place, and yet preach no more then they do. I maruayle, that they can go quyetlye to bed, and se howe he allureth them with hys example, to be diligente in theyr, office. Here is a godly leffon also howe oure Sauioure Christe fled from glory. Yf these am bicoufe parsions, that climbe to honoure by bywal[k]es inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesu christ, they shold come to more honour then they do: for when thei seke honour by fuch bywalkes, thei come to confusion honour foloweth them yat fle from it. Our sauour Christ, gat hym a waye erlye in the mornynge, and went vnto the wildernes. I woulde they woulde folowe thys example of Christe, and not seke honoure by suche by walkes as they do. But what dyd the people? when he had hyd hym selve, they smelled him out in the Wyldernes, and came vnto him, by flockes, and folowed hym a greate nombre. But where reade you that a greate nomber of scribes and Pharifes, and Byshoppes followed hym. There is a doctoure that wryteth of thys pla[c]e, his name is Doctoure Gorham, Nycolas Corrham, I knewe hym to be a schoole Doctoure a greate while a go, but I neuer knewe hym to be an enterpreter of scripture til nowe of late: he fayeth thus, maior deuocion in laicis Vetulis quam in clericis, etc. There is more deuocioun sayeth he, in laye folke, and olde Wyues, These symple folke, the vulger people, then in the clarke, they be better affete to the worde of God, then those, that be of the cleargye. I maruayle not

* And he said unto them, I must ciiytes also: for therefore am I sent.
preach the kingdome of God to other. Luke iv. 43.
at the sentence, but I marauyle to fynd such a sentence in such a doctor. Yf I shoulde saye so much, it would be sayed to me, that it is an euyl byrd that defiles hys owne nest, and *Nemo loeditur nisi a seipso*. There is no man hurte, but of hys owne selfe. There was veryfied the sayinge of oure Savioure Christe Whiche he spake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadaver, ibi congregabuntur aquila.* Wheresoever a deade carion is, thither wil ye e[a]gles gather. Our fauourchrisf compares hymselfe to a deade carion, for where the carion is, there wyl the Eagles be, and though it be an euyl smel to vs. and flynckes in a mans noose yet it is a swete smell to the Eagles, they wyl seke it out. So the people sought oute Chryst, they smelt hys fauour, he was a swete smell to them. He is *Odor uite ad uitant;* the smel of life to life. Thei flocket about him lyke Eagles. Christ was the carion, and the people were the Eagles.

Thei had no pleasure to heare the Scribes and the Pharifes thei stancke in their nose, their doctrine was vnauery, it was but of Lolions, of decimations of Anes feade, and Cummyn and suche gere. There was no comfort in it for soore consciences, there was no consolation for wounded soules, there was no remedy for synnes, as was in Christes doctrine. Hys doctrine eased the burden of the soule, it was swete to the common people, and fower to ye Scribes. It was such conforte and pleasure to them, that thei came flocking aboute hym. Wherefore came thei? *Nt audirent verbum dei,* it was a good commynge. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to here the worde of GOD. It is lykely yet in fo grat a multitude, some came of curiositie, to here some nouelles, and from cam smelling a swete fauour, to haue consolation and comfort of Gods word for we cannot be faued

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* I.e. wheresoever the carcasse is, thee will the eagles be gathered to.-

† The savour of life unto life.—

‡ The savour of life unto life.—

§ To heare the word of God.—

_3 Cor. ii. 16._

^ v. 1; see text at p. 163._
without heringe of the worde. It is a necessarye waye to salvation.

We can not be sauëd wythout sayeth, and sayth commeth by hearynge of the worde. *Fides ex auditu.* And howe shal they heare wythout a preacher? I tel you it is the fotesteppes of the ladder of heauen, of oure salvation. There muist be preachers if we loke to be sauëd. I toulde you of thys gradacion before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Consider it well. I had rather ye shoulde come of a naughtye mynde, to heare the worde of God, for noueltye, or for curiosite to heare some pastime, then to be awaye. I had rather ye shoulde come as the tale is by the Gentelwoman of London one of her neyghbours mette her in the streate, and sayed mestres whether go ye, Mary sayed she, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the sermon, I coulde not flepe al thyse laste nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer sayled of a good nap there, and so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermon, than not to go at al. For with what mind so euer ye come, thoghte ye come for an ill purpose, yet peraduenture ye maye chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher maye chaunce to catche you on hys hoke. Rather then ye should not come at al, I would haue you come of curiositie, as Saynte Auguytynne came to heare Sainct Ambrose. When Saynte Auguytynne came to Myllane, (he tellles the storye hymselfe in the ende of his boke of confessiones) he was very defirrous to here S Ambrose, not for anye loue he had to the doctrine yat he taughte, but to here his eloquence, whether it was so greate, as the speache was, and as the brute went. Wel, before he departed Saynte ambrose caught hym on hys hoke and convuerted hym so, that he became of a Maniche, and of a platonisle a good chriitian, a defender of christles religion, and of the sayeth afterwarde. So I woulde haue you come to sermons. It is declared in many mo places of scripture, howe necessarye preachynge is, as thys. *Evangelium

* Faith cometh by hearing.—Rom. x. vi.*
of potentia dei, ad salutem omni credenti.* The preaching of the Gospel is the power of God to every man that doth believe. He meanes gods word opened, It is ye instrument, and the thing wherby we are saved. Beware beware ye diminishe not thyss office, for if ye do, ye decaie goddes power to al that do beleue. Christe sayeth confoante unto the same. *Nisi quis reatus fuerit e supernis, non potest uidere regnum dei.t*

Except a man be borne a gayne from a boue, he can not be the kyngdome of God. He must haue a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be Christened in water (as thefe fyre brandes expound it) and nothyng elses. Howe is it to be expounded then? saynt. Peter sheweth. That one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstaunce, and collacion of places that make scripture playne. *Regeneramur autem † (sayeth Sayncte Peter) and we be borne a gayne. Howe? *Non ex femine mortalı, sed immortali.†* Not by a mortall seade, but by an immortall. What is this immortall seade? *per sermonem dei viuentis.†* By the word of the liyng God, by the worde of God preached and opened. This commeth in oure newe byrth. Here you may see how necessarie thys office is to oure saluacion.

This is the thyng that the demo wraffleth most agaynste, it hath bene all hys studye to decaye thys office, he worketh agaynste it as muche as he can, he hath prevailed to much, to much in it. He hath set vppe a state of vnpreachyng prelacy in this Realme this. vii. e. [seven hundred] yere, A state of vnpreachyng prelacy. He hath made vnpreachyng prelates. He hath flirred vp by heapes to persecute thys office in ye title of hereby he hath flirred vppe the Magistrates to persecute it in the title of secedion. And he hath flirred vp the people to persecute it wyth exprobacions and flaun-

* The gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.—Rom. i. 16.
† Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.—John iii. 3.
‡ Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—1 Pet. i. 9b.
derous wordes, as by the name of newe learnynge
strange preaching and wyth impropriacion he
hath turned preaching in to priuate Masses. If a
priesle shoulde haue left Masse vndon On a sunday
within these ten yeres, all En[g]lande shoulde haue won-
dered at it, but they might haue left of the sermon.
xx. sondayes and never haue ben blamed. And thus
by these impropriations priuate Masses were set vp,
and preaching of gods worde troden vnder foote.
But what doth he now? what doeth he now? he
freers men vp to outrageous rearyng of rentes, that
pore men shal not be able to fynd their children at
the schole to be diuines. What an unreasonable de-
ail is thys? he provides a grate while before hand
for the time that is to come. He hath broughte
vp nowe of late the moost monstreuse kynde of
couetousnes that euer was hearde of. He hath inuented
fee fermyng of benefices, and al to decaye thys office
of preaching, in so much that when any man heere
after shall haue a benefice, he maye go where he wyll
for any house he shall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe
lande to kepe hospitalitie withal, but he must take vp
a chamber in an Alehoufe and there sit and plaie at
ye tables all the day. A goodlye curate. He hath
caused alfo through this monstros kinde of couetou-
nes, patrons to sel theyr benefices. Yea what doth
he more? He gettes him to the vnierfitie, and
causeth great men and squiers to send theyr sones
thither, and put out pore scholars yat should be
diuines: for theyr parentes entend not they shall
be preachers, but yat they may haue a shewe of
lerninge. Tut, it were to long to declare vnto you
what decese and meanes ye diuel hath found to decaye
ye office of fulyacian, this office of regeneration. But
to return to my matter. The people came to here
ye word of god, thei hard him with silence I remember
now a sayning of Saynte Cristoforme, and peraduen-
ture it myght come here after in better place, but yet
I wyll take it, whiles it commeth to my mind. The
lying is this. *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silen
tio, scripsit locutiones non interrumpentes.* They harde hym
(fayeth he) in silence, not interruptyng the order of
his preachinge. He meanes they hard hym quietlye,
with out any shouelyng of feete, or walkynge vp and
downe. Sueryl it is an yl myforder, that folke shalbe
walkynge vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue
seene in this place thys Lente) and thare shalbe suche
bussyng and busseyng in the preachers eare, that it,
maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let
vs consider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place
was prepared for banketyng of the bodye, and hys
Maiestye hath made it a place for the conforte of the
soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it,
shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes
at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the
Kynges Maiestye hath done for you, he alloweth you
all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye
ought to haue a reverence to Godds word, and though
it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde
that oure Saviour spake.

Consider also the presence of the Kynges Maiestie
Gods highe vycare in earth, havynge a respect to his
perfonag, ye ought to haue reverence to it, and
consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet
alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye
heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be
thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed.
Hear in silence, as Chrysostom sayeth. It maye
chaunce that fume in the company may fall sicke,
or be diseased, if therebe any suche, let them go
away, with silence, let them leaue their salutacions
tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with
silence. I toke occasion of Chrysostomes wordes to
admonyse you of thys thyngye. What shold be ye
cause, that our Saviour Christe wente into the bote?
the scripture calleth it Nauis or nauicula. But it
was no ship, it was a fisihers bote, thei were not able
to have a shyp. What shoulde be the cause, why he
would not stand on the banke and preach ther but he desird Peter to drawe ye bote som what from ye shore into ye middes of the water. What shold be ye cause? What shold be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit ther more commodiously, then on ye banke, an oth other cause was, for yat he was like to be thrust into ye pond of ye peple yat came vnto him. Why? our fauioyr Christ might haue with flose them, he was strong enough to haue kept hymselfe from thrusting into the water. He was stronger, then they al, and he had lifted he myght haue flose on the water, as wel as he walked on the water, truth it is, so might he haue done in dede. But as it was some tyme by pleasure to shewe the poore of hy Godheade, so he declared nowe the infirmitie and imbicilitye of hym manheade. Heare he geueth vs an example what we shall do, we muft not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As our Sainioure Christ when the diuel hadde hym on the top of the temple, and wold haue had hym caste hym felse donte, he made hym this aunswere. Non tentavimus dominum deum tuum.* "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, as if he shoulde haue fayed. We maye not tempt God at all, it is no tyme nowe to shewe any miracles, ther is an other way to go donte, by gressinges. Thus he dyd to shewe vs an example, that we mufte not tempte God, except it be in extreme necessitye, and when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter to leaue it all to God, elles we maye not tempt the maieftye of his deyte. Beware temptyng of God's wel, he commes to Simons bote, and why rather to Simons bote then an other. I wyl aunswere, as I finde in experience in my selfe. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a whirry and when I came to take my bote, the water men came about me, as the maner is, and he wold haue me, and he wold haue me. I toke one of them. Nowe ye wyll alxe w

* Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.—Matt. iv. 7.
why I came in yat bote, rather then in another, because I woulde go into that that I se stande neste me, it stode more commodiouslye for me. And so dyd Christe by Simons bote. It stode nerer for him, he fawe a better feate in it. A good natural reason. Nowe come the papistes, and they wyll make a misterie of it, they wyll pyke out the supremecy of the Bishop of Rome in Peters bote. We maye make allegories inouge of euerye place in scripture, but fuerli, it must nedes be a symple matter that standes on fo weke a gronde. But ye shall fe further. He desired Peter to thryste out hys bote from the shore. He desired hym. Heare was a good leson for the Bishop of Rome, and al hys colledge of Cardinalles to learn humilitye and gentelnes. *Rogabat eum.* He desired hym, it was gently done of hym, with out any aufteritie, but wyth al urbanitie, myldnes, and softnes and humilitye. What an example is thys, that he giues them heare? but they spie it not, they can se nothyng but the supremicye of the Byshop of Rome. A wunderous thynge what syghte they haue. They se nothyng but the supremicye of the Byshop of Rome. *Imperabatis ovibus meis,* sayeth Ezechiel, *cum auaricia, et aufteritate, et dispersae sunt absque pastore.*

Ye haue ruled my shepe and commaunded them with greate lordlines, auftery, and power, and thus ye haue dispersed my shepe a brode, and why? Ther was no shephard, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many hundred yeres without a good shepheard. They would not lerne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with curslings excommunicacions, with great aufterite, and thunderboltes, and the diuel and al, to mayntaine their vnpreaching prelacye. I thefeche God open their eyes, yat they maye se the trueth, and not be blinded with those thinges, that no man can se but they. It foloweth in the texte. *Sedens docebit de naut.* † He taught fittyng.

* He prayed him.—Luke v. 3.
† With force and with cruelty have they ruled them. And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd.—Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.
‡ (He) taught the people out of the ship.—Luke v. 3.
Preachers be lyke, were fitters in those daies, as it is written in a nother place. *Sedent in cathedra mosiut.* They sette in the chayer of Moses.

I woulde oure preachers woulde preache fittynge, or standynge, one waye, or other. It was a godly pulpit that our Saviour Christ hadde gotten hym here. An olde rotten bote. And yet he preached his father wyll, his fathers message out of thys pulpyt. He regarded the people more then ye pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he myght do the people good. In deed it is to be commended for the preacher to stand or sit, as the place is, but I would not haue it so superfliously estemed, but that a good preacher may declare ye word of god sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tre. And yet if this shold be done, ye unpreaching prelatter would laughe it to skorne.

And though it be good to haue the pulpit set vp in churches, that the people may refort thither, yet I woulde not haue it so superfliously vfed, but that in a prophane place the worde of God might be preached some times, and I woulde not haue the people offended wyth all, no more, then they be with our Saviour Christes preaching out of a bote.

And yet to haue pulpetes in churches it is very well done to haue them, but they woulde be occupied, for it is a vayne thynge to haue them as they stand in many churches. I harde of a Byhoph of Engelande that went on visitacion and (as it was the custom) when the Byhoph shoulde come and be runge into the toune, the greate belles clapper was fallen doun, the tyall was broken, so that the Byhoph could not be runge into the toune. Ther was a greate matter made of this, and the chiefe of the parythe were muche blamed for it in the visitacion. The Byhoph was some what quicke wyth them, and signified that he was muche offended. They made theyr aunsweres, and excused them selues as well as they coulde, it was a chaunce, sayd they that ye clapper brake and we coulde not get it amended.

* The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.—Matt. xxiii. 2.
by and by, we must tarry til we can haue done it. It shal be amended as shortelye as maye be. Amonge the other there was one wyser then the rest, and he commes me to the Bishop. Whi mi Lord, sayth he, doth your lordship mak fo grat matter of the bell, that lacketh hys clapper? here is a bell, sayeth he, and poisnted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper thys. xx. yeres. We haue a parson, that fetteth out of thys benefice fiftye pountes euery yere, but we neuer fe hym. I warrant you ye Byshop was an vnpreachyng prelate. He could fynde faute wyth the bel, that wanted a clapper, to ryng hym into the toune, but he could not fynd any faute wyth the parson that preached not at his benefice. Euer thys office of preachyng hath bene leaft regarded, it hath fekante hadde the name of goddes feryuyc. They must fyngye. Salve festa dies aboute the churche, that no man was the better for it, but to shewe theyr gaiety cotes, and garmentes. I came once my selfe to a place, ridyng on a jornay home warde from London, and I fente worde ouer nyghte into the toune that I would preach there in ye morninge because it was holy day, and me thought it was an holye dayes worcke, The church flode in my vay, and I toke my horsse, and my compayne, and went thither, I thoughte I shoulde haue founde a greate companye in the churche, and when I came there, the churche dore was faste locked.

I tarried there halfe an houer and more, at last the keye was founde, and one of the parisse commes to me and sayes. Syr thys is a busie daye wyth vs, we can not heare you, it is Robyn hoodes daye. The parisse are gone a brode to gather for Robyn hoode, praye you let them not. I was fayne there to geue place to Robyn hoode, I thought my rochet shoulde have bene regarded, though I were not, but it woulde not serue, it was fayn to geue place to Robyn hooedesmen.

It is no langthyng matter my friendes, it is a wepyng matter, a heauy matter, a heauy matter, under the pretence for gatheryng for Robyn hoode, a tray-
toure, and a thefe, to put out a preacher, to haue hys office leffe estemed, to preyer Robyn hod before the ministracion of Gods word, and al thys hath come of vnpreachyng prelates. Thys Realme hath ben il provided for, that it hath had suche corrupte judgemenes in it, to preyer Robyn hode to goddes worde. Yf the Byshoppes had bene preachers, there shoule neuer haue bene any suche thyng, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good begynynge, I befech God to continewe it. But I tell you, it is farre wide, that the people haue suche judgementes, the Byshoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they woule haue them continewe in their ignoraunce flyll, and them selues in vnpreachyng prelacye. Wel, syttynge, syttynge. He satte doune and taughte. The texte doeth tell vs that he taughte, but it doeth not tell vs what he taughte. If I were a papiist I coulde tell what he fayed. I woulde in the Popes judgemente shewe what he taught. For the Byshop of Rome hath in *serinio petitoriis sui*, the true vnderstandyng of Scriptures. Yf he cal a counfayle of collidge of Cardinalles, he hath authoritye to determyne the supper of the Lorde, as he dyd at the counfayle of Florence.

And Pope Nicolas, and Byshopp Langfrancke shal come and expounde thys place, and faye, that oure Sauioure Christe, fayed thus. Peter I do meane thys by syttynge in thy bote that thou halte goo to Rome, and be Byshopp there fiue and twentie yeares, after myne ascension. And all thy succeffours shal be rulers of ye vniuerfal church after ye.

Heare woulde I place als hormy water, and hollye breade, and all vnwrytten verytes, if I were a Papiste, and that Scripture is not to be expoundyd byanye priuate interpretacion, but by ooure holye father, and hys collidge of Cardinalles.

Thys is a greate dele a better place then. *duc in altum.* But what was Christes sermon? it maye fone be gathered what it was. He is always like him selfe.

* Launch out into the deep.—Luke v. 4.
Hys fyrste Sermon was, *panitentiam agite*, do pen- 
naunce, your lyuynge is naught, repente. Agayne at 
Nazareth, whan he redde in the temple and preached 
remission of synynges, and healyng of woundyd con- 
sciences, and in the longe sermon in the mount, he 
was alwayes lyke hymselfe, he neuer dissented from 
hymselfe. O there is a writer hath a ioile text here, 
and hys name is, Dionisious. I chaunced to mete 
wyth hys boke in my Lorde of Caunterberyes librarye: 
he was a Monke of the charterhouffe. I maruayle to 
find such a sentence in that author. What taught 
Chrift in thysermon? Mary fayeth he, it is not 
written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Evangelistæ 
tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis chrišti 
quantum cognoverunt insiprante deo sufficere ad adifi- 
cationem ecclesiæ ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem 
animarum.* It is true it is not wrytten. Al hys mira- 
cles were not written, so neyther were al hys sermons 
writyten, yet for all that the euangelistes dyd wryte so 
muche as was necessary. They wrote so muche of 
the miracles and sermons of Chrift as they 
knewe by godes inspiracion to be sufficient for the 
edifiýnge of the churche, the confirmacion ofoure 
layeth and the health of our soules. If thyse be true 
as it is in dede, where be written verities? I mer- 
uayle not at the sentence but to fynde it in suche an 
author. Iesu what authoriti he gyues to goddesworde. 
But GOD woulde that suche men shoulde be wytnesse 
wyth the authoritye of his boke, wil thei nille they. 
Nowe to drawe towards an ende. It foloweth in 
the text *duc in altum.* Here comes in the supremitie 
of the Byhoppe of Rome. Whan oure Sauioure 
Chrift had made an ende of hys sermon and had fed 
their soules, he provided for theyr boddies. Fyrst he 
began wyth the soule. Chriftes worde is the fode of 
it. Nowe he goth to the body, he hath charge of them 
boeth, he gyueth fode for them boeth: we must commit 
the fedyng of the body and of the soule to hym. 
Well, he layeth to Peter. *duc in altum.* Launche
in to the depth, put forth thy bote farther into the deepe of the water. Lofe youre nettes, nowe fysh. As who shoulde saye, youre foules are now fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, nowe I wyll confirme it wyth a miracle. Lo syr here is duc in altum, Here Peter was made a greate man saye the Papistes, and all hys successflours after hym. And thys is deriued of these fewe words. Launch into the deepe. And their argumente is thys: he spake to Peter onelye, and he spake to hym in the singular number, ergo he gaue him such a preeminence aboue the rest. A goodly argument, I were it be a filogismus. in quem terra ponit. I will make a lyke argument, Oure Sauioure Chrifte sayed to Iudas, when he was about to betraye hym quod facis fac sitius. Nowe when he spake to Peter ther were none of his disciplyes by, but Iames and Iohn, but when he spake to Iudas they were al present. Wel, he sayd vnto him, quod facis fac sitius. Spede thy bufines, yat thou haft in thy heade, do it. He gaue him here a secret monicion that he knewe what he intended, if Iudas had had grace to have taken it and repented. He spake in the singular number to him, ergo he gaue hym some preeminence. By like he made him a Cardinall, and it mighte ful wel be, for they haue folowed Iudas euer syns. Here is as good a grounde for the Colegede of Cardinalles, as the other is for the supremetie of the Bisph of Rome. Oure Sauiour Chrifte (say they) spake onelye to Peter for preeminence, because he was chiefe of the Apostles, and you can shewe none other cause Ergo thys is the cause why he spake to hym in the syngular number. I dare saye there is neuer a whirriman at Westmister brydge, but he can answere to thys, and gyue a naturall reafon for it.

He knoweth that one man is able to shoue the bote, but one man was not able to caste out the nettes, and therefore he sayed in the plural nombre. iaxate retia; Loufe youre nettes? and he sayed in the syngular
number to Peter, launch out the bote. why? because he was able to do it.

But he spake the other in the plural nomber, because he was not able to conuay the bote, and cast out the nettes to. One man coulde not do it. Thys woulde the whirry man faye, and that wyth better reaion, then to make such a misterie of it, as no man can spye but they. And the cauise why he spake to all, was to shewe that he wyll haue all Christen men to worcke for theyr lyuyngge. It is he that sendes foode both for the body, and soule, but he wyll not send it, wythout laboure. He wyll haue all Christen people to laboure for it, he wyll vfe oure laboure as a meane whereby he sendeth our foode. Thys was a wounderous myrarke of our Sauioure Chryste, and dyd it not onely to allure them to hys discipleshippe, but also for our commoditie. It was a seale, a seale to seale hys doctrine wythall. Nowe ye knowe that suche as be kepars of seales, as my Lorde Chauncelour and suche other, what fo euer they be, they do not all wyues seale, they haue a sealyngge tyme. (For I haue harde poore men complaine, that thei haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of sealyngge to another, tyll all theiyr money were spent). And as they haue tymes to seale in, so our Sauioure Chryst had hys tyme of sealyngge. When he was here in earth, wyth his Apolites, and in the tyme of the primitiue churche, Christs doctrine was sufficietelye sealed already wyth seales of hys owne makyngge, what shoulde oure seales do? What nede we to seale his seale? it is a confrmed doctrine alredi. O Luther, when he came into that worlde fyrist, and disputet agaynst the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Estraugantines, what a do had he. But ye wyll saye peraduenture he was deveyed in some thynges I wil not take vpon me to defend him in al pointes, I wil not stand to it, yat al that he wrot was true, I thynke he woulde not to hym telle. For there is no man, but he maye erre. He came to further and further knowledge, (but furtel he has a goodli instrument). Wel I say, when he
preached fyrfte they called vpon him to do myracles, thei were wroghte before. And so we nede to do no miracl[e]s. In dede when the popiſh prelates preached fyrfte, thei had nede of miracles, and the deuil wroughte some in the preachynge of purgatorye. But what kynde of miracles these were, all Engelande doeth knowe, but it wil not knowe. A wonderfull thinge, that the people wylyn kontynnewe in theyr blyndynes and ignoraunce stīl. We haue greate vtilitie of the miracles of oure fauour Ieſu Chrifte. He doth signifye vnto vs, by this wonderful worcke, yat he is Lord as wel of ye water as of the land. A good comfort for thofe yat be on ye water, when thei be in anī tempeſt, or daunger to call vpon him. The fishe here came at his commaundement. Here we maye learne that all thynges in the water are subiecťe to Chrifte. Peter faied. Syr, wee haue laboured all nighte, and haue not caught one synne, howe be it at your word we wyll to it a freshe. By this it appareth that ye gaine, the lucre, the reuenues that we get, must not be imputed to oure labour, we maye not say, gramercy labour: it is not oure labour, it is our fauour Chrifte that fendeth vs liuynge, yet musſte we laboure, for he that faied to Peter labour, and he that bad the fymher labour, biddes all menne to labour in theyr busines. There be some people that ascribe their gaynes, theyr encreafe, gotten by anye facultye, to the deuil. Is ther any trowe ye in Englande would faie fo? Nowe if any man shoulde come to an other, and say he gat hys lyuynge by the dyuell, he would fall out wyth hym. There is not a man in Engelande that fo faieyth, yet is there some that thyncke it. For al yat get it with false biyng and felyng, wyth circumuention, wyth vſury, impostsures, mixte wares, fallſe weightes, deceuyynge theyr Lordes and maſters, all thofe, that get theyr goodes on thys fashion, what do they thyncke, but that the deuil fendethe them gaynes and ryche. For they be hys (beyng vnlawfully gotten.) What is thys to say, but that the dyuell is author of theyr gaynes when they be so gotten? For God
inhabites them. 

God wyl no inquitie. These folke are greatly deceiued. Ther be some againe impute to their labours and workes. Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wid againe on the other side. And some there be yet thinke, if they worke nothing at all, they shall have enough, they wil have no good exercise, but gape and thinke that god wil send meat into their mouths, and these are as far wide: they muste worke, he bad the fishe worcke. Our Sauiour Christ bad Peter worke, and he that fayed so to them, fayes the fame to vs, euerie man in his arte. benedictio dei facit diuitem.†

The blesynge of God maketh a man ryche. He lettes hys fonne fhyne vpon the wycked, aswell as vpon the good, he fendes ryches boeth to good and bad. But thys blesynge turnes to them into a maledicition and a curfe, it encerfeth their damnacion. Sayncte Paule wrtynghe to the Thessalonians, dyd put an order howe euerie man shoule worcke in hys vocation. Cum essenius apud uos, hoc praecipiebamus uobis, ut si quis nollet operari, is nec edat.‡

When I was amonge you (fayeth he) I made thys ordinaunce, that whosoever wold not do the worcke of hys vocation, shoulde haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale, that euerie man sholde be fet on worke, euerie man in hys vocation. Lette hym haue no mete. Nowe he fayeth furthermore. Audiuintus quoisdam inter nos uerfantes inordinate, nihil operis facientes.§ I here faye, there is some amongst you, that lyues inordinately. What is that word inordinately? Ydelye, gyuynghe them selues to no occupacion for theyr lyuynghe. Curiose agentes.§ Curiose men, gyuen to curiositie, to searchynge what other men do. Saynct Paule fayeth, he harde fayeth, he.
could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearynge fayne, to sette out a good and holfome doctrine. *his autem qui sunt eiusmodi pra-
cipimus, et obsecramus.*

We command and desier you for the reverence of God, if ther be any suche, that they wyll do the worckes of their vocacion, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate theyr owne bread, ells it is not theyr owne, it is other mens meate. Oure Sauiour Chrift before he began hys preachynge, lyued of hys occupacion, he was a carpenter, and gat hys liuynge wyth greate laboure.

Therefore let no manne disdayne, or thincke korne to folowe hym in a meane liuynge, a meane vocacion, or a common callynge and occupacion. For as he blessed oure nature wyth takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doyng he blessed al occupacions and artes. This is a notable example to signifie yat he abhorres al idlenes. When he was a Carpentar, then he went, and dyd the worke of hys callynge, and when he was a preacher he dyd the workes of that calling. He was no vnpreaching prelate. The Byshoppe of Rome shoulde haue learned that at him. And these gayners with fals corre should they? They are neuer contente wyth that they haue, though it be neuer so muche. And they yat are true dealers, are satisfiied with that god sendes, though it be neuer so little *quæstus magnus pietas, cum animo sua forte con-
tento.*† Godlines is great gayne.

It is lucre inough, it is vantage inough to be content with that, that God sendes. The fayethfull can not lacke, the vnfaithfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much I wil nowe make and ende. *labores manuum tuarum.*‡ Let vs al labour. Christe teacheth vs to labour, yea the Byshop of Rome hym selfe, he teacheth him to labour rather then to be

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* Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread. — *i* Thess. iii. 12.

† Godliness with contentment is great gain. — *i* Tim. vi. 6.

‡ For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands; happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee. — *ix* EXXVIII. 3.
hedde of the church. Let vs put our trust in God. 

Labores manuum tuarum. Caede thy care vpon the 
Lord and he wyll norfhe the and fede the. Agayne 
the Prophet sayeth. Numquam uidi ussum dederitum 
ux femen eius quersens panem.* 

I neuer sawe the ryghthoufe man forsaken, nor 
yhs fede to feke his bread. It is infidelitye, infi-

Well to my texte. labores manuum tuarum quia 
manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit etc. Because 
thou eatest the labors of thy handes, that, yat God 
enses the of thy laboure. Every man must labour, 
yea though he be a Kynge yet he munte labour, for I 
knowe no man hath a greater laboure then a Kynge. 
What is his labour? To slude goddes boke, to see 
yat there be no vnpreachynge prelates in his realme, 
nor bribing Judges, to se to all estates, to prouyde 
for the poore, to see vittailes good chepe. Is not 
this a labour trowe ye? thus if thou duste laboure, 
exercise the worckes of thy vocatyon, thou eatest 
the meate that god fendses the, and then it followeth. 

Beautus es. Thou art a blessed manne in Goddes 
tauour. Et bene tibi erit. And it shall go well wyth 
the in this world, both in bodye and soule, for God 
provides for both. Howe shalte thou prouyde for thy 
soule? go here Sermons. Howe for the boddy? 
labour in thy vocatyon, and then shall it be well wyth 
the, bothe here and in the worlde to come 
through the fayth and merites 
of our fauour Iesu Christ, 

To whom with the father 
and the holy goft, be 
praye for euer and 
euer, world with 
oute ende. 
Amen. 

The ende of the. vi, 
Sermon. 

*Have been young, and now am forsaken, nor his seed begging bread, 

ye have I not seen the righteous —Psa. xxxvii. 25—
The seventh
Sermon of Maister Hughe
Latimer, whiche he preached before
the Kings Maiestye wythin
hys Graces Palacie at
Westminster the
xix. daye of
Aprill.

Vae unquescripta sunt, ad nostrum doctri-
nam scripta sunt.* Al thynges yat
be written, thei be written to be our
doctrine. By occasion of thys texte
(most honorable audience) I haue
walked thys Lente in the brode
filde of scripture and vfed my liber-
tie, and intreated of fuch matters
as I thought, mete for this auditorie. I haue had a
do wyth many eftates, eueth with the hiehest of all, I
haueentreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye
of maiestrates, and Judges, of the dutye of prelates,
allowyng that yat is good, and disalowyng the con-
trary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke
there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but
we maye be amended, and redreffeoure luyes. We
maye all faye, yea all the packe of vs, peccauimus cum
patribus nostris.† We haue offended and synned with
our forefathers. In multis offendimus omnes‡ There
is none of vs al, but we haue in fondry thinges gres-
quously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of
many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I
intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the re-
medy of synne. We be in the place of repentance,
nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in

* Rom. xv. 4. † We have ‡ In many things we offend all.—
sinned with our fathers.— Psa. cvi. 6. Jam. iii. 2.
this worlde. We be all synners, even the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomeyd specially to haue a commemo-ration and remembrance of the passion of our fauour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys better Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreate of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am notable to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc. In thyss prayers, I wyll desyre you to remember the soules departed, wyth laudes and prayse to almyghtie God, that he woulde vouchsafe to affynte them at the hour of their death. In so dooynge, you shalbe put in remembrance to praye for your soules, that it may please G O D to affynte and comferte you in the agonies and paines of death.

The place that I wyll intreate of is in the. xxvi. Chapiter, of saynte Matthewe, Howebeit, as I intreate of it I wyll borrowe parte of Saynte Marke and saynt Luke, for they haue somwhat, that saynt Mathew hath not, and especially Luke.\(^*\) The texte is. *Tune communiisfet Iesu in uillam qua diciturgethemanu.*\(^†\) Then when Iesus came, some haue in uillam some in agrum, some in prædium. But it is all one, when Christ came into a Graunge, into a peace of land, into a fiedle, it makes no matter, cal it what ye wyl, at what tyme he had come into an honest mans houfe, and ther eaten hys pafcquall lambe, and instituted and celebrate the lordes supper, and sette furth the blessed communion, then when this was done, he tooke his way to the place, where he knewe Iudas would come. It was a solitareye place and thither he wente with hys leauen Apostles. For Iudas the twelfe was a boute his busines, he was occupied

\(^*\) Matth. xxvi. 36-44; Mark xiv. 32-35; Luke xxii. 39-44; John unto a place called Gothsemene.—
\(^†\) Then cometh Jesus with them.
aboute his marchaundise, and was prouydyng among the byshoppes and preistes, to come with an imbushe-
ment of Iewes to take our fauour Iefus Chrift.

And when he was come into this felde, or grandge,
this village, or ferme place, which was called Geth-
semani, there was a Garden sayth Luke, into the
whych he goeth, and leues. viii. of hys discipes with-
out, howbeit he appoynted them what they shold do.
He sayth Sedete hic, donec uadam illum, et orem.* Sit
you here whiles I go yonder and prai. He told
them that he went to pray, to monish them what
they should do, to fall to praiuer as he dyd. He lefte
them there, and toke no more with him but. iii.
Peter, James, and Ihon to teach vs that a solutari place
is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into
this garden, Capiet expauescere.† He began to trimble,
in so much he sayed. Tristis est anima mea usque
ad mortem.‡ My soule is heauye and pencyue, even
unto death. Thys is a notable place, and one of
the most efcieall and cheefste of all that be in the
strike of the passion of Chritfe. Here is oure remedye.

First of all he set hys thre Disciples that he toke
wyth hym in an order, and tould them what they
shoulde do, sayinge. Sedete hic et uigilate mecum et orate.‡

Sytte here, and praye that ye enter not into temp-
tacion, but of that I wyll entreate afterwarde. Nowe
when he was in the Garden, capit expauescere.† He
beganne to be heauye, pencyue, heauye harted. I lyke
not Oregens playeing wyth this word capiti, it was a per-
fect heauynes, it was suche a one as was neuer seene th
grater, it was not onely the begynying of a forow.
These doctours, we haue greate caufe to thanke God
for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to

* Sit here, while I go and pray yonder.—Matt. xxvi. 36.
‡ My soule is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and
† Began to be sorrowful and very heavy.—Matt. xxvi. 37.
be allowed. They haue handled many poyntes of our fayth verye godly, and we may haue a greate staie in them in mani thinges, we might not wel lake them, but yet I woulde not haue men to be sworne to them, and so adicte as to take hand ouer hed whatsoeuer they say, it were a great inconuenienc to do. Wel, let vs go forward. He toke Peter, James and Ihon into thys garden. And why dyd he take them wyth hym, rather then other? mary those that he had taken before, to whom he had reueled in the hyl, the transfiguracion and declaracion of his deiyte, to se ye reuelacion of ye maiestie of his godhead: now in the garden he reueled to the same ye infirmity of his manhood, because they had tasted of the swete, he would thei should taft alfo of the fower. He toke these wyth hym at boeth tymes, for two or thre is inoughe to beare witnes. And he began to be heuy in hys mynd. He was greatlye vexed wythin hym selse, he was fore afflicted, it was a gret heauines, he had bene heauye many times before, and he had suffered greate afflications in hys soule, as for the blyndenes of the Iewes, and he was like to suffer mo panges of paine in hys body. But thys pange was greater then any he euer sufferd yea, it was a greater torment vnto hym I thynke, a greater Payne then when he was hanged on the croffe, then when the flower nayles were knocked und druen throughg hys handes and fete, then when the sharpe crowne of thornes was thrut on hys head. Thys was the heauines and pensiuenes of hys hearte, the agony of the spirit. And as the soule is more precious then the bodye: euen so is the paine of the soule more greuous then the paynes of the body. Therfore ther is another which writeth. *horror mortis grauioris ipfa morte.* The horror and ygfrones of death is forer then death it selse. This is the mofte greuous paine, that euer christ suffered, euen this pang, that he suffered in the garden. It is the most notable place one of them in the whoole storie of ye passion, when he lized. *Animam meam tristis et usque ad mortem.* My

*Ma 25. xxvi. 37, 38: see previous page.*
The seventh sermon

soule is heavy to death. And *cum cooperat exspectatione* and when he began to quier, to shake. The grousines of it is declared by his prayer yet he made. *pater si possible est etc.* Father if it be possible, a way with this cup, rid me of it. He understand by this cup his paines of death. For he knewe well inouche that hys passion was at hand, that Iudas was come vpon hym with the Iewes to take him. There was offerd vnto hym nowe the Image of death, the Image, the fence, the felynge of hell, for death and hell go both together. I wyll entreate of thys Image of hell, whyche is death. Truelye no manne can shewe it perfectlye, yet I wyl do the best I can to make you understand ye greevouse panges that owre Savioure Christe was in when he was in the garden, as mans power is not able to beare it, so no mans tong is able to expresse it. Paynters painte death lyke a man without skyn, and a body hauyng nothing but bones. And hel they paint it, horrible flames of brenning fier, they bungell some what at it, thei come no thing nere it. But thys is no true payntyng. No paynter can paynte hel vnlesse he coulde paynte the torment and condemnation both of body and soule; ye possesion and hauyng of all in felicitie. Thys is hel, this is ye Image of death this is hell, such an eyyl favoured face, such an vgyome countenaunce, such an horrible vyfage our Saviour Christ sawe of death and hell in the gardayn. There is no pleasure in beholdynge of it, but more Payne then anye tongue can tell. Death and hell toke vnto them thys eyyl favoured face of fine, and thorough synne. This synne is so hyghly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished with lacke of all felicitie, with the fealyng of infelicitie. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, ye stipend of sin, but they are brought into ye world by sinne, *per peccatum mortem* sayth S Paule, through synne death.

* O my Father, if it be possible.* xxvi. 39.

*let this cup pass from me.*—Matt. 

† Death by sin.—Rom. v. 12.
entered into the world. Moses sheweth the first conming in of it into the world. Where as our fyrst father Adam was set at libertie to lyue for euer, yet God inhibytynge hym from eatynge of the Aple, tould hym, If thou meddle with this fruite, thou and all thy poysterie shal fall into necessitie of death from euer lyuynge, morte morieris, thou and all thy poysterie shalbe subiect to deathe, here came in death and hell. Synne was their mother. Therefore they must haue suche an Image as their mother finne would geue them. An vgiome thing and an horrible Image must it nedes be that is brough in by such a thyng so hated of God, yea this face of death and hell is so terrible, that suche as hath bene wycked men had rather be hanged than a byde it. As Achitophell that traytoure to Davud lyke an ambycioufe wretche thought to haue come to higher promocion, and therefore conspired with Absolom against hys maiestyr Davud. He when he sawe hys counfayle take no place, goes and hanges hym selfe, in contemplacion of thys euyl fauored face of death. Iudas also when he came wyth buffementes to take his maiestyr Christe in beholdyng thys horrible face hanged himselfe.

Yea the electe people of God, the saythful hauinge the beholdynge of thys face, (though God hath alwayes prefered them, suche a good God he is to them that beleue in hym, that he wyll not suffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare) yet for all that, there is nothyng that they complaine more sore then of thys horrour of death. Go to Iob. What sayeth he? Pereg dies in quo natus fum, suspensidum elegit anima mea.* Wo worth ye day that I was borne in, my foule wolde be hanged, sayinge in his panges almooste he wyfte not what. Thys was when wyth the eye of hys conscience, and the inwarde man he behelde the horrour of death and hel, not for any bodylye payne that he suffred.

* Let the day perish wherein I was born.—Job iii. 2.
for when he hadde byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them pacientlye, he coulde faye them: *Si bona furo eum Domini, etc.*

If we haue receyued good thynges of God, why shoulde we not suffer lykewyse euyl? It was not for any suche thyng, that he was so vexed, but the fyghte of thyss face of death and hel, was offered to hym so lyuely that he wolde haue bene oute of thyss worlde. It was thyss euyl fauored face of death that so troubled hym. Kynge Dauid also fayed, in contemplacion of thyss vyfome face. *Laboraui in gemitu meo.* † I haue bene sore vexed with sighyng and mourning. *Turbatus est a furore oculi mei.* ‡

Myne eye hath bene greatlye troubled in my rage. A straung thyng, when he had to fyghte wyth Goliath that monstrous gyant, who was able to haue eaten hym, he coulde a byde hym, and was nothyng a frayde and now what a worcke? what exclamациons makes he at the fyghte of death? Ionas lykewyse was bold inough, to byd the hyphmen caft hym into the fea, he had not yet fene that face and vyfage, but when he was in the Whales belly, and had there the beholdeynge of it, what terror and distresse abode he? Ezechias when he sawe Senacherib befeyynge his citie on evertysefyde mose violentlye, was nothyng a frayde of the greate hose and myghtye army that was lyke to destroye hym oute of hande, yet he was a frayde of death.

When the Prophet came vnto hym, and fayed. *Disponne domini tuae, morte morieris, et non viues.* §

It stroke him so to the harte that he fel a wepyngye. O Lord what an horror was this? Ther be some writers that faies that Peter, Iames and Ihon, were in

* Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?*—Job ii. 10.
† I am weary with my groaning. —*Psa. vi. 6.*
‡ Mine eye is consumed because of grief.—*Psa. vi. 7.*
§ Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.—*King. xx. 1.*
thys selynge at the same tyme and that Peter when he layed: Exi a me domine quia homo peccator sum.*

Did taue some part of it he was so astonyshe, he wist not what to saye. It was not longe that they were in thys anguyshe, some sayes longer, some shorter but Christ was redye to comforte them, and sayed to Peter.

Ne timeas,† Be not atraied. A frend of myne tolde me of a certayne woman, that was xviii. yeares to gather in it. I knewe a man my self Blynny, litle Blynny, that blessed martyr of GOD, what tyme he had borne hys fagott, and was come agayne to Cambridyenge hadde suche confylctes, wythin hym selfe, beholdynge thys Image of death, that hys frendes were a frayde to lette hym be alone, they were fayne to be wyth hym daye and nyght, and comforted hym, as they coulde, but no confortes woulde serue. As for the comfortable places of scripture to brynge theym into hym, it was as though a man woulde runne hym through the herte wyth a swerad. Yet afterwarde for all thys he was reuied, and toke his death paciently, and dyed wel against the Tirannical fea of Rome. Wo, wil be to that byshoppe that had the examynacyon of hym, if he repentted not. Here is a good lesson for you my frendes. If euere ye come in daunger, in duraunce, in pryson for godes quarrell, and hys sake, (as he dyd for purgatorye matters, and put to beare a fagot for preachynge the true worde of God agaynste pilgamage and suche lyke matters) I wyl aduyse you fyrist and above al thing to abiure al your frendes, all your frindeschip, leaue not one vnabiured, it is they that shal vsdo you, and not your enemyes. It was his very frendes, that brought Bylnye to it. By this it maye somewhat appere what ooure fauyour Christes binded, he doeth not dissemble it hym selfe, when he

The seventh sermon

\textit{fayth, my soule is heauye to death, he was in so sore an Agony, that there issued out of hym as I thal entreate anone, droppes of bloud, an vgsome thinguerly, whiche his fact and dede sheweth vs, what horrible paynes he was in for oure fakes.}

\textit{But you wyll Laye, howe can thys be? It were posiblle that I and suche other, as he greate synners shoulede suffer suche affliction. The sone of God, what ours Sausioure Christe? neuer synned, howe can thys flande that he shoule be thys handeled? he neuer deserued it. Mary I wyl tell how we must consider oure Sausiour Chrifte two wavys, one wav in hys manhode, another in his Godhed. Some places of scripture must be reffered to hys deitie, and some to his humanitie. In hys godhed he suffered nothyng, but nowe he made hym felwe voide of hys deity, as scripture fayth. Cum effet in forma dei exinaniiui seipsum.*}

Where as he was in the forme of God, he emptyd hym felwe of it, he dyd hyde it, and vfed him felwe as though he had not had it, he woulede not helpe hym felwe wyth hys godhede, he humbled him felwe with al obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse thys was in yat he was man, he toke vpon hym our synnes, our synnes, not the worcke of synnes. I meane not so, not to do it, not to commyt it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to beare the flypende of it, and that waye he was the great synner of the worlde, he bare all the synne of the worlde on hys backe, he woulde become detter for it.

\textit{Nowe to suffrayne and suffer the dolours of death, is not to synne, but he came into thys worlde, wyth hys paßyon to purge our synnes. Nowe thys that he suffered in the Gardaine is on[e], of the bittrest peces of al hys paßyon, thys}

* Who, being in the form of God obedient unto death, even the death he humbled himself, and became of the cross.—Phil. 2:8.
feare of death was the bytterest payne
that euere he abode, dewe to syn which he
never did, but became detter for vs. Al this he
fusser for vs, thys he dyd to satisfeye for our synnes. It is
much like as if I oughte another man. xx. M.
thousand] poundes, and shulde paye it out
of hande, or elles go to the dungen of
judgat, and when I am goynte to pryson, one of my
friends shoulde come, and aske, whether goeth thy thy
man? And after he had harde the matter, shulde
faye, let me aunswere for hym, I wylbe come fuyrtye
for hym. Yea, I wyll paye all for hym. Suche a parte
played our fauour Christe wyth vs. If he had not
fussered thy, I for my part shoulde haue fussered,
accordynge to the grauitie and qualitie of my synnes,
damnacion. For the greater the synne is,
the greater is the punyfement in hell. He
fussered for you and me in suche a
degre, as is dewe to al ye synnes of the
whole world. It was as if you woulde immagin that
one man had commyttted al the synnes since Adam,
you maye be sure he shoulde be punished wyth the
fame horroure of death in suche a forte as al men in
the worlde shoulde haue fussered. Feyne and put
case our fauour Christe, had commytted al the synnes
of the world, al that I for my parte haue done, al that
you for youre parte haue done, and that anye manne
elles hath done, if he hadde done all thys him self, his
agonie that he fussered shoulde haue bene no greater
nor greuoufer, then it was. This that he
fussered in the garden was a portion I fay
of hys passion and one of the bitterest
partes of it. And this he fussered for oure synnes and
not for anye synnes that he had commyttted hym selfe,
for al we should haue fussered every man accordynge
to his owne defertes.

This he dydde of his goodnes, partelye
to purge and cleanse our synnes, partelye,
because he would taft, and fele our myle-
terest peces of
al his passion
He declares
what Chryst
dyd for vs by
a similitude.
The greater
the synne is,
the greater is
the payne.
His suffering
in the garden
was bytter anf
paynfull.
Why Christ
suffred suche
paynes in the
garden.
ries, *Quo posset succurrere nobis,* that he shoulde the rather helpe and relieue vs, and partly he suffered to geeue vs example, to behaue our felues as he dyd. He dyd not suffer, to discharge vs clene from death, to kepe vs clene, from it, not to taft of it. Nay nay, you mufte not take it so. We shal haue the beholding of this vgsome face euyer one of vs, we shal fele it our felues. Yet oure fauiour Chrift dyd suffer, to the entente, to fygnifye to ys, that death is overcomable. We shal in dede overcame it, yf we repente, and acknowledge that our fauiour Iesu Chriſte pacifyed with his panges and paynes the wrath of the father, hauynge a loue to walke in the wayes of God, yf we beleue in Iesu Chriſt, we shal overcome death, I fay, it shal not preuaile agaynft vs. Wherfor whenfoeuer it chaunſeth the my frende, to haue the taftynge of thyth death, that thou shalt be temted wyth thyth horror of death, what is to be done then? whenfoeuer thou feleſt thy foule heauy to death, make hafte, and resorte to this gardaine, and with thyth faith thou shalt overcome thyth terrour when it commeth. Oh it was a greuous thynge, that Chryſte suffered here. Oh the greatnes of his dolour that he suffered in the garden, partlye to make amendes for our sinnes, and partly to dełyuer vs from death, not so, that we shoulde not dye bodylye, but that thyth death shoſe be away to a better lyfe, and to destroye and overcomen hell. Oure Sauyoure Chryſt had a gardeyne, but he had littel pleasure in it. You haue many goodly gardaynes, I wold you would in the myddes of them confyder what agonye our fauyoure Chryſt suffred in hys gardayne. A goodly meditacion to haue in youre gardaines. It shal occaſyon you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remembre what he suffred for you. It

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*For in that he himself hath suffred being tempted, he is able to*  Ἐκλ. 2:18.
maye drawe you from synne? It is a good monum-
mente, a good fygne, a good monycyon to confyder
howe he behaued him selle in this garden.
Well he sayeth to his Dicyples. Sytte here and
praye wyth me. He wente a lytle waye of, as it were
a stones cast from them, and falles to hys prayer, and
saieth : _Pater fi possibile et tranfeat a me calix iste._
Father if it be possyble. Awaye wyth thyss bytter
cuppe thys outrageous Payne. Yet after he correctes
him selle, and fayes : _Veruntamen non ficut ego volo sed
ficut tu vis._
Not my wyll but thy wyll be done O Father. Here
is a good medytacyon for Chrystien menne, at all
tymes, and not onelye vpon good fryday,
lette good fryday be euereye daye to a Chri-
tian manne to knowe, to vse hys passyon
to that ende and purpose, not to reade
the florye, but to take the fruyte of it.

Some menne if they hadde bene in thys agonye,
woulde haue runne them felues through
with theyr swerdes as Saule dyd, some
woulde haue hangged theym felues, as Achitophell dyd.

Lette vs not folowe these menne, they be no exam-
pies for vs, but lette vs folowe Chriftel, whyche in hys
agonye reforted to hys father wyth hys praier. This
must be our patrone to worke by. Here I might di-
late the matter as touchyglye prayinge to Sayntes,
here we maye learne not to praye to
Sayntes. Christel byddes vs. _Ora patrem
qui est in coelis._

Praye to thy father that is in heauen, to the crea-
tor, and not to any creature. And therefor awaye
with these auowryes. Let god alone be oure auowry,
what haue we to do to runne hither or thither, but
onlye to the father of heauen. I wyl not tarye to
speake of thys matter.

* O my Father, if it be possible,
  let this cup pass from me._—Matte.
  xxxvi. 39.
† Nevertheless not as I will, but
  as thou wilt._—Matte. xxvi. 39.
‡ Pray ye; Our Father which art in
  heaven._—Matte. vi. 9.
Our Sauiour Christe set hys disciples in an ordre and commaunded theym to watch, and praye, sayenge: *Vigilate et orate.*

Watch and praye. Wherto shoulde they watche and pray? he sayeth by and by: *Ne intretis in tentationem.* That ye enter not into temptacion. He byddes them not, praye that they be not tempted, for that is as muche to say, as to prai that we shoulde be out of thys world. Ther is no man in thys worlde wythout temptacion. It the tyme of prosperyte we are tempted to wantonnes, pleasures, and all lyghtnes, in tyme of aduersyte to dispayre in goddes goodnes. Temptacion neuer ceaseth.

A dyfference betwene beynge tempted & entryng into temptacion. That is a differenc between beyng tempted and entrynge into temptacion. He byddes therefore not to pray that they be not tempted but that they enter not into temptacion. To be tempted is no euyl thynge.

For what is it? no more then when the flese, the diuell and the worlde dooth solycyte and moue vs agaynst God.

To geue place to these suggestions, and to yelde oure felues, and suffer vs to be ouer comm of theym, thys is to enter into temptacyon.

Our sauyoure Christe knewe that they shoulde be greuously tempted and theryfore he gaue them warnynge, that they shoulde not geue place to temptacyon, nordspayre theys death. And yf they chaunced to forfake hym, or to runne awaye, in case they tripped or owarne, yet to come agayne.

But oure Sauiour Chrysfte dyd not onely commaunde hys dyfyciples to praye, but fell downe vpon hys knees flat vpon the grounde and prayed hym sef, sayenge: *Pater mecum* a me calix iste.† Father, delyuer me of this pange and payne that I am in, thyng outrageous payne.

* Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.*—Matt. xxvi. 41. xxvi. 39.
† *O my Father if it be possible.*
This word, father, came even from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who shoulde saye, father ryd me, I am in suche payne that I can be in no greater? Thou art my father, I am thy fone. Can the father forake his sonne in suche anguishe. Thus he made hys mone. Father take awaye this horrour of deathe from me, ryd me of thys payne, suffer me not to be taken when Iudas comes, suffer me not to be hanged on the crosse, suffer not my handes to be perced with nayles nor my harte wyth the sharpe speare. A wonderfull thynge, that he shoule so oft tel his disciples of it before, and nowe when he cometh to the poynite, to defyre to be rydde of it, as though he woulde haue bene disobedient to the wyll of his father. Afore he sayed, he came to suffer, and now he sayes, a waye wyth thys cuppe. Who woulde haue thoughte that euer thys geare should haue comma oute of Christses mouthe? What a case is this? What shulde a man say? You muste vnderstand, that Cryste tooke vpon hym our infirmitie, of the whych thys was one to be forye at deathe. Amonge the flyppendes of synne this was on[e] to trimble at the crosse, this is a punyfshement for oure synne.

It goeth otherwayes wyth vs, then wyth Chryste, yf we were in lyke case, and in like agonie, almoast we woulde curse God, or rather wyffe that there were no God. Thys that he sayed, was not of that forte, it was referrynge the matter to the wyll of hys father, but we seke by al meanes be it righte, be it wrong of oure owne nature to be ryd out of payne, he defyred it condicionally, as it myghte stande, wyth hys fathers wyll, addyng a Veruntamen* to it.

So his request was to shewe the infirmyte of man, here is now an example what we shal do, when we are in lyke case.

He neuer deferred it, we haue. He had a Veruntamen,* a not wythflandyenge, for vs when we are temptet.

* Nevertheless.—Matt. xxi. 39.
let vs haue so to, we muste haue a neuertheles, thy
wyll be done and not myne.

Geue me grace to be contente to submitle my wyl
vnto thyne. Hys facte teacheth vs what to do. Thys
is oure surgye, oure phylyke, when we
be in Agonye, And reke vnpon it frendes,
we shal come to it, we shal feele it, at one
tyme or an other.

What does he nowe? what came to passe nowe,
when he had harde no voyce? hys father was domme.

He reforste to hys frendes, sekeing some comfort at
theyr handes seynge he hade none at hys fathers
hande, he comes to hys disciples, and fyndes them a
frepe, he spake vnto Peter, and faied. Ah Peter arte
thou a frepe, Peter before had bragged stoutly, as
though he woulde haue kylld, God haue mercye vpon
hys soule. And nowe when he shoulde have comforted
Christ, he was a frepe, not once buffe, nor buffe to
him, not a word, he was fayne to faye to hys dysciples:
Vigilate et orate,* Watche and pray, the spirit is ready,
but the flede is weake, he had neuer a worde of them
agayne. They myght at the lefte haue fayed. Oh
Syr remember your selfe, are not you Christe came
not you into thys world, to redeme fynne, be a good
cheare, be a good comforth, this sorrow wil not healpe
you, comefte youre selfe by your owne preachynge,
you haue fayed: Oportet filium hominis pati,† You
haue not deferued any thing, it is not your faulte.
In dede if they had done thys wyth hym, they had
played a frendlye parte wyth hym, but they gaue hym
not so muche as one comforable worde. We ronne
to our frendes in our dystresses and Agonyes, as
though we had al oure truflle and confyndence in theym,
he dyd not so, he resorted to theim, but truste not
in theym, we wyll ronne to our frendes and come no
more to God, he returned agayn.

What shal we not reforste to oure frendes in tyme

* Watche and pray.—Matt. xxvi. 41. Thus it, behoved Christ to suffer.
† The Son of man must suffer.—Luke xxiv. 45.

of nede? and trowe ye we shal not fynde them i
flepe? yes I warrante you, and when we nede theyr
helpe most, we shal not haue it. But what shal we
do, when we shal fynde lacke in theym? we wyll
crye out vpon theym, vpbrayde them, chyde, braule,
fume, chauce and backbite them. But Chryst dyd
not fo, he excused hys fryendes, sayinge:

* Vigilate et orate spiritus quidem promptus est, caro
autem infirma.* Oh (quouth he) watch and pray, I
fe wel the spirite is ready, but the flehe is weake.
What meaneth this? suerelye it is a comfortable place.
For as longe as we lyue in thys worlde, when we be at
the beft, we haue no more but. *Promptitudinem spiritus
cum infirmitate carnis,* The redynesse of the spirite
with the infirmitie of the flehe. The verye Sayntes
of God sayed: *Velle adept mihi,* † My wyl is
good, but I am not able to perfomne it, I
haue bene with some, and fayne they woulde, sayne
they woulde, there was redines of spirite, but it woulde
not be. It greued them that they could not take
thynges, as they shoueld do.

The flehe refylith the worcke of the
holy Goft in oure herte, and lettes it,
lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God
O praye, prayer, that it myght be vsed in
ths Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and
speelylye of Magyftrates, of Counfaylers, of greate
Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde please God to
putte Godly policies in their hertes. Call for asyst-
ance. I haue heard fay, when that good queene that
is gon had ordeined in her house, dayly prayer both
before none, and after none, the admiral
gettes hym oute of the waye, lyke a moule
diggynge in the earth. He shalbe Lottes
wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was a couetous
manne, an horrible couetous manne, I wolde there
were no mo in England. He was an ambitionas man,
I woulde there were no mo in Englane. He was a
sedious man, a contemnar of commune prayer, I
would there were no mo in England, he is gone, I
wold he had left none behind him: Remember you
my lorde, that you pray in your houses to the better
mortification of your fleshe. Remember
god must be honored, I wyl you to praye
that God wyl continew his spiryt in you. I do not
put you in comfort, that yf ye haue once the spiryt, ye
cannot lose it, Ther be new spirites start
vp now of late, that faye, after we haue
receyued the spiryt, we cannot fynne. I
wyll make but one argument. Saynt Paule had
broughte the Galathyans to the poffeysyon of the faythe,
and left theym in that fayte, they had receiued the
spiryt once, but they fynned agayne, as he testifeyd of
theym him selfe. He sayeth: Currebatis bene.* Ye
were once in a ryght fayte, and agayne. Receptisti
spirituum ex operibus legis, an ex iusticia fidei?† Once
they had the spiryt by faith, but faule Prophetes
came (when he was gone from them), and they
plucked them cleane away from al that Paul
had planted them in, and then faied Paul vnto
them: O pulchri Galathi quis vos facinavit?‡ yf this be
tru, we may lose ye spi[ryte], yet we haue once po-
ffessed. It is a fond thyng, I wyll not tarry in it. But
now to the paffyon again. Chryst had ben with hys
father, and felt no heale, he had bene with hys
grendes, and had no comfort, he had prayed twyse, and
Chryst contynued in prayer. was not herd, what dyd he now? dyd he
geue prayer ouer? no, he goeth agayne to
hys father, and sayeth the same agayne, father if it be
possyble awaye with this cup, here is an example for vs
although we be not herd at the fyrst time, shal we geue
ouer our prayer? nay we must to it agayne, we must be
importune vpon god, we must be instane in prayer. He
prayed thryse and was not herd, let vs sinners praye

* Ye did run wel. Gal. v. 7. of faith?—Gal. iii. 2.
† Received ye the Spiritt by the
‡ O foolish Galatians, who hath
works of the law, or by the hearing bewitched you?—Gal. iii. 7.
thre score tymes, folkes are very dul now adayes in praier, to come to sermons, to reforte to common praier. You houskepers, and especially great men geue example of praier in your houses. Well dyd hys father looke vpon him thys second tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne thinkeynge to finde some comfort ther, but he findes them a slepe, again more deper a slepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heaui with slepe. Ther was no comfort at all, they wyll not what to saie to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was tost from poel to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was deflytute at hys hand, anothe whyle, to hys frendes, and founde no comfort at them, hys father gaue him loking on, and suffred him to bite vpon the brydle a whyle. Almyghtye God behelde thys battayle that he myghte enioye that honoure and glory, that in hys name al knees shuld bow, Caelestium, Terrestrium, et infernorum.* in heauen, earth and hel. Thys that the father wolde not here hys owne sone, was an other punyshemente due to our synne. When we crye vnto hym, he wyll not here vs. The Prophet Ieremy sayeth, Clamatunt ad me, et ego non exaudium eos.† These be Ieremyes wordes, here he threateneth to punyse fyn wyth not hearyng thyer prayers. The prophet saythe. They haue not haed the feare of God before thyer eyes, nor haue not regarded disciplyne and correction. I neuer sawe surely fo lyttel disciplyne as is nowe a daies. Men wilbe maysters, they wyl be maysters, and no Disciples. Alas where is thys disciplyne nowe in England. The people regarde no disciplyne, they be without al order. Wher thei shuld geue plesse, they wyll not flur one inch, yea, wher magistrates shold determynge matters, they wyll breake into the place, before they come, and at theyr commynye not moue a whitte for them. Is this disciplyne? Is thy good order? If a man say any thyng vnto them, they

* Of thinges in heauen, and thinges in earth, and thinges under the earthe. —Phil. ii. 20.
† I will not heare them in the house that they cry without hys door. —Jer. xii. 14.
regarde it not. They that be called to aunswere wyll not aunswere direclye, but skoffe the matter out. Men the more thei knowe, the worse they be, it is truely fayed.

Sciencia inflat,* knoweledge maketh vs proude and caufeth vs to forget all, and set a wyaye diiscipline. Surerlye, in Poperye they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I never saue the lyke. Thys fame lacke of the feare of God, and diiscipline in vs, was one of the caufes that the father woulde not heare hys fonne. Thys payne sufferd our sauioyre Chrift for vs, who never deserued it. Oh what it was, that he suffered in thys gardeyn, til Iudas came. The doloures, the terroures, the forrowes that he suffered, be vnspeakeble, He suffered it, partelye, to make amendes foroure synnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee shoulde do in lyke case.

What comes of thys gere in the ende? Wel, nowe he prayeth agayne, he reporseth to his father agayne. Angore corruptus, prolixius orabat.† He was in forer paines, in more anguifhe, then euer he was, and threfore he prayeth longer, more ardentlye, more faruente-lye, more vehementelie, then euer he did before.

Oh Lorde, what a wonderfull thynge is thys, thys horroure of death is worse then death it selfe, more vgforme, more bytter then anye bodlye death. He prayeth nowe the thyrde tyme. He dyd it so inflauntlye, so ferently, that it brought out a bloudy sweate, and suche plentye that it dropped downe euen to the gronde. Ther issued out of hys precious bodye droppes of bloude. What a paine was he in, when these bloudy droppes fell so abundantlye from hym. Yet for all that, how vntthankesfull do we shewe oure-selues toward hym that dyed only for oure sakes, and for the remedy of oure synnes. Oh what blasphemye: do we commit daye by daye, what litle regard haue we to his blessed passion thus to sweare by goddes

* Knowledge puffeth up.—2 Cor. viii. 1.  † And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly.—Luke xxii. 44.
bloude, by Christes passion. We haue nothyng in no pastime, but gods bloude, gods woundes. We continually blaspheme his passion in hauynge, hunting, diuing, and cardinge. Who would thinke he shoulde haue suche enemyes a monge those that professe hys name.

What became of his blud that fell downe trowe ye? was the bloude of Hales of it (wo worthe it). What a do was it to brynge thys out of the kynes heade, thys greate abhominacion of the bloud of hales could not be taken a great whyle out of his mynde. You that be of the court, and especially ye tworne chapleys be ware of a leccion that a greate man taught me at my fyrst comming to the courte he tolde me for good wyll, he thoughte it well. He faye vnto me. You must beware howe soeuer ye do that ye contrari not the Kyng, let hym haue hys saynges, follow hym, go wyth hym. Mary out vpon thys counsayle, shal I faye, as he fayes. Saye youre conscience, or eles what a worme shal ye fele gnawyng, what a remorfe of conscience shal ye haue, when ye remembre howe ye haue flacked your dutye. It is a good wyfe verfe. 

Gutta caudat lapidem, non ut sed foere cadendo. The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge. Lyke wyse a Prync ruffte be turned not violently, but he must be wonne by a lytle and a lytle. He muste haue hys dutye tolde hym, but it muste be done wyth humblenes, wyth request of pardone, or els it were a daungerous thynge.

Unpreacheynge Prelates haue bene the cause, that the bloud of Hales did so long blynd the Kyng. Wo worthe that suche an abhominable thyng, should be in a Chriuent realme, but thankes be to God it was partly redressed in the Kynges dayes that deald is, and much more nowe. God graunte good wil, and power to go forwarde, yt ther be any suche abhominacion behinde, that it may utterly be rooted vp.

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased thynge God to vouche safe, that his sone shold sweete soule,
for the redeming of oure synnes, and agayne howe vnhappye are we yf we wyll not take it thanckefullye, but that was redemed fo paynfullye. Alas what harde heartes haue we. Oure Sauiour Chrift neuer synned, and yet sweat he bloud for our synnes, we wyll not once watter oure eyes wyth a fewe teares. What an horrible thing is finne? that no other thynge wold remedy and paye the ransom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauioure Christe. There was nothinge to pacify the fathers wrath agaynst man, but fuche an Agonye as he suffered. All the passyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the sacrifyes of Patryarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedy oure synne, to make satisfaction for oure synnes, nor anye thynge befydes; but thys extreme passyon and blud sheddyng of our most mercifull Sauioure Chrift.

But to drawe towarde an ende, what became of thys thre fold prayer at ye length, it pleased God to here his synnes prayer, and sent hym an angell to corroborate, to strenthyn, to comforth hym.

Chrift nede no angels helpe, if he had lystled to eafe him selfe wyth hys deitye. He was the sonne of God, what then? for so much as he was man he receyued comforthe at the Aungels hande, as it accordes to our infirmitie. Hys obedience, his contynuance, and sufferynge, so pleased the father of heauen, that for his synnes fake, be he neuer fo greate a synner, leauynge hys synne, and repenteynge for the same, he wyll owe hym suche faoure, as though he had neuer commytted anye synne.

The father of heauen wyll not suffer him to be tempted with thys greate horroure of deathe and hel to the vtttermoistle, and aboue that he is able to beare. Looke for it my frendes, by him and through him ye shalbe able to overcome it, lef vs do as our Sauioure Christe dyd, and we shal haue helpe from aboue, we shal haue aungels helpe, yf we truft in hym, heauen and earth shall geue vp, rather then we shal
lacke helpe, He faith he is. *Adiutor in nefficitationum.*
an helper in tyme of nede. When the angell had
comforted hym, and when thys horroure of death
was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himself
to Iudas, and fayed. I am he. To make an ende, I
praye you take paines: it is a daye of penaunce (as
we vse to say) geue me lene to make you werye thes
daye. The Iewes had hym to Cayphas and Annas,
and there they whipt hym, and bet hym, they lette a
crowne of sharpe thorne vpon hys head, and mayled
hym to a tree, yet al thys was not so bytter, as thys
horroure of death, and thys Agony, that he suffered in
the gardayne, in suche a degree as is dewe to al the
fynnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes lyyme.

Well, thys passion is our remedye, it is the satisfac-
tyon for oure fynnes. Hys soule descended to hell
for a tyme. Here is muche a do, these newe wyflemynges:
spirites, say Christ never descended into hel, nynever
body nor soule. In scorne they wil alke, was he ther,
what did he there? what if we cannot tell what he dyd
there? The Crede goeth no further, but sayeth, he
defcended thytther, what is: that to vs if we cannot
telynge we were taughte no further. Paule was taken
up into the third heauen, alke lykewise what he sawe
when he was caried thytther, you shall not sylnde in
scripture what he sawe or what he dyd there, shall we
not therfore beleue that he was there.

These arrogent spirites, spirites of wynde glorye:
because they knowe not by any expresse scripture, ther
order of his doynges in hell, they wil not believe that
euer he descended into hell. In dece these article
hathe not so full scripture, so many places and testi-
monyes of scriptures as other hase, yet it hath en
ough, it hath. ii. or. iii. textes, and if it hase but one,
one texte of scripture, is of as good and lawfull auth-
orytye as a. M. [thousand] and of as certayne truth. It is
not to be wayed by the multitude of textes. I beleue as
certaynely and verely that thys Realme of Englonde,
hast as goode authoryte to here. Goddes word as any

* Grace to help in time of need.—Heb. ix. 26.*
nation in all the world, it maye be gathered by. ii. textes, one of theym is thys.

Ite in uniuersum mundum, et predicate euangelium omni creature.∗

Go into the whole world, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. And agayne. deus uult omnes homines fuluos fieri.† God wyll haue al men to be saued, he exceptes not the Englischenmen here, nor yet expresselye nameth theym, and yet I am as sure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gatherynge, is allowed to here Goddes word, as though Christe hadde fayed a thousande tymes, Go preache to Englishmen, I wyl that Englishmen be saued. Because thys article of hys descendiung into hell, cannot be gathered so direclye, no necessiaryle, so formalye they do utterlye denye it. Thys article hath Scriptures two or three. Inouge for quiet myndes, as for curioufe braynes nothynge can conteinte them.

This is the dyuels flerryng vp of fuche spirites of sedicion, is an euidente argumente, that the light is come forth, for his word is a brode, when the dyuel ruffheth, when he roareth, when he flyrreth vp fuche busie spirites, to sclaunder it. My entent is not to entreate of thys matter at thys tyme. I tryst the people wyll not be caryed awaye wyth these newe arrogant spirites. I doute not, but good preachers wyl labour agaynst them. But now I wyl saye a worde, and herein I protest fyrshe of al, not arrogantly to determyne, and defyne it, I wyll contende wyth no man for it, I wyll not haue it be prejudice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to confyndre and waye it.

There be some greate clarkes that take my parte, and I perceyue not what euill can come of it, in saying, yet our Sauiour Christe dyd not onely, in soule descendes into hell, but alfo that he suffred in hel fuche paynes as the damned spirites dyd suffer there. Suerly, I beleue verelie for my parte, that he suffred the paynes of hell proporcionably, as it correspondes

∗ Go ye into all the world, and
preach the gospel to every creature.

† God our Saviour; who will have
all men to be saved.—Mark xvi. 15.
and aunsweres to the whole synne of the worlde. He would not suffer onelye bodelye in the gardayne and vpon the crosse, but also in hys soule, when it was from the bodye, whyche was a payne dewe for oure synne.

Some wrytte so, and I can beleue it that he suffered in the very place, I can not tell what it is, call it what ye wil, euyn in the skaldinge house, in the vgfomnes of the place, in the presence of the place, suche payne as our capacitie cannot attayne vnto, it is some what declared vnto vs, when we vttre it by these effectes, by fyre, by gnashynge of teth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conscience. What so euer the payne is, it is a greate payne that he suffered for vs. I fe no inconueniencie to faye, that Chrifle suffered in soule in hell.

I singulary commend the exceadyng great charitie of Chrifte that for our fakes wold suffer in hell in his soule. It ferches oue the vnspakable hatred that God hathe to synne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from ye dignitiye of Chrifles death, as in ye gardayne, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from yat he suffred on the crosse. Scripture speketh on this fassion. quicredit in me, habet uitam aeternam.* He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlaftynge. Here he settes furth fryth, as the cause of our iuifiicacion, in other places as high commendacion is euene to workes, and yet are the worckes anye derogacion from that dignitiye, fryth? No. And agayne scripture sayeth. Tradition est propter peccata nostra et exuicitationes propter iuifiicacionem etc.†

It attributeth here oure iuifiication, to his resurection, and doeth thysh derogate any thynge from hys death? not a whit. It is whole Chrifte. What wyth his natiiyte, what with his circumcision, what wyth his incarnacion, and the whole processe of hys lyfe, wyth hys preachynge, what wyth hys ascendynge, descen-

* He that believeth on me hath everlasting lyfe.—John vi. 47.
† Who was delivered for our
ynge, what wyth his death, it is all Cristle that worketh our salvation.

He sitteth on the ryght hande of the father, and all for vs. All this is the worke of our salvation. I woulde be as loeth, to derogate any thing from Cristles death as the best of you al. How vneti-
mably are we bound to hym? what thankes oughte we to geue hym for it? We musste haue thys continuallye 
in remembrance. propter te morti morti tradimus tota 
die.* For the, we are in diynge continuallye.

The life of a Christen man is nothyng but a 
readines to dye, and a remembrance of death. If thys that I have spoken of Cristles sufferynge in the 
gardayne, and in hell, derogate any thing from 
Cristles death and passion, awaye wyth it, beleue me 
not in this, if it do not, it commendes and settes furth 
very wel vnto vs, the perfection of the satisfacion that 
Christ made for vs, and the woorke of a redemption, 
not onely before wytnes in thys worlde, but in hel in 
that vsome place, wherto whether he suffered, or 
wrastled with the spirites, or comforted Abraham, 
Ifaac, and Iacob. I wyl not defier to knowe, if ye 
lyke not that which I haue spoken of hys sufferynge, 
let it go. I wyl not sriue in it. I wil be preiudice to 
nobody, weye it as ye lift. I do but offer it you to 
consider. It is like his soule did somwhat, the thre 
dayes that hys body lay in the graue. To sawe he 
suffered in hell for vs derogats nothing from his death, 
for al thinges that Christ did before his suffering on 
the croffe, and after do worke our salvation, if he 
had not bene incarnat, he had not dyed, he was ben-
eficial to vs with al thinges he did. Christen people 
should haue his sufferinge for them in remembrance, 
let your gardains monishe you, your pleasaut gardaynes 
what Christ suffred for you in the Gardayne, and what 
commoditie you haue by hys sufferynge.

It is hys wyl ye shoulde so do, he woulde be hadde 
in remembrance. Myxt youre pleasurs with the re-
membrance of his bitter passion. The whole passion

* For thy sake are we killed all the day long.—Psa. xlv. 22.
is satisfaction for oure lynnes, and not the bare death, considerynge it so nakedly by it selfe. The manner of spekyng of scripture is to be considered. It attybeteth oure faluacion, nowe to one thynge, nowe to a nother that Chríst dydy, where indeide it pertayned to all. Oure Savioure Chríst hath lefte behynd hym, a remembrance of hys passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lordes supper, a lacke it hath bene longe abused, as the sacrificies were before, in the olde law. The Patriarkes vfed sacrifisce, in the fayeth of the seade of the woman, whyche shouulde breake the serpentes hed. The Patriarkes sacrificed on hope, and afterwarde the worcke was esterned.

There comes other after, and they consider not the fayth of Abraham, and the Patriarkes, but do theyr sacrifisce accordyngye to theyr owne imaginacion, even so came it to passe wyth oure blessed communion.

In the primatyue churche, in plages, when theyr fryendes were deade, they vied to come together to the holy communion. What? to remeyle them that were deade? No, not a strawe. It was not instituted for no fuche purpoase.

But then they would call to remembrance goddes goodnes, and his passion that he suffered for vs, wherein they comforted much theyr fayth. Other came after warde and settes vp all these kyndes of maffynge, all these kyndes of iniquite. What an abhominacion is it? the foulest that euer was to attribute to mans worke oure faluacion. God be thanked that we haue thys blessed communion set forth so nowe, that we maye comfort, encrease, and fortify our fayth at that blessed celebration. Yf he be gyltye of the bodye of Chríst, that takes it unworthely, he fetcheth greate conforte at it, that eate it worthely, He dooth eate it worthelye, that doeth it in fayeth. In fayeth? in what fayeth? Not long ago a great man, fayed in an audience, they bable much of faith, I wyll go lye wyth my whore al nyghte, and haue as good a fayth, as the best of them all. Thynke he neuer knewe other, but the whore mongers.
fayth. It is no suche fayth that wyll serue. It is no
brybynge Judges, or iustices fayth, no rentreasers
fayeth, no hore mongers fayth, no lease mongers
fayth, no feller of benefices fayth, but the fayth in the
passion of oure Sauioure Christ, we must beleue that our
Sauioure Christ hath taken vs agayne to hys fa[u]oure,
that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude
to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne
passion, of his owne mere liberalitie. This is the
fayth I tel you, that we must come to the communion
with, and not the horemongers faith? Loke where
remission of fin is, ther is acknowledging of fin also.
Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentleman
vther going before her, the confessing of finnes, she
hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the
walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat
beleueth, wyll no[t] beidle, he wyl walke, he wil do his
busines, haue euer the gentleman vther with you. So if
ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether
the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another
fayth then thys, a whoremongers fayth, you are lyke
to go [to] ye Scalding houfe, and ther you shal haue two
dihes, wepyenge and gnashinge of teeth, muche good
doityou, you fe your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowl-
edge yourfynnes, you shall come to ye blessed commu-
nion of the bitter passion of
Christ, worthily, and
fo attayne
to euer-
lastynge lyfe, to
the whiche the
father of hea-
uen bringe
you and
me

A. M. E. N.

F. I. N. I. S.

English Reprints.

Sir Thomas More.

Utopia.

Originally printed in Latin, 1516.

Translated into English by Ralph Robinson, Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

This second and revised edition, 1556: preceded by the title and epistle of his first edition, 1516.

Carefully edited by Edward Arber, Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

London: Alex. Murray & Son, 36, Queen Square, W.C.

[Note: Published 1 March, 1869. All Rights Reserved.]
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(3) The Translator [Ralph Robinson] to the gentle reader

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(3) The First Book of the Communication of Raphael Hythlodaeus, Concerning the Best State of a Commonwealth

(4) The Second Book of the Communication of Raphael Hythlodaeus, Concerning the Best State of a Commonwealth: Containing the Description of Utopia, With a Large Declaration of the Politick Government, and of All the Good Laws and Order of the Same Island

- Of the cities and namely of Amaurote
- Of the Magistrates
- Of Sciences, Crafts, and Occupations

- Of their living and mutual conversation together
- Of their journeying or travelling abroad, with divers other matters cunningly reasoned, and wittily discussed
- Of Bondmen, Sick Persons, Wedlock, and divers other matters
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(7) Poems by Bronchrost and Schryver

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INTRODUCTION.

UTOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515; and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the direction of Erasmus, Aegidius, Paludanus and other friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516. Then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was by John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more accurate and, as regards authorship, second edition—probably containing the standard text—bears the date November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Erasmus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out at Paris, which was printed at Paris de Gourmont before March 1518; and which, before in point of time, the second edition; the one, being the third; and one at Vienna in 1519, fourth in order of appearance. All four were in English, then the common familiar language of the period.

Strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any language, was printed in England in More's life; or indeed prior to these English versions of Robinson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb—this work is essentially English, and will ever remain one of the treasures of our literature.

Without some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's Utopia, one might be apt to assume Utopia to be entirely Rabelaisian. For, while it is

Erasmus in the letter to Bishop Germanus.
Introducution.

generous diplomat. Founder of the College of the three languages [Latin Greek, Hebrew], at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, not translated by Robinson.

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeweg in Latin Noviomagus [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometimes Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, see p. 157.

CORNELIUS SCHUYVER, latinized Graphelus [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, see p. 157.

WILLIAM BUDGE, latinized Budeus or Budeus [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Luptset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, not included by Robinson.


Utopia is worthy of multiformed study. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its proposed solutions of such social problems, as the scarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like; but also from its reference of the condition of the poor, especially the ‘bondmen,’ the then dying out ‘villenage’ of England; from its allusions to the late, as well as to the present English king; from its survey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furthest discovery of Amerigo Vespucci in his fourth voyage, along the coast-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati’s collection, in speaking of ‘thofe iii. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euyer mannes handes;’ which, in Latin, was first published in 1507, under the title of Quatuor Americi Vespuctic Navagationes. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Reliellus igitur in castello praefato Chrslicolis. xxiiij. et cum illis. xiiij. machinis ac alijis plurimus armis/ una cum provisione pro sexe mensibus sufficiente/

On this passage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed starting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portuguese Hythlodaye wanders to the island of ‘Nowhere,’ which to More’s mind was ‘beyond the line equinoctial’ between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye studied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 persons to each of the 6000 households of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000
perfonls; not including their country population or outlying ‘forreyne towns.’ At length, returning home from India in the Portuguese fleet, Hythlodaeus is represented as introduced by Peter Agidaus to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whereas all then adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas’ house, where, on a bench ‘covered with torses’ they, with John Clement, listen a whole day to the story of Hythlodaeus: the contents of the first book being recounted before dinner: and those of the second between dinner and supper.

Hythlodaeus may well say ‘that this nation take their beginning of the Grekes, because their speech kepeth dyuers figures and tokens of the greke language in the names of their cityes, and of these magnificenes:’ as, for example, the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>LATIN</th>
<th>GREEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utopia</td>
<td>Utopia (= Nasquana) parc</td>
<td>αυτοπαρκές</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hythlodaeus</td>
<td>Hythlodaeus</td>
<td>παρκές</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archontes</td>
<td>Archontes</td>
<td>αρχοντές</td>
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<tr>
<td>Macariens</td>
<td>Macariensi</td>
<td>μακάριος</td>
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<td>Amaurot</td>
<td>Amaurot</td>
<td>άμαυρος</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anyder</td>
<td>Anydrus</td>
<td>ανυδρός</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phylarch</td>
<td>Phylarchas</td>
<td>φυλαρχός</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is an essential difference of purpose in the somewhat similar works of Plato and More. In the Republic, Plato, in the person of Socrates, endeavours ‘thoroughly to investigate the real nature of justice and injustice,’ by first investigating their character in cities; and afterwards by applying ‘the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exists in the form of the leis.’ More, in the person of Hythlodaeus, looking round the world, perceives nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men pursuaining their own commodities under the same and title of the common wealth. Plato endeavors to attain to an exact idea of an abstract virtue: More seeks to devise a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excess of their riches: in which every one is equally of the commonwealth, and, in which the commonwealth possess only a common wealth.

D. J. Vaughan, M.A. D. J. Vaughan, M.A. 1864.
Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry
VIII. Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A.
London, 1864.


More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been
away more than six months... Has formed a close in-

The Epistolae Obscurorum Vivorum is popular everywhere.
Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his Nusquam [Utopia].
Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.

1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. Gerardus Noviomagus (of Nimeguen) to Eras-
mus. ii. 793.

His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the
Utopia. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a
great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.

Utopia is in the printer's hands.

In praise of his Utopia.

Letter. Translated by Robinson at pp. 21-25.

1516. Dec.? The Editio princeps appears. Libellus vero curvus nec
minus salutaris quam festinus, de optimo rep. statu. de qua
noma Insula Utopia... It has no pagination. (1) First comes
the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the
Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles
or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or por-
tions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for
further diversity. (3) Then we have Aemilius' Utopian
Hekastichon, see p. 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busley-
den, see pp. 163-165; (5) Then another letter to him, from
John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which
were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by
Girardus Noviomagus, De Utopia, see p. 167; (7) Then the
poem of Cornelius Grahaen, Ad lectorem, see p. 167; (8)
Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in
Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius,
see pp. 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]

1517. [?] More to Tunstall. ii. 1541.

His last letters were the most delightful he ever received
from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (Utopia).
Trusts they were as sincere as candid... Was afraid,
among his many avocations, he would not have time for such
 trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is
glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid
advice.

Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].

Begs him to send for More's Utopia, if he has not yet read
it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. (This
proves the publication of the first edition before this date.)

Sends one letter to Marissac, who wondered that the first book of Utopia was written by Erasmus. ... So soon as More has corrected the Utopia, Erasmus will send the MS. to Boyle or Paris.


'Send the Utopia at your earliest opportunity.' A long master at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he blesses it at his heart.


'Sent his Utopia one time since, and it is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.'


Thanks him for a copy of More's Utopia. ... Long commendation of the Utopia. [Printed in both editions of 1516.]


Sends ... Utopia for Frodemanus to print.


Has sent More's Epigrams and Utopia to Bohme.


On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the coming sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Bengelius, secretary to the archbishop of Antwerp. On calling learnt that Erasmus had served the day before for Louvain.


'Tis in the cloud with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand p繁ontocrat, with a crown and a Frenchman's think [joue de Comédie], followed by a great procession of the Amuris. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Trenclay, and should they pay him a visit at Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as his leading friends of majesty.

The more has dawned and dispelled his dreams, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.


Has taken up his abode at Louvein, and is in good terms with the theologicans. Is staying with Paladino, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.


Sends his Utopia (Namque non sumus hinc non sumus leges scriptas ad te mitti).


Informs getting a new edition of More's Utopia printed.


Expects his Utopia.


The printers at Boyle excuse their delay in the Utopia by reason of the preface added by Boyle. [This is the third edition.] Has seen a French edition of the Utopia. [Leight's edition, printed by Gilles de Gournay at Paris, must therefore rank as the appeal in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]

1518. Nov. (Date of the Boyle edition, third in point of time, second in regards to authorship. It omits Paladino's letter and parts of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frodemanus, and from Boyle to Leight.

This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see p. 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issued in the Author’s lifetime.

None.

(b) Issued since the Author’s death.

RALPH ROBINSON’S TRANSLATION.

I. As a separate publication.

1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Earliest translation: see title at p. 11.

2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Second and revised translation: see title at p. 17.

3 1597. London. A most pleasant fruitful and witty work, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.

4 1624. London. Sir T. More’s Utopia, ... Now after many Impressions, newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former edition. Printed by Berr. ALSEP, who dedicates it to CRISCOL, More of More place in North Minster in the county of Hertford, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir Thomas More; ... .

5 1639. London. The Commonwealth of Utopia, ... Another edition of 1 vol. 12mo. No. 4.

14 1808. London. Utopia, ... With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A.

A reprint of the text of 1839, No. 6, which is itself a reprint of Alsop’s of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 3.


EP. GILBERT BURNET’S TRANSLATION.

I. As a separate publication.

6 1684. London. Utopia, ... translated into English.

7 1737. Dublin. Utopia, ... To this edition is added, a short account of Sir Thomas More’s Life and his Trial.

8 1743. Glasgow. Utopia or the Happy Republic, a Philosophical Romance. 1 vol. 8vo. in two books.

9 1751. Oxford. Utopia, ... Revis’d, corrected and greatly improved.

10 1753. Oxford. Utopia, ... The whole revis’d, corrected, and improved.

12 1786. London. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, Dibdin, 1 vol. 8vo. cxix of No. 14.


17 1850. London. The Phoenix Library, selected by John Minter Mep. 1 vol. 12mo. GAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

11. With other works.

11 1758. London. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More, ... To which is added, his History of Utopia, ... with notes historical and explanatory by F. WARBURG, LL.D.


ARTHUR CAYLEY’S (THE YOUNGER) TRANSLATION.

II. With other works.

The 
Life and Travels 
of 
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

* Probable or approximate dates.

The same Raphael Hythloday (for this is his name) is very well learned in the Latine tongue: but profonde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . .
His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethren (for he is a Portugal borne). p. 99. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he, I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently done my parte towards them already. p. 33.
As concerning this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yet which I sawe, whiles I traualied abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commonly be called the Polleterites [Polylerites], p. 47.
1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

1495. * 1495. 'There [i.e. in England] I taried for the space of. iii. or. iv. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yet the Western Englishe men made agaynst their King.' p. 36.
He stays with Cardinal Morton. At pp. 37-54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.
1497. May 10. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.
1499. May. Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hozeda and Juan de la Costa, brought him to the mainland of South America.
Hythloday, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he inoynd himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those. iii. . . . he continued styl in his company.' p. 29.
Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his third voyage; in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.
Hythloday says, "When I was dertyned to entre into my. iii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marcheidise a pretie fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather yeuer, than shortly." —See list at p. 119.
"Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes." p. 119.
The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Norisna. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were
THE LIFE OF HYTHLODAYE.

saw. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed rendezvous in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days: and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.

Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days, resolved Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bringing the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [Condensed from Varnhagen, pp. 114, 115.]

Hythlodaeus' gott the licence of Mayster Amerique (though it was sore again this wyll) to be one of the, xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrie of Gulikes.

p. 30.

After the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed through and aboute many Countreys with, v. of his companions Gulikanes [i.e. of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, p. 119.] p. 30.

If you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presente sent their fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there, v. yeares, and moore, and worde newe hane commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knownen here. p. 69.

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued five whole yeares together.

p. 77.

The Achoriens [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynst the land of Utopia on the south west side. p. 57.


The Anemolians [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had very little acquaintaine wth the Utopians. p. 101.

The bawtell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nepheelogetes [Nepheletae] against the Alapolitanes [Alapoi-
litae] a little before oure time . . . The Nepheletae beare the warre, when the Alapolitanes flourished in wealth, wth nothing to be compared with them. pp. 132, 133.

The Zapoletæ [Zapoletae]. This people is. 500. myles in Utopia eastwarde. p. 136.

Hythlodaeus marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. p. 167.

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left alia two of our companye beying dead) there was no priest . . . my departure. . . . p. 144.

At the last by merueylous chance he [Hythlodaeus] arriue in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Calcut], where he chauene to fynde certayne of hys Country shippes, wherien he retourne agayne to his Countrey, no thinges lesse then looked for. p. 30.

Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaeus in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricke in age, with a blacke sunburned face, a longe beardie, and a clode cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his faunour and apparel, fine with I judged to bee a mariner.' p. 30.

1515. *Nov.

1516. Nov. 1. 'Very vncertain newes' [?], subsequently of Hythlodaeus.

p. 165.
A fruteful/
and pleasaunt worke of the
beste state of a publiques humane, and
of the newe ple called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphhe Robynson Cookein and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re-
quest of George Tailowe
Citeizin and Haberdassher
of the same Citty.
(··)

Emprinted at London
by Abraham Wele, dwelling in Pauls
churchyerde at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,
1551.
To the right
honourable, and his verie singuler good maister, maister William Cecyll esquire, one of the twoo principal secreteries to the kynge his moste excellente majestie, Raph Robynson wisshe continuance of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honour.

Pon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander furname ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthisans being forth with styrken with greate feare, beganne busillie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trimme vp harneis, some to carry stone, some to amend and buyld hygher the wallis, some to rampiere and fortyfe the bulwarke, and fortresse, some one thynge, and some an other for the desendinge, and strenthenynge of the citie. The whiche busill labour, and toyle of theiris when Digenes the phylosoffer sawe, hauing no profitables busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his laboure, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosofical cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether upon the hille syde, that lieth adiyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelld: for other dwellyinge place wold
The Epistle.

he haue none. This seing one of his frendes, and not a litell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumbling my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason yet I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche less habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauncement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natuue countrey: yet I seing every fort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilik occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuises to the furtherance of the same: thought it my bounden dutie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commandement of others, cold conveniently winne to me self: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and travaile to the publique weale shoulde arise, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplisheement thersore, and fulslylyng of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke upon me to tourne, and translate out of Latine into oure English te Tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth ye best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almoost fourtie yeres ago by the saide sir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almoost of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably well known, not only among vs his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations: therefore
haue not much to speake of him. This only I sayes: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English men, yat a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with oblivinacie, then with ignornace yat he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to perfeuer, and continue in his wilfull and flubborne oblivinacie even to ye very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I saide befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but also for ye writers eloquent latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himself wrote it, perfectly understandeing ye fame: doubts he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in ye sweete eloquence of ye writer, and also in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueincon, or disposition of ye matter: but most of all in the good, and holome lessons, which be there in great plente, and aboundance. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignornance in our english tounge all the grace and pleasure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely fet forth may seeme to be utterly excluded, and lost: and thersfore the frutesfulness of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and vnlearned speche desaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wife man say: A good tale euell tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other follicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledgeing the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined neuer
to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certe
tein frenedes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue
al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discreet witte
and in wor[1]dy matters by long vfe well experienced,
whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of
London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of
good reputation: at whoes request, and inflaunce I
fist toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie,
and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This
man with diuers other, but this man chiefly (for he
was able to do more with me, then many other) after
that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende,
ceaffed not by al meanes possible continually to af-
fault me, vntil he had at ye lafte, what by ye force of his
pithie argumentes and strong reafons, and what by
hys authority so persuaide me, that he caused me to
agree and confente to the impryntynghe herof. He
therfore, as the chiefe persuaudour, must take vpon him
the daunger, whych vpon this bolde, and rashe enter-
pryse shall enfue. I, as I supposse, am herin clerely
acquytte, and discharged of all blame. Yct, honorable
Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malcyous
tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onely pro-
foundely learned, and well affected towards all suche,
as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well be-
flowing of that poore talente, whych GOD hath en-
dued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon,
and veruous qualtyces not vnworthelye nowe placed
in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder
humble y to offer and dedycate vnto youre good mayster-
flwynne thys my symple woorke. Partly that vnder the
fauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be
defended from the obloquie of them, which can say
well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and cor-
rupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and
godly: and partly that by the meanes of this homyly
present I may the better renewe, and reuiu: (which of
late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yet
old acquayntaunce, that was betweene you and me in
the time of our childehode, being then scolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your natuie goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towards you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ye chieffe cause, yat hath encouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of fuch simple and meane for, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndefered, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed: neither yet fitte, and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (wherfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to fuch fortune, and dignity, that you be of habill to accept thankfully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfull to contynue in all godlynes and prosperytie.

(••)
A frutefull pleaunt, and wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right wor-thie and famous Syr Thomas More knight, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this se-conde edition newlie percu-sed and corrected, and also with divers no-tes in the margent augmented.

Emprinted at London, by Abraham Teze, dwellinge in Pauls churchyaerde, at the signe of the Lambe.
The translator to the gentle reader.

Hou shalt vnderstande gentle reader that though this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate use, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym selfe alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to jude of the finenes or courteses of my translation. Wherfore I went the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frende judgement, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in short tyme, with more haste, then good sped, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin proverbe saith: The hastie bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finisshed, the rudenes thereof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and hasty though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resift the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceivinge therefore none other remedy, but that furtle it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable sayling of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tessitis.
Si illud, quod est maxumae opus iactu non cadit:
Ilud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplayng or a game at the tables. Meanyenge therein, if that chaunce rife not, whiche w
most for the plaiers aduauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier leaft dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderflande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretenfied purpoze, so that the successfull our intente proue things farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof enflu. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparision of an exerce gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my sde vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppofe) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any fuch fequele at the begininge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worfe then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me soe fine, soe perfecte, and so exact yat at first, as surelye for my male lerning, it should haue done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I haue now in this seconde edition taken about if such paines, yat verye fewe great faultes and notable errors are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this fimple tranflation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisyes, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So do-
ynge thou shalt minifter vnto me good cau[e] to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altoge-
thers bestowed in vaine.

VALE.
Am almost astonished, right wellbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this bok of ye Utopian common wealth, wembly after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe.

And no maruel. For you knewe well enough, that I was alreade dibourndened of all the labore and studey belonyng to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition, or cunectance of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing els to do, but only to re-hearre those things, whiche you and I togethers hand maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld stude to setforth the matter with eloquence: for asmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firste not studeyd for, but sudden and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better fene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writyng, the nieghe it shoulde approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuchye the nieghe shuld it go to the真uth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trouail and studey herin. I graunte and confesse, friende Peter, myselfe discharged of somuchye labore, hauinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almoste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the disposition of this matter myghte have re-
quered of a witte neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some wise. But if it were requyiste, and necessarie, that the matter
shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tym nor studye. But now feynge all these cares, flayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherein elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnellie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easie to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leauue almoost lefse, then no leasure.

While I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratorie with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a Judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. While I go one waye to see and viyte my frende: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. While I spende almoost al the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leauue to my self, I meane to my booke no time. For when I am come home, I must commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my feruingtes. All the whiche things I recken and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, oneleffe a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyeon and order his conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunte amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath choosen to be the fellowes, and compaynions of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behaioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his feruingtes maketh them his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, flealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth waste no leesse tymes,
then doeth slepe, wherein almooste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore dowynne and getonelye that tyme, whiche Isteale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therafore haue I ones at the laste, though it be longe first, finished Utopia; and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and perufe: to the intente that if anye thynde haue escaped me, you might put me in remembrance of it. For though in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet haue I not so great trufe and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge could fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my boye, who as you know was there presente with vs, whom I sufer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadie begun to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learninge, I looke for plentiffull increase at length of goodly rype grayne); he I faye hathe brought me into a greate doubtte.

For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe over the riuere of Anyder is syne hundreth pafeis, that is to faye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of these pafeis musste be plucked away, for that the riuere conteyneth there not aboue three hundreth pafeis in breadthe, I praye you harteleye call the matter to youre remembrance. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll faye as you faye, and contelle myselfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and so myne owne remembrance serveth me. For as I wyll take good hedde, that there be in my booke nothinge false, so yf there be anye thynde doubtfull, I wyll rather tell a lyce, then make a lyke: bycause I had rather be good, then wylling to honie wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelie be remembred,
yf you wyll take the paynes to ake the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouth, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughge whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaelas. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue spente no smale somme of money, then that I should thus haue escaped vs: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treasife, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiallie one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is excedyngge deferos to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase our religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begunne. And that he maye the better accomplishe and perfourme this his good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be fente thether by the hiegh Byhoppe: yea, and that he himselfe maye be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with fuete. For he counteth that a godly fuete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I mooste earnestly desyre you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodanye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whych is vntrue, neyther anye thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe vnto him the book it selfe. For yf I haue myssel or sayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulthe haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,
oneles he perufe, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreover by this meanes shall you perceave, whether he be well wylynyge and content, that I shoulde vnder-take to put this woorke in wrytyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne labours, and traunayles himfelfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publislynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my felve, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so vnakynde, their judgemenes so corruppte, that they which leade a merie and a loycounde lyfe, solowynghe theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall luftes, maye feme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete them selves with cares and studie for the puttinge forth and publislynge of some thynge, that maye be eitheuer profeite or pleasure to others: whiche others neverthe less will disdainfully, scornfully, and vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learninge in contempTe. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in deede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homelye gear and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worn out of vfe. Some there be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rulic antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynge. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor spore. An other is so narrowe betwene ye shoylders, that he can heare no iestles nor tauntes. Some feli poore soules he so asearde that at euerye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stonde in no lesse dere of euerye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge scarceh water. Some be so revalde wo
wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, 
fayinge one thinge sfittinge, and an other thynge flande-
ynge. An other forte sytteth vpon their allebencenis, 
and there amonge their cuppes they geue judgement 
of the wittes of writers, and with greate authortyie they 
condempne euene as pleaseth them, euere writer accord-
ynge to his writinge, in mofle spittfull maner mockynge, 
lowtinge, and slowtinge them; beyng them selues in the 
meane seafon faufe, and as fayeth the prouerbe, oute 
of all daunger of goneshottie. For why, they be so 
smugge and smothe, that they haue not so much as one 
hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde 
of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and 
vngentle, that thoughge they take great pleaurence, and 
delctation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not 
fynde in their herstes to loue the Author therof, nor to 
aforde him a good woorde; beynge much like vncon-
teous, vnthankfull, and chourlisf gesles. Whiche when 
they haue with good and daintie meates 
well yfell theire bellyes, departe home, 
gewayng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your weyes 
now, and make a coystlye feaste at youre owne charges 
for gesles so dayntie mouthed, so diuers in tastfe, and 
besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithlo-
day, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shal 
be at my libertie, afterwaerdes to take newe aduismeent. 
Howbeit, seeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure 
in writyng the matter, if it may flande with his mynde and 
pleaurence, I wyll as touching the edition or publisyng of 
the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, 
and specialllye yours. Thus fare you well right hert-
tely beloued frend Peter, with 
your gentle wife: and loue 
me as you haue ever done, 
for I loue you better 
then ever I 
dyd.
The first
Booke of the communication of
Raphael Mythloday, concerning
the best state of a commen welth.

He mosle victorious and triumphant
Kyng of Englane Henrye the
eyght of that name, in al roial
vertues, a Prince most perelesse,
hadde of late in controuerse with
Charles, the right highe and mightye
Kyng of Castell, weighty matters,
and of great importaunce. For
the debatement and final determination whereof, the
kinges Maiestie sent me Ambassadour into Flauders,
joyned in Commission with Cuthbert Tun-
flall, a man doutlesse out of comparison,
and whom the Kynges Maiestie of late, to the great
rejoyfynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of
Maister of the Rolles.

But of this mannes prayfes I wyll faye nothynge, not
bicause I doo feare that small credence shalbe geuen
to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe:
bicaue his vertue and lernying be greater, and of
more excellency, then that I am able to praise them;
and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well
knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to
bee prayfed, ynlesse I woulde seeme to shew, and set-
forthe the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the
Proverbe faieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus
it was before agreed) thei whom ther Prince hadde for
that matther appoynted Commissioners: excellent men
all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrawe (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temfice, prouef of Cafefles, a man, not only by learnyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twife mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles could not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne spacie tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente strowghte thence to Antwerpe. While I was there abidyng, often times amonstre other, but whiche to me was more welcome then anye other, dyd viste me one Peter Giles, a Citizen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honesty more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly well learned, and towards all fortes of people excedying gentyll: But towards his frendes so kynde herted, so louyng, so faithfull, so truftyng, and of so earnest affection, that it were very harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth lesse simulacion or disimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughse his gentyll intertaynemont, and his fweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the feruent deysyre, that I had to see my natieue countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see, because that at that time I had been more then. iii. Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I
haddhe herde the divyne servise in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayref, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldying in all the Citie, and also most fre-
quented of people, and the servise beyng doone, was reade to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to es-
pye this forefayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke
sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke caft
homly about his shoulters, whome, by his favoure and
apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner. But the
fayde Peter faying me, came vnto me, and salted me.
And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man,
fayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I
fawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod
he, to brynge him strayghte home to you.
He shoule haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I,
for your fayke.
Nay (quod he) for his owne fayke, if you knewe him:
for there is no man thyss day liuyng, that can tell you
of so manye strauenge and ynowne peoples, and Coun-
treyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be
very desirous to heare of suche newes.
Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for
euen at the first fygght, I judged him to be a mariner.
Naye (quod he) theyere were greatly deceuyed: he hath
failed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the
experte and prudent prince Vliess: Yea, rather as the an-
cient and sage Philosopher Plato. Forthisfame Raphaell
Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is
very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde
and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer
bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycausse he
had geuen himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy.
Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine,
that is to anye purpoe, sauyng a fewe of Senecaes,
and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was
borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portu-
gall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and
knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he voyaged
himselfe in company with Amerique Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those. iii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in every mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sayyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune fute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were fore against his wyll) to be one of the. xxiii. which in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore left behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng customably in his mouth these sayynes. He that hathe no graue, is covered with the skye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and dislauence. Which fantasie of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had fully bought full deare. But after the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the laft by merueylous chaunce he arriuied in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge lesse then looked for.

All this when Peterhadde toldeme: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to bryng me to the speache of that man, whose communication: he thoughte should be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I turned me to Raphael. And when wee hadde bylsed eche other: and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customably spoken at the first meting, and acquintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine upon a bench couered with greene torues, we fatte downe talkynge together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departynge of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, through the fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the loue and lououre of the people of that countreye, informeche
that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiynge with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembrandence) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And besides that gaue them a trystye guyde to conducte them in their iournye (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to bryng theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iournyes, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publique, full of people, gouerned by good and hollesom lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe fydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde defertes and wildernes, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of saffyon, and comelineffe, inhabited with wyld Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leasle wyse, with people, that be no lefie sauage, wyld, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim selues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe plea-saunte. The ayre softe, temperate and, gentle. The gronunde covered with grene graffe. Lefle wildnesse in the beastes. At the laft shall ye come agayn to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupiynge of merchaundise and chauffare, not only among themselues, and with theire Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on every fyde. For there was no shipp readie to any voyayge or iournye, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of straungefassions. The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, troughe wyse. The sayles were made of grete ruhnes, or s
wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kylys: and sayles of can-
uous, yea, and shortly after hauyng all thynges lyke
oures. The shippmen also very experte and cunnyngge,
bothe in the see, and in the wether. But he saide, that
he founde great favoure and frendship amongethem,
for teachynge them the seate and the vse
of the lode stone. Whiche to them before
that time was vnknowne. And theryfore they were
wonte to be verye timerous and fearefull vpon the see:
Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the somer time. But
nowe they haue suche a confidence in that stone, that
they feare not stormy winter: in so dooyng farther
from care then daunger. In so muche, that it is greatly
to be doubted, left that thyng, throughe their owne
folihe hardinesse, shall tourne them to euyll and harme,
which at the first was supposed shoule be to them good
and commodious.

But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euerye
countreye where he came, it were very longe to
declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to
make reherfall therof. But peraduenture in an other
place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall
be profitable too bee known, as in speciall be thoes
decrees and orndaunces, that he marked to be well
and wittely prouided and enacted amongetheuere
peoples, as doe liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre.
For of suche thynges dyd wee buflye enquire, and
demauende of hym, and he likewise very willingly tolde vs
of the same. But as for monстыrs, bycaue they be no
newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitiue. For no-
thyng is more easie to bee founde then bee barkynge
Scyllaes, rauenynge Celenes, and Lestrigones deouerers
of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monстыrs.
But to synde Citizens ruled by good and holisme lawes,
that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he
marked many fonde, and folishe lawes in thoffe newe
founde landes, so he rehered diuers actes, and constitu-
tions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreys,
of Utopia.

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reheare onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repeate our former communication by th[e] occasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges, that be amisse, some here, and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had spoken of suche wife lawes, and prudente decrees, as he establised, and vsed, bothe here amonge vs, and also there amonge them, as a man so perfecte, and experete in the lawes, and customes of euery feuerall Countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwife, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche merualynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not onely hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counself. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kynsfolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towards them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, yntyl they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, those verye same thynges dyd I beyng not only liuyng, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thinke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that belydes this, I shoule
for their fakes geue myselfe in bondage vnto Kingses.
Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte mynynde
that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a
reretainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I
thynke is the nighest waye that you can devise howe to
bestowe your time frutefully, not onely for the priuate
commodity of your frendes, and for the generall proufe
of all fortes of people, but also for th[e] aduauancement
of your selue to a much welthier state, and condition, then
you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes,
that my mynede standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at
liberty after myne owne mynede and pleasures, whiche I
thynke verye fewe of these great states, and piers of realmes can fayre. Yea, and therfore be ynow of them that fayre
great mensfrendeshippes: and therfore thynke it no great
hurte, if they haue not me, nor iii. or iii. suche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frendes Raphael (quod I) that
you be defiours neither of riche of, nor of power. And
truly I haue in no lesse reverence and estimation a man of
your mynede, then anye of them all that bee so high in
power and authoritie. But you shal doo as it becometh
you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and
free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte to
appoint and dispose your selfe, that you may apply your
witte and diligence to the proufe of the weale publique,
thoughe it be somewhat to your owne payne and
hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor
wythy so greate proffitte perfourme, as ye you be of som
greate princes counfel, and put into his heade (as I
doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous
perfuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetuall
wel sprynge, commeth the amonste the people the flood of
all that is good or euell. But in you is so perfecte
lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne
so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge
you maye well be any kynges counsellour.

You be twyse deceued maister More (quod he) fynd in
me, and agayne in the thynge it selfe. For neithere is in
me the habilitie that you force upon me, and yet it were never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes haue more delitye in warlike matters, and feates of chivalrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlargse their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and gourne that they haue alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, every one of them eyther is of him selle so wife in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counfel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue asent to the fond and solifhe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose favours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by afferentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentions beft. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man shoulde bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes past, or that he hath sene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole extimation of their wisdome were in icoperdye to be ouerthrown, and that euuer after thei shoulde be counted for verye diuerdes, unless they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

If all other poore helpes sayle: then this is their extreame refuge. These things (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestfours: wolde God we coulde be so wife as thei were: and as though thei had wittily concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, thei sette downe againe. As who should saye, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffer the
best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but
if in any thing a better ordre might haue been taken,
then by them was, there we take faile hold, finding
therin many faultes. Manye tymes haue I chaunced yp-
Parcial judgementes.
on such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and way-
wardeijudgementes, yea, and once in England:
I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?
Yea forloth (quod he) and there I taried for the
space of. iii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after
the infurrection, yat the Westerne English men made
agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and
pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the
meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to
Cardinall Morton.
Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury,
and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of England:
a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already
that I wyll fayre) not more honorable for his authoritie,
then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a mean
 stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his
odye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable
reuerence, as was pleasurente to beholde, Gentill in
communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great
delite manye times with roughe speache to his fewters,
to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and
what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which
as in a vertue muche agenge with his nature, so that
therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke great
delectatyon. And the same perfon, as apte and mete
to haue an administratyon in the weale publique, he dys
louingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent,
and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge,
in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful
excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by
nature singular, he by learnynge and yfe had made per-
fecte. The Kyng put muche trufe in his counsell, the
weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when
I was there. For euyn in the chiefe of his youth he
was taken from schole into the Courte, and there yssed.
all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waues of dyuers mysfortunes and aderities. And so by many and greate daungers he leerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chanc'd on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunninge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligentely and earneftly to prayse that strayte and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he sayde, were for the moft parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, feyng so fewe escaped pynyshement, he sayde he coulde not chufe, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil luche it shold so come to passe, that theues neuerthelesse were in euery place so ryffe and so rancke.

Naye Syr quod I (for I durft boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothing here at: for this punyshement of theues passeth the limites of iustice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punishement for thefte, and yet not sufficient to restrayne and withheld men from thefte. For simpel thefte is not so great an ooffense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is an punishement so horribile, that it can kepe them from steyleynge, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuyng. Therfore in this poynte, not you onyle, but also the moft part of the world, be like euyll scholemassters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horribile punishementes be appointed for theues. By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers. whereas much rather prouision shold haue been made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necesfitie. firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynoogh prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuyng by, if they would not willingly be nought.
Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oure of Blacke heath fiele, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: suche, I saye, as put their liues in ieperdyve for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lameness be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs consider those things that chaunce daily before our eyes. Fyrst there is a great number of gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themselfes, lyke dolrres, of yet whiche other have laboured for: their tenayntes I meane, whom they polle and shauue to the quieke, by reifying their rentes (for this onlye poynete of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauaue and prodigall ppendyng, hable to bryng theymselfes to verye beggerye). These gentlemen, I say, do not only liue in idlenesse themselfes, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke of idle and loyteryng seruyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. These men as fone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather kepe idle perfontes, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to maintaine go great a houue, and kepe so many seruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus desitute of service, either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the thewes. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode fo longe, vntil they haue worne threde bare their apparel, and also appared their helth, then gentlemen becaufe of their pale and fickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ymough that he is nothing mete to doe ymowe.
faythful servise to a poore man wyth a spade and a matoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deynetely and tenderly pampered vp in ydines and ple-
asure, was wont with a fworde and a buckler by hyse fyde
to iette through the frete with a bragginge loke, and
to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate.
Naye by faynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not fo. For
this kinde of men muste we make mofle of. For in them
as men of Stonter stomackes, bolder spirites, and man-
lyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be,
doth confute the whole powre, strenght, and puissance
of oure army, when we muste fight in battayle. Forfothe
sir aswell you myghte faye (quod I) yat for warres fake
you muste cherishe theues. For fuerly you shall never
lacke theues, whyles you haue them. No nor theues
be not the moste fals and faynt harted sol-
diers, nor fouldeurs be not the cowardlys
theues: so wel thees. ii. craftes agree toge-
ther. But this faulte, though it be much vfed amonge
you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen allo
almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is
troubled and infected with a much forer plage. The
whole royalme is fyllde and besieged with hiered foul-
diers in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be
brought in vnder the same colour and pretense, that
hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servyngge men.
For thies wyfesfooles and verye archedoltes thought the
wealthe of the whole countrey herin to confilt, if there
were euer in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison,
specialy of old practised fouldeurs, for they put no trust
at all in men vnexercised. And thercfere they must be
forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue
practised fouldeurs, and cunnyng manfleirs, left that
(as it is pretely savyde of Saluif) their handes and their
mindes through idilies or lacke of exercice, should
waxe dul. But howe pernicious and pestilenet a thyng
it is to maintayne suche beastles, the Frenche men,
by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples
of the Romaynes, Cathaginien, Syriens, and of all
waxe
ye other countreyes doo manifeely declare. For not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and Cities of all these, by diuers occasions have been ouerrun and destroyed of their ownearmies before hande had in a redinesse.

Now how vnneeessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche fouliours, which from their youth haue ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce them selves to haue very often gotte the uppere hand and maiftr of your new made and vnpractised fouliours. But in this poynthe I wyll not vse many woordes, lefte perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No nor thofe fame handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandifh plowmen of the countreye, are not suppozed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle feruungmen, vnleffe it be suche as be not of body or flature correspondent to their stength and courage, orels whose bolde flomakes be discouraged throught pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared left they shoulde be effimated, if thei were brought vp in good craftes and labourfome woorkes, whereby to gette their liynges, whose floute and flourde bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse; orels by easie and womanly exercifes be made feble, and vnfaible to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer the case flandeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayable to the weale publique, for warre fake, which you never haue, but when you wyl your selfes, to kepe and mainteyn an vnnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublefome and noyous in peace. Wherof you ought to haue a thowfand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the necessary caufe of steealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is p[ro]per and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? fortho my lorde (quod I) your thepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and
so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devourers and so wylye, that they eate vp, and swallowe downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the synet, and thersore dearest wooll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely reuennes and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weake publique: leasse no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw downe houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothinge stallonyge, but only the church to be made a shepehoule. And as though you lose no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chafes, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnfaiteble curraraunte and very plaige of his natuye contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akeres of grounde to gather within one pale or hedge, the husbандmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueuyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put bydeses it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muffle needes departe awaye, poore, felye, wretched soules, men, women, husbänds, wiuies, fatherlesse childer, widowe, wofulle mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold small in substance, and muche in number, as husbändrye requyreth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustommed howses, syndyng no place to reste in. All their housholesfulfe, which is verye little woorth, though he myght well abide theSale: yet beynge sodainely thruffle oute, they be com...
The decay of husbandry causeth beggary, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues.

The cause of dearth of victuacles.

Frayned to fell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrodeyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynough to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolue is so ryfen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thyss meanes verye manye be forced to forfake worke, and to geue them selues to idlenesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rote, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnfaciable couetousnes, sendinge amonste the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustely shoule haue fallen on the shepeymasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faile, yet the price fallyth not one myte, because there be to fewe fellers. For they be almooste all come in to a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to fell before they luft, and they lufte not before they maye fell as deare as they lufte. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much ye more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passeth for the breadynge of younge sstooore. For these riche men bryinge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verye chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-
tures, they fell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make deaarth onely in those places, where they fell. But when they shal fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shal there also be felte greate deaarth, floore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreason-
able couetoufnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consift. For this greate deaarth of victualles caufeth men to kepe as litle housfes, and as female hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their seruauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyne: or elles (whyche thefey gentell bloudes, and foute fтомackes, wyll sooner fett their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wret-
ched beggerye, and miserabe pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, impurportate superfluittie, and excessiue riote. For not only gentle mennes seruauntes, but also handicrafe men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the coun-
trey, with al other fortes of people, vfe muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and fump-
tuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, ftrumpettes, brothelhousfes, ftewes, and yet an other ftewes wynetauerne, ale housfes, and tiplinge housfes, with fo manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these fende the haunters of them ftreyghte a steylynge when theyr money is gone? Casfe oute thefey pernicious abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe ferme, and townes of husbandrie, tal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not thes riche men
The first booke

...
of Utopia.

He is worthily put to silence that is too full of words.
dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make suche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[...]were, but kepe it to youre neste meetynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or maylst Ralphel haue any earnest let. But nowe maylst Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be punished with death, or what other punishemente you can devise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue thefte escape vnpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishemente of death can not cause them to leaue ftealinge, then yf russians and robbers shoulde be fuer of their lyues: what violence, what seare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishemente, as a a verye prouocation to the mischief? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus say: that the breakynge of iustice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompened with this punishement, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iustice wel be called plaine injurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so iustite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small ofense be committed, by and by the sword shoule be drawn: Nor so stional ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al ofenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous ofense then the other: betwene the whiche two, yf we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commanndeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we,
then so haste to kill a man for takinge a little money? And if any man woulde vnderstande killing by this commandement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wife, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewyse by mans constitutions be determined after what forth whordome, fornication, and perjury maye be lawfull? For where as by the permision of God, no man hath power to kill neither himself, nor yet anye other man; then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slauughter of men: oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commandement of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commande to be killed, be cleane quite and exempete out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commandement: shal it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commandemente shal extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shal it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in all thinges shal determine how farre the observeration of all Gods commandementes shal extende. To be shorte Mysles lawe, though it were vgentle and sharpe, as a lawe that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obstinate, stubborne, and flynnecked: yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wyth death. And let vs not thynke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hath geuen vs greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reasons whereby, I am persuaded that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thynke ther is no body that knoweth not, how unreasoneable, yea: how pernicious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a these and an homicide or murderer, shoulde suffer equall and like punishment. For the these seynge that
man, that is condemned for theft in no lesse ieperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is conuict of manslaughter: through the e cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him, whome els he woulde have but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in lesse seare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowne, feynge the partye is nowe dead, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue yttered and disclofed it. But if he chance to be taken and discrived: yet he is in no more danger and ieperdie, then if he had committed but sngle fellonye. Therefore we go about with suche crueltie to make theues afraid, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touching this question, what punishmente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my judgemente is easer to be founde, then what punishmente might be worse. For why shold we doubt that to be a good and a profitable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe we did in tymes past so longe plesse the Romaines, men in the administiration of a weale publique moste expente, politike, and cunninge? Suche as amonge them were conuict of great and heynous trefpaces, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepbe in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concerning this matter, I allow the ordination of no nation so wel as yat which I fawe, whiles I traualled abroad aboute the worlde, visde in Persia amonge the people that commonlye be called the Polijerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Persia. But because they be farre from the see, compassed and inclosed, almosste rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

Punishing of theft by death causeth the thefe to be a murtherer.

What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft.

Howe the Romayns punished thefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polijerites in Persia.
taines, and do content them felues with the fruiites of their owne lande, whiche is of it felshe verye fertile and frutfull; for this cause neither they go to other coun-
treis, nor other come to them. And accordyng to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they have by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welth, then notable or famous. For they be not knownen as much, as by name, I suppose fauing only to thayr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteined and convinct of felony, make restitucion of that which they stole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thiefeftolen thinge, then the thiefe him felse hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them felues be condemyned to be common laborers, and, oneles the theste be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prifon, nor fettered in giues, but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowely and slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligent aboute thayr worke they liue without checked or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name: and be locked in thayr chambers. Befide their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or in-commodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen feruantes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughte that waye be uncertaine, yet
the people be so full of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be maintained. And in some places euerye man geneth a certaine tribute for ye same vfe and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these damned persons called) do no common worke, but as euerye private man nedeth laborous, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limited waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouthe of these seruinge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gainsge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common trefourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Evry one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne coloure: but to receive money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no lesse ieperdie it is for a free man to receive money of a seruyenge manne for anye maner of caufe: and lykewise for seruigne men to touche weapons. The seruinge men of euerye seuerall shire be distinccte and knowne frome other by their seuerall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man of another shyre. And it is lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in deed. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a seruinge man it is deathe, in a free man seruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and yttereth suche counsellles, be decreed large gifts: to a free man a great some of money, to a seruinge man freedome.
and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpos, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vied, howe farre it is from crueltie, and howe commodious it is, you do playnelye perceau: For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyfement intendeth nothyng elles, but the desfuction of vices, and sauyng of menne: wyth so vlynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme fo euuer they did before, in the rei- dewe of theyr life to make a mendes for the same. Moreouer it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their fauegarde chuse them to theyr gudges before any other, in every their chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpos. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no partie of his apparell is like other men, flye preuileie and vnknownen, onkes he woulde runne awaye nakend? Howebeit fo also fliinge he shoulde be discriued by the roundynge of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thynge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and confpire against the weale pubblique. No no I warrante you. For the seruyng men of one sheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterpryse, without follicitinge, entyfinge, and allurynge the seruiinge men of manye other sheires to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them fo impossible, that they maye not asmuche as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde
make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be jeopardie to the conceilour thereof, and great commodite and goodnes to the openers and detectour of the fame. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispair to re-couer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffrisinge, and by gueing good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man. For cuerye yeare divers of them be restored to their fre-dome: through the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayneinge moreover that I coulde see no caufe why this ordre might not be had in Engilande with much more profyte, then the Iustice whiche the lawyer so heighly prayfed: Nay, quod the lawyer, this coulde nouer be so stablyshed in Engilande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hafarde. And as he was thus sayneinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there presant, with one assent agreed to his sayneinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to judge withoute a profye, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kyng shoulde commaunde execution to be deferrer and spared, and would prowe this order and passion: takinge awaye the privileges of all faintuaries: if then the profye shoulde declare the thynge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablyshed: Els the condemned and repryued persones may afwel and as iustly be put to death after this profye, as when they were first caft. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these Vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle preuailed. When the Car-dinall had thus saide, than every man gaue greate praise
The first booke

to my sayinges, which a little before they had dis-
allowed. But most of all was esteemed that
which was spoken of vagabondes, because
it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can
not tell whether it were best to reheare the communica-
tion that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you
shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye
it partesned to the matter before faide. Theres chaund
ed to stand by a certein jesting parasite, or scoffer, which
woold feme to ressemble and counterfeit ye foole. But
he did in suche wise counterfeit, that he was almost ye
very same in dede that he labored to reprefent: he
so studied with wordes and sayinges brought furth fo
out of time and place to make sporte and more laug-
ther, that he himselfe was oftenr laughed at then his
jestes were. Yet the foolife fellowe brought out
now and then such indifferent and reasonable fluffe,
that he made the prouerbe true, which faieth: he that
shoteth oft, at the laft shal hit the mark. So that when
one of the company sayd, that through my communi-
cation a good order was founde for theues, and that
the Cardinal also had wel procided for vagaboundes,
Sicke, aged,
impotent per-
sions and beg-
gers.

So that only remained some good provision
to be made for them that through sicknes
and age were fallen into pouertie, and were
become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not
hable to wroke for their liuing: Tushe (quod he) let me
alone with them: you shall fe me do well ynoough with
them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde
of people were druen sumwher oute of my sight, they
haue so fore troubled me manye times and ofte, when
they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money
of me: and yet they could neuer to my mynde fo tune
their fonge, that thereby they euery got of me one far-
thinge. For euery more the one of these two chaunched:
either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause
I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. For
when they see me go by, because they will not leese
theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one word.
to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good fothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yes and all the residue in good earnest. But a certene freare graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this iest of priestes and monkes, that he also beynge elles a man of grifie and ferne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to iestte and taunte. Nay, quod he, you shal not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some provision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iest, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe fet a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straitte, and fet to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disproue it, every man toke it gladly, fanyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no maneweile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaulle, so fust, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, scolding, railing, and reuling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdicion: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the iestlyng scffer beganne to playe the scffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre felfe good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saineth: in youre patience you shall faue your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wife, I do not sinne: for the Psalmitte saineth, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal speake gently to the freare, and defire him to quiete him.
felse. No my lord, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I  oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church The skorners of Hel-zeus, whiles he went vp into the house of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this skorning villaine ribaulde shall feelle. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you shoulde do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wifely, yf you woulde not set your witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolish contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I shoulde not do more wyselye. For Salomon the wyse saith: Answere a foole accorinde to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shal fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Hel-zeus, which was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shal one skorne of many frears feelle, amongeth whom be manye balde men? And we haue also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne vs be excommunicate, suspended, and acursed. The cardinal, seing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the ieaster by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was rifen from the table, he went to heare his iueterns, and so dimissed vs. Looke maister More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I woulde haue bene ashamed to haue done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a force geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that my parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche though I haue done sumwhat briefly, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgement of them, whyche when they had improuded and dyd allowed my sayinge, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowed them, dyd themselfes also approve the same so impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing ashamed to admire, yea almooste in good earnest ieasters foolish inuentions: because that he haime.
smiling at them did seme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceaeue how little the courtiers woulde regarde and eseme me and my fayinges.

I ensure you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you laide were spoken so wittilye and so pleaseantly. And me thought me seme to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleaseant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towadres you before, yet seynge you do so earneftlye fauoure this man, you wyl not beleue howe muche my loue towadres you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes belene, that you, if you be disposfed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow some Princes courte, shal with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherefore there is nothyng more appertheining to youre dewty, that is to faye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shal by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselues to the studie of Philosophie, how farre I praye you, shal commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesfaufe to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes woulde be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well forsee, onelesse kynges themselues wolde applye their mindes to the studie of Philosophie, that elles they woulde never thorouglye alowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselues before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hysmeselffe proved trewe in kinge Dionysie. If I shoulde propoe to my wy
wholsome decrees, doyng my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall caufes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng flocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kyng, and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that moost secrete consultation, the kynges him selfe there beynge presente in hys owne perillone they beate their braynes, and vysh the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynges maye fyl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him agayne fugitius Naples, And then howe to conquer the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe age in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them all of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought there purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme agayne. An other thinke the test to hire the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Sychers wonne with money. An others aduyse is to appease the puiflauente power of the Emperoures maiestie wyth golde, as with a moyst pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynges of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assurance of peace. An other commeth in with his fue egges, and aduiseth to hooke in the kynges of Califf with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeffe doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Engelande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the
Englishmen, and with molest puer and strange handles to bynde that weake and feble frendesyme, so that they muste be called frendes, and bade in suspicium as enemys. And that therefore the Skiries muste be bade in a readines, as it were in a fiandynge, ready at all occasions, in austers the Englishmen shoulde huse neuer so lytle, incontinent to set al upon them. And moreover preuilie and secrelye (for openlie it may not be done by the truce that is taken) pruelie therefore I saye to make moue of some Piece of Engelland, that is bannished hyys countrey, whiche muste cleme title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe trule inherytoure thereof, that by this stibill means they maye holde to them the kynge, in whom elles they haue but small trule and affiance. Here I saye, where so great and heyghes matters be in consideration, where so manye noble and wyle menne counsell theyr kynges onelie to warre, here yf I seie man shoulde take vp and will them to tourne ouer the leale, and learn a newe lesson, sayenge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye flyll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be governed of one man: so that the kyng shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more. And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia, on the southeaste side. These Achoriens, ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kyndome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and aunanced hymselfe ryghte inherytoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde afiance. At the laft when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde euon as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquerd subjectes by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrectiones to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynes inuadynghe them: so that they were
euer fighting either for them, or agaynst them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge theym selues in the meane seasion p Cycled and impouerilhed: their money careid out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reasone that their people in war had so incurd themselues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbinge and stealynge: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to michte: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyinge troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kin-ndomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towards them both: seing againe that all these euelles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heads together, and like faithfull and louinge subiectes gae to their kynge free choife and libertie to kepe flyll the one of these two kinndomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles byfyses his. So this good prince was contreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare vnto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublsome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures walded, and his people destroied, shoulde at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kyngedome of France, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeououre him selfe to londe his subiectes, and againe to be beloved of them, willingly
to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, feigning that which he hath all ready is even young for him, yea and more then he can well turne hym to: this mynd aduysse maister More, how thinke you it would be harder and taken?

So God help me not very thankfully, quod I.

Wel let vs proceede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whetting their wittes and deuifinge, what subtell craffe they myght inuente to enruche the kynge with great treasures of money. Firft one counselleth to rayfe and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kynge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worth, when he must receiue or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytly money, and where lytly is due muche shalbe receaude. An other counsellmeth to fayne warre, that when vnder this colour and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundance of money, he maye, when it shal please him, make peace with greate solemnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore commuaultie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe yp non mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde and moughtecaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych becaufe no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fyntes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye fo profittable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and colour of iustice. An other aduyseth him to forbidden manye things vnder greate penaltys and fincs, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not to be vfed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition subfleyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite rifeth two wayes. Firly by tak-
The first booke

ingé forfaytes of them whome couetousnes of gaynes he hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forsoth, the deere he felleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any priuate person anye thinge that is againste the profite of his people. And therefore maye fel none but at an exceeding dere pryce. An other giuethe the kynge coun-

tfel to endaunger vnto his grace the judges of the Realme, that he maye haue them ever on his fide, and that they maye in euerye matter dsepite and reaason for the kynge right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discisse his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no matter of his fo openlye wronge and vniust, wherein one or other of them, either because he wyly haue sum-thinge to allege and obiecte or that he is afamed to faye that whiche is fayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to set a fiare in, wherewith to take the contrarie partie in a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amongst them selfes, reasoning and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifeyt trewthe in dowte: in the meanse seafon the Kinge maye take a fyt ocassion to vnderstand the lawe as shal mote make for his aduanatge, wherevnto all other for shame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges maye be bolde to pronounce on the kynge fide. For he that giuethe sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excufe. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equite on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wry-
then and wrested vnderstandinge of the samne (or els, whiche with good and iust Iudges is of greater force than all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agree and con-

sent together with the rych Crassus, that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, though he would, can do nothing
of Utopia.

vniuftslye. For all that all men haue, yea also the men them selves be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe mosfte for the kingses advan-
tage, that his subiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whoshe saugearde doth hercyn consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and walthe through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniufts, and vlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under floue courage, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebell ynge flomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryfe vp, and boldelye affirme that all these counsellers be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honour and safetie is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I shoulde declare that the commynalitie chueseth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al liue wealthilys saufse from wronges and injuries: and that thersore the kyng ought to take more care for the wealth of his people, then for his owne wealth, euyn as the office and dewtie of a shepheard is in that he is a shepherd, to feede his shepe rather then him-
selde. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the de-
fence and mayntenaunce of peace to consiste in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre oute of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more deserous of newe mutations and altera-
tions, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder flomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby truflinge to get some windfall) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leese? And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subiectes, that
other ways he could not kepe them in awe, but only by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, fewerly it were better for him to forfake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is loft. For it is againfte the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be shorte as he is a foleshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lyes of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and commoditie of lyfe, he mufte nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forfake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboue his power. Let hym refyreyn wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occasiouns of offensyes by well order-ynge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increafe afterward to be punyfhed. Let hym not be to haftie in callynge agayne lawes, whiche a custome hathe abrogated: specially fuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgressioun take fuche synes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate perilone to take, as vniuste and ful of gile.

Here if I should bryng forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre diuault from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempte othe, that he shall neuer at anye time have
in hys treasure aboue a thousande poynede of golde or syluer. They fayde a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for th[e] enriicking of hym seft, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and bording vp to mucho money as might impoverish theire people. For he forlawe that this sum of treasure woulde suffise to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoułde chaunce to rebell : and also to maintain his warres against thee invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the same flocke of money to be to little and vnsummerient to encourage and enhable him wrongfyllye to take away other mens goodes : whych was the chiefe cause why the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this proision his people shoułde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seynge the kynge could not chewe but laye out and bestowe all that came in aboue the prescript some of his flocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subiectes injurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euell men, and loued of good men. Thefe, and suche other informations, yf I shoułde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thynke you shoułde I haue? Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not alowe that suche communication shalbe vset, or suche counfell geuen, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented : with cleane contrarye persuationes? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counsellles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these things haue no place. That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges.
In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is an other philosophye more cuyle, whiche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge herselle in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, ytteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fayson. And this is the philosophye that you mufte vse. Or els whyles a commoditye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them selves, yf you shoulde fodenlye come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and rehefe oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme perfone, then by rehefynge that, whych fierued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymaliye? For by bryngynge in other stuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the presente matter, you mufte nedes marre and peruer the play that is in hand, though the stuffe that you bringe be much better. What part soever you haue taken vpon you, playeth afwell as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturb and bryng oute of ordre the whole matter, bycanfe that an other, whiche is meryer and better cummethe to your remembrancce. So the caye standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euell opinions and noughty perfuasions can not be ytterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euyn as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and cus-tome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaua and forfaie the common wealthe: you mufte not forfaie the shipp in a tempeste, becaufe you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you mufte not laboure to dryue into their heads newe and straunge informations, whyme you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary
of Utopia.

mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and endeouore youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and hande-
fomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not urye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be euyn as madd as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake falsye thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, though peraduenture it maye feme vnplefaunte to them, yet can I not fee why it shoulde feme straunge, or folisfelye newfangled. If so be that I shoulde speake those thinges that Plato saynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thingesthoughhe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte feme spoken out of place. Forasmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his possefions feuerall to him selfe, and there all things be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleaunt, because it call-
eth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euyl and vitioue maners haue causd to feme inconueniente and noughte shoulde be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the mofte parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught vs, and so ffreitlye forbad them to be winked at, yat those things also whiche he whispered in ye eare of his disciple he
commanded to be proclaimed in open houses. And yet ye most parte of them is more diffident from the manery of the world whena dayes, then my communication was. But preachers flie and wilie men followynge youre counself (as I suppose) because they gave men euel willing to frame theyn manners to Chrifles rule, they haue wrested and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue appliced it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leafle waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not see what good they haue done: but that men may more sickerlye be euell. And I truely shoulede preuaile euin as little in kingses counselfes. For either I muste faie otherways then they faye, and then I were as good to faie nothinge, or els I muste faie the same that they faye, and (as Mitio saith in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtilt treyne of yours, I can not perceau to what purpose it serueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to study and endeououre my selfe, yt all things can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsonely for the purpose, yat as farre forth as is possible they, may not be very euell. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselfes muste be openly allowed and verye perillent decrees muste be approved. He shalbe counted wors after a spyre, yeal moffe as euel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth praye euel and noyesome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them, whych wyl loner peruerete a good man, then be made good them selves: through whose euel company he shalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftye wyle, and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wife men refraine to medle in the common wealth. For when they see the people swarme into the streses, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can
erfuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take houeses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe to them, they should nothinge preuayle, nor wynne it by it, but with them be wette alfo in the raine, do kepe them selfes within their houeses, being met that they be saffe them selues, seinge they canemedye the follye of the people. Howe be it
lesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde with me) where possession be priuate, where money the all the stroke, it is harde and almoyst impossibill the there the weale publique maye iustelye be ned, and prosperouslye floryse. Onles you thinke that Iuftyce is there executed, where all things be into the handes of euell men, or that prosperitye florysheth, where all is divided amonge a fewe: the fewe neuerthelesse doe not leade their lives wealthe, and the reydelwe lyue myserablye, hedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I con
with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, odlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whom e fewe lawes all things be so weel and wealthendered, that vertue is had in prycce and estimacion, yet all things beinge there common, euerye man abundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the part, when I compare with them so manye man
uer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all and sufficentlye, furlyshed with lawes: where man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes he made be not suffici gente for everye man to enioye, and, knowe from an other mans that whych he with his owne: which thinge the infinite controuersies the lawe, dayle ryfynge, neuer to be ended, planly heere to be trewe. These things (I say) I consider with me selfe, I holde wel Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, he woulde make no lawes for them, refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde have enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.
The first booke

For the wife man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all things shold be broughte in and stablyfshed. Whych I thynke is not possible to be obserued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundance and sfoore, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moiste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoynge that flate of wealth, then the other be: bycaufe the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fullie persuade me selfe, that no equall and iust distribution of things can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shal euuer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remayne among the moiste and best parte of men the heuy, and ineuitive burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be fumwhat cased, so I ytterly denye that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a flatute made, that no man should possesse aboue a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde haue in his flocke aboue a prescripte and appointed sone of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthie, and that offices shoulde not be obtained by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedefull for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to them by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money agaie, and by reason of gyftes and brybes the offices be geuen to riche men, which shoulde rather haue bene
executed of wise men: by such laws I say, like as
sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont
with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched
up for a time: so these euels also might be lightened
and mitigated. But yet thei may be perfectly cured,
and brought to a good and vpyght state, it is not to be
hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to
him selfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe
youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the fore
of an other parte, so the healpe of one caueth anothers
harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to anye
one, onlens it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me think-
eth that men shal never there liue wealtheyle, where all
things be commen. For howe can there be abund-
ance of gooddes, or of any thing, where every man with-
draweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of
his owne gaines druieth not to worke, but the hope that
he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him flowthfull.
Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no
man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne,
which he hath gotten with the laboure of his owne
handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition
and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence
of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place
it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no diffe-
rence, I cannot deuise.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion.
For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al,
or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing.
But ye you had bene with me in Utopia, and had pre-
slentelye sene their flathions and lawes, as I dyd,
whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde
never haue commen thence, but onlye to make that
newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde
graunt, that you never fawe people wel ordered, but
onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you
to make me beleue, that there is better order in that,
newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aswel here as there: and I thynke oure commen wealthes be aunclenter than theire: wherein long vse and experience hath found out many things commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye things heare amonge vs have bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuyfed.

As touchinge the aunclentnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better judge, if you had red the hiftories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge foever hetherto by witte hath bene deuyfed, or found by chaunce, that myght be aswel there as here. But I thynke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in studdy, in trauaile, and in labourfome endeououre they farre passe vs. For (as theire Chronicles tesllifie) before our arrival there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: fauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempeft. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cal on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occation through delgygence and earnefte trauaile. There was no crafe nor fcyence within the impire of Rome wherof any profite could rife, but they either lerned it of thef stranggers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate profite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembrance, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almofte at the first meting, made theire owne, what foever is amonge vs wealthelye deuyfed: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs.
And this I suppose is the chief cause why their common wealth be wifely governed, and doe flourishes in more wealth than ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Master Raphael (quod I) I pray you and befeche you describ unto vs the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinances, their lawes, and to be short all things, that you shal thinke vs desious to knowe. And you shal thinke vs desious to knowe what foeler we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these things I haue freshe in mind. But ye matter requireth leasure.

Let vs go in thersore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and late vs downe upon the same benche, commanding oure servauntes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Master Peter Giles desiered master Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing vs desious and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a little while, musing and bethinking himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.
The seconde boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodae, concerning the best state of a common wealth conteyninge the discrisption of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The Isle of Utopia, conteyneth in breadth three miles. Which breadth continueth through the moste parte of the lande. Saving that by little and little it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towards both the ends. Which fetching about a circuite or compassie of V.C. Miles, do fassion ye whole Isle like to ye newe monse. Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, diuiding them a sonder by the distance of xi miles or there aboutes, and there furnountethe into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compasseth it about, and shiltheth it from the windes, is not rougue, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almost floweth quietly, not muche vnlike a great standinge poule: and maketh weelniegre all the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the greete commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in
...shyppe towards euerye parte of the lande. The foremost or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and shelues, and what with rockes be verye ioperdous and daungerous. In the middle dis- tance betwene them bothe standeth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which thherefore is nothing peril- lous bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which thherefore be daungerous. The channelles be knownen onely to themselves. And thherefore it feldome chaunceth thatanye fraunger ongles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they themselves could skaelye entre withoute ioperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes flaundinge on the shore. By turninge, translatinge, and re- mouinge thes markes into other places they maye destroye their enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out fide or vieter circuite of ye land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so fuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshype of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they faye, and as the fassion of the place it selie dothe partely thewe, it was not euer com- passed about with the fea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conqueror the Iland bear- eth (For before his tyme it was called A- braxa) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humani- tye, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euene at his firste arryuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obtayneyng the victory, caused. xv. [fifteen] myles space of vplandyshe grounde, where the fea had no pasiage, to be cut and dyggged vp.

And so brought the fea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the
Ilande (because they should not think it done in con-
tumelye and deffyte) but also all his owne
foldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided
into fo greate a number of workemen, was
with exceedinge maruelous swete dyspatched. In fo
muche that the borderers, whiche at the firstt began to
mocke, and to istrue at this vaine enterpryse, then turned
theire derision to maruyle at the successe, and to feare.
Cities in Uto-
pia.

Therebe in the Ilande. liii. [fifty four] large
and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all
together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and
lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke,
and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, asfarcharthe
as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Of these cities they that be nigheste to-
gether be, xxiii. [twenty four] myles a fonder.
Again there is none of them distante from
the nexte aboue one dayes iorneye a fote. There com
yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyte
and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of
the common matters of the land. For this citie (be-
caus it standeth in the middles of the Ilande, and
is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all
partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade
citye. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be to
commodiously appointment oute, and set
fourthe for the cities, that none of them all
hath of anye swyte lesse then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde,
and of some swyte also muche more, as of that part where
the cities be of farther distaunce a fonder.
None of the cities desire to enlarg the
boundes and limites of their shieres. For
they counte them selfes rather the good husbandes, then
the owners of their landes. They haue in
the countrey in all partes of the shiere
houeses or fermes builied, wel appointed
and furnished with all tortes of instrumentes
and tooles belongyng to husbandry,
These houeses be inhabited of the citizenes whiche come
theather to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in
the country hath fewer then. xl. [forty] persones men and
women, belydes two bondmen, whiche be all vnder the
rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of
the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, and au-
ciente persones. And everye. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families
have one heade ruler, whiche is called a Philarche,
being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of
these families or fermes commeth euery yeare into the
citye. xx. [twenty] persones whiche haue continewed. ij.
yeres before in the countreye. In their place so manye
freshe be sent theather oute of the citie, whoe, of them
that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be there-
fore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed
and taughte. And theye the nexte yeare shall teache
other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarfenes
of victualles, or some other like incommoditie shoulde
chaunc, through the lacke of knowledge: yf theye shoulde
be altogether newe, and freshe, and vnexperthe in hus-
bandrie. This maner and fashion of yearelye change-
inge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though
it be solemrne and customablye vsed, to th[e] intent that
no man shall be constrainyed againstste his wil to con-
tynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe,
yet manye of them haue fuche a pleasure and delyte in
husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares.
These husbandmen plowe and til the ground,
and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make
ready woode, whiche theye carrye to the
citye either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste
conueniently. They bryngye vp a great multitude of
pulleyne, and that by a merualous polycye. For the
hennes doone not sytte vpon the egges: but by
keepynge theym in a certayne kvaull heathe
theye bryngye lyfe into them, and hatche
theym. The chykenes, as lone as theye be come
oute of the shele, follow men and women in fleade of
the hennes. They bryngye vp verye fewe
horses: nor none, but verye fearce ones:
and that for none other vse or purpose, but onlye v
exercyse theire youthe in rydyng and seates of armes.

For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyn brente, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect ynto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and maintaine with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corné onelye for breade. For their drinke is eithyr wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peare, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licoureffe sodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailles the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: Yet they sowe muche more corné, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then ferueth for their owne vfe, partynge the ouer plus among their borderers. What foeler necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchange they easelye obtayne it of the magistrates of the citie. For every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the hollye daye. When theyr haruest daye draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send worde to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of haruest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of haruest men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the haruest woorke.
Of the cities
and namely of Amaurote.

As for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be all so like one to another, as far further as the nature of the place permiteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skillett not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignity. For the residu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me any of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in sashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a little beneath the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by ye space of two miles, untill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers syde, is sumwhat more. The ryuer of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles about Amaurote out of a little springe. But beyeinge increased by other small ryuers and brookes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that lieth between the sea and the citie, and certain myles also aboue the citie the water ebbeth and floweth five houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driueth backe the freshe water of the ryuer. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltynes. But a litle beyonde that the ryuer waxeth sweete, and
runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbebeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste euene to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the river made not of pilles or of timber, but of flonewarke with gorious and substantial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbide all the side of the citie without let. They haue also an other river which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentelly and plesauntly. For it rifeth euene oute of the same hill that the citie flande-th vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it rifeth a litle withoute the citie, the Amouriotans haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue joyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be sopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunc to come vpon them. From thence the water is derived and conueied downe in cannels of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reaon that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good seruice. The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A dry diche, but deape, and brode, and ouergrown with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre side or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the river it selfe serueth for a ditche. The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a longe rowe through the whole strete without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. In the backe side of
the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye houfe hath doore, one into the streete, and a pofterne doore on the backfyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, so eafe to be opened, that they wil followe the leaft drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houfes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houfes by lot. They set great store by their gardeins. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, fo pleasaunt, so well furnisshed, and fo fynely keppe, that I neuer fawe thynge more fruteful, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strie and filrete, concerning thetrimming, hufbanding, and furnisfhing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shalle not lightely finde in all the citie anyethinge, that is more commodious, cyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And thercyfore it maye seme that the firft founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they faye that kinge Utopus himセル, euene at the firft beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnifhinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he fawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For their chronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, contentynge the historie of M. vii. C. lx. [one thousand seven hundred and sixty] yeares, euene from the firfte conqueft of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houfes in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houfes, made at all adven-
tures of euerie rude pece of tymber, that came firile to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with strawe. But nowe the housees be curiouslye buylde after a gorgious and gallante forte, with three stories one ouer another. The outides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plafler, or els of bricke, and the inner fydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The rooffes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plafler that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any lead. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much vfed, and somehere als with fine linnen cloth dipped in yole or ambre, and that for two commoditites.

For by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

C Of the magistrates.

Verye thirtie families or fermes, chuse thou yerely an officer, which in their olde langauge is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Every ten Syphograuntes, with all their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. first be sworne to chuse him whom they thynke muste mete and expediente. Then by a secreete election, they name prince one of those. iiiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiiij. quarters of the citie there be. iiiij chosen, oute of
cuery quarter one, to flande for the election: Whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depofed or put downe for suspicion of tirannie. They chuse the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chyange them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euery thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, ofterne come into the counfell house with the prince. Their counfell is concerninge the common wealth. If there be any controveries amongst the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by. They take euery ij. Siphograuntes to them in counsell, and euery day a new couple. And it is proyded, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthshalbe confirmed and ratified, onlesse it haue bene reaoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye consultation for the common wealth oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they saye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not easilye confyre together to oppresse the people by tyrannie, and to chyange the state of the weale publik. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterende, when they haue consulted amongst themselues, they shew their deuise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counsell of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this custome also the counfel vieth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is fiyrste propoished or put furthe, but to deffere it to the nexte sittinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rafhyly there spoken that commeth to his tongues ende, shall then afterwarte rather sudyse for
reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his full
folishe sentence, than for the commoditie of ye common
wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hinderance
of the weale publicke then any losse or diminution of
his owne exsultation. And as one that would be
ashamed (which is a very folishe shame) to be count-
ed anye thing at the firste ouersene in the mat-
ter. Who at the firste ought to haue
spoken rather wyfelye,
then haftely, or
rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes and
Occupations.

Husbandrie
or tillage practi-
sed of all estat-
es, which now
are dayes is reject
unto a fewe of
the basest sort.

Husbandrie is a Science common
to them all ingenerall, bothe
men and women, wherein
they be all exparte and cu-
ning. In this they be all
instructe euene from their youth: partelie in their
scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partelie in
the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in
playinge, not onely beholding the use of
it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies
practising it also. Besides husbandrie,
wich (as I faide) is common to them all,
euerie one of them learneth on or other
feual and particular science, as his owne
proper crafte. That is most commonly
either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or
the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is
none other occupation that any number to speake of
dothe use there. For their garmentes, which through-
oute all the Ilande be of one faision,
(fauynge that there is a difference between
the mans garment and the wome, between the
maried and the unmarried) and this one continues for
euermore vnchaunged, femely and comelie to the eye,
no lette to the mouyng and weldyng of the bodye,
also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these
garmentes (I faye) euerie familie maketh their owne.
But of the other foresaide craftes euerie
man lerneth one. And not onely the men,
but also the women. But the women, as
the weaker fort, be put to the easier craftes: as to
worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborosome fciences
be committed to the men. For the moost part
every man is broughte vp in his fathers
crafte. For mooste commonlye they be na-
turallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a
mans minde flande to anye other, he is by
adoption put into a familie of that occupa-
tion, which he doth moft fantafy. Whome not onely
his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to,
that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder.
Yea, and if anye perfon, when he hath learned one
crafte, be desierous to lernen also another, he is likewyse
suffered and permitted.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether
he wyll: oneleffe the citie have more neade of the one,
then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye
offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to sse and take hede,
that no manne et idle: but that euerye one
applye his owne craft with earneft dili-
gence. And yet for all that, not to be
weared from earlie in the morninge, to late
in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe
and toylinge beastes.

For this is wors then the miserable and wretched
condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooste
euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, sauing
in Utopia. For they diuidyng the daye and the nyghte
into xxiiii. iustte hours, appointe and affigne
onelye sixe of those hours to worke before
noone, vpon the whiche they go streighte to
diner: and afterdiner, when they haue rested two houres,
then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firsye houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffred to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to th[e] intent that they fhould mispend this time in riote or flouthfulness: but beyng then licenfed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestowe the time well and thrifte-lye vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be pretente they onely be constrainfed that be namelye chosyn and appoynted to the studie of good literature. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as every mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whole mindez rife not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayzed and commended, as profitable to the common wealth. After supper they bestowe one houre in playe: in sommer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholesome communication. Dice-playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they vse ij. games not much unlike the queshe. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awayne another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battell array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properly shewed, both the striffe and discorde that vices haue amonge themselfes, and agayne there vnitye and concorde againste vertuces: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:
ith what powre and strength they affaile them open-
ly: by what wiseles and subteltie they affaulte them
cretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resisteth,
and overcome the puissance of the vices: by what
raft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what
eight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But
ere least you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke
more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but. vi.
oures in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the
cke of some necessarie things hereof maye ensewe.
but this is nothinge so. For that small time is not
only enough but also to muche for the floore and
pundance of all things, that be requisite, either for
ne necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which
inge you also shall perceau, if you weye
and consider with your selfes how great a
arte of the people in other contres lyueth
ile. Firft almost all women, whych be the halfe of
the whole numbre: or els if the women be
somewhere occupied, there most common-
re in their steade the men be ydle. Befydes this how
create, and how ydle a companye is there of preyfes,
nd pious men, as they cal them? put thereto
ryche men, specially all landed men,
ich comonlye be called gentilmen, and
oble men. Take into this numbre also their seruauntes:
meane all that flocke of floute bragging
she bucklers. Ioyne to them also fluryd
nd valiaunte beggers, clokeinge their idle
ze coloure of some diseasse or sickenes. And
ulye you shal find them much fewer then
you thought, by whose labour all these
inges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now
aylye vned and frequented. Nowe confyder with youre
se, of these fewe that doe woorke, how
we be occupied, in necessarie woorkes.
or where money beareth all the swinge, there many
yne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vned,
sene only for ryotoues superfluite, and vnhonest

pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woorke, if they were divided into so fewe occupations as the necessarie use of nature requyret: in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessitie woulde ensue, doubtes the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifencers to maynteyne their liuinges. But yf all these that be nowe busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and flouthfullye, whyche confume and waste euerie one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. iij. of the workemen themselues doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupationys: you easelye perceauue howe lyttel tyme would be enoue, yea and to muche to floorre vs with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditie, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selue make the manifeaste and playne. For there in all the citty, with the whole contreye, or fhiere adioynynge to it scaselye. 500. persons of all ye whole number of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from laboure. A- monge them be the Siphograuntes (who so though they be by the lawes eximpte and priuileged from laboure) yet they eximpte not themselfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The same vacation from laboure do they also enjoye, to whome the people persuaded by the commendation of the priesites, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them prowe not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artifencers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bessowe his vacante and spare houres in learninge, and through diligence to prosper, therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of t
Of the learned be chosen ambassadors, priests, Tranibores, and finally the prince him selfe. Whome they in theire olde age call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residew of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good woorker they may be done and dispatched, towards those enes yet I haue spokon of. This commodity they have also above other, yet in the most part of necessarie occupation they neede not so muche work, as other nations doe. For first of all ye buildinge or payringe of houses aketh euereye where manye mens continual labour, because ye vnthrifty heire suffereth ye houses that his father ylde in contynenuance of tyme to fall in decay. So as, where he myghte haue vpolden wyth lytle coste, an s succesioure is constreyned to buyle it agayne a we, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the wife that floode one man in muche money, another of so nyce and soo delicate a mynde, that he setet the thinge by it. And it brynge neglected, and there- ynge shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buylde the vppe other in an other place with no leffe coste and ardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all things sette in a good ordre, and the common wealtthe in a good flaye, it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheufe newe plotte to buylde an hous[e] vpon. And they doo not onely finde spedy and quicke remedies for present iltes: but also pruente them that be like to fall. And this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and fmal reparations: in so muche that this kind of woorkmen fomtimes haue almoast noth- age to doo. But that they be commaund to hewe and fre at home, and to fquare and trimme vp stones, the intente that if anye woorker chaunceth, it may the delier rife. Now Syl in theire apparell, he (I praye you) howe few woorkmen neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at.
woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abroad they caste vpon them a cloke, which hydeth the other homely apparel. These clookes through out the whole land be all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the wul. They therefore do not only spent much leffe wullen cloth then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in much leffe coste. But lynyne cloth is made with leffe laboure, and is therefore hadde more in vfe. But in lynyne cloth onlye whyteneffe, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalneffe or fineneffe of ye threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places. iiii. or v cloth gownes of dyuers col-oure, and as manye filke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and yfe forte. x. [ten] be to fewe: whereas there one garmentewyl serue a man mooste commenlye. iij. yeares. For whie shoulde he defyre moo? seinge yf he had them, he shoul not be the better happe or covered from colde, neither in his apparel anie whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercyfed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficente, this is the cause that plentye of all things beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercyfe their citizens against thee willes in vnneadefull labours. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chieflie pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessyre occupaciones and affayres of the common wealth, all yat the citizens shoulde withdrawe from the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For hereto they suppote the feliciyte of this liffe to confite.
Of theire livinge and mutual conversation together.

Vt nowe wil I declare how the citizens use them selfe one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enteretynement, there is amonge the people, and what faction they use in the discription of every thing. Firste the city consisteth of familles, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbanedes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe continewe still in their owne family and be governed of the eldeste and aunctentest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to the[e] intent ye prefcript number of the cizens shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increaue, it is ordeined that no familie which in every citie be. vi. thousand in the whole, byefes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children under this age no nombre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or nombre is easely observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smalluer increaue. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the floore increaue aboue the iust number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if fo be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and exceede the dewe number, then they chuse out of every citie certeine cizens, and build vp a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waste and vnoccupied ground, receaung alfo of the fame countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning
and dwelling together do easelye agree in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by their lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitants of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those bounds which they have limited, and appointed out for them fuelles. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the most iust cause of warre, when anye people holde the a piece of grounde voyde and vacunta to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved. If anye chaunce do so muche diminish the number of any of theire citie, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishyng of the iust number of the other citie (whiche they say chaunted but twyse silnse the beginnyng of the lande through a great pestilente plage) then they fullyll and make vp the number with cytezens fetched out of their owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and perysse, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuer&fication of the cytezens amongethe themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee minifters to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theire elders. Every Cytie is devided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the worke of every familie be brought into ceretynne houses. And euery kynde of thing is layde vp seuerall in bernes or store houfes. From hence the father of euery familie, or euery housholder fetcheth whatsoeuer he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money.
of Utopia.

... why should any thing be denied unto him? for there is abundance of all things, and that it is not to be feared, lest any man will ask more then he deth. For why should it be thought that that man should ask more then enough, which is no use? Certainly in all kind of Lyue creatures either fear of lacke doth fe couetousnes and rauyne, or in man y pryde, which counteth it a glorious thing to passe I excel other in the superfluous and vayne oisentation things. The whyche kynde of vicer amongst the opiens can have no place. Nexte to the marketes that I spake of, stande meate markettes: where be brought not only all fortes of herbes, and the riches of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all manner of. iii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that beens meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure thereof is washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the ie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylded, and are washed by the handes of theire bonde men For y permitte not their fre citzens to accustome them selves to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they think, clemencye the genteleste affec- tion of oure nature by lytle and lytle to gaye and peryste. Neither they suffer the thinges that is fylthyke, lothem, or stenlyke, to be broughte into the cytie, leaft the ayre the fleanche therof infected and corrupte, and should cause pestilente diseafes. Moreover euery strete hath certeyne great large les sett in equal distanunce one from another, euery one known by a feuerall name. In these les dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euery one of these halles be appointed. xxx. [thirty] families, on either e. xv [fifteen] The flewardes of euery halle at a cerne hour come in to the meate markettes, where they veyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.
But first and chieflie of all respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the cite, a little without ye walles, they haue. iii. hospitalles, fo bigge fo wyde, fo ample, and fo large, that they may feme. iii. little townes, which were deuised of yat signes partely to th[e] intent the sycke, be they never so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or frayte, and therfore vneafely, and incommodiously; and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious disease, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye reside. These hospitalles be fo wel appointed, and with all things necessary to health fo furnished, and more ouer fo diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geuen, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke perfone in al the cite, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewearde of the sicke hath receuied suche meates as the phisitians haue prefcribed, then the befte is equalye deuised among the halles, according to the company of every one, fouing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and feldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne feuerall houfes apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at ye fet houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyfe of a braven trumpet: except suche as be sicke in ye hospitalles, or els in their owne houfes. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbaid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own house. For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reaonable. For though no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honesty. And also it were a follye to
take the payne to dresse a badde dinaer at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare for neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudgerie, with all labourfome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of everie family by course haue the office and charge of cookeerie for sethinge and dreslinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges thereto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbers of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yt anye soydeyne eyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rife wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis fitte seuerall alone with theyr younge fuckelinge in a certayne parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathinge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Every mother is nourse to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Sypho-grauntes quyckelye prouyde a nourse. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profe themselues to no seruice fo gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nourse for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nurceis, syttte all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other children of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge thereto, yet they fland by with maruishous silence. That whiche is goen to them from the table they eate, and other seueral

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dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer whare the ouer ende of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldrest. For at euerye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both fydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be fette to-gether, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the saxe grauitie and reuerence of the elders shoule kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. Forasmuch as nothynge can be secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other mufe nedes perceauce it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some special token to be knowen) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche fyde of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and nevertheless equall commoditie commeth to euerie one. They begin euerye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing yat pertaineth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occasion of honest communica- tion, but neither sadde nor vnpleaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purposelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may have.
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profe of every mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feastinge shew and utter it self. Their diners be short: but their suppers be somewhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth poure, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they inke to be of more strengthe and efficacie to wholesome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without usucke. Nor their bankettes lacke no sones ¥ 1 ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥ ¥
Of their journeyng or traunayling abrode, with divers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

But if any be desierous to visite either their frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obtayne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranbores, onelie there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which drieuth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And though he carry nothyng furth with them, yet in all their journey they lack nothing. For whersoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilie enterteined of the workemen and companys of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precint and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitieve or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharplye punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consent of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei soever he commeth he hath no
meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his forenones taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Oblering this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he halbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you fe how litle libertie they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assemblies. But they be in the presente fighte, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed amonge the people, it cannot be choisen, but that they mufe of necessitie haue flore and plentie of all things. And feyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, euery citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, asone as it is perfectly knowne of what things there is in euery place plentie, and againe what things be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is performede and filled vp with the aboundance of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom ye things is giuen, but thole cities that haue geuen of their flore to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye fame citie, do take suche things as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficient provision of flore for themselfes (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue provided for two yeres followinge, becaufe of the yncertentie of the next yeares.

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proffe) then of those things, wherof they haue abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, letter, and lyuinge beastes. And the feuenth parte of all these thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they fell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and filuer, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almooste nothinge but Iron. And by reasone they haue longe vned this trade, nowe they haue more abundaunce of these thynges, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they fell for readye money, or els vpon truile to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooft parte in debtes. But in so doynte they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the assurance or warrantise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of payement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtores, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the vfe and profite of it, untill the Utopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooft parte of it they neuer aske. For that thyng which is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require their debte; or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in sudden daunger. But especiallye and chieflie to hier therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wayges, strange soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in
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ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money noughe, their enemies themselves many times maye be boughte or folde, or elles throughe treaun be fette togetheres by the eares amonge themselues. For this caufe they kepe an ineflimable treasure. But yet not as a treaure: but so they have it, and vie it, as in good saythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleued. And this I have more caufe to feare, for that I knowe howe difficulfie and hardelye I me-selle woulde have beleued an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not prefentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thyng is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shal it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges, will not greatlye maruell perchaunce, feynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche diuerre from our es, yf the vfe also of gold and syluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne shayons, than to ours. I meane in that they occupie not money themselfes, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shal neuer come to paue. In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do so vfe, as none of them dothe more esteeme it, then the verye nature of the thing defuereth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and syluer nature hath geuen no vfe, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rareness faire. But of the contrari parte, nature as a mooste tender and louynge mother, hath placed the beste and mooste neceffarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selle. And hathe removed and hyd tax-
The seconde booke

Theft from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be saile locked vp in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolifhelie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profit of it to themselfues. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they shold haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their soouldiers wages, they fee and perceae very well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreeable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much fet by, and so diligentely kept, very farre discripant and repugnaunt: and therefore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlie made, and yet be of very small value: of golde and syluer they make commonly chaamber pottes, and other vesselles, that serue for moste vile vies, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate house. Furthermore of the fame metalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherein the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for anye offensye be infamed, by their eares hangre rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes posible thei procure to haue golde and syluer among them in reproch and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as greuously and forowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they shold altogetheres at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They ge-
ther also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chance finding them, they cut and polish them. And therewith thei deck their yonge infantes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhood, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a little more grown in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toys and trifles: they lay them awaye euon of their owne flamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: euon as oure children, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, broughes, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies allo and myndes they ddo caufe, dydde I neuer fo playnelie perceau, as in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

Thesee Ambassadours came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And becaufe they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citi-zens a pece ouet of euerye citie were comen thethere before them. But all the Ambassadours of the neste countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, among whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, filkes to be contempted, golde also to be in-famed and reprochoful, were wont to come thethere in verie homelye and simple arie. But the Anemolianes because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintance with them: hearinge that they were all appareled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the things whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparell to repretente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dafell the eyes of the filie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambassadours with. c. [an hundred] servauntes all appareled in
changeable colours: the moste of them in fylkes: the Ambassador themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great chenyes of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with broches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glittered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al thoise things, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perzones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue seene howe proudelye they displayed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and aduaunced them selves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into theestre. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and howe farre they missed of their purpos being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreyes for some refronable caufe, al that gorgiousnes of apparrell seemed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reverencely saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passinge over the Ambassadoroues themselues without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde haue seene children also, that had caste away their peerles and precious stones, when they sawe the like flicking vpon the Ambassadoroues cappes: digge and pushe theire mothers vnder the fides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious stooones, as though he were a litel child. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, faith she: I thynke he be some of the Ambassadoroues fooles. Some founde saute at theire
golden cheines, as to no vfe nor purpose, being so
fmal and weake, that a bonde man might easely breake
them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it
pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye
at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambas-
sadors hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and sawe so
greate abundance of gold so lyghtely esteime, yea in
no leffe reproche, then it was with them in honour:
and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieues
of one fugitive bondman, then all the coftelye orna-
mentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate
their courage, and for very flame layde away al that gor-
gyouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And spe-
cially when they had talkt familiarlye with the Uto-
pians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be so fol-
yse, as to haue delite and pleasure in the
doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryfellynge
stone, which maye beholde annye of the
starres, or elles the fonne it selfe. Or that
anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe
the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde
of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so
fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet
was the all that time no other thing then a shepe.
They marueile also that golde, whych of the owne na-
ture is a thinge so vnproftable, is nowe amongst all
people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by
whome, yea and for the vfe of whome it is so much set
by, is in muche leffe estimation, then the golde it selfe.
In so muche that a lumpyshe blockheddded
churle, and whynce hathe no more wytte
then an assle, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye,
shall haue neuertheles manye wyfe and good men in
subiected bondage, only for this, bycausse he
hath a greate heape of golde. Whych ye it shoulde
be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtill
wyfe and cautel of the lawe, (whyche no leffe then
fortune dothe bothe raife vp the lowe, and plucke
downe the highe) and be geuen to the moiste vile flawe and abiect dryuell of all his housholde, then shortly after he shal goo into the seruice of his seruant, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beside his money. But they muche more maruell at and detest the madness of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do giue almost divine honours, for none other consideration, but because they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers, that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

The of such like opinions haue they conceauned, partly by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, and partly by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in every citie, which be exempte and discharged of all other labours, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from theire very childhode they haue perceaued a singular towards, a syne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learning. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughge oute all their whole lyffe doo belowe in learninge thofe spaire houres, which we sayde they haue vacante from bodelye labours. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare: and for the wtererance of a mans minde very perfecte and sure. The moost parte of all that syde of the worlde vieth the same langage, fauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, and accordinge to the diversytie of the countreys it is dyuerflye alterede. Of all these Philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowne, beforeoure cumnyenge thether not as muche as the same of
them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arhythmeetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that our ancients Philo...passe and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and supposicions, verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare our children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: inomuche that none of them all coulde euer se man himselfe in common, as they cal him, though he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the flarres, and the mouynge of the heauenly spheares verye expert and cunningye. They haue also wittelye excogitated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherein is exactely comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other flarres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amyties and dissentions of the planettes, and all that deceyteful diuination by the flarres, they neuer as much as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which learned by long vse and observation. But of the causeth of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and faltene of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that our olde Philofophers hold, and partely, as our Philofophers varye among themselfes, so they alfo, whiles they bringe newe reaons of thinges, do disagre from all them, and yet among themselfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-
Moral philosophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the fowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the foule.

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinges, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man confisstethe. But in this poynte they feme almooste to muche geuen and enclynyed to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefes parte of mans felicitye to refle. And (whyche is more to bee marneled at) the defense of this soo deynty and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from theire graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuelligation of trewe felicitye they thinke reason of it felse weake and vnperfecte. Thothe principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountifull goodnes of God ordeined to felicitye. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by profes of reaso. But ye these principles were condemned and dyfanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folishe, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeououre to obtayne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onyle auoydyng he is inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that.
pleasure, whiche would bringe after it dis-
pleasure, greese, and sorrow. For they
udge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe
d peinful vertue, and not only to bannishe
pleasure of life, butalso willingly to suffer
to vnde, without anye hope of profit thereof enuinge. For
hat profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed
or all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye,
all haeu no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr
veny thinke not felicite to reste in all pleasure, but only in
pleasure that is good and honest, and that hereto,
to perfect blessednes our nature is allured and drawnen
en of vertue, whereto onyle they that be of the con-
tury opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define
ertue to be life ordered according to nat-
es, and that we be here vnto ordered of
d. And that he dothe followe the course
nature, which in defiering and refiufinge
ed by reason. Furthermore that reason
chiefely and principallye kendle in
the loue and veneration of the deuine
destie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that
be in possibilitie to attayne felicite. And that se-
ndere it bothe firrethe and prouoketh vs to leade
lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and also moueth
to helpe and further all other in respecte of ye societe
nature to obteine and enjoye ye same. For there
seuer man so earneft and paineful a follower of
rtue and hater of pleasure, yat wold fo injoyne you
oures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also
hort you to eafe, lighten, and relieue, to your powre,
ack and misery of others, prayfing the same as a
de of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte
humanitie for man to bringe health and comforte to
in, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye
longing to man) to mitigate and assuage the greise of
ers, and by takyng from them the forowe and heuy-
s of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to
pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature
doth provoke euerye man to doo the same to himselfe?

For a ioyull lyfe, that is to say, a pleaasuent 
lyfe is either euel: and if it be lo; then thou
shouldest not onely helpe no man therto,
but rather, as much as in the lieth, with-
drawe all men frome it, as noysome and burthe-
ful, or els if thou not only mayste, but alfo
of dewty art bound to procure it to others,
why not chiefly to the selfe? To whom
thou art bound to shew asmuch fauoure and
gentelnes as to other. For when nature
biddeth the to be good and gentle to other
she commandeth the not to be cruell
and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore eu
very nature (faye they) prescribeth to vs a
joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the
ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue
to be lyfe ordered accordyng to the precepte of
nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and pro-
voke men one to healpe another to lyue menly
(which fuerly she doth not without a good caule:
for no man is so farre aboue the lotte of mans flate
or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym
onlye, whiche equallye fauourethe all, that be compe-
hended under the communion of one shape forme
and fashion) verely she commandeth the to vs dile-
gent circumfpection, that thou do not so seke for thine
owne commodities, that thou procure others incom-
modities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only

Bargaynes and
Lawes.

...
wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy dutie, if thou bearest any reuereant loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natuue countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleuure, whilles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to gene to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompened with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembrandance of the thankfull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou haft done it, doth bringe more pleuure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou haft withhelden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easie to be persuaded) God recompeneth the gifte of a short and finall pleuure with great and everlastinge ioye. Therfore the matter diligentely wesede and confidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleuure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleuure they call euery motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherein man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not, only the tenifes, but also right reaon coueteth whatsoever is naturallly pleasaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleuure, nor causing painfull labour, euens to thole thinges that men by vaine ymageination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al suche pleuures they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtherance to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderance. Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they posseste with a faltie opinion of pleuure. So that there is no place left for true and
natural delectations. For there be many things, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleasauntynes: yea the moiste parte of them muche grieue and forrowe. And yet throughge the peruerse and malicyous flieckeringe inticemenstes of lewde and vnhyonest desyres, be taken not only for speciall and fouereine pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causen of life. In this counterfeint kind of pleasure they put them that they doe twyle erre. For they be no leffe deceaued in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that think they themselfes the better. For if you consider the profitable use of the garmente, why sholde wulle of a fyner spoone threde, be though[w]t better, than the wul of a course spoone threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistaking, annunce themselfes, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they dursle not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for their fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it difpleaunto and diidainfully.

The errour of them that estenne themselfes the more for apparells sake.

Polish honore. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what natural or trewe pleaure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this case the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenzie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyce muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetours, whose flocke of longe tyme hathene bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours lefte them not one foote of lande, or els they themselfes haue pyssed it agayne in the walles, yet
they thinke themselves not the leffe noble therafore of one hear. In this number also they count them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious flones, and thinke themselves almofte goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countrie men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of flone kepeth not his pryece flyll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor fo neither, vntyll they haue made the seller to sware, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true flone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take left a counterfeite flone shoule debace their eyes in sleade of a ryghte flone. But why shouldest thou not take euyn almuche pleasure in behoidynge a counterfeite flone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a righete flone? They shoule bothe be of lyke value to thee, euyn as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the behoidinge, and not in the vfe or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei decaued with fals pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidding the gold whiche they shal neuer occupye, nor peraduenture neuer fe more? And whiles they take care leasfe they shall leesse it, do leesse it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vfe, and perchaunce forme all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen. and thou ignoraunt of the thefte shouldeft dye tenne yeares after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedefte after thy money was stollen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awayne or elles safe as thou belieueth.
it? Trewlye both wayes like profyte came to thee. To these so fooalythe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madness they knowe by hearfay, and not by vfe. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in castling the dice upon a table. Which thou haft done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vfe might make thee were thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou haft pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beastle doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pitie to see a felye innocent hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the feare, the innocente of the cruelle and vnmercyfull.

Therefore all thys exercyse of huntinge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vshed of free men, the Utopians haue reiecte to their bouchers to the whiche craffe (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntinge the lowest, the vyl Estle, and mooste abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngyngene muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter feketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rife in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be change of continuance of time into crueltie, by longe vfe of so cruel a pleasure. These therefor and all suche like, whiche be inumerable, though the common forte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right.
pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the sene with delectation (whiche semeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerfe and lewde custome is the caufe hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for sweete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannys judgemepte depraued and corrupte, either by fyckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other things. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeteth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembrance of the good lyfe past. The pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaved. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche our naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And fometimes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the bodye our great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eafeed with rubbyng or scratchynge. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it seeleth, which neuertheless tikleth and moueth oure sene with a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and refleth in the quiete, and vpyghte state of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health enterminged and dis-
turbed with no grieue. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no grieif, is delectable of it selfe, though it be mowed with no externall or outwarde pleasurable. For though it be not so plain and manye to the senfe, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefe pleasurable.

All the Utopians graunt it to be a right souereaigne pleasurable, and as you woulde fay ye the foundation and gronde of all pleasures, as whiche euene alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaie, there is no place lette for any pleasurable. For to be without grieffe not hauinge health, that they call vnfenibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians haue long a go relected and condemped the opinion of them, whiche fayde that ftedfased and quiete healthe (for this question alio hathe bene diligencely debated amongst them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasurable, because they fay they ca not be presentlye and sensibly perceaued and felt by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost souereaigne pleasurable. For seynge that in sycknesse (fayde they) is grieffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasurable, euens as sickenes is to health, why should not then pleasurable be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you fay ye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is grieffe, for all commeth to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasurable it selfe, or a necessity cause of pleasurable, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be without pleasurable, that be in perfect healthe. Furthermore whiles we eat (fay they) then healthe, which beganne to be appayred, sighteth by the helpe of foode against healthe. In the which fight, whiles health by little and litle getteh the vpper hande, that fame procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonde strength ministreth that pleasurable, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mercy, when it
hath gоotten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe
recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in
all the fight it couetet, shal it incontinent be astonied?
Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealth
and goodnes? For where it is faid, healthe can not
be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what
man wakyng, say they, selethe not himselfe in health:
but he that is not? Is there anye man so poffessed with
fection insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say,
the slepping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to
be acceptable to him, and delectable? Delection.
But what other thinge is delection, than
that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?
They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the
mind. For them they counte the chieflie
and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them
they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and
conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the
body ministreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth.
For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoever
hath any like plesauntnes, they determyne to be ples-
ures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for
wealthes fake. For suche thinges of their own proper
nature be not so plesaunt, but in that they restite sick-
enesse priuelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wife
mans part, rather to auoid sicknes, then to wishe for
medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight
carefull grieses, then to call for comfort: so it is muche
better not to neade this kinde of plesaure, then thereby
to be eased of the contrarie griece. The whiche kinde
of plesaure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that
man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in moft
felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall
hunger, thurstie, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchinge,
and rubbing. The which life how not only foule,
and vnhonest, but alfo howe miserable, and wretched
it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the
baest pleasaures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For
they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie
griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is joyned hunger, and yat after no very equal fort. For of these ii. ye griefes is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntil the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be fet by, but in yat thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with most plea- saunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vfe wherof they muft from time to time continually be forced and druen. For how wretched and miserable shoulde our life be, if these dailie greefes of hunger and thurst coulde not be druen awaye, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other The gifts of disease be, wherewith we be seldomer nature troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleaantaun gifts of nature they make mucho of. But those pleasures that be receauned by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the beutie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of savours, but onely for the diuerstitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and discordant dislaunces of foundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasauntes reioysinges of life. But in all things this cautel they vfe, that a leesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of beutie, to waft the bodelie strengthe, to turne nimblenes into floughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleaantaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodi- ties, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealtthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forbome, he is in hoope of a grea-
afure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of
tue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to pun-
he himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable cour-
iouslie to suffer aduersitie: which perchaunce shal-
er come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of
reame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye
aded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature,
one fo disdaining to be in her daunger, that he re-
unceth and refuseth all her benefites.
This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and
afure. And they beleue that by mans reason none
be found trewer then this, onles any Illlyer be inspired into man from heuen.
cherin whether they beleue well or no neither the
be doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe neces-
. For we haue taken vpon vs to fewe and declare
hir lores and orderances, and not to defende them.
this thynge I beleue verely: howe fouer these
res be, that there is in no place of the world,
yther a more excellent people, neither a more
urishynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and
icke of bodie, full of actiuiteit and nimble-
s, and of more strength then a man
ulde judge them by their flature, which
all that is not to lowe. And though theyr soyle be
t verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet
ainte the ayer they do defende them with temperate
ete, and so order and husbande their grounde with
igente travaile, that in no coutrey is greater in-
ase, and plente of corne and cattell, nor mens
ides of longer lyfe, and subjekt or apte to fewer dis-
es. There therfore a man maye see well, and di-
inlie exploited and furnisheed, not onelye thofe things
iche husbandemen do commonly in other countreis,
by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes o.
ede grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of
people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set
aine in an other place. Wherein was had regard
d consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious,
carriage, that wood and timber might be ngier to the sea, or the rivers, or, ye cities. For it is leffe laboure and businesse to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne wittet, delitiginge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercice and studie of the mind they be neuer wery. When they had herd me speake of ye greke literatur e or lerning (for in latine there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides hisloriens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneffe and importunate fute vn to me that I would teach and in structe them in that tongue and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vn to them, at the first truelie more because I would not feme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashhon their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woorde, so quickelie to leare ne by harte, and so vuerlie to re hearse the same, that I maruailed at it, sauinge that the most parte of them were fine, and cchosen wittes and of ripe age, piked out of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, vndertooke to learene this langage. Therefore in leffe then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tongue that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie slaye, if the booke were not falle. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginnew the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in al other poynetes is not much vnylyke the Persian tongue, kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the
greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was deter-
mynd to entre into my. iii. voyage, I caste into the flhippe in the steade of marchandise a pretie fardel of
bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I faye, of me the mosste
parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also
Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I
am forye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a ship-
borde, a marmofet chaunced vpon the booke, as it was
negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge there-
wyth plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in
pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the gramer, they
haue onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not
wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Hesichius, and
Dioforides. They fett greate ftoore by Plutarches
bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery
conceytes and iestes. Of the Poetes they haue Aristo-
phanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus
small prynte. Of the Historians they haue Thucidides,
Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion,
Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bokes, cer-
tein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Micro-
technie. The whyche boke they haue in great esti-
mation. For though there be almost no nation vnder
heauen that hath leffe ned of Phisicke
then they, yet this notwithstandyng, Phisicke
is no where in greater honour.
Bycaufe they counte the knowledge of it among the
goodlyeste, and most profitable partes of Philosophie.
For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche
oute the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thinke them-
selvese to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate
pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and fauour
of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke
according to ye fassion of other artificers,
to haue fet furth the maruelous and gor-
gious frame of the world for man with great
affeccion intienuely to beholde. Whom only he hath
made of witte, and capacitie to confidre and understand the excellencie of so great a woorke. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwill and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woorke and maruelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beastle without witte and reaon, or as one without fenfe or movinge, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede and exercised in learnyng, be maruelous quycke in the intention of feates helpinge annye thynge to the advantaoge and wealth of lyffe. Howbeit, II. feates theye maye thanke vs for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye vs but chiefeelye and principallye themselfes.

For when we shewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe whereof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, speaking sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittelye conjectured the thynge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughhe at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortlye got the feate of bothe. And haue fo broughthe the matter aboute, that yt they had copyes of Greeke authores, they could in no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearsed before, sauinge that by pryntynghe of bookes they haue multiplyed and increafed the same into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoever come thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or through[h]e muche and longe iournieng weel experiensd and Iene in the knowledg[e] of manye countrieys (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in everye lande,
howbeit verye sewe merchaunte men come thether.
For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron,
or els gold and siluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye
home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed
oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysefonde
to carry that gere furthe themselfes, then that other
shoulde come thether to fetche it,
toth[ê]entente theymaye the bet-
ter knowe the out landes on
euerye fyde of them, and
kepe in vre the feate
and knowledge
of failinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke per-
sons, wedlocke, and di-
uers other matters.

Hey neither make bondemen of prifoners
taken in battayle, oneles it be
in battaylë that they foughte
them selfes, nor of bondmens
children, nor to be short, of anye suche as
they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he
were theire a bondman. But either suche, as amonge
themselfes for heinous offences be punyshed with bond-
age, or elles suche, as in the Cities of other landes for
great trespasses be condemened to deathe. And of
this sort of bondemen they haue mooste floore.
For manye of them they bringe home somtimes pay-
inge verye lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye get-
tyng them for gramercke. Theseforset of bondemen
they kepe not onely in continual worke and labour,
but alfo in bandes. But their owne men they handle
hardeste, whom they Judge more desperate, and to haue
deffered greater punisshemente, bycause they being so
godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excelente a com-
mon wealth, could not for all that be refreined from
misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countreyc doth chuse of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoiste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, fauynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche, be dispose to departe thens (whiche feldome is seene) they neither holde him against fe his of them that wyll, neither fende him away with empty handes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al efecte concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be reftore againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with fittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner of helps that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall paine and anguiشه then the preistes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewaye of lyffe, and by overlyuinge his owne death is noylome and irkefome to other, and greuous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryfhe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge his lyffe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not be vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dilpatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prifon, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shalle doo wyselfe, seing by his death he shall losse no commoditie, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shalle followe the counsele of the preistes, that is to seye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shalle do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, shinye theire liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in thire sleape without anye feelinge of death. But they cause none suche to dye.
agaynste his wyll, nor they vse no lesse diligeunce and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the pryestes and the counsell haue allowed the cause of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed, they caste vnburied into some stinkinge marrish. The woman is not married before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man iiiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that so hathe trespassed is sharpelye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forscuened by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house, where that ofens was committed as beinge slacke and negligent in looking to theire charde, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamy. That ofens is so sharplye punyshed, bicause they perceau, that oneles they be diligentlye kepe from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chuesinge wyfes and hubandes they obserue earnestly and strayetely a custome, whiche semed to vs very fonde and folyshe. For a fad and an honeste matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a fage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disalowed it as foolishe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whiche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in halarde, be so charye and circumfecte, that though he be almooste al bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the faddel and all the harneis be taken of, leaftc vnder thofe couerynges be hydde, from galle or foore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe,
whyche shalbe either pleasure, or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the resywdewe of the woomans bodye beinge coverd with clowthes, they etsteme her scasely be one handebredeth (for they can fe no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euer agreinge together, ye if any thing in her body afterward shoulde chaunce of offend and mylyke them.

For all men be not so wyfe, as to haue respete to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be etstemed and regared: yeu even in the mariage of wyfe men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder thofe couerings, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for their bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummated and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man mufte take his fortune wel a worth. But it were wel done that a lawe were made whereby all suche deceytes myghte be efchewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euer ye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrmony is there never broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breeke the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if eithr of them finde themselle for any fuch caufe greued : they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myfhappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they invade it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moffe deede of helpe and conforte, shoulde be caste of and foraken,
and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, shoulde vnkindly and vn-
faithfullye be delte withall. But noe and then it 
chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot 
well agree betwene them selues, both of them fyndinge 
other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and 
merylye, that they by the full constente of them bothe 
be diuorced a fonder and maried againe to other. But 
that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche 
agreeeth to no diuorces, before they and their wyfes 
haue diligentlye tried and examyned the matter. Yea 
and then also they be lothe to confess to it, bycaufe 
they know this to be the next way to break loue be-
tweene man and wyfe, to be in easie hope of a new 
mariage. Breakers of wedlock ye be punyshed with 
moole greuous bondage. And if both the offenders 
were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe 
haue sufferede wrong, beinge diuorced from the aun-
trers, be maried together, if they wille, or else to whom 
they lust. But if either of them both do flyl continewe 
in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of 
wedlock ye is not to them forbidden, if the partye fault-
les be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye 
the person, which for that offence is condemned to 
bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repen-
taunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the 
other, dothe fo moue the prince with pytie and compas-
sion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitute 
to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie 
be taken estsones in that faulte, there is no other waye 
but death. To other trespaces no prescript punish-
mente is appoynted by anye lawe. But 
accordinge to the heynoufenes of the of-
fense, or contrarye, so the punishemente is 
moderated by the discretion of the coun-
fell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes: 
and the parentes theire children, oneles they haue done 
anye so horryble an offense, that the open punysh-
mente thereof maketh muche for the advauncemente
of honeste maners. But moste commenlye the moyle
heynous faultes be punyshed with the incomodite of
bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders
no lessie griefe, and to the common wealth more pro-
fit, then yf they shoulde haftely put them to death, and
so make them quite out of the waye. For there com-
meth more profit of their labour, then of their
deathe, and by their example they feare other the
longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus
vsed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they
be flayne as desperate and wilde bestes, whom neither
prison nor chaine could restraine and kepe vnder. But
they, whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not
leffe all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken
and tamed with long miserries, if then thei shew they
such repentance, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that
they be foryer for their offens in then for their punysh-
mente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and
sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people,
theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane re-
leashed and forgeuen. He that moueth to
aduoutrye is in no lessie daunger and ieo-
perdie, then yf he hadde committed ad-
uoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the
inteinte and pretenfede purpuse as euel, as the acte or
dede it selfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuse
him, that did his beft to haue no lette. They haue
singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a
greate reproche to do anye of them hurte
or injury, so they prohibite not to take
pleasure of foolifhnes. For that, they
thinke, dothe mucche good to the fooles. And if any
man be fo fadde, and fterne, that he cannot laughe
neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of
them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaft he
would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough:
to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other
goodnes in them is none) mucche leffe anye profite
shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his &...
formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or liymme of
his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproch,
not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh.
Which vnwysely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a
vice, that was not in his powre to echewe. Alfo as
they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him,
that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlineffe, so
to hele the same with payntinges, is taken
for a vaine and a wanton pride, not with-
out endure greate in famie. For they knowe euyn
by very experience, that no comlineffe of bewtye
doethe so hyghelye commende and auance the wiues
in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest condi-
tions and lowlines. For as loue is oftimes wonne
with bewty, so it is not kept, preferued, and continued,
but by vertue and obedience. They do
not onely feare their people from doyng
euyl by punishmente, but also allure them
to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfor they
set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable
men, and of such as haue bene great and bounteufull
benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetuall
memorie of their good actes: and alfo that the glory
and renowne of the auncetors maye flyrre and pro-
uoke their pofteritie to vertue. He that
inordinatly and ambitiously desirith pro-
motions, is left al hopeles for euer atteni-
ing any promotion as long as he liueth.
They lyue together louinglye. For no magistrate is
eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and
lyke fathers they vfe themselves. The citezens (as it
is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto
them dew honoure without any compulsion.
Nor the prince himselfe is not known
from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of flate,
nor by a crown or diademme roial, or cap of mainte-
nuence, but by a little sheffe of corne caried before
him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop,
wherby onely he is known. They have but few
Fewe lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very sewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chieflye reprowe among other nations, that innumerable bookes of lawes and expostitions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well vnderstande them. Furthermore they vterlie exclude and banishe all atorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that euerie man should pleaue his owne matter, and tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be leesse circumstauence of wordes, and the truth shal foner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discreete judgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumuentiones of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis, in so infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euerie man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they haue very fewe lawes: and the plainer and grosier that anye interpretation is: that they allowe as most iust. For all lawes (faie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them euerie man shoulde be put in remembranuce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtil interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembranuce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grose meaninge of the lawes is open to euerie man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe moosle in number, and haue moosle nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpon it, that
without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can
discuss it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther
the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither
the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge
for their liuynges, canne sufficie thereto. These vertues
of the Utopians haue caufed their neste neiboures and
borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no subiection (for
the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them
from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a
yeare, and some for fiue yeares space. Which when
the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home
againe with honoure and praife, and take new
againe with them into their countrey. These nations
haue vndoubtedly very well and holsomely prouided
for their common wealthes. For seyne that bothe
the makinge and marringe of the weale publique,
doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the
rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more
wyfelye haue chofen, then thofe which can not be
ledde from honestlye by bribes (for to them that shortly
after shal depart thens into their own countrey money
should be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with
faunoure, or malice towards any man, as beyng straun
gers, and vn[cl]quainted with the people? The whiche
two vices of affection and avarice, where they take
place in judgements, incontinente they breake iustice,
the strongste and siuruest bonde of a common wealth.
These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers
from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other
to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their
frendes. As touching leagues, which in of leagues.
other places betwene countrey and countrey
be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they never
make none with anie nation. For to what purpose
fere leagues, say they? As thoughhe nature had not set
sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so
regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for
wordes? They be brought into this opinion chieffelye,
because that in thofe partes of the worlde, leages be-
twene princes be wont to be kepte and obsuerued very
scinderly. For here in Europa, and especiallie in
these partes where the faith and religion of Christ
reigneth, the maieftie of leagues is euerye where
eftemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the jufti-
ice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuer-
ce and motion of the head Bifhops. Which like as
they make no promiff promifes, but they do verry
reliquislye perfore the fame, fo they exhorte all
princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and
them that refuse or denye fo to do, by their pontifical
powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And
Surely they thinke well that it might seme a verry re-
procheful thing, if in the leagues of them which by a
peculiare name be called faithful, faith shoulde have no
place. But in that newe founde parte of the world,
which is scafele fo fatere from beyond the line equi-
ocital, as our life and maners be defident from theirs,
no truft nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and
holier ceremonies the league is knitt vp with, the
foner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the
wordes, which many times of purpose be to craftele
put in, and placed, that the bandes can never be fo
flure nor fo stronge, but they will find some hole open
to crepe out at, and to breake both league and
truth. The whiche craftele dealing, yea the whiche
fraude and deceite, if they shoulde know it to be prac-
tifed among priuate men in their bargaines and con-
tractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an
open mouth, and a fower countenaunce, as an offende
moste detectable, and worthye to be punnysed with a
shamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auauence
themselves authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes.
Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice
is but a baffe and a low vertue, and which auaueth it
self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the
leaff wife, that there be two iustices, the one meete for
the inferior sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crep-
ynge lowe by the grounde, and bounded downe on ever-
side.
with many bandes, bycaufe it shal not run atrouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygh-
nermaiestie, then the other pore iustice, so also it is of muche
more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lust-
teth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be
there so euell kepers of leagues, caufe the Utopians, as I
fuppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would
chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they
thinke that though leagues be neuer fo faithfullye obser-
ued and kepte, yet the custome of makyng leagues was
very euell begun. For this caufeth men (as though
nations which be seperat a sondre, by ye space of a
little hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no societie
or bonde of nature) to thinke themselfues borne adver-
saries and enemies one to an other, and that it were
lawfull for the one to feke the death and destruction
of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after
ye leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and
encrefe: But the licence of robbing and steele doth
styll remaynes, as farfurth as for lack of forfight and ad-
uiement in writing the wordes of the league, any sen-
tence or claufe to the contrarie is not therin sufficienck
comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That
is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche
hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of na-
ture is a stronge league: and that men be better and more
surely knit togethers by loue and
beneuolence, then by couenantes
of leagues: by hartie affec-
tion of minde, then
by wordes.

Of warfare.

Arre or battel as a thing very beastly, and
yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche
ve as to man, they do deteft and abhorre.
And contrarie to the custome almooste of
all other nations, they counte nothynge
so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore though they do daylie practice and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onlie the men, but also the women vpon certen ap-pointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the seate of armes, if need should require, yet they never go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne country, or to drie out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue invaeded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tirannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not euery in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlie their counsell and aduise in the matter be askd, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demanded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by in-roads and invasions of foldiours praisies and booties be drieen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniustte lawes, or elles by the wrestlinge and wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do sustaine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a little before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purfaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste florishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeues wer not finished not ended, ne-
of Utopia.

til the Alaopolitanes, at the laft were yielded vp as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians profequute the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beseide their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreeke their anger by abstaininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made satisfaccion. Not forbicaufe they set leffe floore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more heuelie then ye losse of their own. Bicaufe that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leife is their own priuate goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leife nothing but of the common goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifulfull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feeleth the losse. And for this caufe they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompecence of the injuriue, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishfe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sorry, but also ashamed to atchieue the victorie with blotshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They reioyfe and bought.

auaunt themselues, if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they
make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set vp a pyller of stone in the place where they fo vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede, when they haue fo ouercommen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the by the mighte and puifaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulifes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe vs in strengthe and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine that thyng, whiche if they had before obtained, theywolde not haue moued battell. But if that be not possible, they take fo cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulfe, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefes and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of all proffyte, and setforwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspetec, in avoindinge and eschewayng eopathies, then they be defierous of prayfe and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set vp priuilye at one time in their enemies lande, in places most frequent. In these proclamations they promifie greate rewards to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for euerie heade of them, whose names be in the faide proclama-
tions conteyned. They be thowe whom they count their chiefes adueraries, next vnto the prince. Whatsoeuer is pre-
scribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaime-
sons, that is duble to him that bringeth anye of the fame to them alieue: yea, and to the proclaime persons themselfes, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the fame greate rewardes with pardone, and suertie of their luyes. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe that their ene-
mies haue all other men in suspension, and be unfaithful, and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great fear, and in no less jeopardy. For it is well known, that divers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selve) haethe bene betrayed of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor deed that gifts and rewards do not enforce men vnto. And in rewards they kepe no measure. But remembring and condering into how great hazardde and jeopardy they cal them, endeouere themselves to recompence the greatnes of the danger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundance of golde, but also landes of greate revenues lieng in moste faffe places among theire frendes. And theire promises they performe faithfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This custome of byinge and fellynge aduersaries among other people is dysfollowed, as a cruel acte of a baffe and a cowardlythe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselfes muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this means dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmythe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytje and mercye, bicaufe that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate nombre of innocentes, aswel of theire oune men as also of theire enemies be rauftomed and saued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene sleane. For they doo no less pytje the baffe and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furious madnes of their princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occayfons of debate, and diffention to be spreadde amongst theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyfe vp the people that be nexte neghebours and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they
fette in theire neckes vnder the colour of some olde
tyte of ryghte, such as kynges doo neuer lacke. To
them they promyse theire helpe and ayde in theire
warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundance.
But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to
them feue or none. Whome they make so much of,
and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willing to
chaunge anye of them for their aduerfaries prince. But
their gold and siluer, bycaufe they kepe it all for thyss
only purpoe, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as
who shoulde lyue euen as wealtheely, if they hadde be-
flowed it euerye pennye. Yea and belydes theire
ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue also an
infinite treaure abrode, by reaon that (as I sayde be-
fore) manye nations be in their deyte. Therefore they
hieare foldiours oute of all countreis and sende them
to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people
is. 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hide-
ous, fawge, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and
high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought
vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and
fusteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all
delicate deintyes, occupyenge no hufbandrye nor tyll-
age of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge
of their houses and in their apparrel, geuen unto
no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bring-
ynge vp of cattel. The moste parte of theire lyuynge
is by huntynge and flealynge. They be borne one-
lye to warre, whycye they diligentlye and ear-
nestelye seke for. And when they haue gotten it,
they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of
theire countreye in greate companyes together, and
who foeuer lacketh fouldyours, there they proffer
theire seruice for small wages. This is onelye the
crafte they haue to gette theire liuynge by. They
maynteyne theire lyfe, by sekinge theire deathre. For
them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye,
fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselfes
for no certeyne tyme. But upon this condition they
entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other fyde for greatere wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate number of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chaunceth that nye kyndfolke whiche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vfed themselfes one wyth another, shortly after beinge separate in contrarie partes, runne one againste another enuyoulye and fyercelye: and forgetinge bothe kindred and frendshyppe, thrufe theire sworde one in another. And that for none other caufe, but that they be hyred of contrarie prynces for a lytle moneye. Whych they doo so hyghlye regarde and estemee, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a smacke in coueteines. Whych for all that is to them no profyte. For that they gette by fghtyng, immaytelye they spende vnthrytelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fghteth for the Utopians agaynst all nations, bycaufe they geue them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they feke good men to vse wel, so they feke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardyes. From whens the moost parte of them neuer cummeth againe to ask their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliuethey paye yat which they promised faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue yat they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowlde stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ye soldiours of them for whom they fghte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And lafte of all, they ioyne to
there owne citizens. Among whome they giue to one
of tried vertue and proves the reule, gouernaaunce,
and conduction of the whole aryme. Under him they
appoynte ij. other, whiche, whyles he is saffe, be
bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken
or flayne, the one of the other, ij. suceeded hym, as if
were by inherytance. And if the seconde miscalrye,
then the thirde taketh his rowme, leafle that (as the
chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the
ieopardy of death of the capitaine shoulde brynge
the whole aryme in hasarde. They chuese soldyours
out of euery cytye thoshe, whych putte furthe themselfes
wylyngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into
warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleue, yf
annye man be fearefull and fainte hartyed of nature, he
wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym
felse, but also be occayson of cowardenes to his fellowes.
But ifannye battell be made agaynste there owne
countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they
be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde
hartyed men. Or elles they dyspoze them upon the
walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what
for shame that there enemies be at hande, and what
for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye,
they forgette all feere. And manye times extreme
necessitye turneth the cowardnes into proves and manly-
nes. But as none of them is thrut frothe of his coun-
trei into warre againste his wyll, so women that be
wylynge to accompanie there husbandes in times of
warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke
and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set
fyld the wyues doo flande euerye one by there owne
husbandes fyde. Also euery man is compassed next
aboute with his owne children, kindfolkes, and aliance.
That they, whom nature chiefly moueth to mutual
fuccoure, thus flandynghe together, maye healpe one
another. It is a great reproche, and dishonesty for the
husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyfe
without her husbande, or the sonne without his father
And therefore if the other part sticke so hard by it, that the bATTLE come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shutes that may be to kepe themselfs from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered foledyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselfs, they do as courageously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wisely auoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not moost fierce at the first bront. But in continuance by litte and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstinate myndes, that they will rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that fueriye of lyuinge, whiche euerie man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull ancietye or remembrance how theire posteritie shall lyue after them (for his penfines oftentimes breaketh and abateth courageous stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdainedful to be conquerd. Moreover theire knowledge in cheualrye and fates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euuen from theire childhode, partly through learneynge, and partly through the good orderances and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encrea theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so lite store by their liues, that they will rashelye and vnadvisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefullye couete to kepe them, when honestlie biddeth leaue them. When the battell is hottesst and in all places most fierce and frequent, a bende of choosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue and dye together, take vpon them to destroye theire aduersaries capitaine. Whome they invade now with privy weles, now by open strengthe. At him they strike both near and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a con-
tinually assualte frethe men styll commynge in the wersial mens places. And feldome it chaunceth (onles he sone hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prifoner, and yeilded to his enemies alyue. If they wynne the slyde, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alyue, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chaife and pursute of their enemies, but they leave behinde them one parte of their hoste in bataille arrayde vnder their standarde. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum fauing the renarde, and that they there with atteinge the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunched vnto themselpes more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoynynge in the victory haue percuted them flying somone way and somo another, a small companie of their men lying in an ambushe, theredy at all occasions, haue sodainelye ryfien vpon them thus dispersed and scattered out of array, and through presumption of saftie vnadvisedly pursuing the chaife, and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge out of their handes the sure and undoubted victorye, being a little before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing leste. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceau their selues either ouermatched in numbre, or closed in too narrow a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by sone pollicie they deceau their enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no leste ieoperdie to medle with them when they issue backe, then when they passe on. They fence and
fortisfe their campe seuerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaues a worke about it. It is done by the handes of the fouldiours them selves. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for fodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasie of grounde is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is fure and strong to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye, in somuche that it is not vnweldye to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warefare amonge other feates thei learene to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongly and surely, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuife and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knownen before neade reuere, they should be but laughed at and ferue to no purpose. But in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both eafe to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Of truces.

Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firlmye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waite nor destroye their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as may be from being ouerrune and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for their owne vfe and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelden vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaullte, they neither destroyle nor lache, but them that withflode and dissuaded the
yeldynge vp of the same, they put to deathe, the other fouoldiers they punnyshhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye cistzeins counselled to yealde and rendre vp the cist, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The resjdwewe they distribute and gue frelye amonge them, whose helpe they had in same warre. For none of them selues taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battle is finished and ended, they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coste of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in monie to be kept for like vie of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litlle and litlle ryfinge of dyuers and sondry caues be increased aboue. viij. [seven] hundrete the thousand ducates by the yere. Thether they sende forth some of their cistzeins as Lieuetenauntes, to lye there fumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saued, which commeth to the commen treasurie: onles it fo chaunce, that they had rather trust ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do so long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it feldome happeneth, that thei demand al. Of these landes they assigne parte vnto them, which at theire request and exhortacion put themselues in such ieoperdies, as I spake of before. If anye prince flirre vp warre agaynst them, intending to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countreie. Nor they be neuer broughte into fo extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyn ye landes into their owne llande.
Here be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes. They that giue worship to a man that was ones of te vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the and the wyseste parte (reectynge al these) beleue, there is a certayne Godlie powre vnownen, euery incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue acitie and retche of mans witte, disperfed vnte all the worlde, not in bignes, but inverpower. Him they call the father of al. To one they attribute the beginnings, the entres, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the f al things. Neither they geue any diuine to any other then to him. Yea al ye other though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this they agree all togethers with the wiste farte, thing that there is one chiefe and principall maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome commonlye in their countreys language call But in this they disagree, that among some unted one, and amonge some an other. For of them, whatsoeuer yat is whiche he taketh chief god, thinketh it to be the very fama to whole only diuine mighte and maieftie, the and souerainity of al things by the consent of e is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all y little and litle to forfaake and fall from this of superstitious, and to agra togethers in that whiche semeth by reason to passe and excell belwe. And it is not to be doubted, but all theuld long ago have bene abolishe, but that other vnprospereous thynge happened to anie of
them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the
fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge
comminge by chaunce, but as fente from GOD out of
heauen. As though the God, whose honoure he was
forfakyng, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against
him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of
Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myrracles, and of the
no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs,
whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great
numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde
into their feect: you will not beleue with howe gladde
mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were
by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that
they thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which
among them is counted the chieuest. Howbeit I
thynke this was no female helpe and furtheraunce in
the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christ instituted
among his, al thinges commen: and that the same
Religious hou-
ses.
righteest Christiau
comunitie doth yet remaine amongst the
Christian companies. Verely how-
foeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented-
togethers in our religion, and were washe in ye holy
water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for
no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our companye byeing
dead) there was no prieu, which I am righte sorie for:
they byenge entered and instructed in al other pointes
of our religion, lacke only those sacramentes, whiche
here none but prieuus do minifter. Howbeit they
vnderstond and perceiue them, and be very defierous
of ye same. Yea, they reason and dispute ye matter
earnestly among themselues, whether without ye send-
ing of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own
people may receaue the orde of prieuhood. And
truely they were minded to chuse one. But at my
departure from them they had chosene none. They
also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no
man from it, nor speake against any man that haue
received it. Sainynge that one of our company in vs
presence was sharpeously punished. He as soone as
was baptised, began against our wills, with more earnest affection, then wisedome, to reason of Christ's religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not only preferre our religion before all other, but also did utterly despise and condemn all other, calling them prophanes, and the followers of them wicked and deueltish, and the children of everlaftinge damnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a deipifer of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a raiser vp of diffention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest laws amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for refoning in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euyn at the firſte beginning, hearing yet the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diffention and firſte amonge themselfes for their religions: perceyuing alſo that this common diffention (whiles euery feueral secte tooke feueral partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest over them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: Firſte of all he made a decrees, that it shoule be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folowe what religion he would, and that he mighte do the beſt he could to bring other to his opinion, fo that he did it peaceable, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without haſtie and contentious rebuking and inuething againſt other. If he could not by faire and gentle peche induce them vnto his opinion yet he should vfe no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeaunte and seditious wordes. To him that would vehemently and fervently in this caufe firſte and contende was decreed, banifhment or bondage. This lawe did kyngge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinquished: but also because he thought this decrees should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Whereof he durft define and determine nothing vnad-
uisfedlie, as douteing whether god desiering manifolde and diuerse sortes of honour, would inspier fondey men with sondrie kindes of religion, And this fuerly he thought a very vnmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogent presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same, that thou beleueft to be trew. Furthermore thoughte there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superflitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober mode) that the trueth of the own powre would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe shoulde continually be vshed, as the woosfte men bemooste obtinate and fubbourne, and in their eyll opinion mooft constante: he perceaved that then the beste and holyest religion woulde be troden vnderfote and destroyed by most vaine superflicions, euene as good corne is by thornes and weedes over-grownen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choise to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceaue so vile and baafe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures governed by no divine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountisfully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe aualed the heighthe nature of his soule to the vielnes of brute beasts bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their citizens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. For you maye be furer that he wil studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the common lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no vertue, feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of its
bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depreiede
of all honours, excluded from all common
administrations in the weale publique.
And thus he is of all fortes despised, as of
an vnprofitable, and of a base and vile nature.
Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because
they be perswaded, that it is in no mans
power to beleue what he lift. No nor they constraine
hym not with threatnings to dissemble his minde,
and shew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For
dezie and falshood and all maners of lies,
as neste vnto fraude, they do marueloulie
derefte and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dis-
pute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the com-
mon people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and
men of grauiite they do not onelye suffer, but also exh- 
horte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last,
that madnes will geue place to reason. There be also
other, and of them no small numbere, which be not for-
bidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their
opinion vpon some reason, beyng in their liuing neither
euill nor vicious. Their herefe is much contrarie to the
other. For they beleue that the soules of
brute beasts be immortall and euernalting.
But nothyng to be compared with oures in
dignitie, neither ordered nor predestinate
to like felicitie. For al they beleue certainlye and fewerly
that mans blessed shal be so great, that they do mourne
and lament euery mans sicknes, but no mans death,
oneles it be on whom they see depart from his life
carefullie, and agaynst his will. For this they take for
a verye euell token, as though the soule
beynge in dispaire, and vexed in conscience,
through some priuie and secret foreseling
of the punishement now at hande were aserde to depart.
And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God,
which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye,
but is drawn by force and force against his will. They
therefore that see this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it.
and them that so die, they burie with sorrow and silence. 
And when they have praised God to be mercifull to the 
soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, 
they couer the dead coorfe with earth. Contrarywise all that departe merely and ful 
of good hope, for them no man mourneth, 
but followeth the herfe with joyfull synging, commending 
the soules to God with great affection. And at the 
laft, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great 
reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the saime place 
they fette vp a piller of flone, with the dead mans titles 
therin graued. When they be come home they reheare 
his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part 
of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meri 
deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the 
vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently pro-
voke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that 
nothing can be more pleauant and acceptable to the 
deade. Whom they suppose to be present among 
them, when they talke of them, though to the dull 
and feble eiesight of mortall men they be inuisible. 
For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the bless 
shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they 
woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkind-
nes in them to haue ytterly caft awaye the desire of 
visitinge and feing their frendes, to whome they 
were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and 
amitie. Whiche in good men after their deateh they 
counte to be rather increased then diminished. They 
belieue therefore that the deade be presentlye conuer-
faunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesse 
of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more 
corrugiously to their bufines as hauing a trust and 
affiaunce in such ouerseers. And this same beleue of 
the presente conuerfation of their forefathers and amice-
tours among them, feareth them from all 
secrete dishonestie. They vuerly deteste 
and mocke fothsayinges and diminutions of 
thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, an
all other diuinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate obseruation. But they highluye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and wit-nesses of the presente power of God. And suche they fayre do chaunce there veruye often. And sometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen interceision and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a fure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belefe. They thinke that the contemplation of na-
ture, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydlenes they vter-
ly forlacke and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende vpon the ficke, some amende high waies, clenfe ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and stones, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in priuate laboure as seruanthes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so euer vnpleaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothfomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willinglye and gladly, procuring quieite and rest to other, remaininge in continual worke and labour themselfes, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lues, nor glo-
rue in their owne. These men the more servisiable they behaue themselfes, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sectes. The one is of them that liue single and chaft, absteining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleche, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vterly reiecting the pleasures of this pre-
tent life as hurtfull, be all wholye set vpon the defier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and sweatyng, hoop-
inge shortly to obtaigne it, being in the meane merie and luftie. The other secte is no leffe desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despit the solace therof, thinking that they can no discharget of their bounden duties towards their true country without procreation of children. abstatne from no pleasure that doeth nothing under them from laboure. They loue the flesh of footed beastes, bicause they beleue that by meate they be made hardier and strongere to work.

It is not all one to be wise and good.

The Utopians counte this secte the wiser of the other the holier. Which in that they ferre single life before matrimony, and sharp life before an easie life, if herein they grounded reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and shipp them. And there be they whom in their langage, by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrefcas, the word by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religioun or religious men. They haue priestes, exceeding holines, and therefore very For there be but xiiij. in every citie according to the number of their churches, sauyng when they goe to battell. For than, viij. of them goo furthe with armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made home. But the other at their returne home reentre every one into his owne place, they thay aboue the number, vntill suche time as they finde into the places of the other at their dyeinge, be in meane season continuallie in companie with the opppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. be choisen of the people, as the other magistrates be scretie voices for the auoydinge of strife. After election they be confecrate of their own compasse. They be ouersers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it were judges and maisters of man. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuke or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and unce
of Utopia.

ent living. But as it is their office to give good exhortations and counsel, so is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, sauing that the priestes, whome they find exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye interest in diuine matters. And there is almooste no punishment amonst them more feared. For they runne in verye great in-famie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For vnlesse they by quicke repentance approve the amendement of their liues to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vs with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heads of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conferuation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them at their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the state of the common weth. Whiche neuer decraeth but throughe vices risinge of euill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not exclu-
ded from priesthood, howbeit fewe be chouen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I faye, take to their wifes the chiefe women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen judgement, but be left only to god and themselfes. For the thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he

neuer so vitious, which after so singular a fort was dedicate and confecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they caufely obferue, bicause they have so fewe priestes, and do chufe them with such circumspec-
tion. For it seafely euery chaunceth, that the moste ver-
tuous amonge vertuous, which in respect only of his
vertue is announced to so high a dignite, can fal to vice
and wickednes. And if it should chaunce in deede (as
mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they
be so fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but
only to honoure, it were not to be feared yet anye great
dammage by them should happen and enflue to the com-
mon wealth. They haue so rare and fewe priests,
leaste if the honour were communicated to many, ye dig-
niti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly
estemed, should rune in contempt. Specially bicause
they thincke it hard to find many so good, as to be
meet for that dignite, to the execution and discharge
whereof it is not sufficiante to be endued with meane
vertues. Furthermore these priests be not more es-
temed of their owne countrey men, then they be of for-
rein and straunge countreis. Which thinge maye here-
by plainly appere. And I thinke also yet this is the
cause of it. For whyles ye armies be fighting together
in open feld they a little beside not farre of knele vpon
their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding vp
their handes to heauen: praing first of all for peace,
nexte for vctory of their owne parte, but to nether
part a bluddy victory. If their hoft gette the vpper
hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and res-
trayne their owne men from feyling and cruelly purfu-
inge theire vanquyshed enemies. Whyche enemyes, ye
they doe but fee them and speake to them, it is ynownge
for the faugarde of their luyes. And the touching
of their clothes defendeth and faugeth al their gooddes
from rauine and fpoyle. This thinge haunte announced
them to so greate wourship and trewe maiestie among al
nations, that manye times they have aswell preferued
theire owne citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies,
as they haue theire enemies from the furious rage of
theire owne men. For it is well knowne, that when
theire owne army hath reculed, and in dyspayre turned
backe, and runne away, their enemys tyedlye pursuare
with slaughter and spoyle, then the priests coming betwene have stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruel, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reverence, that they counted their bodies hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreueryntlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firste and the laffe daie of every moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sune. The firste dayes they call in their language Lynemernes, and the laffe Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primiseste and finiseste, or els in our speache, first feast and last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignorauce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counfel of the priests. 

Bicause they thought that ouer much light doth dispershe mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtfull lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestlye fixed vp-pon religion and devotion: which bicause it is not there of one fort among all men, and yet all the kindes and passions of it, though they be fondry and manifold, agree together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng dyuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is fene nor heard in ye churches, but that femeth to agre inderferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anuye feuerall feete, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be fo ordered, that they be no derogation nor preijudece to anye of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of anuye god is seeen in
the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for every man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra in the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine maiesli whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vfed but suche as euerie man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of any secte. They come therefore to the churche, the laste day of euerie moneth and yeare in the euenyng yet fastinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue prosperoulye pasied over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and succeffe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe prostrate before theire husbands feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselfes offendors either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offene. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaccion it is overblowne, that they may be presente at the sacrifies with pure and charitable minde. For they be aferd to come there with troubled ciffanyes. Therefore if they knowe themselfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to ye sacrifies, before they haue reconcilied themselves and purged their ciffanyes, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offene. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte fyde of the churche, and the women into the lefte fyde. There they place themselfes in suche orde, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of ye house, and they of the female.
of Utopia.

Thus it is forfene that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abroad of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, left children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer yat time in childish wantonnes, wherein they ought principally to conceaue a religious and devout feare towards god: which is the chiefest and almost ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clementyce of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geen liffe to beasts to the intent they should liue. They burne franc-kensence, and other sweet fauours, and light also a great number of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the divinie nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleasaeth them. And by thies sweet fauours and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselues secretely lifted vp, and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes. The people weare the in the churche white apparell, The pries in cloathed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in fluffe not verye pretious. For their vestimentes be neither embraundered with gold, nor fett with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely fluffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in theire setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine divinie misteries. The interpretation whereof knownen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priesstes, they be put in remembrance of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their duties one towarde another. When the priec
commeth out of the vestry thus appareled, they fall
downe incontinent euerye one reuerently to the ground,
with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fassion
of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of
God, as though he were there personally presente.
When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the
prier geueth them a signe for to ryse. Then they
singe prayers vnto God, whiche they intermixt with in-
strumentes of musike, for the moiste parte
of other fassions then these that we rie in
this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours be
much sweeter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre
passe ours. But in one thinge doublets they goe ex-
ceding farre beyonde us. For all their musike bothe
that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe
with manners voyce dothe so reseemle and expresse
naturall affections, the found and tune is so applied
and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a
prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trou-
ble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the
melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the
thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stirre, Pearce,
and enflame the hearers myndes. At the lase the people
and the prier together rehearse solempne prayers in
woordes, expreslye pronounced, so made
that euerye man maye privatelye applye
to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all.
In these prayers euerye man recognifeth and know-
ledgethe God to be his maker, his gouernoure, and
the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge
him for so many benefites receaued at his hande.
But namelye that through the fauoure of God he hath
chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moiste
happye and welthye, and hathe chosen that religion,
whych he hopeth to be moiste true. In the whyche
thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any
other better then eyther of them is, being more as-
ceptable to God, he defere the him that he wyll of his
goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one &
ready too followe what way so euer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealth be besfe, and his owne relygion moost true and per- cete, then he defyreth GOD to gyue hym a con- aunte ftedesafnes in the same, and too brynge all ther people to the same ordre of lyuyng, and to the samme opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuerstite of religions dothe deleit his vn- ercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But howbone or late that he dare not asyng or determine. Nowebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, the woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynepull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is tid they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after the pryse vp and go to dinner. And the refydwes of the aye they passe ouer in playes, and exerexce of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and described vnto you, as tuelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my judgmen is not only the besfe, but also that which alone of god right maye claime and take vpon it the name of commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake fil of the commen wealth. But every man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here the nothinge is priuate, the commen assurances bee arnesfleye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for hon- euer, onles he make some feuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealth floryfhe neuer so muche a ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of eyre necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to faye, to other. Contrarywyfe were where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lache anye thinge necessary for his priuate ves: so that the commen flore houles and bernes be sufficienctye flored.
For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggysh forte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is riche. For what can be more riche, than to lyue joyfully and merely, without al grieue and penitenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his fonne, nor forrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chylde, theire nephewes, theire childrens children, and all the succesion that euer shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet beseides this there is no leffe provision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iustice of other nations. Among whom, I forfake God, if I can fynde anye signe or token of equitie and iustice. For what iustice is this, that a riche goldefmythe, or an vsurer, or to bee shorte anye of them, which either doo nothinge at all, or els that whyche they doo is fuch, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnecessarye busines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronfmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and beareinge beastes be skant hable to sustaine, and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyuinge, and lyue so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye steme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to no continuall laboure, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane sease for the tyme to come. But these feilye poore wretches be presently unnoised.
with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is fo lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche leffe it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyse of olde age. Is not this an vnusfl and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle perfones, or els onlye flatterers, and dewyflers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, coliers, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no common wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lufty and flowrning age, at the laste when they be oppresed with olde age and syckeenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all things, then forgettyng theire fo manye paynefull watchinges, not remembearing their fo manye and fo greate benefites, recompenfeth and acquyteth them moste vnkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by commen lawes do every day plucke and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So where as it seemede before vniustle to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniustle dealinge (which is yet a muche worfe pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthe, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceae nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safelie, without feare of lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abufe the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the
riche men haue decreed to be kept and obsuered vnder coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their unfaulable couetousnes deuided among them felues al those things, whiche woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly seclud and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked vp by ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, strife, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather reuenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And also that feare, grieue, care, labours, and watchings do perishe euin then very same moment that money perishe? Yea povertie it selfe, which only fened to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceae this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruitful yeares, wherin manye thousandes of people haue starued for honger: I dare be bolde to say, yat in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being diuided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye prynceffe lady money did not alone fop vp the waye betwene vs and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am feuer the rych men perceae this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke soo necessarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche superfluouse vs be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be
of Utopia. 161

...and encumbered with great riches. And I doubt that either the respect of every man's private condition, or else the authority of our sovereign Christ, which for his great wisdom could not but know what he best, and for his immeasurable goodness could not counsel to that which he knew to be best) would have brought all the world long ago into the use of this weale publique, if it were not yet the only beast, ye princeesse and mother of all mischief, doth withstand and let it. She assureth the not wealth and prosperity by own commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be a goddesse, yet there were no wretches left, over whom she might like a scornful lady rule and triumph, whose miserues her felicities might she fayne, whose useful she might use, torment, and encrease by all ways to set the world the richer. This hell-ende creareth into mens harts: and plucketh them from entering the right path of life, and is so pely rote in mens breasts, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly win to all nations: I am glad that it hath chaunted to the Utopians, which have owed those institutions of life, whereby they have such foundations of their common wealth, as shall not only wealthily, but also as far as men's wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure forever. For, seeing the chief causes of ambition and faction, with other vices be plucked vp by the roots, and abandoned at home, there can be no dependance of misfellt dissortion, which alone hath caste vnder and brought to nought the well furt[i]led and strong fortified wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholesome laws be executed at home, the enuie of all in princes be not hable to shake or move the eme, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about do it, beyng euermore druen backe.
Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many things came to my mind, which in maner and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the faith of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religioun, and in other of their lawes, but also, ye and chiefly, that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their land and liuynge, without anye occupieng of money, the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificene, worshippie, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamen and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a comonwealth, utterlye be ouerthrown and destroyed: yet cause I knew that he was verye of talking, and was unsure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynghe shoule be fayde against hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which aferde lest they shoule feme not to be wise enoule, les they coulde find some faulte in other mens inuentions: thfore I praiyng both their institution and hys communiication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayenge that we woulde choufe an other waye and examine the same matters, and to talk with hime moore at large therin. Whiche woulde C it meit ones come to pass. In the meanes time a can not agree and content to all thinges that he saie beyng els without doubt a man singuly sometimes verye learnt and also in all worldlye matters exactlye and profounde experienced: so must I nedes confesse and gra that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our citiies I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodave concerning the lawes and institutions of the Lande of Utopia.
To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counsellour to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizen of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicite.

Thomas More the singular ornament of this our age, as you or yourself (right honourable Buslyde) can witness, to whom he is perfectly well known, sent unto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet known, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealth, all people should be willing to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set forth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I read it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) uttering and pronouncing his owne wordes: Yea, though the same man, according to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not things, which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently seen, and throughly viewed, and wherin he had no small time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea euens they very famous and renowned trauailer Vlysies: and in deede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not forth his like: in comparifon of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreover, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue seen, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrue and set forth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-
sider them drawn and painted out with master Mores penstille, I am therwith so moved, so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conuerfaunt, even in the yeland of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himselfe by al that fiue yeres spacie that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there somuch, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceaued. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous things is replenished, that I stnde in great doubt wherat first and chiefly to mufe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and sueer memorie, which could welnieth worde by worde rehearse so manye things once onely heard: or elles at his sngular prudence, who so well and wittily marked and bare away al the originaull causes and fountaines (to the vulgare people commonly most vnknownen) wherof both yflue the mortall confusion and ytter decaye of a common wealth, and also the annuencement and wealthy state of the same may riefe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pithe of his woordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and divers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique, and pryuate, as he is. Howbeit all these things cause you little to maruell (righte honourable Buflid) for that you are familiarie and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoost divine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adiyned vnto his wrintinges: Onely a meter of. iiiij. verfles written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that haue I caufed to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and haue also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the ylande, that is to saue, in what parte of the whole Utopia standeth, the ignorance and lacke wherese a
tle troubleth and greueth master More, in dede phael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with ie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to be and refere that to an other place. And the m, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie PLACE ecape vs bothe. For when Raphael was taking therof, one of master Mores feruauntes came him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyn g of purpuse more earnestlyly addict to heare, one of company, by reaon of cold taken, I thinke, a peborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer nte, nor ref, vntil I haue gott the full and exacte knowledge hereof: insomuch that I will be hable per- dly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude rof, that is to saie, in the subleuation or height of the e in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safe- and alie. For we heare very vnccerten newes of it. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney home- rde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his entrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with fashions of his countrie folk, and partly for that his de and affection was altogether fet and fixed vpon opia, they saie that he hathe taken his voyage therwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the ne of this yland is nowhere founde amon the olde I auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday felse vere very well disfolued. For why it is possible eighte (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in the time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that theyuer had knowledge of this yland: forasmuch as now in a time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Ge- phers were vnknownen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, as master More is author hereof sufficient? But where- the doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, see herein I both commend, and also knowledge the
matter. More be to no man better knowne the or els bicause no man is more fitte and me you with good counselle to further, and a commen wealth, wherein you haue many yeare continued and travailed with great glory and addation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberal ter of good learninge, and flower of this o I byd you moste hartely well to fare.

Antwerpe 1516. the first daye of Noouember.

A meter of iiiij. verses in the T
ongue, briefely touchinge aswell the st beginning, as also the happie and we continuance of the same common wealth.

Vo Topos ha Bocas peula chama polta cham,
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma g ym
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem bacha bodamih
Volualia barchin heman la laovualala dramme

Whiche verses the translator according
A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to
Pythlodaye by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde through.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and pasie.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefly
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The fame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie • A place of felicitie.

Gerarde Nouiomaige of Utopia.

D Oth pleasure please? then place the here, and
well the rest,
Most pleaasant pleasures thou shalte finde here.
Doeth profit eafe? then here arriuue, this yle is best.
For pallinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraught with both bounteously.
To full thy grade& intent, reape here incomparable treas-
Bothe minde and tongue to garnifhe richelie. [ure
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou haft them here subjict vnto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

V Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the
lande that late was founde? [godly be?
Wilt thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very
grounde? [vaintie?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie beft.
All things that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath plaine expreft,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly lore.

The Printer to the Reader.

The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epifle is promised, hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marueill: feyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I trufl, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is to faye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

Imprinted at London in Pauls Churche yarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Treate.

M.D.LVI.
ENGLISH REPRINTS.

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1. A decree of the Starre-Chamber, concerning Printing, made the eleventh day of July last past. London, 1637.
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THE publication of the 'English Reprints' passed into the Editor's hands on the 1st of May last. An inevitable cessation in the issue of new works ensued: but with the appearance of Howell's Instructions, &c., the Series resumes its growth.

A few changes have been made as to works in immediate preparation. (1) Roister Doister can be published for Sixpence. (2) An early printed rarity, The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham, has therefore been interpolated. (3) Elyot's Governor has been postponed to next year. (4) In its stead Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, and Watson's ἐκατομμυρία, &c. have been inserted.

It is a great gratification to bring back from oblivion the works of so elegant a poet as Thomas Watson, of whose renown in his own age Francis Meres thus testifies in his Palladis Tamia, 1598.

'As Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano, and Ariosto: so England had Mathew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kid, Robert Greene and George Peele.'—p. 282, b.

'As Theocritus in Greeke, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sanazar in Italian, and the Author of Amynta Gaudia and Walsingham's Melibœus are the best for pastorall....'—p. 284, a.

There is, however, further gratulation in that S. Christie-Miller, Esq. has generously consented to the printing of Watson's The Tears of Fancy, the unique copy of which forms one of the gems of his remarkable collection at Britwell. Altogether, therefore, the Reprint will include above 150 Sonnets, besides the Latin-English elegy Melibœus.

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EDWARD ARBE
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