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The

Tree of Common Wealth:

by

Edmonde Dudley, Esq.

A.D. 1509-1510.

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Dudley, Edmund Wm Kennedy
The

Trif of Common Wealth:

A Treatise by

Edmonde Dudley, Esq.

Barrister-at-Law;

Sometime Speaker of the House of Commons; President of the
Privy Council of Henry VII.; and one of that King's
Commissioners for receiving the Forfeitures of
Penal Statutes.

hope not
very scarce

Written by him

While a Prisoner in the Tower, in the Years 1509 and 1510,
and under Sentence of Death for
High Treason.

Now first Printed from a Copy of his Manuscript
for the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross.

1535/12
10/12/19

Manchester:

Printed by Charles Simms & Co.

1859.

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P R E F A C E.

AN old and tattered manuscript having come into the possession of a few antiquarian friends, they have thought it right to preserve and perpetuate, by the press, what might otherwise soon perish. As the number printed is limited, they have placed a copy in each of the great libraries,—the British Museum; the University Libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College Dublin; the Advocates' Library Edinburgh, and Chetham's Library Manchester (to which they have presented the original manuscript); and also in the Free Libraries of Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, Bolton and Warrington. By these means they hope to have rescued from "the fell tooth of Time and the devouring worm," a singular literary production of

an eventful period, written by a royal favourite under sentence of death, who paid the penalty of his extortions and exactions by losing his head for an imaginary crime. This small contribution to the literature of the Tudor period is respectfully offered to the student and lover of history by

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross.

INTRODUCTION.

It is very doubtful whether the whole range of British history could furnish a parallel in extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune to the lives of three generations of a single family, which rose and fell with the Tudors; and three members of which, in direct succession,—father, son, and grandson,—became the favourites of every one of the five monarchs of that house; attaining to high rank, dignities, wealth and power, only to perish ignominiously on the scaffold, or, still more disgracefully, by retributive poison.

A brief glance at the chief events in the lives of Edmund Dudley, the writer of the Treatise now first printed, and the powerful minister of Henry VII. ; of his son John, successively the favourite of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. ; and of his grandson Robert, who, after ingratiating himself with Mary and her consort Philip, became the great favourite of Elizabeth,—will suggest a picture of some of the evils of royal avarice and favouritism on the one hand, and of insatiable ambition, prostituted power, grinding oppression and reckless cruelty on the other, as vivid and real as anything to be found in our national history.

The father of Edmund Dudley, observes Dr. Cooke Taylor in his “*Romantic Biography of the age of Elizabeth*,” is described by one party as a carpenter; by another as a nobleman; while a third, acting as umpire, proposes to reconcile both theories by making him a noble timber merchant. However the dispute may be decided, the jest, founded on the first theory, is too good to be lost. It was said of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, that “he was the son of a duke [Northumberland], the brother of a king [Lord Guildford Dudley, husband to Lady Jane Grey], the grandson of an esquire [Edmund Dudley], and the great-grandson of a carpenter; that the carpenter was the only honest man of the family, and the only one who died in his bed.” On the other hand, had Edmund Dudley been of such mean descent, he would doubtless have been mentioned by Perkin

Warbeck in his Proclamation against Henry VII., accusing him of raising men of low birth above the ancient families of the kingdom, and have been joined in the same category with Sir Richard Empson, Bishop Fox and Sir Reginald Bray. Most of the chroniclers speak of Dudley as of noble family.* Another presumption in favour of Dudley's gentle birth may be found in his marriage, before the great rise in his fortunes, with Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Edward third Viscount L'Isle, and heiress to the ancient barony of that name.† If Stowe's dates are to be relied on, Edmund Dudley, a barrister, filled the subordinate office of under-sheriff of London for more than six years, from 1496-7 to 1502-3; when he sold his office, went to court,‡ and rose so rapidly in the royal favour that in January 1504 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and soon afterward the King's President of the Council, and joint Commissioner with Sir Richard Empson

* In a very rare book "*Εικων-βιβλική*, sive Icon Libellorum; or a Critical History of Pamphlets, &c., (Lond. 1715,) by a Gentleman of the Inns of Court," (i.e. Myles Davies, an indigent Welsh clergyman), — the edition in the British Museum numbering 7 vols.; there is, incidental to a notice of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, the following passage:—"About the time that the worthy Dr. Colet was made Dean of St. Paul's by Henry VII., (viz: Anno 1504,) there was handed about a political pamphlet, of a juridical dress, styled *Arbor Reipublicæ*, &c., supposed to be still extant in the Cottonian Library. It was said to be writ by Edmund Dudley, nephew to Lord Dudley, of Dudley Castle in Staffordshire; who, from being a Counsellor-at-law in Gray's Inn, was chose by Henry VII. to be one of his Privy Council, in the very first year of his reign, Anno 1486, being then but twenty-four years of age."—[There are various errors in this statement. "The Tree of Commonwealth" could not have been handed about in 1504; there is no such MS. in the Cottonian collection; and it is not likely, and is utterly at variance with Stowe's account, that Henry VII. made Dudley a Privy Councillor in 1486. But there may be some facts in this statement,—that Dudley was twenty-four in 1486; consequently born about 1462, and in his forty-ninth year when executed; that he was of Gray's Inn; and that he was a nephew of Lord Dudley, of Dudley Castle, county Stafford. This last is, however, very doubtful; for at that period the family name of the lords of Dudley Castle was Sutton.]

† This lady, as the widow of Edmund Dudley, married Arthur Plantagenet, a natural son of Edward IV., who was created Viscount L'Isle, 26th April 1533, with remainder to his heirs male by this inheritress of the title; but he died s.p.m. in 1541; and then the eldest son and heir of Edmund Dudley and this Elizabeth, was created Viscount L'Isle 12th March 1542, with remainder to his heirs male. On his attainder and execution in 1553, his honours were forfeited; but his eldest son and heir, Ambrose, afterwards "the good Earl of Warwick," was created Baron L'Isle in 1561.

‡ Not thirteen years before [1509, i.e. about 1496-7] he was by labour of friends brought into the office of Under-Sheriffwick of London, where he continued with favour of the citizens, by the space of six years or more; after which season he sold his office and drew him to the king's court, where shortly after he grew in such favour, that he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament in the 19th year of Henry VII. [January 1504] and soon after the King's President [of the council]; by reason of which office he had such authority that the chief lords of England were glad to be in his favour, and were fain to sue to him for many urgent causes; whereupon the lords, and all men as they durst, had him in disdain, which was his overthrow in the end. — (Stowe.)

for the forfeitures under penal statutes; and during the last five years of the reign their oppressive exactions and extortions aroused so fierce and general an indignation, that one of the first acts of Henry VIII. was to direct the apprehension of Empson and Dudley, and the latter, after an imprisonment in the Tower of nearly sixteen months, during which he wrote his "Tree of Commonwealth," was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 17th of August, 1510; his large estates and hoards of treasure being confiscated.

Three children survived him; the eldest of whom, John, was but eight years old at his father's death. His dazzling career commenced with his being the parasite of parasites, for he was successively the favourite of the royal favourites, Charles Brandon Duke of Sussex, Cardinal Wolsey, and Thomas (afterwards Lord) Cromwell; succeeding the last in the favour of Henry VIII., who made him Viscount L'Isle, K.G. and Lord High Admiral of England; and nominated him one of the sixteen executors to administer the government during the minority of Edward VI. In that minor's reign he got the Earldom of Warwick by his services to the Protector Somerset, whom, however, he subsequently displaced and brought to the block; while Dudley rose in rapid succession to be Lord Steward of the Household, Earl Marshal of England, Lord Warden of the Marches, and Duke of Northumberland. His rapacity equalling his ambition, he obtained large estates in six English counties. He strengthened his power and influence by the marriages of his children, and prevailed on the young King, by will, to disinherit his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and transfer the succession to Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter to Mary Duchess of Suffolk and sister to Henry VIII. The nine days' reign of that victim of his ambition was followed by his own execution, and that of herself and her husband — his fourth son Lord Guildford Dudley, — and the condemnation to death, imprisonment for eight months, and attainder of his three surviving sons, Ambrose, Robert and Henry. They were, however, restored in blood three years afterwards. Ambrose became "the good Earl of Warwick;" Henry was killed in the Spanish service in the Netherlands; and we have now to glance at the fortunes of the third son.

Robert Dudley was knighted while a mere boy, for some graceful jousting or other exercises. As one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the bed-chamber to Edward VI. he was his father's perpetual spy on the young King's actions, and served an apprenticeship in court intrigue and duplicity. His first considerable appointment was Master of the Ordnance under Philip and Mary; but, preferring the court to the army, he ingratiated himself with

both sovereigns by professing to be a zealous Catholic, and especially with the doting Mary by always riding post when bringing messages to her from her consort. How far his subtle nature recommended him to Philip may be inferred from that King employing him during Mary's last illness, in seeking for him the hand of the next heir to the crown, the Princess Elizabeth. Dudley, however, pleaded his own cause, and with such success that immediately on her accession Elizabeth created him Master of the Horse, and the following year K.G. and one of her Privy Council. It was commonly said that the only impediment to his marriage with the Queen was his own wife, the ill-starred Amy Robsart, who was soon murdered, so far as can be known, by his directions, and certainly by his own officers and servants. He became Lord Robert Dudley, then Earl of Leicester, was for a time Lieutenant and Captain-General, and also Governor-General in the Netherlands, Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief in England in the memorable Armada time; and before his death in that year (1588) the patent of his Lieutenant-Governorship of England and Ireland under the Queen—a sort of viceroyalty of both kingdoms—had been drawn; though, owing to Burghley's influence, not signed. His fate was regarded as a retribution; dying by the hands of his second wife, as her first husband and his first wife had been murdered by his procurement. So perished the last of these royal favourites,* fifteen years before the last of the Tudors.

The story of Empson and Dudley's extortionate exactions and oppressions has been told by various chroniclers and historians; and the reader who would thoroughly comprehend the subject is referred to the Annals of Henry VII. and the first two years of Henry VIII., as written by Hall, Stowe, Holinshed, Baker, Polydore Vergil; Lord Herbert of Cherbury's "Life of Henry VIII.," Howell's "State Trials," &c.; and for a more general and succinct account, in modern language, to Hume. So much of the facts as throw light on the conduct and character not only of the two extortioners, but also of their royal master, we prefer to give in the words of the older writers.

In the history of the reign of Henry VII. written by the great Lord Bacon, it is clearly shown that the King's love of money, strong even in his earlier life, became in his age an eager greed of gold. His levies and exactions on his subjects are distinctly censured in the Proclamation of Perkin Warbeck in 1496; as "making merchandise of the blood, estates and for-

* Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, died in 1589 without issue and the title became extinct.

tunes of the peers and subjects, by feigned wars and dishonorable peace, only to enrich his coffers;" naming amongst his instruments of extortion even then, Bishop Fox (for squeezing contributions from the clergy), and Richard Empson (for levying exactions on the rich laity) "by subtil exactions and pilling of the people by dismes [tenths], taxes, tallages [tolls], benevolences, and under unlawful impositions and grievous exactions." A subsidy of £120,000 for the alleged purpose of opposing Warbeck's insurrection, drove the Cornish men to rise in rebellion under two leaders; one of whom, Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier, of Bodmin, is the individual referred to in Dudley's Treatise, p. 53. At length there was peace at home and abroad; and then, says Bacon, Nature "began to take place in the King, carrying as with a strong tide his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping of treasure."

"And as kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist.* Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker,† triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons, being lawyers in science,‡ and privy councillors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry

* It appears from various contemporary writers that both were members of the privy council, Dudley for a time its president. Some call them "Masters and Surveyors of the King's Forfeits;" but the more correct title would be "Commissioners for receiving the forfeitures under Penal Statutes," under which royal commission they set up a sort of court, acting as Judges.

† Empson suddenly rose from poverty (as being the son of a sieve-maker in Towcester) unto inestimable authority and riches.—(Stowe.)

‡ Lawyers. In an alphabetical list of barristers in the reign of Henry VII., in Fosse's "Judges of England," (vol. v. p. 20,) are the names of "R. Empson" and "E. Dudley." Sir Richard Baker says they were also Barons of the Exchequer; but this is an error, (probably a mistranslation of Polydore Vergil, who styled them "Judices Fiscales,") otherwise they would have been marked "B.E." in Fosse's list, and separate memoirs would have been given of them as Judges. At a call of sergeants in 1503, it is stated that "Westley, the second, and Bolling, the third baron of the Exchequer, and Master Empson, and many of the seniors were present." Amongst those summoned on this call was Edmund Dudley, but he had a writ, exonerating him, on the ground (it has been suggested) that being then Speaker of the House of Commons he was exempt. Fosse adds that he more probably owed his release from the expensive honour to the personal favour of the king.

artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations. Neither did they, toward the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses,* in a court of commission; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury; assuming to themselves there to deal both in pleas of the crown and in controversies civil. Then did they also use to intrude and charge the subjects' lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisin, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures; refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law. Nay, the king's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with information of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles. When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods; nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of outlawry. They would also raffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct, and if they did not, convent [summon] them, imprison them, and fine them. These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete; but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour; having ever a rabble of promoters, quest-mongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation†. To shew further the king's extreme diligence, I do remember to have

* One of the indictments originally framed against Empson (but afterwards abandoned for the more convenient one laying high treason) charged that many persons were summoned before him at his private house in St. Bride's parish, ward of Farringdon Without, and were thence committed, as from a regular court of justice, to the Fleet, the Tower, and other prisons, and there detained till they had paid heavy fines.—(*Holinshed.*) Some years after Empson's execution Henry VIII. gave this house to his favourite Wolsey, in the beginning of his rise.

† "Promoters" was the term then in use for what we should now call informers. Stowe and others relate that on Empson and Dudley being committed to the Tower, a number of these promoters were apprehended, imprisoned, set in the pillory, &c., Empson and Dudley kept a "false jury fast to their girdles," on whom they could always rely for the verdict. *Holinshed* says "these two ravening wolves had a guard of false, perjured persons appertaining to them, which were impannelled in every quest." Learned men in the law, when they were required of their advice [by the victims of these extortioners] would say, "To agree is the best counsel that I can give you." On the 6th June 1509, three of the "ringleaders of false inquests," were led about the city on horseback, riding backward and with papers on

seen long since a book of accoupt of Empson's, that had the king's hand to almost every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the king's hand likewise, where was this remembrance:—

'Item, received of such a one five marks, for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied.'

And over-against this Memorandum, of the king's own hand,—

'Otherwise satisfied.'

Which I do the rather mention, because it shows in the king a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank. This year (January 1504) being the 19th of his reign, the king called his parliament: wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the king took himself to be with his parliament, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. There was granted by that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The same year the city gave 5,000 marks [£2,666 13s. 4d.] for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mints gained upon the late statute, by the re-coinage of groats and half-groats, now twelvecences and sixpences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever; so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the king's treasury at once:—The last payments of the marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the benevolence; the re-coinage; the redemption of the city's liberties; the casualties. Certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition." Bacon, noticing the king's illness in the 22nd year of his reign (1506-7) observes that "he did now more seriously think of the world to come and of making himself a saint for this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under 40s. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices, partly by devout persons about them, and partly by public sermons, the preachers doing their duty* therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same.† Nevertheless Empson and Dudley, though

their heads [probably declaring their offences] set on the pillory on Cornhill, and thence taken to Newgate, "where they died for very shame;" or more likely of their 'njuries from missiles striking them in the pillory.

* At this unreasonable and extortionate doing, noble men grudged, mean men kicked, poor men lamented, preachers openly at Paul's Cross and other places, exclaimed, rebuked, and detested.—(*Holinshed.*)

† The proclamation which Henry published (see Rymer's *Fœd.* xiii. 107), for the ease of his conscience, as he pretended, inviting all that could prove they had suffered from him any wrong or oppression, contrary to the course of laws, to bring in their complaints, was rather an insult upon the sufferers than the means for redressing their grievances. This invitation was something like the challenge of champion Dymock at a coronation and as likely to be accepted. Empson and Dudley were masters of the kingdom; everybody trembled before

they could not but hear of these scruples of the king's conscience, yet, as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever." — After enumerating various heavy exactions of the king's "leeches," Bacon adds — "It is no marvel, if the faults were so light and the rates so heavy, that the king's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near £1,800,000 sterling, a huge mass of money even for these times.* To crown the last year of his reign the king granted a general pardon. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in admiring riches. Empson and Dudley, being persons that had no reputation with him otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as did Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced and sought to purge."

Henry VII. died at Richmond during the night of the 21st April 1509, and on the 23rd, Henry VIII. went thence to the Tower, where he assembled his privy council. The narrative from this date we continue in the words of the chief historian of the reign, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury: —

"He not only confirmed the pardon his father gave, a little before his death, for all offences save murder, felony and treason (to which general abolitions do not properly reach), but, for further performance of his father's last will, caused a proclamation to be made that if any man could prove himself to be then wrongfully deprived of his goods by occasion of a certain commission for forfeitures, he should have, upon due complaint, condign satisfaction. Whereupon so many petitions were presently exhibited against Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley Esq. (employed lately for taking the benefit of penal statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the council (April 25)," &c.

Empson, in reply to the charges,† defended himself with considerable them; and nobody durst dispute their pleasure, even in the most illegal points, subversive of the constitution of the kingdom. Such were their letters to the Sheriffs of counties, particularly of Laucashire, requiring them to return two persons named therein to be knights of the shire, without suffering the county to proceed to an election. — (*Carte*.)

* Silver was, during this reign, at 37s. 6d. a pound, which makes Henry's treasure near three millions of our present money. Besides, many commodities have become above thrice as dear by the increase of gold and silver in Europe. And what is a circumstance of still greater weight, all other states were then very poor in comparison of what they are at present. These circumstances make Henry's treasure appear very great; and may lead us to conceive the oppressions of his government — (*Hume*.)

† Lord Herbert, Stowe, Polydore Vergil, and other chroniclers give Empson's speech before the council *in extenso*. According to Holinshed, Dudley also addressed the council. He

spirit and ingenuity; complaining that the young King, who should be his supreme judge, abandoned him to his enemies, without other cause than that he had obeyed the King's father's commands, and upheld the regal authority. Ought he to have disobeyed his King and broken his country's laws; the penal statutes, decreed in open parliament, being yet unrepealed? Were breakers of the laws only to escape punishment, and sustainers of the laws only to be punished? If he must die, his desire was, that his indictment might be entered on no record, nor divulged to foreign nations, whom it might encourage to invasion. In reply, Empson was told that he should find at last that he was punished for passing the bounds of his commission from the late King, and, in a law severe enough to the common and poorer sort of people, to have yet exacted on them unjustly.

Lord Herbert observes that after their committal to the Tower (April 25) "new and strange crimes were found and objected against them, as appears in their indictments upon record, wherein they are accused of conspiracy against the King and State." The reason for this course seems obvious. Not only could Empson and Dudley have pleaded to any indictment for exaction, extortion or oppression, that the recent proclamation of pardon, was an acquittance as to any crime save felony, murder and treason; but, if this difficulty could have been surmounted, their conviction and punishment for their real offences would be almost a direct censure of the late King, whose responsibility for the acts of his instruments no special pleading could ignore. Hence the fabricated charges, on which they were tried, condemned and finally executed, for high treason, one of the three capital crimes specially excepted from the royal pardon of Henry VIII.

From the Second Appendix to the Third Report of the Deputy Keeper

says — "Being brought before the council, as they were grave and wise personages, and both of them learned and skilfull in the laws of the realm; so had they utterance very ready whereby to deliver the conceits of their minds with singular dexterity, specially in a case of importance; insomuch that when the said parties were convented before the assembly of the lords [of the council], they alleged for themselves right constantly (in their own defences, much good and sufficient matter; of whom Empson (being the elder in years) had these words:—" After giving Empson's speech, Holinshed adds — that the greater number of the council, (having themselves felt the smart lately before,) "had conceived such malice towards the men, that they thought it reason, that such as had been dealers therein, were worthy to lose their heads in like sort as they had caused others to lose their money. Hereupon their accusers were maintained and many odd matters narrowly sought out against them, as by two several indictments framed against Sir Richard Empson (the copies whereof I have seen) it may well appear." Holinshed cites these to show "how glad men were to find some colour of sufficient matter to bring the said Sir Richard Empson and Master Edmund Dudley within danger of the laws."

of the Public Records (p. 226) we learn the exact nature of the indictments against Dudley and Empson. Edmund Dudley, late of London, Esq., was tried and convicted of constructive treason, at Guildhall, London, on (Wednesday) the 18th July 1509 (1st Henry VIII.).* The indictment set forth "that he on the 22nd April 1509,† in the parish of St. Swithin, by letters to divers of the King's lieges [named] had brought to London a great multitude and power of people, arrayed in manner of war, against the allegiance of the said Edmund. The jury found him guilty; and they also found, that at the time of his committing the said treasons, he was possessed of lands and tenements to the amount of 500 marks [£336 6s. 8d.] and upwards, beyond reprises; and that he had goods and chattels to the amount of £5,000 and upwards.‡ Judgment was given and entered according to the usual form in cases of high treason.||

Sir Richard Empson Knight, late of Edneston co. Northampton, was indicted, tried and convicted of the like offence, at Northampton on the 1st October 1509.§ The jury found him guilty; and also that he was seised of the manors of Edneston, &c., of the yearly value of £20, Hulcote, value of £6, Spitlanger 20 marks [£13 6s. 8d.] and Towcester £20., and of various lands; and of goods and chattels to the amount of £100. Judgment as usual in cases of high treason. In both cases the prisoner was remanded to the Tower. Lord Herbert thus closes this sad story:—

"Empson and Dudley lying now in prison,¶ condemned and attainted by parliament,** the importunate clamours of the people prevailing with the king in this year's

* This date is doubtless correct. Stowe and others state that the trial was on the 17th July; Howell that it was on the 16th.

† This being the day after the death of Henry VII. the high treason charged would be against the king regnant, Henry VIII. Several chroniclers lay the date of the alleged treason in March, during the lifetime of Henry VII., but the indictment is the best authority.

‡ Dudley at the time of his fall had in possession of lands and fees, with offices, to the yearly value of £800, and in ready coin £20,000, over many more riches, as jewels, plate, and rich stuff of household, the which was shortly gathered [i.e. in seven years].—(Stowe.)

|| He was adjudged to be drawn, hanged and quartered; and was then committed to the Tower again, where he lay long after.—(Stowe.) Notwithstanding this sentence of hanging, &c., both Empson and Dudley were beheaded.

§ Carte says, Wednesday October 3.

¶ Stowe says that Dudley lay so long in the Tower after conviction and sentence, that the fame went that the queen had purchased his pardon; but it was not so.—It is probable that Dudley's wife, the Lady U'Isle, had importuned the gentle Katharine on his behalf; but, says Holinshed, "the king in his progress heard every day more and more complaints of Empson and Dudley, set forth and advanced no doubt by the drift of their deadly enemies." So all hopes of pardon were dissipated.

** The attainder by parliament appears to be an error. Hargreave, an early Editor of *Howell's State Trials*, says that the statute supposed to be an act of attainder, was really an act to

progress [1510], he not only restored divers mullets, but for further satisfaction to the commonalty (by a special writ) commanded to have their heads struck off, August 18;* doing therein, as thought by many, more like a good king than a good master."

A few words are necessary as to the fact of Edmund Dudley writing this treatise in the Tower. Dr. Cooke Taylor, in his "Romantic Biography," has the following observations on the subject:—

"It is not generally known that Edmund Dudley hoped to save his life by literary exertions. He wrote, while in prison, a book called 'The Tree of the Commonwealth,' and transmitted it to the king. It is doubtful whether it ever reached its destination; but to use Bishop Bonner's jest, 'this tree of knowledge did not become a tree of life,' and Henry, as a purchase money of his subjects' love, paid down the heads of Empson and Dudley on the scaffold at Tower Hill."

Amongst the learned men of the time of Henry VII., Holinshed names "Edmund Dudley, born of noble parentage, studied the laws of this land, and profited highly in knowledge of the same. He wrote a book intituled, 'Arbor rei publicæ,' 'The Tree of the Common Wealth.'"

But it is to "honest John Stowe" that we owe the clearest and most explicit statement respecting this work. He says—

"This Edmond Dudley, in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, compiled one notable book, which he intituled 'The Tree of Common Wealth,' dedicated unto King Henry VIII. A copy whereof, fair written (reserving the original to myself), I gave unto the honorable Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, about the year 1562. At whose request and earnest persuasion I then first collected my Summary of the chronicles of England."

What became of the original MS. after Stowe's death, we have been unable to learn. It is in the highest degree probable that the MS. copy from which the treatise of Edmund Dudley is now first printed, is the same that was presented by Stowe to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. It bears evidence on nearly every page that it is a transcript made from another

relieve certain persons, in trust for whom Empson and Dudley were seised of various estates; and to prevent their attainders [by conviction of high treason] from hurting innocent persons.

* Lord Herbert appears in error, as to the date; Holinshed, Stowe and Baker agree in stating it to be the 17th August and not the 18th.—Stowe says that "the king sent commandment to the constable of the Tower, charging him that they should shortly after be put to execution. Whereupon the Sheriffs of London were sent for and commanded by a special writ to see the said execution performed and done. And they upon that went to the Tower and received them on the 17th August, and from thence brought them to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where their heads were stricken off; which being done the bodies of them, as of Empson was buried in the White Friars Church, and the other of Dudley in the Black Friars Church."
—(Stowe.)

MS. written in a hand which even a practised scribe found so much difficulty in decyphering, that he has left many blanks to be supplied; a few only of which have been filled up by another hand, the same that has put catch-words or short marginal titles to various heads or divisions of the treatise. If this really were the Earl of Leicester's copy, it may be supposed that it would not be much valued by his widow, who soon after his death married his equerry. In less than forty years after that event it was in other hands. At the foot of its last written page (83) is the autograph, in a good hand and in reddish-black ink, "Will: Walker nowe owes [owns] mee. 1627;" and in the fly-leaf at the beginning, in the same hand, a play on the name — "Will and Walke aright. Will: Walker." In a much more modern hand lower down the page: "This Treatise was wrote by Edmund Dudley, Father of the Duke of Northumberland, in the year of our Lord 1509." Inside the end vellum cover is a statement of paper 2s., binding 1s., strings 4d., and ruling 9d.; total 4s. 1d. Below it another, in which paper 1s. and ruling 4d. makes the amount only 2s. 8d. Then the two accounts are added together, making "in all 6s. 9d." Outside the front cover has been written (now nearly illegible) "Tree of Common Wealth, By Edmonde Dudlay, Father of the Duke of Northumberland;" and down the back, in imitation of printing, the erroneous title of "Leicester's Commonwealth." This was the title of a book popularly though wrongly ascribed to Parsons the Jesuit; imputing a long catalogue of crimes to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; and it may have led some to suppose the two books the same.

As to the Treatise itself, if commenced before his trial, its production would be between April 25, 1509, and August 17, 1510; if not begun till after his conviction and sentence (which seems most likely) then it was compiled between July 18, 1509, and August 17, 1510, a period of barely thirteen months. It was evidently written in the hope that Henry VIII. would read it, and would be thereby induced to pardon the writer. It is in various places directly addressed to the King (p. 4 *et seq.*); and there is a prayer for his prosperity (p. 8) that he may be piteous and merciful, liberal and plenteous, and that "in the stead of the appetite of fleshly desire, he may be clean to his own spouse and Queen, which is the first order of chastity." There is a curious reference to the will of Henry VII. (p. 3), and a still more singular allusion to that King's avarice as his only fault (p. 7). Then the writer proceeds to unfold his allegory, in which the Commonwealth of England, — that is the common or public weal, good or

happiness of the nation, — is represented as a great and mighty tree, with its various roots and fruits. The mighty Tree of Commonwealth, growing in the Realm of England, has five Roots — all rooted in, and growing solely or chiefly out of, the King himself. The chief or tap root is the Love of God; the other four are named 1. Justice; 2. Truth, or Fidelity; 3. Concord, or Unity; and 4. Peace. The tree bears five different FRUITS, one springing from each of these roots, and numbered to correspond with its parent root. The chief fruit, from the tap root, is the Honour of God; it may be eaten of by all, without sauce, or paring, or taking out of the core. The other four fruits are 1. Honorable Dignity, destined only for the King and those to whom he gives it; 2. Worldly Prosperity, for the chivalry, or nobles and knights; 3. Profitable Tranquillity, for the commonalty; and 4. Good Example, for the clergy. But the PARINGS of each of the four fruits must be removed; and these parings are 1. Compassion, or Pity; 2. True Defence; 3. Timely Exercise; and 4. Increase of Virtue and Cunning (or Knowledge). Their four perilous CORES must also be removed, and these are 1. Unreasonable Elation, or Pride; 2. Vain Delectation; 3. Lewd Enterprise; and 4. Subtle Glory, or Glorification. Even after this preparation the four fruits cannot be safely used without the “payned sauce” of the Dread of God, a liquor or juice issuing from the tap root. But the principal fruit (Honour of God) not only does not need its core or paring removed, or this sauce to make it fit for use. It will of its own virtue convert the poisonous and pestilential cores of the other four fruits, into things good; as the Core (1) Unreasonable Elation into Very or True Elation; the Core (2) Vain Delectation into True Exaltation; the Core (3) Lewd Enterprise into Noble Enterprise; and the Core (4) Vain Glory into Perfect Glory. The treatise closes with setting forth the praises and honours from man and the blessed rewards from God, for each order of men in the realm, if they rightly use the fruit assigned to them, with its core and parings, — beginning with 1. Commoners; 2. Chivalry; 3. Clergy; and 4. The King.

Incidentally the writer, from his great experience of such things, lays bare the prevalent vices and mal-practices of the time, of the various classes and orders of men, — nobles, privy councillors, judges, the king’s officers and commissioners, lawyers, landowners, farmers, husbandmen, merchants, manufacturers, handicraftsmen, artificers and labourers; the prelates, the clerical corporations and bodies, the rectors, vicars and inferior clergy, &c. Some of his pictures of the habits, manners and customs of certain classes are exceedingly graphic.

The paper on which the Treatise is written is a rather coarse kind of yellow laid foolscap, having three different water marks; one a crown supported by two columns, at the base of which is a label with capital letters, resembling F. DEFENSOR. A second is like a jug or pot without handle, surmounted by a crown, and across its body a label with the capitals M.C. The third is a label on feet, resting on a sort of cusped ornament, and within the label capitals resembling EDMELEBE. These may perhaps identify the make and date of the paper.

The leaves have been so much frayed at the upper, outer corners of the book, that for the first six pages the ends of a few lines on the *recto* and the beginnings of a few on the *verso* side, are destroyed. These *lacunæ* have been denoted in the print by dotted lines, and whenever any word not actually in the MS. is suggested as wanting, it is placed within brackets. The orthography and marks of abbreviation have been carefully retained, and the only liberties taken have been with the punctuation, and then only where it seemed necessary to make an obscure passage more clear.

COLLATION.

The first twenty-four pages of this Treatise had been printed before it was found that another copy of it existed in the British Museum, *Harl. MSS.* No. 2204. That MS. (a small folio, pp. 176, having about 21 lines in a page), from the handwriting, &c., appears to be much later than ours, probably *temp.* Charles I. From its having the same blanks left for undeciphered words, it may be conjectured to be the copy of a copy, perhaps of the very MS. from which the present volume is printed. The print has been collated with the Harleian MS., which supplies the blanks in the first six pages caused by the fraying of the top corners of our MS. and gives other variations, as noted below. From p. 24 to the end, the results of this collation are embodied in the printed text:—

<i>Page Line</i>	<i>Harl. MS. reads</i>	<i>Page Line</i>	<i>Harl. MS. reads</i>
1. 3.	late councillor to king		ner of an vnlearned body
1. 4.	at the compiling hereof		will write a rude remembrance
1. 6.	ffirst yeare of Kinge Henrie the viiith	3. 9.	happie is he that hath and wiselie can kepe such a frende, and consider him first, to the
2. 10.	I moste blind and ignoraunte in all manner of sciences and cunning, after the man-		

INTRODUCTION.

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<i>Page Line</i>	<i>Harl. MS. reads</i>	<i>Page Line</i>	<i>Harl. MS. reads</i>
3. 10.	of all the inhabitantes	7. 16.	Kinge should have
3. 11.	I understand that my said Sou'aigne Lorde in plaine proofe that he beginneth	8. <i>last.</i>	For that as
3. 29.	settle in Christ's church	10. 16.	in the kinge one thinge
4. 3.	service or any other cause	11. 20.	besides the daunger
4. 4.	vertuosnes and conninge able to rule theire church, shall doe therein more harme	11. 28.	greate need
4. 5.	and vtterlie to be eschewed	12. 3.	disturbed and letted
4. 6.	anie man that will labour therefore	12. 12.	punishe and suppress
4. 15.	deformed persons	14. 30.	craftes men of the realme buy
4. 27.	noble act	15. 9.	This roote is much
4. <i>last.</i>	opposed	17. 15.	in all his lawfull
5. 2.	you that your lettre	17. 25.	almes "to poore folkes and speciallie within their dio- ces and cures" --- (in both MSS. and accidentally omit- ted in the print)
5. 3.	consider you well that your request	17. 29.	or Treasor . . . if they appro- priat
5. 5.	or to unite	20. 22.	lending your wares
5. 10.	great discouragement	21. 30.	many other
6. 1.	and yet of your	22. 10.	people in this realme
6. 2.	waighty causes	22. 21.	shalbe in such
6. 3.	and allsoe to followe	24. 26.	love and knowledge
7. 11.	"worthe"— (crossed through with the pen)		

*** Any information respecting another MS. copy of this Treatise, or any communication for the Brotherhood, may be addressed to Mr. Harland, 7, Repton Street, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.*

[140 copies printed, (including ten on large paper,) for Private Presentation only.]

Tree of Common Wealth.

(See Introduction
p. xii)

This Booke, named the Tree of [Com^on Wealth, was] made by Edmonde Dudley Esquire, late com[missioner]. . . . Henrie the vijth, The same Edmonde at the [? time of writing] hereof beinge prisoner in the towre, in the ffirst y[ere of the raigne of] Kinge Henrie the viijth.

Contracted
[Compiling]

8

Theffecte of this treatise consisteth in three speciall pointes, w^{ch} breeffie followeth. That is to saie —

firste, the remembraunce of God and of the faithe of his holie church, wth the w^{ch} thinge e^uy x^pen prince hath greate neede to beginne.

Sec^ondaril^{ie}, of some condi^ons & demeano^{rs} necessarie in e^uy prince, both for his hono^r and for the suertie of his contynuaunce.

Thir^dlie, of the Tree of co^on wealth, w^{ch} toucheth people of e^uy degree, of the Demeano^{rs} and condi^ons they shoulde be of.

Forasmuch as e^uy man is naturallie bounde not onlie moste hartelie to praie for the prosperous contynuaunce of his liegue Soueraigne Lorde, and thencrease of the co^on wealth of his natyve cuntrie, But also to the vttermoste of his powre to doe all thinges that mighte further or sounde to thencrease and helpe of

the same, And because I am an Englishe man, and was some-
 tyme a poore s^rvaunte wth the Kinge of moste noble memorie
 Henrie the Seventh late Kinge of this moste noble Realme of
 Englande (whose Soule Jesu pardon) naturall father to my moste
 redoubted sou^raigne Lorde Kinge Henrie of that name the viijth,
 whome our Saviour X^piste Jesu safelie guyde, wth the longe con-
 tynuaunce of vertue and honour. For (our Lorde graunting) this
 is the Prince that shall renewe the co^mon wealth wthin this his
 realme, the w^{ch} this longe tyme hath bene in sore decaie, whereof
 God helping, I moste [unlearned and ign]oraunte in all
 maⁿer sciences and [after] the maⁿer of a vnlearned body
 will write [remem]brance, the w^{ch} if men be soe pleased maie
 [be called] the Tree of co^mon wealth. But or [ere] the maⁿ
 [of this] tree be spoken of, it shalbe somewhat shortlie
 [tou]ched, First of the remembrance of god and of the faith of
 holie church, wth the w^{ch} thinge e^vry x^pen Kinge hath moste neede
 to beginne: Sec^ondarilie, a worde or twaine of some condi^ons or
 Demeano^rs necessarie in e^vry prince aswell for his hono^r as for his
 assuraunce and sure safetie. And thirdlie, then to speake of this
 tree of co^mon wealth, nor for that I will p^sume or thinke it
 [wor]thie to be seene or looked vpon by my said Sou^raigne Lorde,
 or by anie of his honourable Councell, or yet by anie other noble
 pson of this Realme, but by some other meane psons that will
 looke thereon for a lighte pastyme, humblie desiringe all the
 readers or hearers thereof not to impute anie article therein to my
 presumption or temerite, But to take in gree [take kindly] and
 accepte my poore mynde and true intende, and to deeme, inter-
 p^rtate and sounde or expounde the same as they shall by their
 discretions see cause, for I meane not by anie worde therein, that
 I knowe neede of reforma^on in anie p^ticuler pson, but onlie in
 my self, the most wretch of all wretches, or that I am of abillitie
 in anie condi^on to counsell or adu^tise any lyving creature, myne

owne lief hath ben soe wicked and soe openlie knowne ; but my full purpose, prayer and intente is, all thinge well ordered, maie soe contynue and encrease to the bettr, and if any thinge be amysse or out of order, euy man therein esteeme his owne conscience and remember the shortnes of this casuall and transitorie lief e praie for grace to amende. And if that euy pson charitable doe helpe to reforme where nede doth require, for whoe soe doth, he is a counceller and a frende, aboue all worldlie frendes, and full happie is he wiselie can kepe such a frende, and consi to the moste worldlie ioye and comforte of inhabitante of this realme of Englande ; I that my said Souaigne Lorde in plaine prooffe he beginneth his moste noble raigne wth the remembraunce of god, Hath fullie determyned himself not onlie to reforme all such thinges as in tymes paste hath ben misordered and abused wthin this his realme, But also to his greatest merite to restore his subiecte of diuse wronge and iniuries, And ou that as a childe obediente and willinge the comforte and relief of the Soule of his father, entendeth to see the will of his father and Kinge to be trulie pformed, to his mervelous greate meede and hon^r, w^{ch} seldome hath bene seene wthin this his realme, But sure maye his grace be, he dealeth not soe charitable e honorablie for his said father, but that god will cause noble issue and successor^s to do as well and as lovinglie for him, and by this his doinge god will encrease his grace singulerlie to set his affec^õn in his love and honour, as to a x^pen prince necessarie it belongeth, And ouer this shall order himself wth his great grace to be that Catholike Kinge, that shall not only supporte and maintaine his church, and the true faith thereof in all rightes, as farre as him lieth, But also to see that such as he shall promote and sette in Christe church, speciallie wthin this his realme, be both Connynge [learned] and vertuous, and in especiall to be vertuous, for wthout that connynge profiteth but little to the hono^r of Christe church, And for the

Eder him first
[Hath and
Understand]

little /

more pte such as are promoted, and set in y^e church of Christe and
 speciallie in the high Dignitie thereof for any maⁿer of affec^on,
 Be it for bloude, ^{any other}svice or cause, wthout there be wthall vertu-
 ousnes able to rule their church, shall doe more harme
 then good, and pilous it is, and to be eschewed, to promote
 anie man that [will not l]abo^r therefore, and speciallie such
 as will adventure the daunger of Symonie to haue promo^on,
 They shall never doe good in their cures, and be but the de-
 stroyers of the church of Christe. And it is noe harme to beware
 of the promotinge of folke at the spⁱall labo^r or desire of anie
 pson, be he of the Councell or the King^e servaunte, for els there
 shalbe often and many tymes set in Christes church full vnhabl
 men for thonlie profit or affec^on of the Labourers. And it is
 not fyting or convenient to advaunce to promo^on speciallie anie
 defamed [*sic*: ? deformed] psones of their bodies, nor noe man to
 haue diⁱuse promo^ons wth cure; except greate cause require it;
 and when they are promoted, it were a meritorious deede, to sende
 them home to their cures, and speciallie the p^lates and such
 others as haue great cures, wthout their p^sence maie not be for-
 borne about the King^e p^sone, for his greate hono^r or for the
 co^mon wealth of this realme, or els they ought to be enforced to
 kepe home for the dischargde of the King^e conscience e^t theirs,
 although their ap^etite were to the contrary. This should be a
 good deede; And moreo^u that none of them be in anie temporall
 Offices, nor executors thereof, for thereby is most co^monlie de-
 stroyed the Church and the Office. Also it were a gracious and a
 noble arte, that the Church of Englande were restored to their
 free elec^on after tholde maⁿ and not to be letted thereof by the
 meane of yo^u, Sou^aigne Lorde, nor by meanes of anie of yo^r sub-
 iect^e, as far forth as ye maie helpe it. And to foresee that no
 comforte be given to any pson that labo^r any such to the contrarie,
 for therein shall yo^r highnes be apposed [opposed] by diⁱuse waies,

whereof the verie truth shall not appere vnto yo^u, for they will tell yo^u yo^r L^res shalbe but a curteous L^re of recommenda^on. But consider yo^u well yo^r request to any of yo^r subiecte is a streight [strict] co^mmaundem^t. Also for thono^r of god let yo^r grace refraine yo^r self from y^e approp^acoⁿ of Benefices, or to vⁿiate [unite] anie house of religion to another, for if this doe contynue it shall by all likelihoode distroye thono^r of the church of Englande. Also yo^r progenitors vsed much to write to their subiectes, spⁱall and temporall, for to haue the disposi^ons of y^eire p^mo^ons, w^{ch} was a greate discourage for clarkes, and god be thanked, their owne p^mo^ons were honorable and sufficient for their owne Chaplaines and for the good encrease of vertue amongste the Clergie of your realme. It shalbe also a greate further^unce to haue in yo^r remembraunce to p^tecte^r and also to comforte yo^r vni^usities, and also the Studente therein, and spⁱally Divines, for they decaye faste, for they be needefull for certaine condi^ons or demeano^{rs} to eu^y noble prince, righte necessarie as well for his hono^r as suertie. My dailie prayer shalbe during my shorte lief for that thinge w^{ch} I doubte not yo^r noble grace will remember a thousand tymes better then I can consider, And that is, that yo^r grace will trulie kepe and observe all leagues and p^my^ses to outwarde princes and straungers made by you, or to yo^r owne subiecte p^mised, and all such leagues and p^my^ses to be made by good advise and deli^ba^on, and when they are made, firmelie to holde them, though they shoulde be to yo^r losse, *for of all worldlie losses, and speciallie in a prince, hono^r and credence is the moste.* And in y^e reverence of god, somewhat beware of daungerous sportes for casualties that might fall, and the rather for that in yo^r onlie p^{son} dependeth the whole wealth and hono^r of this yo^r realme. And sure I am yo^r grace will vse, as eu^y yo^u haue vsed, to let as fewe idle word^e and speciallie of slaunder to passe yo^r mouth as ye maie, nor to giue yo^r eares nor yo^r eyne over often to fantasies, in the w^{ch} standeth

yet
warily
allsoe!
 but vanities, nor to be lighte of credence, and ye of yo^r greate
 wisdomē in all welthie causes to be counsellē of good & wise
 men, and alwaie to followe the counsell of good men, for *they that
 dreade not god, seldome giue good counsell; and seldome it p'fiteth
 a Prince to giue confidence to younge Councell, for experience is one
 of the chief p'tes of Councell.* But let neu^{er} x^pen prince followe the
 counsell of *cruell* men, or *covetous* men, for the *cruell* Councello^{rs}
 ever p^{ro}vokē the ire of god, the *covetous* Councellors shall leese [lose]
 the hartes of the Subiecte. The *cruell* counsellors will shewe
 theirē Souaigne shall instructe their souaigne [*sic*] that his suretie
 resteth in crueltie, And such Councell was there given to Kinge
 Saule in the begynninge of his raigne; But he being at that tyme
 the childe of god, refused vtterlie to revenge his owne quarells by
 crueltie, because he came into his realm peaceablie. The *covetous*
 Councello^{rs} will shewe their Souaigne his suretie standeth much
 in plentie of Treasour, But both theise Councello^{rs} are but fallible
 fantasies, for the *p'fite of eu'ie x^pen Prince dependeth in the grace
 of god, w^{ch} is wonne by m'cy and lib'allitie.* The wroth of al-
 mightie god is gotten by crueltie and covetousnes, And therefore
 it is moste necessarie that a x^pen Kinge haue the love & the feare
 of god before his eyes, by whome all thinge [*sic*: Kinges] doe
 raigne; for the Devill, the Worlde and the fleshe will contynuallie
 fight and make battell against all mankinde, and padventure more
 fervently against a Prince then a poore man. The Devill also will
 bringe the prince of this worlde to his owne ppertie if he can, w^{ch}
 is to followe rigo^r and crueltie, for soe doth he wthout mercy or
 pittie. The worlde will induce them to followe his ppertie, w^{ch} is
 to set all theirē felicitie in worldlie Treasour, and therein to be in-
 satiable, and not force [careful] of the meanes howe it shalbe had.
 The fleshe, if he maie by anie meanes, would make princes to
 followe his beastlie appetite, for that is the beaste of all beastes,
 if his frailtie be followed. But for a memoriall to eschewe these

three pilous enemyes, let euy xpen Kinge and prince looke on the ende of them that haue bene oucome or vanquished by theise three enemyes or anie of them. Let the Kinges of this realme seeke noe further, but resorte to theire owne progenyto^{rs} or pdecessors Kinge of the same. For the firste, whoe was more rigorous and cruell than Harrolde, somtyme Kinge of this realme? Verely neuⁿ none. What was his conclusion? A shorte raigne and a cruell. Also the late Kinge Richarde the Thirde followed him in condiçon, and therefore his raigne and ende was after the same. For the Seconde, what Prince of this realme or any realme was more worthe, then Kinge Henrie the Thirde? Never none. He was soe insatiable that he lost thereby all the hartes of his subiecte, insomuch that all his realme reioyced his death: padventure of y^t appetite hath there bene some other of late time e was in maⁿer wthout faulte, savinge only that. But howe such a Kinge shall haue the lovinge hartes of his subiecte, late experience may plainelie shewe it. For the Thirde, whoe lesse regarded the love of god in vsinge the frailtie of the fleshe then Kinge Richard the Seconde; w^{ch} was goodlie in pson, e right wise and eloquent, for the w^{ch} he died not all only wthout issue of his body to succede after him, But what inordynate warre and trowble haue bene wthin this realme since his death for the Succession thereof, The matter appeth e sheweth the cause of his fleshe. It is thought he was both cruell and covetous, and by his ende it should soe appe, for he had a m^lvelous cruell deathe; and when he was in his highe prosperitie, his subiecte in comparison, both nobles and other, vtterlie forsooke him, and suffred another havinge noe Title to subdue him. Also it is not like that y^e punishm^t that the late Kinge of noble memorie Kinge Edwarde the fowrth had in the faire flourishing issue of his bodye, his sonnes I doe meane, much for lovinge of his fleshlie appetite. Wherefore our Lord Jesu saue and kepe all xpen princes, and moste specially o^r

should

moste dreade and naturall Souaigne Lorde, from these three greate enemyes, and to fixe & stablishe him in other three noble vertues, contrarie to these three condiçõs, and that in steede of rigor and crueltie he maie be piteous and m̄cifull; and in the steede of inordynate desire to these worldlie goodes, he maie be liberall and plenteous, and in the steede of the appetite of fleshlie desire, he may be cleane to his owne spouse and Quene, w^{ch} is the first order of chastitie. What then shall be his conclusion and rewarde? These at the leaste: for keepinge of his body cleane and chaste to his wief & Quene, god shall send him plentie of faire yssue, w^{ch} shall succede him in hono^r and vertue, And over that shall crowne him in heaven wth the holie and blessed confessor St. Edwarde. And for that he will be contente wth his owne righte, and not wronge or oppresse his subiecte, but be to them m̄ciabile, liberall and plenteous as reason shall require, god will réward him not only wth sufficientlie plentie of worldlie riches, but also wth the lovinge hartes of his Subiecte, and they to serve and obey him wth loving dreade, w^{ch} is the pfit [perfect]-and sure bonde of obedience. And ou^{er} that god shall crowne him, wth Charles y^e greate Kinge, w^{ch} was faithfull, iuste and liberall in all his actes and livinge. And for that he is mercifull and plenteous, god himself will punishe his enemyes, pcase sorer then he himself woulde, or at the leaste will reduce them to be his true subiecte and servauntes. Over that shall crowne him wth thollie Kinge and Prophet David, to whome god said "I haue found a man after myne owne harte." *Inueni hominem s'c'd'm cor meum.*

And nowe to speake of the Tree of coñon wealth. It is that thinge, for the w^{ch} all true englishmen haue greate neede to praie to god, that our Lorde and Kinge will thereon haue a singuler regarde and favo^r, for principallie by god and him yt must be holpen. And therefore god hath ordayned him to be our Kinge, and thereto is euy Kinge bounde, for that is his chardge. For as

the subiectes are bounde to their prince of their allegiaunce, to loue, dreade, serue and obey him, or else to be punished by him, as straightlie is the Prince bounde to god to maintaine and supporte, as farre as in him is or lieth, the coñon wealth of his subiectes. And all they abide and see the punishment of god, for though the people be Subiectes to their Kinge, yet they be the people of god, And god hath ordained their Prince to protecte them, and they to obey their Prince. The coñon wealth of this realme, or of the subiectes or inhabitantē thereof, maye be resembled to a faire and a greate mightie tree, growing in a faire feilde or pasture, vnder the shadowe or Coverte whereof all the beastē, both the fatte and the leane, are protected and comforted frō heate and colde as the tyme requireth; Even so all the Subiectes of that realme where this tree of coñon wealth doth surelie growe, be thereby holpen and relieved from the highest degree to the lowest. But for a troth this tree will not longe stande or growe vprighte in this realme or in anie other wthout diūse stronge rootes and sure fastened in the grounde. The principall and chiefe roote of this tree in eūy x^pen realme must be the love of god, And the love of god is nothing els, but to knowe him and gladlie to obserue his lawes and coñmaundm^t as his true and faithfull people. Ye will say p^{ca}se the Bisshops and they of the spiritua^ltie haue speciall chardge of this roote, and not the Prince. Yes, verelie, the Prince is the grounde out of the w^{ch} this roote must chieflie growe, for that it is he that doth appointe and make the Bisshops. And if the Prince in these roomes ordaine vertuous men, this roote will keepe. And if he ordaine thereto vicious men or negligente bodies, yt will wyther and decaie, And though the Bisshops would be negligente and not punishe the mysdoers in their Dioces, yet let the Prince warne them thereof, And if there be anie sturdie or obstinate p^{so}ns in his realme, that will frowardlie disobey their ordinarie in the cause of god, the Prince

must put to his mightie hande, to help to the reformaçõn thereof. And if there be, whome doth the Prince then assiste? The Bisshops, Curates or preachers? Forsooth none of them. He assisteth his maker and redemer, of whome he hath all his powre and auctoritie. And such as bene knowne for open synners wthin this realme, as open murtherers, adulterers, blasphemers, extortioners, and oppressors of his subiecte, let not the Prince be famyliar wth them, nor shewe vnto them his loving countenance, but let them be rather by themselues alone, that some man maie knowe the cause whie. And that shall not cause them only to amende, pcase, rather then all the moniçõns of their Curate or Ordenaries, But also it shall cause other to beware of like offences, to the greate merit of the prince. Then the roote of the lawe of god, w^{ch} is to knowe him wth good workes, wthin this realme must highlie growe, by our Souaigne Lord and out of him. Yet for the sure and pfit fastening of this roote in the Kinge [one thinge] is verie necessarie and that is: That all his subiecte spirituall and temporall may see in their Prince, that he himself setteth his principall delight and affecçõn in the lawe of god, keping his lawes and co^mmandem^te. Howe much shall that enforce and incourage the Bisshops and other of the Sp^ualtie to be the very lanthornes of light, and to shewe good examples to the temporaltie, and they to followe the same. And how much shame or rebuke should it be to all those that woulde vse the contrarie. And then is this principall roote the love of god soe surelie fastened in soe noble and perfit grounde rooted, that wth the grace of god he shall doe his devo^r to beare vp this tree of co^mon wealth in this realme of england fore^u. Besides this principall roote, this tree surelie to be borne vp, must haue fowre other rootes, That is to saie: *Justice, truth, concorde, and peace.* First he must haue the roote of Justice, wthout the w^{ch} this tree of co^mon wealth maie not continue. And this roote of Justice must needes come of our

Souaigne Lordes self, for thole [the whole] aucthoritie thereof is given to him by god to mynister by himself or his deputie by his subiectes; and though it be suffred or pmitted, that a prince may make and ordaine his deputie in euy pte of his realme to mynister Justice, As his Chauncelor, his Justice of both the benches, & other genhall and speciall Comysioners in euy Countie and sheire, yet the chief chardge is his owne. Wherefore for the hono^r of god let it be foresene that his grace may make his Justices to be well learned men, and of good conscience speciallie, for else they wilbe corrupted wth meede or affec^õn, that they shall mynister to his Subiecte greate wronges and Synister Justice vnder the coulo^r of Justice, and longe padventure ere it should be knowne to y^e prince, And also there would be a straighte chardg given to the Chauncelor to appointe in euy cuntry and sheire wisemen, and speciallie good men, & such as will deale indifferentlie betwene the Subiecte, And in anie wise not to put in anie aucthoritie those w^{ch} are greate bearers of matters, And when the Judges resorte vnto the Kinge Grace, Let him give them a greate chardge to mynister Justice trulie & indifferentlie vpon paine of his high and greate displeasure, besides theire daunger of their conscience, and yet therewthall by him they muste be informed and put in courage soe to doe, And that they let not for feare nor displeasure of any of his own s^rvauntes or Councello^{rs} to doe true Justice, nor for feare of any greate pson in his realme; for that they doe is done by his aucthoritie, and not by their owne, And though the cause toucheth himself, yet he muste put them in comforte not to spare to mynister Justice wthout feare, And thus to doe they shall haue greate meede, for wthout doubt, feare is a greate ympedymnt of Justice amonge the Judges and Justices. Also of necessitie the Prince muste beare & supporte them in all the mynistring and executinge of Justice, and aswell against the nobles as other, for els it will not be in their powres to doe

their true duties. Also it were a good deede to commaunde the
 privy Councell & Secretarie that noe Lres passe them in stopping
 of Justice, for by such Lres oftentimes Justice is greatlie dis-
 troubled and letted, and all vnder y^e color of petiçon by speciall
 labor and affecçon. Also a singuler further^unce to good indif-
 ferente Justice to be had, and to the conscience of the Kinge, a
 greate dischargē shalbe to appointe good Sherifē and such as
 will not be affectionate or bribors, for in them lyeth much to make
 or to marre the conclusion of verie Justice, and that there be had
 a speciall rule to punyshe piured psons. Periurie is the vt^tmost
 myschief of all good right and Justice, But yet must the Prince
 punishe and oppresse all maintayners and ymbracers, and that
 muste much be his owne acte, for it is done most co^monlie by
 men of greate powre and auctoritie. And furthermore, besides
 all the co^mon orderinge of Justice to be done and mynistered
 wthin this realme, be it betwene the Kinge and his Subiectes, or
 betwene subiect and subiecte, His grace himself must haue a sin-
 gular zeale and regarde to protecte and defende his poore subiectē
 that they be not oppressed by greate men and their supiors, For
 out of doubtē if his grace looke not mervelouslie therevnto, the
 poore people of his Realme shalbe oppressed wth their Lres,
 And oftentimes [by] his servauntes by coulo^r of his service, and spe-
 ciallie in this roote of Justice. Let it not be seene that a Prince
 himself for anie cause of his owne inforce or oppresse anie of his
 Subiectē, by imprisonm^t or sinister vexaçon, by privie Seale or
 Lres missives, or otherwise by anie of his p^ticuler Councelo^{rs}, but
 to drawe them, or intreate them by due order of his lawes; for
 though the matter be never soe true that they are called for, and
 though their paine & punishmente should be sorer by due order
 of the lawe, yet will they murmure and grudge because they are
 called by waie extraordinarie, wherefore the moste honorable and
 sure waie for the Prince to haue his right of his subiectē, or to

punishe them for their offence, shalbe by the due order and course of his lawes: And let the subiecte never be letted nor interrupted by his wrytinge, tokens, messages or commaundem^t to his Judges or other officers to haue the streight course of his lawes by Travers, pcesse, Trialls, Judgm^t, stayinge of Lyverie, or otherwise: yet padventure oftentymes the Prince shall haue Counselors and s^rvauntes that in his owne causes will doe further then conscience requireth, or further then himself woulde should be done oftentymes, to win a spⁱall thanke of the Kinge, and sometye for their p^per advauntage, and sometye for revenging of their owne grudges or malice, that they doe the ptie wronge, Let *these s^rvaunt^e or Councilors take heede, for the god of punishm^t dyeth not.* And thus the grace of x^piste Jesu and the Kinge of the Realme helpe and supporte the roote of Justice. The w^{ch} beinge thus rooted in himself, shall surelye holde and staie thone quarter of this tree of co^mon wealth wthin this realm. The Seconde of these fowre rootes is the roote of truth or fidelitie wthout the w^{ch} roote the tree of co^mon wealth maie in nowise be sustayned or kepte vpright; it is soe necessarie a thinge, that there is neyther realme, cittie, companie, fellowship, or pticuler pson that can or may *continue in hono^r or honestie wthout yt.* In so much the Paynims, the Gentiles, Turkes & Sarrisens, love truth and kepe yt for their treaso^r. And y^e Devill, w^{ch} is the auctor and father of all falsehoode and their M^r and Lorde. Then much more ought we to kepe truth we x^pen men to whome Christe Jesu is the verie M^r and Leader, w^{ch} is very truth himself, and from whome very truth pceedeth. Truth is none other thinge but a man to be true and faithfull in all his promyses, coven^{nt}e and wordes, And the higher in hono^r is the ptie, the more is their shame and rebuke to be proved vntrue. If there be not truth what avayleth enterchaunge of marchandizes; what avayleth citties and Townes to be builded; if there be not troth, what avayleth

fraternyties & fellowships to be made; and for the more pte if there be noe truth what avayleth lawes or ordyn^{ances} to be made, or to ordaine pliam^{ts}, or courtes to be kepte; if there be noe troth what avayleth men to haue s^rvaunt^e; if there be noe truth what avaieth a Kinge to haue subiect^e, and soe finallie, *where is noe truth can be neither hono^r nor goodnes*. Where must this roote fasten himself? Specially in a Kinge, and in all his true subiect^e, but chieffie in himself, for in him it is moste requisite for his high honor and dignitie, And he must be a greate occasioner and helper that it fasten in his Subiect^e. The verie sure waie muste be this, to punishe false men, and to aduance and promote true men, That is the beste waie next to the grace of god, to fasten truth in men, and men in truth; & whoe can thus doe? None earthlie in effecte amongst us, but o^r Prince and Kinge, And when a Kinge or a prince in this realme doth promote false men and subtile, and leaveth true men, *in that realme or region falshoode must needes encrease, and troth decaie*, And this tree of co^mon wealth will in noe wise there stande or growe. But nowe Englishmen among^e whome this tree of co^mon wealth is well nere vtterlie vaded and deade, ye haue a prince & Kinge in whome was neuⁿ spotte or blemishe of vntroth knowne or founde, The w^{ch} greate vertue and truth, o^r lord for his passion dailie in him encrease wth p^rfit contynuaunce therein. And y^t all the nobles of this realme may followe him in the same, and soe euⁿ to followe and take example one of another from the highest to the lowest subiecte in his realme, Then howe glad shall euⁿy noble man be of the companie of thother, & one will trust and love another; what frendship & confidence will then be betwene man & man, from the highest degree to the lowest; how kindlie and lovinglie will seruaunt^e & craft^e men buy and sell togethers, & exchange and bargaine one thinge for another. Howe diligentlie and busilie will the artificers and husbandmen occupie their labo^r & busines, and

howe well contente will men be from the highest degre to the lowest to encrease theire howsholde in s^vvaunt^e and labourers, whereby all our idle people ϵ vagabound^e shalbe set on worke: and ouⁿ all this howe glad shall all straung^s and people of outward nations be to deale and meddle with the co^modities of this realme, And soe this roote of truth and fidelitie shall royallie ϵ mightilie supporte and beare vpright y^e seconde quarter of this noble tre of co^mon wealth. The Thirde roote of the fowre rootes is the roote of concorde or vnitie. This roote [is] much necessarie to helpe this tree of co^mon wealth, for where Discorde and division is, it will be harde ϵ almost impossible to haue this tree encrease ϵ continue, for discorde bringeth in considera^on of conspiracie and reten^on, w^{ch} for the more p^{te} ingendreth murther, extor^on and Riot, and oftentimes Rebellion, of whome for a suertie cometh Idlenes the very mother of all vice, both in man and wooman, noble and vnnoble, and the lyneall grandam of povertie and myserie, and the deadlie enemy to this tree of co^mon wealth. This roote of concorde is none other thinge but a good agreem^t ϵ conformytie among^e the people or thinhabitant^e of the Realme, Cittie, Towne, or fellowship, and eu^y man to be contented to doe his dutie in the office, roome, or condi^on that he is set in, and not to maligne or disdaine anie other. Where must this noble and necessarie roote beginne, to sustaine him, or to growe? For a troth in our Sovereigne Lord most principall, and then in all his subiect^e, sp^{iall} and tempall, noblest and other. Thus he must growe and fasten in our Sovereigne Lord, when he seeth Justice mynistred to his subiect^e trulie and indifferentlie as well to the poore as to the riche, and favor^r and cherish goodmen ϵ punish the evill. And in causes touching himself to minist^r his Justice discreetly medled with mercy, for els his Justice will be sore, that it will oftentimes appe to be crueltie rather then Justice; And I suppose there is noe x^pen Kinge hath more nede soe to doe, then

our Prince & Souaigne Lord, consideringe the greate number of penall lawes & statutes made in his realme, for the hard and straight punishm^t of his Subiecte. Also the Prince muste speciallie see the nobles of his realme be not at variaunce one wth another, otherwhiles by complainte to himself or suyng his lawes; but in anie wise suffer not them to reveng their owne quarrells, old or newe, by force or by violence; for if men be at their owne libties therein, beware the Prince in a while. Also he must see that his subiecte be not oppressed by their supiors, and if there be anie manner of grudge betwene his subiecte of the sp^ualtie and his subiecte of the tempaltie for p^viledge or libties, It were a greate helpe to this noble roote of concorde, to haue it stablished and reformed. And noe man can doe it but the Prince, wherefore all the lawde should be his, and by likelihoode a great merite towarde god, And when his grace seeth Justice thus mynistred & suffereth not cruel debat^e or oppression amonge his subiecte, then is this roote of concorde Royallie stablished in him. And for the comferte of this roote of concorde mightelie to beare this tree of comon welth, the prince had nede to see his officers, p^veyors and takers to paye his subiecte trulie accordinge to the good ordynances thereof made, and not to vse their office to the contrarie, And therewthall to kepe his honorable houshold in plenteous manner; and to com^aunde and constraine the nobles of his realme, both sp^uall and temporall, to keepe good hospitallitie, and that shall be both for him and his realme honor and suertie: and it were time it were holpen, for it is in this realme sore decaied, and shall never encrease but by the president of the prince and nobles of the Realme; and then will eu^ey man after his degree follow the same; but then must s^rvaunte have competent wages and clothing, wth true payment of the same, soe as they shall not neede to be Thieves, Bribo^{rs}, pollers [cheaters] or extorc^oners, And for the studie, paine, dilligence and labour that the Prince thus

taketh for his subiecte to kepe them in quietnes and suertie, they must, from the highest degree to the loweste, owe vnto him their true fidelitie & allegiaunce, hono^r and reverence, and to be obedient to all his Royall and lawfull comādem^te and p^{re}cepte, And to be redie and dilligente to the vttermost of their powres wth bodie and goodes in the reskewe of him and of his Realme, and to yelde and paie vnto him trulie all righte revenues and casualties, wthout fraud or Coven: And this done, this roote of concorde is well fixed betwene the prince & his subiecte. Yet must this roote stretch further, as betwene subiecte and subiecte, That is, all the Clergie of this realme, in the w^{ch} are contayned Archbisshops, Bisshops, Abbotte, Priors, Archdeacons, and Deanes, and all preist^e, religious and seclars, devoutlie to praie for the p^{ro}sperie of our sou^{er}aigne lord, and for good health and speede of all his subiecte aswell nobles as other, e^uer man well to prosp and speede in his lawfull busynes. And besides their prayers to shewe themselves to be true prieste of Christe church aswell in their owne vertuous lyvinge, as shewinge and preachinge the worde of god trulie and plainelie to the temporall subiecte, and boldie and straightlie to punishe synne accordinge to their auctoritie and dutie, and therewth to kepe all pointe and ceremonies belonging to their profession, and employ their p^{ro}fit^e and revenues of their benefice as they by their owne lawe be bounde to doe, — that is, one p^{te} thereof for their owne lyvinge in good household and hospitallitie, The seconde in deedes of Charitie and almes, And the third p^{te} thereof for the repa^{re} and building of their churches and man^{er}ies. But where is the p^{te} they must kepe or saue for mariage of their kinssfolke, or to buy lande to leave them inherito^{rs}, or Treaso^{rs} padventure to a worse purpose, if they appropr [sic] anie p^{te} of the revenues or profit^e of anie their sp^{er}iall live-loode to anie of these purposes. I report me to themselves what case they stode in, w^{ch} I trust they will eschewe, and when their

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apparell and gesture is grave, according to their estates & the degree that they be of, their hono^r or fame thereby is nothing appared. And it is not vnfitting that there were a plain diversitie betwene their s^rvaunt^e, and the s^rvaunt^e of other temporall men, aswell in the honestie of their demeano^r as in y^e sadnes of their vestures, And thus the roote of concorde is fastened right well in the Clergie of this Realme. And as to the sure fastenenge thereof in all the Chevalrie of this realme, wherein be intended all Dukes, Erles, Barons, Knight^e, Esquires, and other gentlemen by office or authoritie: They had neede to liue in a good conformitie, that is to saie, eu^{er}y man after the hon^r and degree that god and his prince hath called him to, and after that pte or por^{cion} to leade his lief, and not to maligne or envy his supio^{rs}, nor disdaine or set at nought his inferio^{rs}, But eu^{er}y man to knowe other wth his dutie, and to help and guide them as his powre maie extende; nor intende noe murther nor myscheuous deede, nor be oppressors or destroyers of their neighbours or ten^{ant}^e, nor be anie bearers or Supporters of false quarrells, or matters of evill disposed p^{sons}; nor be the doers or thinducers of piury or of falshoode, nor be the takers of s^rvice, or reteynors of facers [impudent boasters, bullies] or of idle losells [rascals, worthless fellows] ne of subtile, or of their labour, But be gentle and curteous in word^e and deed^e, both sober and honest in demeano^r and counten^{unce}, and be true and stedfaste in all word^e and promises to the rich and poore, and be the makers of endes and lovdaies [days appointed for the settlement of differences by arbitration] charitablie betwene neighbours and neighbors, frendes and frendes; be the helpers and relievers of poore Ten^{ant}^e and also be the maintain^{ers} and supporters of all poor folkes in good causes & matters, and speciallie of widowes and orphanes, And also that they be true payers for that w^{ch} they shall take of their neighbours and Ten^{ant}^e, & also be the punishers of Murtherers, robbers & theeves, and of all other

ill disposed people, be it their owne s^rvaunt^e or other; and then shall they be meete and able to do their prince s^rvice, both noble & honorable, and to defende the church & the Comynaltie; for be ye sure *it is not honorable bloude, and greate possessions, or rich apparel, that maketh the man honorable, himself being of vnhonorable condic'ons*; and the more honorable in bloode that he is, the more noble in condic'ons ought he to be, and the more shame and dishon^r it is to him to be the contrarie, And therefore ye noble men, for the bett^r contynuaunce of yo^r bloode in hono^r, set yo^r childrẽ in youth, and that betymes, to learninge, vertue and conninge [knowledge], and at the leaste bringe them vp in hono^r and vertue; for verelie, I feare me, the noble men and gentlemen of Englande be the worst brought vp for the more pte of any Realme in xp̄ndome, and therefore the children of poore men and meane folkes are promoted to the promo^çõn and authoritie that the children of noble blood should haue if they were meete therefore, And thus shall concorde be noblie rooted in the Chevalry of this realme. Yet it is requisite that this roote also be well rooted in the Comynaltie of this realm, for there resteth the greate number; therein be all y^e merchant^e, Craftes men and artificers, laborers, franklins [freeholders] grasiers, farmers, tyllers, and other generallie the people of this realme. These folkes maie not murmur nor grudge to liue in labo^r and paine, and the most pte of their tyme wth the sweat of their face, Let not them p^sume aboute their owne degree, nor let anie of them presume or counterfet the state of his better, nor let them in anie wise exceede in their apparell or dyet, But to vse them as their expenc^e will surelie serve them. Let these folkes remember their rent^e and paym^{ts} that they muste make, and rather pinch their Bellie then to sell their necessarie, and *let them beware of pollers, pillars* [cheaters, extortioners] *and of Westm^e hall*, or else their purse wilbe thynne. To Sessions and assizes make they not haste,

except that neede enforce them. Let them *sequester themselves from costlie Courts, leaste care be their carroll when their silver is spent*; cloath not themselues in lyverie of Lordē, yet bett^r weare the lyverie of their wyves. And good it were not to vse any vnlawfull game, The taūnes and alehouses are not to these folkes much agreable. If theie vse hawking and hunting, at length they will saie fye on their wyunningē: And the chief of theis folkes, as the substanciall m^hchantē, the welthie grasiers and farm^{rs}, let them not vse nor covet over great luco^r [lucre] and be to yo^u unkinde that are lesser then they, but be they vnto their vnderlinges loving and charitable, and destroy them not wth yo^r accompt wares and prises excessive, from daie to daie given, and not ouⁿ hastelie caste them in prison for breaking of a daie or twoe: or take a greate gaine for a long daie to be given, or to deli^u them yo^r mony to be the losse, and you to haue the profit and yo^r mony also: and beware of vsurie both plaine and colored, for to god both be indifferentlie knowne. Beware of deceptē of buyinge and selling, and amende not yo^r wares wth subtillie and crafte, wth oathes and lies sweetlie forged, for *if yo^r gaines be reasonable, the better it will abide*. Make not yo^r ware to rise or to fall by yo^r assemblie shortlie at a pointe, for that is but a Crafte the poore people to polle; and consider howe yo^r thrifte gen^lallie increaseth by lending of wares to great men for daies, though yo^r prices you knowe best yo^rselves, but secretlie to yo^r conscience, as a scraping it is: And though you lefte the purchasing of landē, and sometimes buildinge and feasting, till yo^r riches were greatlie grounded, it forced not much. Yee meane occupiers and begynners, make not yo^r b^gaines, but soe as ye be able to paie, leaste Westmⁿ, S^t Katherines [probably some court for the recovery of debts] or yo^r boulted dores, be your reckoning place, and then yo^r credence [credit] for euⁿ is gone. And mynish not yo^r stockes for yo^r wives pleasure, though shee behigh [promise, profess to] yo^w to love yo^u. All the [? ye] craftsmen and

artificers, worke dilligentlie and trulic ; let not slouth guide yo^u, neither earlie nor late. Disdaine not to learne of men that haue coninge [knowledge], Straungers though they be. If yo^r worke and yo^r stuffe be substanciall and true, yo^r customers will not faile yo^u. *Yo^r bellies and yo^r backe are enemyes to yo^r thurifte* : but tempaunce will helpe all. Ye s^rving men and s^rvaunte, be true and dilligent to yo^r masters, exceede not yo^r wages in gamyng and expences. Be not loath to learne, least ye be longe lewde [ignorant]. Thinke yo^r master not to bad, leaste yo^u chaunge for the worse. All ye laborers, be not wearic of yo^r sweate ; it beseemeth yo^u best. Let not Idlenes lead yo^u into the daung^r of Indigence ; And thus the roote of concorde shalbe surelie rooted in the Co^mynaltie of this realme, And this roote of concorde being principallie fastened in our sou^{er}aigne Lorde, and then in the Clergie, Chevalrie and co^mialtie, shalbe well able to sustaine and beare vp this quarter or pte of this noble tree of Co^mon wealth. Yet hath this tree greate neede to haue the fowrth roote of peace. By this vnderstande good vnitie and peace betwene our Soverayne Lorde and his realme, and other outwarde princes and realmes, the w^{ch} is a verie necessarie roote for the tre of co^mon wealth in eu^{er}y region or cuntrie ; for though there be neu^{er} soe good concord and vnitie among themselues, if they be sore trowbled and vexed by warres wth outward ptes, yet it wilbe a greate ympedym^t to this tree of co^mon wealth, and speciallic in this realme of Englande, consideringe (lawded be god) that the co^modities of this noble realme be soe noble, and wth that soe plenteous, y^t they cannot be spende or all employed wthin the same, but necessarilie there muste be entercourse betwene this realme and outward ptes for the vtter^unce thereof, and speciallic for the wooll and cloth, Tynne and Leade, fell and hide, besides di^us other co^modities that doth greate ease to the subiecte. Howe be it I feare that the best co^modities of this realme be soe much appared [deteriorated] by subtiltie and falshoode, that they be not

reputed, esteemed, or soe much made of as they haue bene. First, the woolls of this realme be not soe well ordered in the growers handes as they haue bene, but for lacke of good order they be much impared in fynenes, that when it cometh to the handes of the m^hchant^e, by them and theire packers it is subtillie appared and altered. In likewise the clothes [cloths] of this realme, what by vntrue making, and what by the subtill demeano^r in the handes of thadventurers and m^hchant^e, they be little sett by in all outward ptes, not onlie to the greate preiudice of the kinge and his subiect^e, but alsoe to the infamy and rebuke of people of this realme, I doubt me there is like crafte and subtilltie vsed in leade and other co^modities of this realme. But I praie god it maye be put in the minde of our Souerayne Lorde to co^maunde his Councell, wth such wise and expert men as they will call vnto them, to take some studie and paine for the reforma^on hereof, and that betymes, least other cuntries take all the practice of o^r co^modities from vs, and then pcase it will be past remedie. And for reforma^on hereof the reward of o^r Souayne Lord shalbe merit hono^r and profit. Howe great merit shall it be to yo^u to reduce those falsenes to truthes! Howe much shalbe yo^r hono^r that by yo^r studie and pollicy the co^modities of yo^r realme shalbe in as good reputa^on as they haue bene in olde time! What larg pfit^e and customes by reason hereof and otherwise shall growe to the kinge by greate entercourse that will ensue therebie! Also after this manⁿ that hath bene vsed, the co^modities of other realmes are right for vs, and soe to haue ent^rcourse and int^rchaunge the one wth thother, w^{ch} shalbe righte harde to be vsed and exercised profitablie wthout the roote of outward peace. This outward peace is verie necessarie, for warre is a mⁱvelous greate consumⁿ of treasor and riches; for I suppose a right greate treasor is soone spente in a sharpe warre; therefore let eu^y man beware what councill he giveth to his Souaigne to enter or to begynne warre, or in anie

wise to enter into it. And the begynninge seemeth a greate pleasure, but the waie is verie narrowe to come honorablie out thereof, and then oftentimes full painefull, Besides that, it is verie dangerous for the soule and the bodie. And this roote of peace muste needes be rooted in the pson of o^r prince, and by his meanes, that is to saie by such good and sure liegue, amities and noble alli^{ances}, as his grace, by the advise of his honorable counsell, will make wth outward princes. And when they pceave the wisdom, discre^{cion}, auctoritie and courage that god hath put in his noble pson, they will the more gladlie offer him honorable peace, and not the worse though in time of peace he make good and sure prepara^{cons} for warr; and this roote of peace, soe well radicated in his most royall psone, shall well and sufficientlie beare and upholde the fowrth quarter of this pfitable tree of co^{mon} wealth.

But let vs knowe when this tree, being wth the fowre rootes soe surelie staid & fastened wthin this realme, what fruite shall growe on this same tree? This tree shall beare fowre plenteous frutes, correspondent to the fowre last root^e; for in likewise as by moistnes of the roote e^uy tree beareth his fruite, even soe by the vertue of [the First of] these fowre rootes, [which is Justice] this tree shall beare the fruite of honorable dignitie; by the vertue of the Seconde roote, w^{ch} is truth, this tree shall soone beare the fruite of worldlie p^speritie; by vertue of the Thirde roote, w^{ch} is concorde, this tree shall bringe forth the fruite of Tranquillitie, And by vertue of the fowrthe roote, w^{ch} is peace, this tree shall bring forth the fruite of good example. And notwithstandinge these fowre fruit^e, thus plenteouslie growinge out of this tree of co^{mon} wealth, by the vertue of the fowre rehersed rootes, be asmuch bewtifull and profitable for o^r Souaigne Lo: and all his subiect^e in such manⁿ as afterwards shalbe rehearsed; yet, considering he is one of the most x^pen king^e and all his subiect^e are x^pen people, of necessitie this tree muste beare this first fruite

of coñon wealth surelie fixed and rooted wth theis fowre laste rootes, and plenteouslie garnished wth theise fowre rehersed fruites, w^{ch} were often e manye tymes founde amonge the Turkes; and yet padventure some would saie that theire tree hath not the roote of Justice. Yes, verelie e padventure more surelie fastened wth them then wth vs. Hath not theire tree the roote of concorde and vnitie amonge themselves? Yes, too well, the more pittie it is. Hath not theire tree the roote of peace, for y^e more pte at their wills and pleasures? Doth not their tree beare and bring forth theise fowre rehersed fruit^e? Yes, wthout faile and abundantlie. First, honorable dignitie: whoe hath had soe excellent men? None, as touching bodilie hono^r and dignitie. Theire tree hath worldlie psperitie, and doth beare abundantlie of longe contynuan-
 and /
 ce. Haue not they in their tree the spirit of good example? Yes, doubtles, after the manner of theire ceremonies that they kepe. Then this tree of coñon wealth, bringing forth theis fowre fruit^e, and yet, be they neu^{ly} soe plenteous, they be not necessarie for our catholike and this x^pen realme, wthout the fiveth fruit^e, w^{ch} is most delicate and beste for a x^pen prince and his subiect^e, w^{ch} frute is the hono^r of god, and this fruit^e is plenteous, that it will not faile to come and growe in this tree by the vertue of the first roote w^{ch} is the love of god, and that muste be to love and knowe him by faithfull workes, and by glorious word^e and curyous ceremonies. And this fruit^e will neu^{ly} growe in the tree of coñon wealth amonge Paynims or Gentiles, Turkes or Sarrisons, all because they want the roote of true love or knowledge of god, w^{ch} roote they or anie of them, wthout it were certaine p^ticular p^sons called by grace, could neu^{ly} attaine vnto, And, for a shorte conclusion, that tree that lacketh this roote shall neu^{ly} beare this fruit^e. But this tree of coñon wealth, having this principall roote of true love or knowledge of god, by faithfull and charitable workes, and thereby plenteouslie bringing forth the fruit^e of the

honor of god, wth thother fowre rehersed fruites, is nowe meete and verie necessarie to growe in this realme. But howe shall this fyve manner of fruit^e be bestowed amonge or Souaigne Lord and his Subiect^e? Shall eu^y man take or pull from this tree at his lib^tie of eu^y of this fruites, and that as larglie as him liste, having noe regard to the state or condi^on the p^{er}son be of? Naie, trulie, this fruit^e muste be taken discretlie, and as oftentimes as the p^{er}sonage requireth, or els they will doe more harme then good. And nowe to that purpose shall I speake of the fowre laste fruit^e and leave the principall and chief fruit^e till afterward^e. And as the first of this fowre fruites w^{ch} is honorable dignitie there maie noe manner of the subiect^e, s^{pi}uall or temporall, p^{re}s^ume to take one piece of this fruit^e by his owne powre or aucthoritie, but muste haue it by deli^uance of his Souaigne onlie. Therefore the whole sorte of this fruit^e is ordeyned and shewed for himself, and where it please him to dispose it; and they to home he listeth to giue it may retaine it and none other; for by what p^{er}son in his realme, being his subiecte, maie be said trulie, that he is entred into an honorable dignitie, s^{pi}uall or temporall, wthout he saith that he receaveth the same of his handes, or of thand^e of his progenitors, and in that, that none of his subiect^e maie p^{re}s^ume to take anie p^{ar}t of this fruit^e but by his deli^uance; then it followeth p^{er}fectlie the matter of this roote, w^{ch} is Justice. For whoe of his subiect^e maie mynister anie pointe of Justice betwene p^{ar}tie and p^{ar}tie, except he haue his aucthoritie from his Souaigne; and this be twoe of the highest of his Regallities, and given to him onlie from aboue. Wherefore the chardge of his grace is the more right well to foresee to whome he deli^ueth or co^{mi}tteth the roote, w^{ch} is the mynistrac^on of Justice, or whome he rewardeth or advaunceth wth the fruit^e, w^{ch} is honorable dignitie. As to the Seconde fruit^e, w^{ch} is worldlie prosperitie, this fruit^e sheweth most p^{er}perlie for the Chivalrie of this realme, w^{ch} be Dukes, Erles,

Barrons, Knightes, &c. They maie take righte plenteouslie of this fruite wthout deliuaunce. Soe that one of them vsurpe not to take his supiors pte; for it will ill agree at length the Erle to take the fruite of the psperitie of a Duke, Or the Barron of the Erle, or the Knight of the Baroñ; e^uy man to be contented wth the fruite of his owne pptie. And this fruite followeth his roote, w^{ch} is troth, right ordinatlie; for though falshoode, whoe to troth is contrarie, doth right evill with e^uy pson, yet doth it worste wth the noble Knightes, and the more noble ye be, the worse doth falshoode beseeme you. Wherefore yo^u of the chivalrie, kepe ye moste speciallie the truthe, and ye canot lacke the fruite of worldlie psperitie, and that in plenteous manner. As for the Thirde fruite of this tree, w^{ch} is tranquillitie, though it be a pfitable fruite for e^uy of the subiecte, yet it is moste necessarie for the greate number of the Coñonaltie of this realme, for they be most in number, and can best help themselves; and for them it is soe necessarie that if they lacke it, farewell the greatest pte of buying e sellinge amonge men, farewell the conninge of craftie [? craftes] men, farewell the availe of the artificers, farewell the good true s^rvce of labourers e s^rvaunte, farewell the good dilligence of Tylth and husbandrie, and in effecte farewell all the honest and true dilligence amonge the comynaltie. There are twoe manner of fruite of Tranquillitie; the one is tranquillitie in ease and pleasure, But of this fruite I do not meane for the cōenaltie to meddle wth, but vtterlie to refuse it, as they would venyme or poyson. Also this fruite of this mann^r of tranquillitie, groweth not in this tree, wthout it be in a watery boughe, not trulie rooted. But if anie such happen to growe, gather them not, but let them hange still for Jaies and pyes, or for such of yo^r wyves or daughters w^{ch} doe not force [regard] thurifte, But the other tranquillitie is meete for yo^u, and that is to haue tranquillitie to applie dilligentlie wth true labo^r e honest busynes. This fruite is ordained for yo^r foode, e the

rather shall ye haue it, if the roote of concorde be well fastened amonge you in the forme aboue rehersed. And as for the fowrth and laste of theis fowre fruitē, w^{ch} is the fruite of good example, It is the naturall fruite on w^{ch} the clergie should feede, and though some pte thereof be res^rved for the Chevalrie and cōialtie, yet the greatest por^ōn and store thereof shall serue for them as of right it beseemeth, and of this fruite they maie vse as plenteouslie as them liste, and the more they vse thereof the more good shall it doe them, and this fruite maye they more boldlie and lardglie meddle wth, if they doe their dutie for the good p^serua^ōn of the roote that it springe out of, w^{ch} is the roote of peace. What is the dutie to doe for the p^serua^ōn of contynuaunce of that roote, but to shewe in themselues the pfit tokens of peace, w^{ch} be patience, humylitie, e reuerence; and besidee that to pray dylie for the pfitte peace. Soe theis be the fowre last fruitē of this tree of comō welth, by the vertue of the fowre laste rootē thereof, and ye see by what p^sons they shalbe taken, but yet all the subiectē must order themselues well wth good [blank in MS.] the gathering or taking of theis fowre fruitē, that is to saie, euy man to gather or take the fruitē meete for himself, and wth discre^ōn e spⁱallie to beware of such of thother fruitē that be not appropriated or meete for them, or els they will infecte and not norishe. Firste, the Clergie to be contente wth the fruite of good example, and not covet or desire the fruite of honorable dignitie, w^{ch} is all at the discre^ōn of their Sou^aigne; if they accept it when it is free^lie offred them, it is time enoughe, and to rathe [too early] wthout they be thereto able and meete, and though they be neu^l so able, let them in noe wise desire it by anie waies or meanes; for if they come by it soe, they incontynently thereby be casten into daung^rous sicknes of Symonie, or els into a greate spice thereof. Maye they take or resigne of the fruite of worldle prosperitie chieflie appropriated to the Chivalry? Naye, verelie, if they intende

to occupie well their owne fruite, w^{ch} is the fruite of good example, for they will hardlie agree togithers. Also in them it is a great p^rpatiuē towardē thinfirmitie of inconstancy. Howe shall they be wth the fruite of sure tranquillity, most necessarie for the cōialtie? Of that fruite they may be suffred to take some pte, soe it be to thintente to vse their owne fruite of good example the more lardglie, and els not; Howbeit yet oftentimes tribulaçōn is to them but a fruite of good example. As for the Chivalrie, let them in anie wise beware howe they meddle wth the fruite of honorable dignitie, although it be otherwhiles tollerable for them to desire it, when they are meete therefore, yet is it more laudable to haue it of the free disposiçōn of their Souaigne. But in all cases let them neu^l p^ssume to take it of their owne aucthoritie, for then it will surelie choke them. Howe shall they take vpon them to meddle wth the fruite of good example, that the Clergie doth? Though they meddle therewthall they shall not speede the worse. And as the fruite of sure tranquillitie of his nature he is to wordlie hono^r a kinde frende, & as for the cōialtie their owne fruite is most kindly for them; for as to the fruite of honorable dignitie, let them in anie wise neu^l desire to accept it, for howsoe^u they haue it, a labell therewth, and that is not *prodest* or *non decet*. Howe shall they order themselues for the fruite of worldlie prosperitie, to the Chevalrie belongingē; for they might desire it, though the honest m^echantē and such other of greate substaunce doe deale therewth; yet to the multitude of the cōmons it is neither p^rfitable nor necessarie, for the fruite of sure tranquillitie is sufficient for them. May not they vse the fruite of good example that groweth for the clergie, through their true dilligence, wth dilligent labor by [blank in MS.] Of their good example pease wth faith it sufficeth; but let them not smatter in matters of divinitie, least thinfecçōn of heresies creepe in wthall. Nowe haue ye, howe e^uy man of these fowre fruitē shall take or refraine. But howe they shall vse them

it is necessarie to knowe. As it was before rehearsed they must be vsed wth discreçõn or els they will nourishe but little. And ere it be spoken howe theise fowre fruitē shalbe vsed, it is conveyent to speake of the first and principall fruitē, that is, thonor of god, w^{ch} [blank in MS.] is the firste and most excellent fruitē in comparison. Wherefore thother are but poyson or venyme to be resembled to a pfit medicyne; for this is the verie true comfortable fruitē, wthout the w^{ch} all thother are nothing to be regarded, but vttr^lie to be dispised, and spīallie wth a x̄pen Kinge, and in a x̄pen realme, & this fruitē of his wholsome nature is next and redy for eūy man that will take it, aswell for or Souaigne Lord as for the clergie, aswell for the Chivalrie as the cōmons, aswell for the nobles as for the vnnobles, aswell for the poore as for y^e riche, aswell for the younge as for the olde, for the sicke as for the whole. O pretious fruitē of a noble nature, that is moste wholesome, and sheweth to all manner of men that will take it, the more a man dealeth wth it the more holsome it is, and the more a man eateth of this fruitē the more greedy he is in it; the more greedy the more good it doth him; the faster he gathereth the more plentie he leaveth. This is a dellicate fruitē for a xten Kinge; this is the fruitē that p̄serveth all other fruitē; this is the fruitē that all men should insatiablie desire; this is the fruitē that vseth neither gold nor silver, prayer, s^rvice nor labo^r; this is the fruitē that eūy man may take wthout deliuaunce of other, or wthout displeasure or p̄iudice to any pson; this is the fruitē that never bringeth anie to surfet, corrupçõn, disease or sicknes. For this is the fruitē that is both meate and drinke, and true medicine, both erly and late. Wherefore, first seeke for this fruitē, that is soe good, p̄fitable and easy to be gathered, And all thother fowre fruitē and all their necessaries shall plenteouslie be added to yo^u. But now [to] speake of the manner of the vse of thother fowre fruitē that are soe pilous and soe daungerous of their owne nature, that they

may not in anie wise be vsed after the manner of the rehersed excellent fruite, And that for many causes, but sp̄iallie for twaine. The one is they are so delicious that they must neede be vsed wth payned sawce [? bread sauce, from French *pain*] for else they [are] very poison, and neither medicynable nor meete. Thother cause is [that] all theis fowre fruitē haue pilous cores wthin them, that maie in noe wise be touched, but of necessity must be vtterlie refused, for they be venemous in the highest degree, that noe cause will help them. And also it is very necessarie to pare theis fowre laste fruites, And yet for all that, that [*sic*: they] must be vsed wth payned sawce; forasmuch as the fowre paringē and the fowre cores of theis fowre fruitē are of di^us and se^uall propties or natures, And that one maⁿ of kinde of sawce must and will serue for all theis fowre fruitē.

Firste I will speake of the fowre paringē of theis fowre fruitē, and that [*sic*: then] of the fowre pilous cores, and after of the necessary and payned sawce, that will serue well for theis fowre fruitē. And firste as touchinge the paringe of theis fruitē of honorable dignitie, w^{ch} fruitē is most conveniently ordayned for o^r Sou^aigne Lord to dispose; then, if the paringē thereof be noble, hauing many noble vertues, yet shall it be right necessarie to him as he vseth it, for to pare and lose [loose] the paringe from the fruite, and to dispose and distribute the paring to the other that haue nede thereof. The paringe of this fruitē is compassion or pittie, the w^{ch} paring right well beseemeth the Royall fruite of honorable dignitie; for it is to be doubted that this fruitē weareth sore, if the paringe of compassion and pittie doe not growe, but this fruitē of honorable dignitie to turne cruell tyrannye, w^{ch} is cleane contrarie to the nature thereof. This paringe must be pared or loosed from the fruite, for if it be close or sticke faste to the fruite, it will doe but little good or none; and when it is pared it must be distributed to all them that haue nede of it, and not to

be casten to the doge, for it is ordayned for the children of men. But if a question be asked, w^{ch} of the subiecte haue neede of this paringe, I thinke it is harde for any of them, sp̄iall or temporall, fro the highest degree to the lowest, if all thinge come to light, clerlic to excuse him, but that once in the yere he hath neede of theis paringe, e they that falle into the greatest daunger haue most neede thereof. Yet I meane not to giue it at all tymes to all them that neede it, lest Justice would cease. But yet it beseemeth a x̄pen Kinge rather to giue to much then to little; but yet let them neū wante it what tyme malice and falshood hath brought them the neede thereof; for discrecōn by a good moçōn maie deuide these paringe. But for a suretie, the oftner that a Prince pareth his fruite, e then the paringe by discrecōn be disposed, the bett^r will his fruite be, and the more will it haue the sent [scent] of his materiall propertie. What is the paringe of the fruite of good example to the Clergie, but the encrease of vertue and coninge? Of itself, it is right laudable, and the paringe right prop for good example. What shall yo^w of the clergie doe wth theis paringe? Is there anie folke haue nede thereof? I trowe neū more nede; and soe greate nede that if yo^u deuide not yo^r paringe right hastelie, I feare me the encrease comeinge will fall in this realme. Looke well vpon yo^r twoe vniūsites, how famous they haue ben, and in what condiçōn they be nowe. Where be yo^r famous men that were wonte to reade Divinitie in eūy Cathedrall church, and in other greate monasteries? Where be the good and substanciall scollers of graṃar that haue ben kepte in this realme before this tyme, not onlie in eūy good towne and cittie, and in other places, but also in Abbies and Priories, in prelat^e houses, and oftentimes in the houses of men of hono^r of the temporalitie? Wherefore the greate prelat^e wth the help of other of the clergie, pare of theis paringe of thencrease of vertue and connyng, and throwe them into yo^r vniūsites

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in plenteous manner, soe that euy one of yo^u in yo^r diocē doe this aswell in yo^r cathedrall church, as in Abbies and Priories, and in all other placē convenient. And if yo^u pare yo^r paringē soe, I thinke that [if] ye take some of yo^r fruite of good example therewth, yo^r paringē wilbe the more profitable. Ye that be the greate pillars of the clergie will pcase say vnto me ye would right faine that conninge were encreased if yo^u wist howe to bringe it about. Two or three waies I will shewe yo^u that will not hinder. First and principallie haue delight in vertue and conninge yo^rself, and though yo^r conyngē were right good, yet by encrease and studie yo^u shall make it the better, for the greater yo^r clergie is the more coñyngē yo^u behoveth, and the more paine yo^u shall take therewth. Let that be yo^r pastymes and pleasante disportē. The Seconde, favo^r yo^r conyngē clerkes and promote them wth yo^r promo^{co}ns & churches in the vni^usities and other placē: for such as be vertuous and conyngē, make them yo^r Archdeacons and Deanes, and giue them yo^r Prebendaries. Let them haue care vnder yo^u of the sicke soules, they knowe what mcedisynnes be necessarie; & haue plentie of such about yo^u, for theis gallantē should be yo^r guard from daunger to defend yo^u. And ou^{er} this, exhorte all other in yo^r diocē that haue p^{ro}mo^{co}ns in likewise to order them. Thirdlie let not to depte wth some pte of yo^r silver to comforte and relieve yo^r scollers and espie such as be willing and apt to learne, wth like exhibi^{co}n, let them haue [that] w^{ch} is necessarie. Thus spende yerelie some pte of yo^r por^{co}ns, though ye leave purchasinge of landē and mynishe yo^r diet, for a better chauntry shall ye neu^{er} founde, And thus distribute ye the paringē of yo^r fruite, coñyngē to encrease. And doe not this onlie yo^rself, but also dilligentlie exhorte all other in yo^r diocē that be able to followe the same. O howe much shall yo^r owne excercise of studie and labo^r for coñyngē, enforce all other clarkes in yo^r diocē contynuallie to labo^r and to studie for thencrease of their owne coñyng. And

howe much shall yo^r promoting of vertuous and conyngē clarkes in great nomber encourage y^e studentē of yo^r vniū^sities to take paine & dilligence to encrease in vertue and coñyngē. And howe much shall yo^r large exhibi^cōns given to poore schollers and studentē encourage younge folkes to applie their learninge and to be vertuous; and then maie yo^u the better be named the stronge pillars of the clergie of Christes church. But I pray god hartelic that none of yo^u turne the paringē of the fruite from thencrease of conyngē to the decrease and distruc^cōn of coñyngē, & distribute theis paringē aswell into the vniū^sities as to eu^y place of yo^r dioce. When doe yo^u soe? Whensoeu^{er} yo^u of yo^rself that lacke coñyngē, will take no paine to haue it, nor will favor ne cherishe other to haue it, This is one pilous stroke that letteth [hindreth] thencrease of conyngē. Another is, when yo^u dispose yo^r benefices to such as are not Clarkē, having little conyngē & less vertue, But to such as will set their whole mynde, and can be good and profitable stewardē of houses and clarkē of yo^r kitchins, and haue well the conyngē of abrevement [keeping or writing accounts] and castinge of accompte, or to such as wth good pollicy can survey yo^r landē, and can well encrease yo^r fynes and casualties, and will set themselues in yo^r temporall courtes, and to such as can surelie and wiselie be yo^r reccivo^r of yo^r rentē and revenues, and rather then faile will boldlie distraine a poore mans cattle, and drive them to pounce till they sterve for hunger. This is a mischievous buffet to thencrease of conyngē. And yet otherwhiles yo^u haue soe manie former p^rmisses to p^rforme, and soe greate frendes to please, that yo^r chief promo^cōns goe that way. And I will not beleve but yo^u promote some of theis riche Drovers that lend yo^u mony towardē yo^r bulles for yo^r love; for their bondē will breake. Theis paringē be they that cannot be called to thencrease of conyngē nor of vertue, but the destruc^cōn and decrease of them both. When doe yo^u throwe theis unhappie paringē in y^e vniū^sities?

When ye cause theis manner of Clarkes there to be graduate, not by their learning, and that they maie weare fures in their hood ℓ , and be called masters in lesse then a yere learninge. They haue their conynge aud learning both; ℓ otherwhiles yo^u send to the vniⁱsities, young schollers of Tenne or twelue yeres of age, right nere of yo^r blood, and they must highlie be promoted wth an Archdeconry or prebend ere he can say his mattens; he must goe in his grained cloathes lyned with silke, or furred wth the best, as though to that vniⁱsitie his coninge is but small, yet if he be furnished wth vertue he is not farre amysse. Howe be such simple paring ℓ distributed abroade in yo^r dioces, when such as can [ken] little are promoted to the greate cures; and because he must attend his $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ vice, he will set one vnder him that will serve for lesse wag ℓ : theis be pilous paring ℓ to throwe among ℓ the poore people. I truste there are no such in this realme that deuide such paring ℓ ; and if there be, let them leave it as soone as they maie, for besid ℓ the daunger of their conscience, it maie turne them to such infamie, p $\text{\textcircled{c}}$ ase more then they haue des^rved; for oftentimes the poore people will iudge the likelihood, if there be such a prelate p $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ oted, for likelihood of profit, they will iudge that he hath his dignitie by paym^t ℓ of mony or els for p $\text{\textcircled{p}}$ fitable s^rvice, more then for any coninge or vertue. They will also saie the same by their prelat ℓ if they so p $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ ote their young kinsfolke, and lewde bodies will saie it soone of them, though it be not true; Wherefore for dischardge of yo^r soules, and also for keepinge of yo^r good name, pare well yo^r fruite of good example, and distribute yo^r paring ℓ , w^{ch} is the encrease of coninge and vertue, as before is rehersed. What is the paring ℓ of the fruite of worldlie p $\text{\textcircled{p}}$ speritie w^{ch} yee of the noble Chevalrie haue? It is true defence, not to defend a false quarrell, nor to defend a murtherer, a thief or an extor $\text{\textcircled{c}}$ oner; But deffend poore people from all wronges and iniuries; and otherwhiles in a true cause it is sufferable one of yo^u to defend another:

and cū to be readie to defend yo^r prince, the churchē and the realme; and the oftner yo^u pare this fruite and dilligentlie deuide it, the better is the fruite, and the more convenient for yo^u noble men to vse. As for the fruite of pfitable tranquillitie that is necessarie for your cōialtie to haue a paringe right agreeable for that fruite, and requisite it is for them to pare and distribute it, w^{ch} is called trulie exercise. To what p^{ersons} shall they distribute their manner of paringe? To none other but to their owne children and s^{er}uauntē; ffor the good lief of the cōialtie in substaunce standeth in true labo^rs and lawfull busynesses, And it is behouefull for them to excercise the same both erly and late, frō tyme to tyme, and not to slugge in their bedē, but to be thereat right earlie in the morninge, for then most contynuallie is their best speed or Journey; yet this is not the tyme exercise that I meane to be the paringe of the fruite of pfitable tranquillity; but it is to set their children w^{ch} be younge betymes to some true labo^r or busynes, and that as soone as they haue discre^{cion} to doe any thinge. And let not their men sauo^r or delight in the plous paring of Idlenes, for if they once haue a felicitie therein in their youth, it is a greate m^{is}uaile if cū they fall to be good laborers or artificers. But will rather serue a gentlemā ē that in the worst manner. And for a true conclusion for the more pte the men children growe to be beggers, Theeves, or both, and the women to be brothels, and at the last begge for their breade. Ye were better giue them to the Gallows then to bring them vp in Idlenes. And ye honeste m^{er}chantē and other welthie Co^{mon}ers, be not ashamed to giue to yo^r children pte of their paringē. Let not the femynine pittie of yo^r wives destroye yo^r children; pompe not them at home in furred coatē, and their shirtē to be warmed against their vprising, and suffer them not to lie in their beddes till tenne of the clocke, and then a warme breakfaste ere his handē be washed: his nature is soe tender, he may neither learne ne labo^r. Mr. John

he muste be called; and his fathers s^rvaunt^e set their bodies to some busynes and that betymes. Remember yo^rselues howe ye wonne yo^r thriftes [profits of labour]. Dandell them not to derelie, lest follie fasten on them; for oftentimes all that yo^u leave, though ye were longe in gettinge thereof, wth much penurie and paine, shortlie they spende it wth vnthriftie manner. Experience will shewe more then all this. Ye nobles of the Chivalry, [blank in MS.] the paring^e of the p^rsident to yo^u it will doe yo^u noe harme, for I assure yo^u idlenes breedeth vic^e, aswell in gentells as in other; somewhat afore that was touched. But as for you poore Co^moners caste the paring of yo^r fruite to yo^r children as ye love their lyves; if they will grudge at this diet, let good stripes be their second service. Thus haue wee done wth the paring^e of theis fowre fruit^e.

Wherefore nowe it is tyme to speake somewhat of y^e fowre pilous cores, And though the former fruite of honorable dignitie belonging to king^e and princ^e be right precious and glorious, and the paringe thereof right laudable and worthie, yet the core is very pillous to be touched or vsed: it is named vnreasonable cla^on or pride. It is in noe wise good to vse it wth yo^r fruite of honorable dignitie, yet throwe it not awaye; it maie fortune to serve right well for some other purpose; but co^myt yt to the custodie of yo^r reason, wth a great chardge to kepe it surelie till you haue neede thereof, and co^mmaunde yo^r reason to locke it faste in the coffer of yo^r memory, and for more suretie let her set in her foote of subiec^on; for the naturall p^ptie of this core is to exalte and lifte vp if he maie by any meanes the fruite of honorable dignitie aboue his place: And not only aboue his owne p^p place, but also aboue his owne knowledge, and will not rest so. But if he haue lib^tie he will surelie set him aboue the highest p^te of reason, and then will he stronglie oppresse and subdue all the p^te of reason, and then is man but verie beast, and at the last he will cast the man wth all his hono^r and dignity into the inremediabile sicknes of extreme

Ruine. What was the cause that Lucifer fell, w^{ch} was set in the moste honorable dignitie that eⁿ was creature that god made? None other cause but vsing of elacōn or pride. This pillous core of this glorious fruite of honorable dignitie, this core in him wrought his naturall p^ptie, w^{ch} did eleuate and lifte vp this fruite aboute his p^p place and aboute his knowledge, and at the last aboute the highest p^te of heaven. For the core would needes set the fruite of Lucifers dignitie equall wth the godheade, and Lucyfer ungratiouslie consented to the same. But what fell thereof? Incontinently Lucifer, wth all his hono^r and dignitie, descended from the highest p^te of heaven to the deepest dungeon in hell. Howe wrought this core wth our alter apparant [*sic*] Adam, whoe was in the most honorable dignitie that eⁿ was man, and soe high shall neuⁿ man be set againe of I^mmortality; and in the greatest hono^r of innoceny? But this core, not therewth contented, would needes haue his fruite in an higher pointe and set him at the last soe highe, y^t he set him clerely aboute the reasonable soule of Adam, wherevnto he foolishlie consented and would haue ben as wise as god. What followed of him? Then he was incontinently driven out of the heavenlye paradice into the vale of myserie & wretchednes; he loste his dignity of y^mmortality, and was abhominable and mortall; he loste his hono^r & iⁿnoceny, and was made fraile and sinfull. Howe practised this core wth the mightie King Pharao, whose honorable dignitie was soe greate that he was not onlie kinge of Egipt wth many other cuntries, but he had, wth the subuⁿ and captivitie of the people of god, the children of Israell? But this pillous core would not thus be satisfied, but nedly [necessarily] would inhaunce his fruite, and brought [him] soe high that he sat clerelie aboute reason, and all the p^tes thereof. What fell of it soone after? Was not Pharao drowned in the bottome of the red sea wth all his powre and dignity? O pilous core y^t brought Lucifer wth all his dignity out of the highest p^te

of heaven into the deepest pit of hell! O pillous core, that brought Adam wth all his hono^r and dignity out of Paradice into the vale of myserie! O pilous core, that brought Kinge Pharao wth all his powre and dignitie into the bottome of the red sea! O pilous core, that hast heretofore destroyed ynnumerable kinge and princes, and hast brought them wth their honorable dignitie vnto Ruayne and myserie! O pilous core, that wouldst in likewise from henceforth vtterlie confounde all kinge and princes, that will their false appetite applie or followe! Wherefore let eu^{ry} xpeñ kinge and prince, and all other p^{ersons} rewarded wth this fruite of honorable dignitie, beware of vnreasonable elacōn the core thereof. But what shall be said of the holsome fruite of good example belonging to the Clergie? May soe good a fruite haue soe bad a core? Yea verelie this fruite hath a subtill core and of his prop nature is the key and distruecōn of all good workes. It is named subtill glorie or glorificaōn. And the vsers of this fruite of good example haue need to beware wisely of this core, for be ye sure this fruite will haue this core, and it appeth very subtill to the will or vnderstanding of man; and will enter by fyve false or subtill steps ere he come to his verie restinge place. ffirst this core of glorie will bringe a mañ to remember e^{ach} reckon in his mynde the good examples and meritorious deed^e that he hath done or caused to be done, w^{ch} seemeth to be good rather then ill. But if a man doe wiselie, even there let him reste. Let noe man meddle wth this subtill and false core, nor wth his craftie pswasion, for let us be faste and sure, that all our good deedes be trulie nombred, reckoned or remembred in the eternall booke of the eternall knowledge of god, and that wthout omysion of the leaste braunch or pointe of them, and there shall they be redy for vs at our neede. And therefore if we will surelie beguile this false core, when he exhorteth vs to reckon of vertuousnes, let vs busilie reckon, number and accompt our synnes, and be repentant for them wth hope of

remysson. Stoppe this subtill core at this pointe and he will neu^{ly} covet or desire vs further. But if we consent to him at this point, he will bring vs to reioice our selves in o^r good deedes, examples, or workes, and this seme not verie evill, though it be neither good nor necessarie; for if we will reioice of ourself for our good deed^e or workes, let vs reioice onlie in god and his grace, whereby and by whome we haue done it, and not in the good deede; for though the doers thereof had neu^{ly} bene made or created, the same good deede should haue bene done. Therefore when we be p^roked therto, let vs onlie ioy in god, and give laud^e to him that giveth vs grace to doe them, and nothing in the deed^e. And wth that let vs be sorie that we haue not p^rformed o^r grace in doing manie more good deedes, by vs lewdlie omitted, that we ought, and nothing haue done. If wee set o^r wills thereto, and by this meanes, we shall well reiecte him wth his false purpose at his seconde stop, though we did it not at the first. If he wyn this stop on vs, and bring vs in once to reioyce o^r selues in o^r good examples or deed^e, Then he offreth to vs himself wth his glorie, or glorifica^õn, that is noe more, but to esteme vs to be happie, vertuous and glorious, for doing of the same, and to repute^e o^r selues to be the beloved people of god, and to be those that keepe the co^mmaundem^t^e of god better then other synners doe. Nowe let vs beware, and nowe let vs mightely resiste him, for nowe this false core sheweth himself moste vnto vs in his prop nature, spreading his banner openly in a feild as o^r mortall enemy. But let vs stand stiflie against him, for yet maie we wthstande him if we will. There is noe better remedy then to consider if we haue done any good deede, or good example, yet we haue done nothing soe much as o^r dutie is, and of verie kindenes we are bounde to doe. And then let vs remember we can neu^{ly} worthelie recompence almightie god for his benefit^e. ffirste for the benefit^e of crea^õn, the benefit^e of redemp^õn, the benefits of his p^rs^rva^õn, wth a sure knowledg that all that we

haue done, or doe, is of god both soule and bodie; all cometh of him and nothing of ourself; — and beside this to consider that all our vngratiousnes and sinfull lyvinge and vnkinde dealing against god, cometh only of o^r unhappie and frowarde disposi^on. And theis twoe pointe well considered, wth o^r owne filthines, shall cause vs rather to despise o^r selues then glorie in our self. Howbeit if this false and subtill core wth his thirde stop or bulwarke vpon vs, begyn and take holde on vs once in that pointe that wee glorifie vs in o^r self for o^r good deede, then will he make a strong assault to wyn the fourth stop or warde vpon us, and that is to esteme o^r selfe to be worthie to be glorified beyond all other p^{er}sons, and that other men shall repute vs to be vertuous and good folkes, and the charitable keps of the lawes of god; and to thintente that he will surelie and stronglie wynne this warde, he will provoke vs to doe such good deede as wee will doe in the face of the world, that is, to doe them in such manner that all people maie knowe it for o^r deede, howsoe^{er} we will in doinge our devo^on^s. Be it praire, fastinge, or almes deede, rather in open places then in p^{ri}uate; otherwhiles when we haue done them right secretly, to shewe them outward to other folkes, and soe to make them to appe or els at the least to be well content that other shall declare or manifest them, and at the laste be gladde to heare the praises thereof. Or els we doe anie charitable or meritorious deed, we will cause [blank in MS.] badges or scriptures, or both, to be made, to declare openlie the doers thereof. But wee will saie for o^r excuse it shall be a good occasion to other that hereafter shall see or heare thereof to praie the rather for their soules. O false illu^on of this subtill core, let us be sure all theis open declara^on^s for anie good deede doe vtterlie destroye o^r merite for them, or at the least it p^{ro}fiteth nothing to our soules: whensoe^{er} we doe anie good or meritorious deed, let vs doe it wth the p^{ro}fit circūstaunce, w^{ch} is only for charitie and in the hono^r of god. The auctor

should neither devise [blank in MS.] nor scripture; for god, w^{ch} is the true searcher of all hart^e is the large rewarder of all good deed^e and intent^e; and rewardeth all p^{rs}ons of e^uy good intent or act that is done, more then he des^rveth. Therefore if our act^e be well ordered, it is but vanity to adde thereto other knowledge then thonly knowledge of god, w^{ch} sufficeth, and ne^u faileth. But o^r intent^e be vpon this our open knowledge, that beside our merit to god, yet we would gladlie haue some lawde or good reporte of the people, for o^r doing thereof. Let vs then be sure o^r merit^e be clerelie lost, yet is the deede good, and we haue taken therefore our owne rewarde, w^{ch} is the lawde and fame of y^e people. Let e^uy man examyne the vtt^rmost of his owne mynde and intente when he setteth vpon any such open knowledge of his good deed^e, whether there be noe p^{te} of his purpose to haue some fame or lawde therefore. But this malicious core in the fowrth stoppe or pointe, will not be soe content, that is, to make vtterlie to leese all o^r merit^e for o^r good examples and deed^e, and also in the same to cause vs mortally to synne, And that is thus: When at his desire we make any such open knowledge of o^r good workes, he will not only entice vs to desire therefore lawde or pompe of the people, but induceth vs to thinke o^rselues for such act^e worthie to be lawded and glorified of the people. And if he can bringe vs thereto, then hath he wonne the fowrth warde, for that is a deep mortall synne, and the very synne of vaine glory. The best defence for such assente to this pointe shalbe to vs to remember when we be sturred to thinke o^rselves worthie to be glorified of other folkes for our good deed^e, How abhominable we be of o^r synnes, both in thought and deed, and if we will need^e showe our good deed^e to be glorified for them, let vs shewe the badde also, and soe both togithers, for that is an indifferent waie, and then let vs see well o^rself howe much worthe we be to be glorified: padventure if we should thus doe, as glorious as we would be, we would be right

loath to shewe our faces for shame. Besides this, let vs thinke for a suretie, whensoever and as often as we be of desire of our appetite, we intend the most dishonour to god our creator and redeemer that lyeth in vs to doe, for we would haue that done vnto vs that onlie to his godhead p̄taineth, for he it is to whome the glorie for all good deedes should be done. Also euery creature by the order of humylitie, though he doe neuer so manie good deedes, should repute himself most wretched, and not onlie that, but also should inwardlie desire to be reputed wth all other people. Yet this damnable and cursed core will not be thus satisfied to leave vs in this greate daunger of mortall synne, but will also wyne vpon vs the fift and the last stop wthout we resist him right mightely; for his nature is such, the more he wyne on vs, the more stronger he is and we the weaker. The fift stoppe is that he would cause ourselues to thinke to be glorious in our vertue and in our good deedes, that the glory of ourselues and the glorie of all other people sufficeth not for vs, but that we [are] worthie to be glorified of god. O false canckred core, What meanst thou, that thou wouldst haue vs wretched synners to esteeme ourselves worthie for to haue that reward that all the Virgins, Martirs, and Confessors, nor the holiest S^t in heaven could neuer deserve! Wouldst thou haue vs damnable creatures thinke, or p̄sume vs worthie of our dignitie to haue that reward that the sacred virgin [blank in MS.] could neuer think herself worthie to haue or obtaine for that reward to be glorified? It is soe high that neuer man nor woman could truly saie he deserved it, but only Christ Jesu, for he was that, that was onlie god. Wherefore let not the best of vs synners thinke anie other worthines in ourselues, but to be perpetuallie tormented of our ghostlie enemy the Dyvell, and not be glorified of god, saving by the great favor & mercie of our maker and redeemer. And this to remember oftentimes in our myndes shall not be the worst remedy against the venymous core in this fift stoppe or

pointe: but in any wise let vs resiste him ere he come at this pointe, for the rather [earlier] we deale wth him the easier he is to wthstand, and worst at the laste. This is the pestilingall core of this wholsome fruit of good example, and of all other good workes done by any pson spūall or tempall, and the better worke it is, and the more pfit to the doers, the more busy will this malicio-
 ous core be. Therefore my Lordē and M^{rs} of the Clergie, when yo^u vse yo^r fruite, be ye well ware of the core, and touch it not, yet throwe it not away, but let yo^r poore chamberlaine kepe it, for some other purpose it maye be necessarie, What then is the core of worldlie p^speritie, the fruite of the chevalrie? It is vaine delecta^on, a core right daungerous with that fruite to be vsed. The propertie of this core is not onlie to bereve clerely the minde of man from god and good vertuousnes, and also from himself, but thereto involve securely the memory and vnderstanding of man, and finally to make man abuse himself both in body and soule, and then followeth great ad^usitie and vtter distruc^on. Vaine delecta^on is proplie when a man setteth his love greatlie or knowledge on a thinge. And then if a man once enter into his delecta^on of worldlie prospitie, the more he entreth therein the more delight he shall haue thereof, and at the last shall set his whole mind thereon. Even likewise as though his mynde were ordayned for the same purpose only, and for none other thinge. And soe shall his minde be clerely aliened from god and himself, and at the laste abuse the man both in body and soule, as [blank in MS. ? hath] bene said, & soe fynallie to destroy him. ffirste, to prove if this faileable core of vaine delecta^on be fixed or set in worldlie prosperitie, it will clerely wthdrawe and alyenat a mans mynde from god and himself. Wherefore it is best eūy man to examyne himself, and soe shall he beste knowe howe greatly his mynde is in a manner ravished, when he setteth his delecta^on in worldlie prosperitie. Shall not he be in that case that at mattens and masse, his

mynde will ronne thereon and all in vaine. Shall he eate or drinke but that they will be there, and often tymes let man from his sleepe and other naturall rest. And for a true conclusion let the body be where he will or doe what he pleaseth, the mynde will be there, and this pillous delecta^on of worldlie prosperitie will not faile to bringe wth her the hastie abusion and distruc^on of man. And twoe other enemyes in a manner as well as herself, w^{ch} be concupiscence and delecta^on of the flesh, and of pride of the lief. This delecta^on is the foule lust of the flesh or body, and delecta^on of the world much like in condi^on as well in the alienation of the mynde in manner, as otherwise to abuse him to his owne distruc^on. But yet this delecta^on of the worlde is the worse, for as to refraine fleshlie delecta^on there be di^us thinge that will somewhat slake it, But for this delecta^on of the world there is almost noe remedy. For the delecta^on of the flesh a man maye watch, faste longe, or kepe soe slender diet, that it shall not greatlie trowble him. To thother it will nothing p^rvaile, Or els, if it be a man that may marry, let him take a wief; he maye vse her soe that p^rease he shall haue noe great delecta^on neither in her nor in none other. And the younge wedded wyves force [care] not greatlie to bring their husbande into that case; It is but a follie to fulfill their appetit. Better it were the wief to waste a sigh, or xx^{tie}, then the husband to be combred wth a quarten [? quartan ague] by a yere or twoe, and speciallie if it come that waye, it is plous to cure. But such a medicine will not helpe to thother delecta^on, for the more of that insatiable core a man taketh, the more he delighteth, and if it were possible [for] him to haue all this world, it would scant quenche his thirste. Howe foolish or howe madde is man y^t will thus much delight in his mortall enemye, for this is the enemy of all enemyes, that will not be content to elevate the mynde of man clerelie from God and himself, and to set it only e entirely in corruptible and transitorie vanitie, as is

afore rehearsed, But that will involve and wrap both the memory and the vnderstanding of man, and at the laste soe abuse himselve from the condiçõs of a reasonable man to the condiçõs and propties of an vnreasonable beaste, and to make themself as a horse or a moyle [mule] The w^{ch} thinge in man to be done or made, the holic Kinge David forbiddeth of all thinge, for of that insaciabillitie followeth a beastlie punish^{mt}. Yet this cruell enemy the core of vnreasonable delectaçõn will not be satisfied to haue the man made in bodie as a beaste, and for that to suffer beastlie punish^{mt}, but ou^{er} that will not reste till he bringe aswell the bodie as the Soule to the most extreame distrucçõn and confusion. And therefore this delectaçõn maye well and trulie be called a beastlie appetite. Howe maye it be proved that this beastlie appetite of delectaçõn involveth and wrappeth the vnderstanding and memory of man: They beinge twoe ptes of the reasonable soule? Yes verelie this delectaçõn of worldlie prosperitie wth the helpe of his twoe redy adherent, w^{ch} be delectaçõn of the fleshe and pride of the lief, will soe involve and wrappe his vnderstandinge and memorie, w^{ch} is the knowledge or remembraunce of man, that he shall neither knowe nor remember god nor man, nor himself as he ought, but to be as a thinge that hath clerelie loste all knowledge and remembraunce, he shall not knowe god wth hono^r to be the giver e wthdrawer of all prosperitie at his good [blank in MS. : ? pleasure] but rather he will think it cometh to him by right of succession, or by desert of his own wisdome, hardynes, strengthe, or coninge. He will not knowe men wth reu^{er}ence or dutie, for he will esteeme himself to be more worthie then other, or at the leaste to be fellowe wth his better. He will not knowe himself, neither rememb^r from whence he came, what he is, nor whether it [? he] shall [*sic*]. Whence we came,—all we came from Adam, and w^{ch} of vs the prince or the poore or nexte of kynne by grace to the Manhood, or w^{ch} is most noble, it is hard

to tell, But either we wilbe soe loath to knowe, and rememb^r from whence it came, that we in noe wise would be knowne of o^r Grandfather or Grandmother, or els we wilbe loath to meddle wth anie man that knoweth them, and padventure even soe be o^r fathers and mothers, and other of o^r kynne. Thus we will not knowe from whence we came. Doe we not also forget what we be, and specially when we delight in this vnhappie fruite. Whoe will knowe himself in p^speritie what thinge he is indeed? For all his prosp^sitie what is he the better but a miserable man, having and suffring all the passions, diseases and infirmities as well of the soule as of the bodie, equall wth the poore plowman, and oftentimes much worse. Will any of theis diseases, passions or infirmities forbear him one mynute of an houre for all his worldlie prosperitie; or what beaste, fowle or fishe will obey him more therefore; or what beaste or worme on his fury will forbear him more then the poorest begger that goeth? Looke when o^r glorious garm^t be done of [off] and we naked, what difference is then betwene vs and the poore laborers? P^radventure a more fowle and shamfull carcase. Also looke whether o^r naturall mother broughte vs into this wretched world wth like sorrowes and paines, and the simple bodie all naked as the child of povertie and miserie. Looke a little further on o^rselves. Looke on o^r filthie thinge that goeth naturallie from o^r filthie bodie: in prosperitie padventure it is more abhominable then of the poor pilgrimme. Theis thinge men will not knowe in themselues amonge. He would be loath to heare or knowe what he was xx^{ty} yeres past or lesse. Thus men haue forgotten from whence they came and what they be. Will they remember whether they shall? [*Sic.*] I would to god they would, for that might fortune them to amende. The residue, howbeit, whether they remember or not; Death cometh e^r tarieth not. Howeso^eu^r or in what manner, or in what place, is it not knowne, for where man reckoneth and

trusteth to continue xx, thirtie or fortie yeres, Death cometh oftentimes in xl^{tie} daies or lesse, And when he cometh all the treaso^r in the Towre cannot entreat him for one daye. In what manner will he come? There, as a man trusteth, he will come wth some curtesie or respit, He will come oftentimes cruelly and fervently wth a sharpe pestilence or wth a shorte plurisie, or a [blank in MS.] and an ympostume, and the man shalbe whole this night, and dead tomorrowe, or in three daies oftentimes, and that is longe leisure. Many manner of diu^sities therein that in a man it is impossible to reckon. Then to reckon them to execute their experience to you. And as to the place where he will execute his deede he will not shewe it but kepe it secretlie; for men trusting to die in their bed^e in prospitie, and oftentimes he dieth by execu^{cion} and not worth a peny; otherwhiles in prison and in a deepe dungeon. And oftentimes his supfluous p^sperities be the cause and not the guylte; otherwhiles slaine in the feild or on the waye, or in some other place by his enemyes or thieves; otherwhyles suddenly killed in some other place, and that by them whome he trusteth right well, by casualty that noe man will reckon; but for a suertie, as his waies be innumerable, soe be his plac^e. And soe thende of all prospous folkes is vnknowne and wthout doubte more vncertaine then thende of a poore man. Yet looke a little further on yo^rselves. When we be deade, for all o^r pompe and prospitie, what is o^r p^rciuous carcas, anie thinge but a carrion most vile and abhomynable, and though there be laide about silkes and [blank in MS.] wth [blank] and spices, to the value of M^{li}, yet is it none other thinge but a rotten dong, and dog^e will not eate it. And the [blank in MS.] were there but as one of vs? What shall we carry hence wth vs? Neither regalitie, pompe, p^speritie, none erthlie thinge ells; for naked we came and naked we shall depte hence, even as the poorest soule that eu^{er} begged breade. And as for o^r good deed^e, we shall not neede to

carry them wth vs, for they be trulie noted before god ere our spirite be deputed. And thus doe o^r gracious delecta^on involve and wrappe soe o^r vnderstandinge and memorie that neither we knowe nor will knowe god, o^r neighbour, or o^rselves. And ou^{er} this, he will make man to abuse himself and to followe the condi^ons and p^{ro}perties of a brute beaste, as an horse or a mule, And to forsake the condi^ons and p^{ro}perties of a man, if he set once his dilecta^on to haue this worldlie p^{ro}speritie, he shalbe soe greedy and soe desirous to them that he forceth not what paine or labo^r he taketh or doth to haue them. And ou^{er} that foreseeeth not howe shamefullie or howe vntrulie he cometh by them, soe he maye haue them. He looketh not, neither to the feare of god, the shame of the worlde, nor that w^{ch} ensueth or followeth, but looketh all onlie to obtaine his desire. And this is the verie naturall desire, condi^on or p^{ro}pertie of an horse or a mule, or of anie other vnreasonable beaste, for they regarde nothinge els but thobtayninge of their purpose and delighte. And at seasons he shalbe in such traunce or mutes, that he shall neither tell p^{ro}fectly what he seeth, what he heareth, or what he speaketh. Then he is a verie beaste, or worse then a beaste, when theis worldlie p^{ro}perties be obtayned. Then is the man aferde to goe from them, and thinketh that eu^{er}y man will haue them from him; and he abuseth not himself in this false delight of covetinge of them. But he will abuse himself much more in the vnreasonable delight in the vse and keepinge of them. But howe beastlie is he made, if it fortune him to forgoe them by chaunce of the world or otherwise. Then is he in such a sorrowfull agony, that thereby he goeth madd for sorrowe and soe die for sorrowe, and murmure against god: for sorrowe some kill themselves. This is a sorrowfull lowe [^{or} lowing of cattle] aboue all beastlie sorrowes. Nowe beholde well whether this delecta^on doth not sore abuse man, insomuch he is made thereby as a beaste, e oftentimes worse. Yet the p^{ro}perties of this vngracious delecta-

cōn is much worse thēn all this, for his will and purpose is to bring the man both body and soule to the vtter distrucōn and confusion, if he followe it wthout the greate m̄cy of god. Behold the great kinge Nabuchodoniser, that was in as much worldlie p̄speritie as anie man might be; But at the laste he set his delectacōn so much thereon, that he knewe neither god nor himself, but vtterlie followed his vnreasonable delight, and soe abused himself in beastlie condicōns, till at the laste he was vtterlie deposed from all his worldlie p̄speritie, and driven out amonge beastē, and there amonges them fedde like a beaste by a longe season, till at the laste he remembered his olde beastlie and vnreasonable delectacōn, and then he esteemed himself more worthie to be a beaste then a kinge or knighte, and wth a greate sorrowe and humble repentaunce and heavynes that he tooke towardē god, he was restored to his kingdome and obtayned it agayne. But let not vs trust of such a sp̄iall grace; but somewhat remember Nero the great p̄sperous Empe^r that followed so farre the delectacōn of his beastlie appetite, that when he perceived [he was] to be destroyed or ponished, Therefore he vtterlie slewe himself, and soe was destroyed both body and soule. Howe wrought this delectacōn wth the p̄sperous and wiseman Salamon? Did not he therby forsake his verie god, and did Idolatrie? Howe much was Sampson and other p̄sperous men abused by this pilous core of delectacōn? The noble knight Theophilus for the delight of worldlie p̄speritie gaue himself to the Deuell. What abusion was this? Howbeit he was saved by sp̄iall myracle, of o^r blessed Lady. Wherefore was the great cyttie Jerusalem destroyed? By ponishm^t for beastlie delectacōn. Wherefore were the great Citties of Sodoma and Gomora [blank in MS.] but a ponysh^m for their abusion of beastlie and vnreasonable delectacōn. Wherefore all ye noble and p̄sperous men of the Chevalrie set not yo^r delectacōn therein. I say ye shall not forsake or refuse worldlie p̄speritie,

but that ye may right well accept it as god and yo^r Prince giveth it to yo^u; but looke ye neu^{ly} delight therein, for if ye doe it shall comber yo^u, as it is before rehersed. Wherefore this core of yo^r worldly p^{ro}speritie is vtterlie to be refused by yo^u and all other that enter into worldlie p^{ro}speritie. Yet caste not away this core of delecta^{ti}oⁿ: let yo^r Treasorie sufficiently kepe it vnto the tyme yt maye be better occupied. Nowe ye good Co^mmoners that haue the fruite of tranquillitie, yo^r fruite hath a core of the w^hch ye haue great neede to beware. For it hath grieved yo^u manie tymes, and that right m^uvelouslie. The core of yo^r fruite is called lewde enterprise. I tell yo^u albeit it be dilectious and pleasaunte to beholde, it is a morsell nothing meete for yo^r diet. And if ye will neede deale therewth, it will not only bring you from tranquillitie to the disease of grevous Thraldom and misery, But also oftentimes to vtter destila^{ti}oⁿ [*sic*: ? destruction.] This lewde core enterpriseth, ere he come to doe his shamefull feate or intente, most co^mmonly he sendeth twoe purciphant^e [pursuivants] or messengers before him, chosen of the worst for o^r p^{ro}fit. The first of these twoe messengers is Discontenta^{ti}oⁿ or murmo^r. This messenger will induce yo^u to grudg or take some inwarde displeasure in doing yo^r dutie, as in paying yo^r farmes, rent^e for howses and land^e to them that ye be bounde to paye it, or for some other p^{ar}ticular s^{er}vice that to yo^r ten^{an}t^e belongeth to doe; or to murmo^r at the paym^{en}t of Taxes or fyfteenes, when they be graunted for causes necessarie. He will also induce you to grudge or to disdain to be in such obediancy or subiec^{ti}oⁿ to yo^r supiors or betters. Beware of this messenger, for he must [blank in MS.] yo^u to yo^r owne mischief, if yo^u to him consent. And reu^{er}ently [blank] this fellowe that cometh, the seconde messenger in a gay guilte coate, to inveagle [blank] wth pride, the most pilous spectacle that the co^minaltie may vse. Full ill it is in all men; but worst in the poorest. The name of the seconde messenger is Arrogancye, nighe

cosin to pride. His nature and p̄ptie is to entice to enable yo^rself to such thinge as nothing beseemeth, or to doe such thinges as you can nothing skill on. He will shewe you that you be made of the same moulde and mettall that the gentiles be made of. Whie then should they sporte e plaie, and you labor and Tyll? He will tell you also that at yo^r birthes and at yo^r deathes yo^r riches is indifferent. Why should they haue soe much of the p̄speritie and treaso^r of this world, and ye soe little? Besides that he will tell you that ye be the children and right inherito^{rs} to Adam, as well as they. Whie should they haue this great hono^r, royall castels and mannors wth soe much landes e possessions, and you but poore Tenem^{te} and cotage? He will shewe you also whie that Christ bought as derely you as them, and wth one manner of price, w^{ch} was his precious blood. Whie then should you be of soe poore estate, and they of soe high degree? Or whie should you doe them soe much hono^r and reuēce wth crowching and kneeling, and they take it soe high e statelie on them? And p̄case he will informe you howe yo^r soules and theirs, w^{ch} maketh you all to be men, for els ye were all but beastes, whereby god created in you one manner of Noblenes wthout any adū^sity, and that yo^r soules be as precious to god as theirs. Whie then should they haue of you so great aucthority and powre to co^myt to p^rson, to ponishe and to Judge you? But you good co^moners, in any wise vtterlie refuse this messenger; for though he shewe the truth to you, he meaneth full falslie, as afterward e yo^u shall well knowe, and if you once savor in theis thinge then cometh yo^r lewde enterprise, the core of yo^r fruite of tranquillitie, and he will you encourage to play the man, and bid you rememb^r well the monstra^{co}ns or shewinge of the messenger Arrogancy. He will bid you leave to ympleie yo^rselues to labor and to tyll like beastes, nor suffer yo^rselves to be subdued of yo^r fellowes. He will p̄mise to set you on high and to be lord e and gounours, and noe longer to be

Churles as you were before; or at the leaste he will pmise you to make you fellowes in bodyes, as god made you in soules, and then shall there be a Royall rule in this realme. And to put you in a further comfort he will assure you that some of the Chevalrie will take yo^r pte openly and privilie, or at the least to give you suffer^aunce, prove as you maye. He will also displaye vnto you his banner of insurreccōn & saie to you "Nowe set forward; yo^r tyme is right good." But woe be vnto that man that will fight therevnder. He will pmise you to wante noe treaso^r to pforme yo^r purpose, for he will saie some of the clergie will comforte you right well and lardglie wth mony, for they haue looked therefore many a daye. The merchant^e, the ffarmors, the grasiers that be rich, into this m^hket will bring their bag^e that they haue kept soe long. And as for the widowes and the wyves also [they] will ransacke their forcers [chests, coffers] and their knotted cloutes to the last penny that they can finde, and rather then faile, their girdles, their bead^e, and their weddinge ringes, thus wisely they will them bestowe, And as for men he pmiseth you ynnumerable. Yet ye good Comōners, for yo^r owne ease, deale not wth this false core, but be contented wth the fruite of tranquillity. It is for you both pfitable and good, and will make you welthie, if welth may be suffred, and grudge not against yo^r supio^{rs} for doing yo^r duty. Covet not the psperitie of the Chevalry, nor muse thereon, nor disdaine ye not the great powre of o^r Souaigne, But wth due reuēce obey it. ffor be ye sure the high pvidence of god is, that ye should doe soe, as he declareth himself right plainly to his chosen people, when they desired a kinge. Therefore mynde yo^u not this purpose or intent, that is the equallitie of the mouldes betwene the nobles and you, nor the cognisaunce of the petegree from Adam, nor the indifferency of their soules in their crea^ōns, nor be not the prowder that one prince redeemeth both them and you, nor for that the glory of all Soules standeth not in bodely

powre nor auctoritie, nor yet in silver, golde nor p^rtious stones, nor yet in bewtie, strengthe, wisdomē nor pollicy; but only in vertue indifferent to all creatures. But let vs all consider that god hath set a due order by grace betwene himself and aungells, and betwene angle and angell, and by reason betwene Aungell and man, and betwene man and man, e man e beast, and by nature only betwene beaste and beaste, w^{ch} order from the highest pointe to the lowest, god willeth vs fervently to kepe, wthout any enterprise to the contrary. But of all theis messengers [*sic*: ? messages] that theis proude and sedicious messengers brought vnto you, if ye will well and substancially ymprinte them in the hartes of the nobles, it should doe noe harme, padventure it would cause them at seasons to haue the more compassion, m^ecy and charitie o^u the poore Co^moⁿs. And to put you in a more p^rfit remembraunce not to deale wth this lewde core of lewde enterprise, looke how yo^rself and such as [yo^u] haue been s^rved and deceived by him in tymes paste. ffirste consider the great [blank in MS.] of the realme of Fraunce being in great wealth and tranquillitie. Loke on them a lewde enterprise in the tyme of Kynge [blank] and at that season frowardlie did great and shamefull displeasures and wilfulnes in the noblest of Fraunce. But in conclu^coⁿ there [*sic*: ? they] were subdued and vtterly destroyed. And then were the co^moⁿs of Fraunce put in more subiecc^on and thraldome then ever they were before, the w^{ch} yet contynueth. Looke more nere to yo^rselues the Comynaltie of this realme of England, whoe haue oftentimes smarted full sore for such lewde enterprise: behold well whether the Co^moⁿers of the west p^te of this lande wonne anie honestie or p^rfit by their lewde ent^rprise wth their captaine the blacksmyth. I praie god to saue this realme from any such captaine hereafter. Therefore of theis president^e you haue enoughe to eschewe this pilous core of yo^r fruite. Yet cast not away this ent^rprise of yo^r core, for y^t may fortune to be to you a chief frende,

and therefore keep him close wthin you vnto the tyme ye may lawfullie vse him. And thus I have done wth theis foure plous cores of theis fowre fruitē.

Nowe let this necessarie sawce be spoken of that will serve well wth all these fowre fruitē, wthout the w^{ch} sauce theis fowre fruitē ought not to be vsed, though all they be well pared as is before rehersed. This sawce is nothing els but the dreade of god. Albeit this sawce be a little payned [? pined, hungered] at the firste, it is so holsome of himself that he digesteth all manner of meatē that he is vsed wth, And it is a sawce right agreable and convenient for euy manner [of] meate that a x^pen man shall eat. This sawce [may be] served to the poore and to the rich, to the sicke and to the whole, and to all manner of people that vseth any of theis fowre fruites. Our Souaigⁿe Lord when he vseth his fruitē of honorable dignitie, he maie not lacke the sawce, and it must be s^rved to him in the better [? butter] and thoughe this fruitē as of himself were either to muche delicious, or had any other qualitie infective, This [blank] sawce will take them all clerely awaye. And nowe this fruitē of honorable dignitie, when it is well pared, that is to saye, when the paringes of compassion are larglie pared therefrom, and bounteouslie distributed where nede requireth, and the core thereof, w^{ch} is Ela^cõn, not touched, but vsed wth this souaigⁿe sawce of the dreade of god, It is a fruitē pfit and convenient for a x^pen Kinge or a Prince to vse. And you of devote Clergie in likewise, albeit yo^r fruitē of good example be of ytself mⁱvailous good, and that ye right well and plenteouslie from it doe pare the paringes of the encrease of vertue and coñyngē, right discretly refuse subtill glorie, the core thereof, yet in any wise vse all yo^r good deedē and examples wth this pfitable sawce the dreade of god, and the dreade of his secrete Judgm^tē, and then is yo^r fruitē of good example the verie true exemplarie ē myrro^r of x^pen preistē. And also ye of the noble Chevalry haue great neede to vse this

sawce of the dreade of god abundantlie wth the fruite of worldlie prosperitie; for though ye pare therefrom the paringē of true defence right dilligentlie and right surelie, abstaine yo^rself from the delectacōn thereof, his core; Yet it is to much pilous to vse wthout the dreade of god this pp sawce, But soe vsed, wth feare, it is to the fruite right meete and convenient for x^pen Knightē. And ye good Co^moners of this realme of England, forbear ye not this sawce of the dreade of god in vsing of yo^r fruite of tranquillity, for though ye right busylye pare from yo^r fruite for the pfit of yo^r children, the paringes of true excercise, and also refuse right wisely the core, w^{ch} is lewde ent^rprise; Yet this sawce must ye needes vse therewth; but soe vsed it is the pfitable ē welthie fruite that is requisite and expedient for you, being Co^moners of a x^pen realme, and vnder the obedience of the most x^pen Kinge. Padventure you will know when this noble sawce cometh, that necessarilie s^rveth aswell for theis fowre se^uall fruitē, being of foure se^uall natures, as for all manner of people, of what degree, age, condi^cōn or nature they be of. This sawce is a Juyce or a lavatory that springeth or issueth out of the principall roote, and out of the tree of co^mon wealth. W^{ch} principall roote is called the love of god, and issueth and springeth e^umore conveniently wth the most noble fruite that was rehersed, w^{ch} is thonno^r of god; for it is ympossible wherso^eū this principall roote the love of god is faste and surely rooted, [? but that] there shall not only growe and encrease in abundant manner the fruite of the hono^r of god, but therewth this lycour or sawce of the dreade of god, shall also plenteously springe and issue out.

Yet padventure some will vnderstande and knowe what shalbe done wth theis fowre pilous cores, of whome soe much daunger was spoken? And forasmuch as it was advised to keepe them as a store, and not to caste them awaie, and also for that it was said it might fortune them to serve for some good purpose; ffor this it

shall be necessarie to resorte to the vsing of the fifte fruite, w^{ch} is the hono^r of god, and is the most excellente fruite of this tree of co^mon wealth. Somewhat it is touched of the noblenes of this fruite, and that it was a fruite meete for all p^sons and of the w^{ch} ne^u grewe dissease, corrup^{ti}oⁿ or surfet. It is also that fruite that neede not other sawce, but beareth all goodnes in himself. He hath none such daungerous or pilous cores as were spoken of in the other fowre fruites; for he is of that nature that he will suffer nothing that ill is, or maye be, to come wthin him: but his good and glorious nature will come to alter all thinge that be pilous and evell, and will make them good e behoo^vefull. For the prooffe thereof, let o^r Sou^uaigne Lord take Ela^uoⁿ, the core of the fruite of honorable dignitie, w^{ch} to vse therein was pilous and venemous, but let him vse it wth this noble fruite, the more good the fruite will doe him. But this fruite will somewhat alter the name of this core, if he were called into the fruite of worldlie dignitie "vnreasonable ela^uoⁿ," he shalbe called into this noble fruite of the hono^r of god "verie ela^uoⁿ," and yet all it is but one thinge in effecte. And ye Lordes and of the Clergie maye bringe forthe the core of the fruite of good example, that is glory, that was therein so pestiferous and wicked, e vse it wth this noble fruite, and see what harme it shall doe. For a suretie noe harme but much good, for the more ye glory in this fruite the better ye doe. But for a better knowledge here, I will adde thereto a c^{er}taine Addi^{ti}oⁿ: wherefore in o^r other fruite he might truly be called vaine glory, This most noble fruite will call him p^{ro}fit glory. Where is nowe vaine delecta^{ti}oⁿ, this pilous and daungerous core of the fruite of worldlie p^{ro}speritie, being the fruite of the Chevalrie. Ye noblemen, nowe bring him forth and vse him wth this glorious fruite of the hono^r of god, for herewth he is nothing noysome, but nevertheles he is verie necessarie; for this is the fruite that ye should and at yor lib^{er}tie maye vse that core wth. And nowe shall he serve you

right well; and the name of this core must somewhat be chaunged by this noble fruite, and that shalbe from vaine delecta^on to true exalta^on, and all is one in substance. And where is this lewde ent^rprise, the pilous core of the fruite of tranquillity, that ye of the Comynaltie haue surelie kepte, and not vsed it wth yo^r fruite? Nowe bringe it forth and vse it at yo^r lib^tie wth this fruite; for the more ent^rprise, and the oftner, ye make to obtaine this fruite of the hono^r of god, the better you dooe. For it is the fruite that all x^pen people should seeke for, for where ent^rprice attayneth to yo^r fruite of tranquillitie, it was called lewde ent^rprice, and in this excellent fruite it may be called noble ent^rprice.

And for the reward of this ordering yo^rself, ye co^moners in the vsing of yo^r welthie fruite of tranquillitie, ye shall not onlie haue right singular praise of the people of other Realmes & outward ptes, but also a great reward of god after this transitory lief. What a price shall it be to you when all outward people & co^moners of other ptes shall reporte of you to be the most pollitique and discrete Co^mons of all x^pen realmes & most wiselie p^rserue yo^r fruite of tranquillitie, not only wth true labo^r and pfit concorde amonge yo^r selues, But also wth faithfull reu^ence to god and due obedience to yo^r prince and supiors. And they shall wishe themselues to be in such welthie condi^on as ye be, or els to be suffred to inherit amonge you. But howe farre aboute this shalbe the rewarde that god will give you when he shall saie vnto you — “Nowe, come ye to me you x^pen co^moners & chosen people, the w^{ch} haue alwaies busyed yo^rselues in true labo^r and lawfull occupa^on without subiltie or piury, and haue kepte well yo^r roote of concorde, and haue not vsed yo^r roote of tranquillitie, the fruite of co^mon wealth, contrary to my lawes and co^mandem^te, but haue dilligentlie pared truly [blank in MS.] the paring thereof for the releef of yo^r children and s^rvant^e, & haue not attempted anie lewde ent^rprice, the core thereof,

to my dishon^r, or contrary to my ordyn^{ance}. And ye be the people that neu^{ly} vsed yo^r fruite of welthie tranquillitie, but wth their sawce, my dread. Also ye have vsed yo^r principall fruite to my hono^r, & therein haue you set yo^r core of lewde ent^rprice. Nowe come and haue yo^r fynall rewarde. For yo^r true worldly labor and busynes, ye shall haue ppetuall pleasure & ease: for yo^r good vnitie and comf^{ort}e amonge yo^rselues, ye shalbe informed wth Angells, for that ye haue kept yo^r dutie. ffor obedience to yo^r prince and supi^{ors} I shall make you princes & supi^{ors} to all men & princ^e vpon earth, for that ye haue set yo^r ent^rprice in mine hono^r, & nothing to the contrarie. Therefore nowe I myself wilbe yo^r Cap^{tain}e to ent^rprice for you the cellestiall citty, where ye shall surely enioye the fruite of tranquillitie ppetuall. And for that ye haue vsed the sawce of my dreade, I shall set you where you shall from hensforth for eu^{er} [blank in MS.] honor me, and neu^{ly} more painefullie to dreade me, nor nothing els, for ye be the loving stones w^{ch} reedifie my heavenly Jerusalem, in steed and place of the Angells w^{ch} fell wth Lucifer." — But what shall the great fame and souaigne rewarde be, that if [*sic*] ye of the noblest of the Chevalrie shall haue of god and man, for the well vsing of yo^r fruite of the worldlie p^speritie in this realme of Englande? Ye maie be sure y^t all noble knight^e of yo^r great fame will saie, these be the verie true x^pen knight^e, of whome all we maie learne to dooe our duty in the defence of the faith of the church of Christe, and in true redynes to s^{er}ue their Prince and defende him and his realme; let us followe the steps of them for thonno^r of o^r church, and let the suretie of o^r prince, the welth of o^r co^mons, and the p^speritie of o^rself. But what shall the souaigne rewarde be that ye shall haue of god, when he shall saie vnto you, "Nowe come ye to me, my chosen knight^e, and I shall set you on the right hande of my father as his faithfull and x^pen knight^e that euer haue loved the

roote of truth, and for none worldlie cause would square therefrom. And for that ye loved soe well truth, I shall ioine you to myself wth the indissolible knotte of pmanent love, for I am very truth whome ye have loved. And for that you have vsed yo^r fruite of worldlie p̄speritie accordinge to my lawes and cōmandm^tē, Nowe shall ye haue & take the sweetnes of my p̄speritie celestiall, that my father hath given to me, and is ordained for me and you as brethren before the constituōn of the worlde. And for that you haue pared yo^r paringē of defence as my verie knightē to defend me and my church militante, and to be alwaies redy to defende yo^r kinge and his realme wth due obedience, And ou^{er} that haue gladlie defended the poore widdowes and orphanes and all other my poore people from wrongē and oppressions, and haue not applied yo^r defence to defend false quarrells and murtherers, theeves and extorcōns, I shalbe yo^r p̄tector and defendo^r from all daungers & pills, in likewise as I p̄tected my chosen knight David. And for that ye haue not vsed yo^r core of the fruite, w^{ch} is vain delectaōn, wth yo^r fruite of worldlie p̄speritie, ye shall drink yo^r fill, and soe much y^t ye will desire noe more, of delectable grace and mercye. And for that ye haue vsed my sawce of my dreade wth yo^r fruite of worldlie p̄speritie, I shall set you in such p̄sperous tryumphe, that all earthlie knightē shall worship you, and all the Devills in hell shall dreade you. And for that you haue set yo^r core of delectaōn in the fruite of my honor, I shall make you the honorable knightē of Christe, for ye be they that haue wonne the victory against yo^r most mightie enemyes, the Devell, the fleshe, and the world, and them haue vtterly vanquished for ever, Nowe take ye the places and roomes of victory wth theise knightē, St. Dennys and St. Maurice, and his fellowes, where theis enemyes nor [blank: ? none] other shall haue powre in anie wise to assault you or attempt you, but shall flie from yo^r faces as the light doth from

the fervent winde.” — And ye vertuouſe Clergie, marke you well, what lawde of this world and rewarde of god ye ſhall haue, for yo^r pte to be done as is before rehearſed. All the clergie of xpēdome ſhall lawde you & ſaie, theiſe be they that are the verie Clarkes of Chriſte church, that cometh trulie by their promo^ōns, wthout price, ſ^uvice or prayre, and be they which will not accepte nor take any p^{ro}mo^ōns but ſuche as they knowe themſelues right able in vertue and conynge to ſerue and keepe, and that gladlie will reſuſe his owne p^{ro}mo^ōn to p^{ro}mote a more able p^{er}ſon. Theiſe be they that forget not to praie dilligentlie and devoutlie for the prince, the chevalrie, and the comynaltie of their realme, by whome they haue their lyvinge, and put not in oblivion their dutie for their founders, patrons & benefacto^{rs}. Let all vs take o^r light of their Lanthornes, to ſerve god well. But what worthie rewarde ſhall you haue of god when he ſhall ſaie vnto you — “Now come to me my bleſſed prieſte, on whoſe heades my holie vnc^ōn was not loſte, ye haue conſecrated my bodie wth vnpoluted Soules, nothing defiled wth filthines of yo^r fleſhe, ye haue troden vpon the ſteps of humylitie wth the yokes of Chaſtetie faſtned in yo^r neckes, you haue kepte yo^r roote of peace full fervently in deede, word and thought: And ou^{er} that ye haue devoutlie p^{er}ſeuered [? praied] that other maie do the ſame. Ye haue vſed yo^r fruite of good example to the vttermoſt pointe; without any blemiſh of yo^r core of vaine glorie, and that as well for charitie of yo^r neighboures, as for the welth of yo^r owne ſoules. Ye haue plenteouſlie diſtributed the parings of the increaſe of vertue and conynge to the beſte of yo^r powres, to the vni^uſities and all other places where ye ſhall need, wthout p^{ro}mo^ōn of children being younge in vertue and conynge, and ſpeciallie to ſuch roomes as to vertuous and diſcrete clarkes belonge. Ye haue taſted deeplie of the ſawce of my drede in all the vſing of yo^r fruite of good example, and haue

surelie fixed yo^r glorie only in the fruite of my hono^r. Therefore I will make you my pfit preistes for eu¹, after myne owne order. And where ye by fortune haue consecrated my body, as in a shadowe, ye shall fullie vse it nowe as it is. And I shall transforme the clerenes of yo^r faith to the moste clerest frui¹õn of the godheade and constitutè you for eu¹ fellowes to myne Apostles, whose steps ye haue followed.” But the most x^pen Kinge and most naturall Lorde, what praise, lawde and renowne shall yo^u haue, aswell of all x^pen princes as of their subiecte, for the having of this tree of co^mõn wealth in his realme in this manner twoe waies rooted, in himself and his subiecte, e¹ plenteouslie garnished wth the rehersed fruite. ffor where there was great praise to the co^mõns for ordering themself, soe that they be in much welthy tranquillity, the flowre of that praise muste neede sounde to yo^r Sou¹aigne Lo: for setting e¹ keeping them in that good order. And where yo^r chevalrie be in noble fame for soe doinge their dutie that they be in suche worldlie p^speritie, howe muche more shall he haue for whose lawde and dreade and by whose example the principall doth it? And if yo^r clergie haue greate lawdes for the setting and planting of such vertuous prelat^e and others in the church of Christe, wthin yo^r realme; but howe superabundantlie aboue all this shall yo^r praise, fame, lawde and renowne be for the vertuous and prudent ordering of yo^r most royall p^son, and speciallie in yo^r yeres of flourishing youth, whereby this noble tree of co^mõn wealth is thus honorablie rooted and florished [? garnished] wth delicate fruite wthin this realme, and like to the tree of a x^pen Kinge. ffor the w^{ch} all other kinge and princes shall wishe moste hartely to be in like case e¹ condi¹õn, And at the laste, though for disdaine and highe minde they will not speake it, yet be ye sure they will well consider it, wth great feare and dreade to displease you. And aboue all this, what glorious

rewarde shall ye haue of god, the Kinge of all kinge, yo^r maker and redeem^r, when he shall saie vnto you "Nowe come vnto me, my x^pen Kinge and knight; thou arte he that hast ruled my people according to my will e pleasure; Thou hast delighted more [in] my love, the principall roote of the tree of co^mon welth of this realme, then thou haste in thy aucthority, powre and pleasure. Thou hast known at all tymes to haue receaved poure, aucthoritie e regalitie only of me. Thou hast mynistred to all my people thy subiecte true Justice e^more, and hast wiselie foreseene to whom thou hast co^mytted thy great powre and high aucthoritie in that behalf and hast not dishonored Justice for anie pfit, affec^on or cause touching thie self. Thou hast not raised newe lawes or customes, for thie singuler pfit, to the co^mon hurte of thie subiecte. But if anie such before thy daies were araised, or anie good lawe subverted, Thou hast by thie charitable minde forborne thy Subiecte and reduced all thinges to the old and good customes and constitu^ons, and soe during thie lief hast kepte it. Thou hast not also beleved the synister councill of anie p^rson that would induce the contrarie, but rather hast ponished such p^rsons in example of other. Thou hast set my church in good order, aswell in p^rmotinge of vertuous and conyⁿge men, wthout anie pointe of symonie, and caused them to keepe their dioc^e and cures wthout disturbance of free elec^on. Thou hast kept thy temporall subiecte in a loving dread, and hast not suffred them, nor the mightiest of them, to oppresse the poore, nor yet wouldst suffer thine owne s^rvante to extorte or wronge anie other of my people thy subiecte, nor hast not suffred the nobles of thy realme nor anie other of thy subiecte to [blank in MS.] as to ponishe and revenge their owne quarrells. Thou hast supported the Comynaltie in a good tranquillitie, and hast not suffred them to fall into Idlenes. Thou hast bene true in thy deed^e and p^rmises, and as

nighe as thou mightest hast caused all thy subiecte to be the same, And hast caused thy offic^s and s^rvaunte to paie thy poore subiecte trulie their duties. Thou hast kepte them all from the highest degre to the lowest in a good concorde and vnitie amonge themselves. And hast also kept them by thy greate study, wisdom and pollicy in good peace wth outwarde princes. And thou arte that kinge w^{ch} haste eu^{er} vsed the fruite of honorable dignity to my pleasure and contenta^{ti}oⁿ, wthout any vnreasonable Ela^{ti}oⁿ of the same, aboue thy lowest pte of thy reason, and therewth hast thou vsed the sawce of my dreade wth as meeke an harte as the poorest subiecte of thy realme. And furthermore thou hast aboue all thinge Judged in execu^{ti}oⁿ of myne hono^r and to glorifie my name. Wherefore come nowe to me and raigne wth me my glorious knight and xpen kinge, my deere son, my godhead, my singuler beloved brother by the manhood, my verie fellowe in crea^{ti}oⁿ of thy Soule. I shall anoynte the a Kinge eternall wth the holye Elie, that issued out of the bosome of my father, and crowne the wth the Crowne of my owne ymmortall glory and hono^r. And nowe shall thy subiecte, thou also and I, be made as one thinge, and shall alwaie be togither glorified wth the cleerenes of my father and soe raigne and contynue in the hono^r of my father for eu^{er}, where shalbe contynuall lighte wthout darknes, ppetuall peace wthout warre or debate, and all dilec^{ti}oⁿ and sweetnes wthout anie displeasure or grief; all reste and pleasure wthout labo^r and paine; all ioye and felicytie wthout any touche of sorowe, and eu^{er} to live wthout disease or sicknes; and our desyres to be vtterlie satisfied wthout study or busynes. The sight of or father shalbe yo^r food to keepe vs from hung^r and thirste; His mantle of love shall soe wrappe vs, that we shall neu^{er} feele heate nor colde. And [whereas] before thou wert worshipped and served as a King with frayle and mortall people, thy Regally [*sic*: Regallity]

shall nowe be such that the Angells of heaven shall hono^r the as a King ymmortall and shall mynister vnto the. And this tyme wth thee shall neu^{ly} passe nor waste. And soe shalt thou for ever see me and hono^r me in thie self, and thy self in me." To the w^{ch} kingdome Christ Jesu, that bought vs all wth his pretious blood, bringe o^r said Souaigⁿe Lord and his true Subiecte together wth all x^pen people. Amen.

Thus endeth this simple and rude treatise called the tree of co^mon wealth, made by a p^{er}son most ignorant, and being in worldlie vexa^{ti}oⁿ and trowble, also wth the sorrowfull and bitter remembrance of death, In the begynninge whereof it is somewhat touched of the true remembrance of god, w^{ch} firste and above all thinges is to be done, aswell wth kinge and princes and [as] wth all other, and most speciallye wth the great kinge and prince, for they haue greatest cause, for that, that they haue moste of his giftes, And then a word or twoe haue bene spoken of certaine necessaries and behovefull p^{ro}p^{er}ties or condi^{ti}oⁿs in a kinge or prince to be had for his hono^r and suertie, And then, following it, hath bene shewed of this tree of co^mon wealth, the w^{ch} tree must neede have fyve rootes to beare him surelie vprighte, as hath bene rehersed. (That is to saie,) the first and principall roote the love of god, w^{ch} in any wise maie not be forborne to this tree of co^mon wealth in a x^pen Realme. And the fowre rootes be Justice, Truth, Concord e Peace. And corespondent to theis fyve rootes this tree shall plenteouslie beare fowre noble fruites. The most excellent and chief fruite is the honno^r of god, w^{ch} springeth out of the roote of the true love of god, wthout the w^{ch} all thother be but little worth in a x^pen realme. Thother fowre fruites be theis — the fruite of honorable dignitie, only appropriated to the kinge and to his disposi^{ti}oⁿ, w^{ch} groweth by the reason of the roote of Justice. The Seconde is the fruite of good Example, right necessary for the clergie, and that

issueth out of the roote of peace. The Thirde is Worldlie Pspitie, ordayned principallie for the Chevalry, w^{ch} springeth oute of the roote of truth. The ffourth and the laste of theis fowre fruites, is the fruite of pfitable tranquillitie, full necessarie for the Comyn-altie and groweth out of the roote of Concorde. It is also remembered that theise fowre laste fruites haue fowre se^uall paringes, right behoovefull to be pared and distributed to them that haue neede thereof. ffirst, the paringe of the fruite of honorable dignitie, is compassion or pittie; The paringe of the fruite of good example is thencease of vertue and connyng. The paringe of the fruite of worldlie psperitie is true defence. The paringe of the fruite of pfitable tranquillity is tymely exercyse. It hath bene also considered that theis fowre laste fruites haue fowre di^us pilous cores, w^{ch} in anie wise maye not be vsed wth theis fruit^e, but to be res^rued for some other purpose. The pilous core of the fruite of honorable dignity is vnreasonable Ela^on. The pestilencial core of the fruite of good example is subtill glory or glorifica^on. The daungerous core of the fruite of worldlie psperitie is vaine delecta^on. And the noysome core of the fruite of pfitable tranquillitie is lewde ent^rprice. It hath also bene somewhat shewed howe theis fowre laste fruites must be used by discre^on, and howe eu^y pte shall be contented wth his owne pp^r fruite. And when and howe all theis fowre fruits muste need^e be vsed wth the sawce of the dreade of god. And howe the same kinde of sawce will serve for all theise fowre fruites. And how that sawce is a lico^r or a Jewce that issueth oute of the principall roote, w^{ch} is the love of god. It hath bene mo^oed [mencioned] that all theis fowre pilous cores rehersed, will right well agree wth the firste fruite, w^{ch} is the hono^r of god. And that the same firste fruite is soe worthie and soe noble of his nature that he will suffer noe pilous core, nor noe other evill thinge to be within him, but will rather

converte all evell to good. This is the fruite of w^{ch} all princes and other noblemen and vnnoble, the riche and the poore, the younge and the olde, the sicke and the whole, may vse at their libtie, wthout daunger, controlling or disturbaunce. And laste and fynallie it hath bene declared what rewarde, aswell worldlie as heavenly, our Souaigne Lorde and euy one of his subiecte, that is to saie euy pson in his degree, shall have for doing their duties, to kepe vp this noble tree of coñon wealth, within this Realme of England, in manner and forme aboue rehearsed.

[FINIS.]

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