

dyde caste downe their bowes, and so brake their array, and retourned into London. Sir Robert Canoll was sore dyspleased in that he myght nat go to slee them all; but the kyng wolde nat consent therto, but sayd he wolde be revenged of them well ynough, and so he was after.

Thus these folysshe people departed, some one way and some another; and the kyng and his lordes and all his company ryght ordynately entred into London with great joye. And the firste journey that the kyng made, he wente to the lady princesse his mother, who was in a castell in the Royall, called the quenes wardrobe; and there she hadde taryed two dayes and two nightes right sore abasshed, as she had good reasone. And whan she sawe the kyng her sonne she was greatly rejoyced, and sayde, "A! fayre sonne, what payne and great sorowe that I have suffred for you this day!" Than the kyng answered and sayd, "Certaynly, madame, I knowe it well; but nowe rejoyse your-selfe and thanke God, for nowe it is tyme. I have this day recovered myne herytage and the realme of Englande, the whiche I hadde nere lost." Thus the kyng taryed that day with his mother, and every lorde went peaseably to their

owne lodgynges. Than there was a crye made in every strete in the kynges name, that all maner of men, nat beyng of the cytie of London, and have nat dwelt there the space of one yere, to departe; and if any suche be founde there the Sunday by the sonne risyng, that they shuld be taken as traytours to the kyng, and to lose their heedes. This crye thus made, there was none that durste breke it; and so all maner of people departed, and sparled¹ abrode every man to their owne places. Johan Balle and Jaques Strawe were founde in an olde house hydden, thinkyng to have stollen away, but they coulde nat, for they were accused by their owne men. Of the takyng of them the kyng and his lordes were gladde, and thanne strake of their heedes, and Watte Tylers also, and they were set on London bridge; and the valyaunt mennes heedes taken downe that they had sette on the Thursday before. These tidynges anone spredde abrode, so that the people of the strange countreis,² whiche were comyng towardes London, retourned backe agayne to their owne houses, and durst come no farther.

¹ scattered ² distant districts

THE TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

SIR THOMAS MORE (1478-1535)

A DIALOGUE OF SYR THOMAS MORE,
KNYGHTE

THE THIRDE BOKE. THE 16. CHAPITER

The messenger rehearseth some causes which he hath herd laid¹ by some of the clergie: wherfore the Scripture should not be suffred in Englishe. And the author sheweth his mind, that it wer convenient to have the Byble in Englishe.

"Syr," quod your frende, "yet for al this, can I see no cause why the cleargie shoulde kepe the Byble out of ley mennes handes, that can² no more but theyr mother tong." "I had went,"³ quod I, "that I had proved you playnely that they kepe it not from them. For I have shewed you that they kepe none from them, but such translacion as be either not yet approved for good, or such as be alredi reprovod for naught, as Wikliffes was and Tindals. For as for other olde ones,⁴ that wer before Wikliffes daies, remain lawfull, and be in some folkes handes had and read." "Ye saye well," quod he. "But yet as weomen saye, 'somewhat it was alway that the cat winked whan her eye was oute.' Surely so is it not for nought that the English Byble is in so few mens handes, whan so many woulde so fayne have it." "That is very trouth," quod I; "for I thinke that though the favourers of a secte of heretikes be so fervent in the setting furth of their secte, that they let⁵ not to lay their money together and make a purse among them, for the printyng of an evill made, or evil translated booke: which though it happe to be forboden⁶ and burned, yet some be sold ere they be spyed, and eche of them lese⁷ but theyr part: yet I thinke ther will no printer lightly⁸ be so hote⁹ to put anye Byble in prynte at hys own charge, whereof the losse shoulde lye hole in his owne necke, and than¹⁰ hang

¹ alleged ² know ³ weened, thought ⁴ This word is the subject of remain, as well as a part of the phrase in which it stands; the construction is curious but common. ⁵ hesitate ⁶ forbidden ⁷ lose ⁸ easily ⁹ hot, ready ¹⁰ then

upon a doubtful tryal, whether the first copy of hys translacion, was made before Wikliffes dayes or since. For if it were made synce, it must be approved before the prynting.

"And surelye howe it hathe happed that in all this whyle God hath eyther not suffered, or not provided that any good verteous man hath hadde the mynde in faithful wise to translate it, and therupon ether the clergie or, at the least wise, some one bishop to approve it, thys can I nothing tell. But howsoever it be, I have hearde and heare so muche spoken in the matter, and so muche doute made therin, that peradventure it would let and withdrawe any one bishop from the admitting therof, without the assent of the remenant. And whereas many thinges be laid against it: yet is ther in my mind not one thyng that more putteth good men of the clergie in doubte to suffer it, than thys: that they see sometime much of the worse sort more fervent in the calling for it, than them whom we find farre better. Which maketh them to feare lest such men desyre it for no good, and lest if it wer hadde in every mannes hand, there would great peril arise, and that sedicious people should doe more harme therwith than good and honest folke should take fruite thereby. Whiche feare I promise you nothyng feareth me, but that whosoever woulde of theyr malice or folye take harme of that thing that is of it selfe ordeyned to doe al men good, I would never for the avoyding of their harme, take from other the profit, which they might take, and nothing deserve to lese.¹ For elles² if the abuse of a good thing should cause the taking away therof from other that would use it well, Christ should hymself never have been borne, nor brought hys fayth into the world, nor God should never have made it neither, if he should, for the losse of those that would be damned wretches, have kept away the occasion of reward from them that would with helpe of his grace endeavor them to deserve it."

"I am sure," quod your frend, "ye doubt not but that I am full and hole of youre mynde

¹ lose

² else

in this matter, that the Byble shoulde be in oure Englishe tong. But yet that the clergie is of the contrary, and would not have it so, that appeareth well, in that they suffer it not to be so. And over¹ that, I heare in everye place almost where I find any learned man of them, their mindes all set theron to kepe the Scripture from us. And they seke out for that parte every rotten reason that they can find, and set them furth solemnly to the shew, though fyve of those reasons bee not worth a figge. For they begynne as farre as our first father Adam, and shew us that his wyfe and he fell out of paradise with desyre of knowledge and cunning. Nowe if thys woulde serve, it must from the knowledge and studie of Scripture dryve every man, priest and other, lest it drive all out of paradise. Than saye they that God taught his disciples many thynges apart, because the people should not heare it. And therefore they woulde the people should not now be suffered to reade all. Yet they say further that it is hard to translate the Scripture out of one tong into an other, and specially they say into ours, which they call a tong vulgare and barbarous. But of all thing specially they say that Scripture is the foode of the soule. And that the comen people be as infantes that must be fedde but with milke and pappe. And if we have anye stronger meate, it must be chammed² afore by the nurse, and so putte into the babes mouthe. But me think though they make us al infantes, they shall fynde many a shrewde brayn among us, that can perceive chalke fro chese well ynough, and if they woulde once take³ us our meate in our own hand, we be not so evil-tothed⁴ but that within a while they shall see us cham it our self as well as they. For let them call us yong babes and⁵ they wil, yet, by God, they shal for al that well fynde in some of us that an olde knave is no chylde."

"Surely," quod I, "suche thinges as ye speake, is the thyng that, as I somewhat sayd before, putteth good folke in feare to suffer the Scripture in our Englishe tong. Not for the reading and receiving: but for the busy chamming⁶ therof, and for much medling with such partes thereof, as least will agree with their capacities. For undoutedlye as ye spake of our mother Eve: inordinate appetite of knowledge is a meane to drive any man out of paradise. And inordinate is the appetite, whan men unlerned, though they reade it in

theyr language, will be busy to enserche and dyspute the great secret mysteries of Scripture, whiche though they heare, they be not hable¹ to perceive.

"Thys thing is playnely forbode² us that be not appoynted nor instructed therto. And therefore holi saint Gregory Nazizenus, that great solemne doctour, sore toucheth and reproveth al such bolde, busy medlers in the Scripture, and sheweth that it is in Exodie by Moyses ascending up upon the hill where he spake with God, and the people taryng beneath, signified that the people bee forboden² to presume to medle with the hygh mysteries of Holy Scripture, but ought to be contente to tary beneath, and medle none higher than is meete for them, but, receyvng fro the height of the hill by Moyses that that is delivered them, that is to witte, the lawes and preceptes that they must kepe, and the poyntes they must beleve, loke well therupon, and often, and medle wel therwith: not to dispute it, but to fulfille it. And as for the high secrete mysteries of God, and hard textes of hys Holye Scripture: let us knowe that we be so unable to ascende up so high on that hill, that it shall become us to saye to the preachers appoynted therto as the people sayd unto Moyses: 'Heare you God, and let us heare you.' And surely the blessed holy doctour saynt Hierome greatlye complayneth and rebuketh that lewde homely maner, that the common ley people, men and weomen, wer in his daies so bold in the medling, disputing, and expowning of Holi Scripture. And sheweth playnlye that they shall have evill prefe³ therein, that will reken themself to understand it by them selfe without a reader. For it is a thing that requireth good help, and long time, and an whole mynde geven greatlye thereto. And surelye, syth⁴, as the holye Apostle Saynt Poule in divers of hys epistles sayth, God hath by his Holy Spirite so institute and ordeyned his churche, that he will have some readers, and some hearers, some teachers, and some learners, we do plainly pervert and tourne up so down the right order of Christes church, whan the one part medleth with the others office.

"Plato the great phylosopher specially forbiddeth suche as be not admitted therunto, nor men mete therefore, to medle much and embusie themself in reasoning and dysputyng upon the temporall lawes of the cite, which would not be reasoned upon but by folke mete

¹ besides ² masticated ³ deliver ⁴ ill-toothed
⁵ if ⁶ chewing

¹ able ² forbidden ³ experience ⁴ since

therfore and in place convenient. For elles they that cannot very wel attain to perceive them, begin to mislike, disprayse, and contemne them. Whereof so foloweth the breche of the lawes, and disorder of the people. For tyll a lawe bee changed by authoritie, it rather ought to be observed than contemned. Or elles the exaample of one lawe boldly broken and sette at naughte, waxeth a precedent for the remenaunte to be used lyke. And commonlye, the best lawes shall wooste lyke¹ muche of the common people, which moste longe (if they myght be heard and folowed) to live al at libertie under none at all. Nowe if Plato, so wyse a man, so thought good in temporall lawes, thynges of mennes making, howe muche is it lesse meete for everye manne boldelye to meddle with the exposition of Holye Scripture, so devysed and endyted by the hyghe wisdome of God, that it farre exceedeth in many places the capacite and perceiving of man. It was also provided by the Emperour in the law civile, that the common people shoulde never be so bolde to kepe dispicions² upon the fayth or Holy Scripture, nor that anye such thing shoulde be used among them or before them. And therefore, as I said before, the special feare in this matter is, lest we would be to busy in chammyng³ of the Scripture our self, whiche ye saye we were hable⁴ ynough to dooe. Whiche undoubtedlye, the wysest, and the best learned, and he that therein hathe by manye yeres bestowed hys whole minde, is yet unable to dooe. And than⁵ farre more unhable muste he nedes be, that boldly will upon the fyrst reading, because he knoweth the wordes, take upon him therefore to teche other men the sentence⁶ with peril of his own soule and other mennes too, by the bringyng men into mad wayes, sectes, and heresies, suche as heretikes have of olde brought up and the church hath condemned. And thus in these matters if the comen peple might be bold to cham it as ye say, and to dispute it, than⁵ should ye have, the more blind the more bold: the more ignoraunt the more busie: the lesse witte the more inquisitive: the more foole the more talkatife of great doutes and hygh questions of Holy Scripture and of Goddes great and secret misteries, and this not sobroly of any good affection, but presumptouslye and unreverentlye at meate and at meale. And there, whan the wyne wer

in and the witte out, woulde they take upon them with foolish wordes and blasphemie to handle Holie Scripture in more homely maner than a song of Robin Hode. And some woulde, as I said, solemnly take upon them like as thei wer ordinary readers to interpret the text at their plesure, and therwith fall themself and draw down other with them into sedicious sectes and heresies, whereby the Scripture of God should lese¹ his honour and reverence, and be by such unreverente and unsytting² demeanour, among muche people, quite and cleane abused,³ unto the contrary of that holye purpose that God ordayned it for. Where as, if we woulde no further meddle therewith, but well and devoutelye reade it: and in that that is playne and evident as Gods commaundementes and his holy counsayls endeavour our self to folow with helpe of his grace asked therunto, and in his greate and merveilous miracles consider his God-head: and in his lowly birth, his godly life, and his bitter passion, exercise our selfe in suche meditacions, prayer, and vertues, as the matter shall minister us occasion, knowledgeing⁴ our owne ignoraunce where we fynd a dout, and therin leaning to the faythe of the churche, wrestle with no such text as might bring us in a doubte and weresty⁵ of anye of those articles wherein every good christen man is clere: by thys maner of reading can no man nor woman take hurt in Holy Scripture.

"Nowe than, the thinges on the other syde that unlearned people can never by themself attayne, as in the Psalmes and the Prophetes and divers partes of the Gospell, where the wordes bee some time spoken as in the parson⁶ of the Prophete himselfe, sometye as in the parson of God, sometime of some other, as angels, devils, or men, and sometime of our Savior Christ, not alway of one fashion, but sometime as God, sometime as man, somtime as head of this mistical body his church militant here in earth, sometime as head of his churche triumphant in heaven, somtime as in the persone of his sensuall parties of his own body, otherwhile in the person of some particular part of his body mystical, and these thinges with many other oftentimes interchanged and sodeinly sundrye thinges of divers matters diverslye mingled together, al these thinges which is not possible for unlearned men to attayn unto, it wer more than madnes for them to medle withal, but leave al these thinges

¹ please ² disputes ³ chewing ⁴ able ⁵ then
⁶ meaning

¹ lose ² unbecoming ³ misused ⁴ acknowledging
⁵ uncertainty ⁶ person

to them whose hole study is beset¹ therupon, and to the preachers appointed therunto, whiche may shew them such thinges in time and place convenient with reverence and authoritie, the sermon so tempered, as may bee mete and convenient alwaye for the present audience. Wherunto it appereth that oure Saviour himself, and his apostles after him, had ever speciall respect: and therefore, as I say forsoth, I can in no wise agree with you that it wer mete for men unlearned to be busy with the chammung of holy scripture, but to have it chammed unto them. For that is the preachers part and theirs that after longe studye are admtyted to reade and expown it. And to this entent waye² al the wordes, as farre as I perceve, of al holy doctours that any thing have written in this matter.

"But never ment they, as I suppose, the forbydding of the Byble to be readde in any vulgare tong. Nor I never yet heard any reason layd, why it were not convenient to have the Byble translated into the Englishe tong, but al those reasons, semed they never so gay and glorious at the first sight: yet, when they were well examined, they myght in effect, for ought that I can see, as wel be layde against the holy writers that wrote the Scripture in the Hebrue tongue, and against the blessed evangelistes that wrote the Scripture in Greke, and against all those in likewise that translated it oute of every of those tonges into Latine, as to their charge that would well and faithfully translate it oute of Latine into our Englishe tong. For as for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasye. For so is, as every lerned man knoweth, every straunge language to other. And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubt but it is plenteous enough to expresse our myndes in anye thing wherof one man hath used to speke with another. Nowe as touchyng the difficultie which a translatur syndeth in expressing well and lively the sentence of his author, whiche is hard alwaye to doe so surely but that he shall sometime minyshe³ eyther of the sentence⁴ or of the grace that it bereth in the formar tong: that poynt hath lyen⁵ in their lyght that have translated the Scripture alreadye eyther out of Greke into Latine, or out of Hebrue into any of them both, as, by many translacions which we rede already, to them that be learned appereth.

"Now as touching the harme that may growe by suche blynde bayardes as will, when they reade the Byble in Englishe, be more busy than will become them: They that touche that poynt harpe upon the right string, and touche truly the great harme that wer likely to growe to some folke: howe be it not by the occasion yet of the English translacion, but by the occasion of theyr own lewdnes and foly, whiche yet were not in my mynde a sufficient cause to exclude the translacion, and to put other folke from the benefite therof: but rather to make provision agaynste such abuse, and let a good thing goe furth. No wise manne wer there that woulde put al weapons away because manquellers¹ misuse them.

"Nor this letted² not, as I sayd, the Scripture to be first written in a vulgare tong. For Scripture, as I said before, was not written but in a vulgare tonge, suche as the whole people understode, nor in no secrete cyphers but such common letters as almost every man could rede. For neither was the Hebrue nor the Greke tong, nor the Laten, neither any other speche than such as all the peple spake. And therefore if we shold lay³ that it wer evil done to translate the Scripture into our tong, because it is vulgare and comen to every Englishe man, than⁴ had it been as evill done to translate it into Greke or into Latin, or to wryte the New Testament first in Greke, or the Old Testament in Hebrue, because both those tonges wer as verve vulgare as ours. And yet shold there by this reason also, not onely the Scripture be kepte out of oure tong, but, over⁵ that, shoulde the reading therof be forboden, both al such ley people and all suche priestes too, as can no more than theyr grammer, and verve scantly that. All which companie though they can understande the wordes, be yet as farre from the perceiving of the sentence in harde and doubtfull textes, as were our weomen if the Scripture were translated to oure own language. How be it, of trouth, seldome hath it been seen that any secte of heretikes hath begonne of suche unlearned folke as nothyng coulde⁶ elles⁷ but the language wherein they read the Scripture: but there hath alway comonly these sectes sprongen of the pryde of such folke as had, with the knowledge of that tong, some high persuasion in themselfe of their owne lerning beside. To whose authoritie some other folke have soone

¹ applied ² weigh, tend ³ diminish ⁴ meaning
⁵ laim

¹ murderers ² hindered ³ declare ⁴ then
⁵ besides ⁶ knew ⁷ else

after, parte of malice, parte of symplenesse, and muche parte of pleasure and delighte in new fangleness fallen in, and encreased the faccion. But the head hath ever comonly been eyther some prowde learned man, or, at the least, beside the language, some proude smaterer in learning. So that, if we should, for feare of heretikes that might hap to growe thereby, kepe the Scripture out of any tong, or out of unlerned mens handes, we shold for like feare be fayne to kepe it out of al tonges, and out of lerned mens handes to,¹ and wot not whom we mighte trust therwith. Wherfore ther is, as me thinketh, no remedie but, if any good thing shall goe forward, somewhat must nedes be adventured. And some folke will not fayle to be naughte. Agaynst which thinges provision must bee made, that as muche good maye growe, and as litle harme come as canne bee devysed, and not to kepe the whole commoditie² from any hole people, because of harme that by their owne foly and faulte may come to some part, as thoughe a lewde³ surgion woulde cutte of⁴ the legge by the knee to kepe the toe from the goute, or cut of a mans head by the shoulders to kepe him from the toothe ache.

"There is no treatice of Scripture so hard but that a good vertuous man or woman eyther shal somewhat find therein that shall delyte and encrease their devocion, besydes this that everye preachinge shall be the more pleasant and fruitfull unto them, when they have in their mind the place of Scrypture that they shall there heare expowned. For though it bee, as it is in dede, great wisdom for a preacher to use discrecion in hys preachyng and to have a respecte unto the qualities and capacities of his audience, yet letteth⁵ that nothing, but that the whole audience maye without harme have read and have readye the Scrypture in mynde, that he shall in hys preachyng declare and expowne. For no doute is there, but that God and his Holye Spirite hath so prudently tempered theyr speche thorowe the whole corps of Scripture that every man may take good therby, and no man harme but he that wil in the study therof leane proudly to the foly of hys own wit.

"For albeit that Chryst did speake to the people in parables, and expowned them secretly to hys especiall disciples, and sometime forbare to tell some thynges to them also, because they were not as yet hable to

bear them: and the apostles in lykewyse didde sometye spare to speake to some people the thinges that they dydde not let¹ playnly to speake to some other, yet letteth² all thys nothing the translacion of the Scripture into our own tong no more than in the Latine. Nor it is no cause to kepe the corps³ of Scripture out of the handes of anye Christen people so many yeres fastly conformed in fayth, because Christ and hys apostles used suche provision in their utterance of so strange and unherd misteries, either unto Jewes, Paynims,⁴ or newly christened folk, except we would say that all the expositions which Chryst made himself upon hys owne parables unto hys secret servauntes and disciples withdrawn from the people, shoulde nowe at thys day be kept in lykewyse from the comons, and no man suffred to reade or heare them, but those that in hys churche represent the state and office of hys apostles, whiche ther will, I wote well, no wyse manne say, consideryng that those thinges which were than comonly most kept from the people, be now most necessary for the people to knowe. As it well appeareth by al such thinges in effect as our Saviour at that tyme taught his apostles a part. Wherof I would not, for my mynde, witholde the profite that one good devoute unlearned ley man might take by the reading, not for the harme that an hundred heretikes would fall in by theyr own wilful abusion, no more than oure Saviour letteth⁵ for the weale of suche as woulde bee with hys grace of hys little chosen flock, to come into thys world and be *lapis offensionis et petra scandali*, the stone of stumbling and the stone of falling and ruine, to all the wilful wretches in the world beside.

"Finally me thynketh that the constitucion provincial of whiche we spake right now, hath determined thys question alreadye. For when the cleargie therein agreed that the Englyshe Bybles shoulde remayne whiche were translated afore Wickliffes dayes, they consequentye dydde agree that to have the Byble in Englishe was none hurte. And in that they forbade any new translacion to be read till it wer approved by the bishoppes: it appeareth well therby that theyr intent was that the byshop should approve it if he found it faultlesse, and also of reason amend it where it wer faultye, but-if⁶ the manne wer an heretike that made it, or the faultes such and so many, as it were

¹ too ² benefit ³ ignorant ⁴ off ⁵ hinders

¹ hesitate ² hinders ³ body ⁴ pagans ⁵ hesitated
⁶ unless

more eth¹ to make it all newe than mend it. As it happed for bothe poyntes in the translacion of Tyndall.

"Now if it so be that it woulde happely be thought not a thyng metely to be adventured to set all on a flushe at ones,² and dashe rashelye out Holye Scripture in everye lewde felowes teeth: yet, thynketh me, ther might such a moderacion be taken therein, as neither good verteous ley folke shoulde lacke it, nor rude and rashe braynes abuse³ it. For it might be with diligence well and truely translated by some good catholike and well learned man, or by dyvers dividing the labour among them, and after conferring theyr several parties together eche with other. And after that might the worke be alowed and approved by the ordinaries, and by theyr authorities so put unto prent, as all the copies should come whole unto the bysshoppes hande. Which he may after his discrecion and wisdom deliver to such as he perceiveth honest, sad, and verteous, with a good monicion and fatherly counsell to use it reverently with humble heart and lowly mind, rather sekynge therin occasion of devocion than of despicion.⁴ And providing as much as may be, that the boke be after the decease of the partie brought again and reverently restored unto the ordinarye. So that as nere as maye be devised, no man have it but of the ordinaries hande, and by hym thought and reputed for such as shalbe likly to use it to Gods honor and merite of his owr soule. Among whom if any be proved after to have abused it, than⁵ the use therof to be forboden him, eyther for ever, or till he be waxen wyser."

"By Our Lady," quod your frend, "this way misliketh not me. But who should sette the price of the booke?" "Forsoth," quod I, "that reken I a thing of litle force. For neither wer it a great matter for any man in maner⁶ to give a grote or twain above the mene⁷ price for a boke of so greate profite, nor for the bysshope to geve them all free, wherin he myght serve his dyoces with the cost of x. li.⁸ I thynke, or xx. markes.⁹ Which summe, I dare saye there is no bishop but he wold be glad to bestow¹⁰ about a thing that might do his hole dyoces so special a pleasure with such a spirituall profit." "By my trowth," quod he, "yet wene¹¹ I that the people would grudge to have it on this wise delivered them at the bishops

¹ easy ² once ³ misuse ⁴ dispute ⁵ then
⁶ practically ⁷ ordinary ⁸ ten pounds ⁹ twenty marks (= £13 6s. 8d.) ¹⁰ spend ¹¹ ween, think

hande, and had lever¹ pay for it to the printer than have it of the byshop free." "It might so happen with some," quod I. "But yet, in myne opinion, ther wer in that maner more wilfulness than wisdom or any good mind in suche as would not be content so to receive them. And therefore I wold think in good faith that it wold so fortune in few. But, for God, the more dout would be, lest they would grudge and hold themself sore greved that wold require it and wer happely denied it: which I suppose would not often happen unto any honest housholder to be by his discrecion reverently red in his house. But though it wer not taken² to every lewde lad in his own handes to rede a litle rudely whan he list, and than cast the boke at his heles, or among other such as himselfe to kepe a quotlibet³ and a pot parlament⁴ upon, I trow there wil no wise man find a faulte therin.

"Ye spake right now of the Jewes, among whom the hole peple have, ye say, the Scripture in their hands. And ye thought it no reason that we shold reken Christen men lesse worthy therto than them. Wherin I am as ye see of your own opinion. But yet wold God, we had the like reverence to the Scripture of God that they have. For I assure you I have heard very worshipfull folke say which have been in their houses, that a man could not hyre a Jewe to sit down upon his Byble of the Olde Testament, but he taketh it with gret reverence in hand whan he wil rede, and reverently layeth it up agayn whan he hath doone. Wheras we, God forgeve us! take a litle regarde to sit down on our Byble with the Old Testament and the New too. Which homely handeling, as it procedeth of litle reverence, so doth it more and more engrendre in the mind a negligence and contempt of Gods holi words. . . ."

WILLIAM TYNDALE (D. 1536)

THE GOSPELL OF S. MATHEW. THE FIFTH CHAPTER

When he sawe the people, he went up into a mountaine, and wen he was sett, hys disciples cam unto him, and he opened his mouth, and taught them sayinge: "Blessed are the poure in sprete: for thers is the kyngdom of heven. Blessed are they that mourne: for they shalbe comforted. Blessed are the meke: for they

¹ liefer, rather ² deliver ³ debate ⁴ drunken discussion

shall inheret the erthe. Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for rightewesnes: for they shalbe fylled. Blessed are the mercyfull: for they shall obteyne mercy. Blessed are the pure in hert: for they shall se God. Blessed are the maynteyners of peace: for they shalbe called the chyldren of God. Blessed are they which suffre persecucion for rightewesnes sake: for thers is the kyngdom of heven. Blessed are ye when men shall revyle you, and persecute you, and shal falsly saye all manner of evle sayinges agaynst you for my sake. Rejoyce and be gladde, for greate is youre rewarde in heven. For so persecuted they the prophettes which were before youre dayes.

"Ye are the salt of the erthe, but ah! yf the salte be once unsavery, what can be salted there with? it is thence forthe good for nothyng, but to be cast out at the dores, and that men treade it under fete. Ye are the light of the worlde. A cite that is sett on an hill cannot be hyd, nether do men light a candle and put it under a bussell, but on a candelstycke, and it lighteth all those which are in the housse. Se that youre light so schyne before men, that they maye se youre good werkes, and gloryfie youre Father, which is in heven.

"Ye shall not thynke, that y am come to disanull the lawe other¹ the prophettes: no, y am not come to dysanull them, but to fulfyll them. For truely y say unto you, tyll heven and erthe perysshe, one jott, or one tytyle of the lawe shall not scape, tyll all be fulfyllled.

"Whosoever breaketh one of these leest commaundmentes, and shall teche men so, he shalbe called the leest in the kyngdom of heven. But whosoever shall observe and teache them, that persone shalbe called greate in the kyngdom of heven.

"For I say unto you, except youre rightewesnes excede the rightewesnes of the scribes and pharyses, ye cannot entre into the kyngdom of heven.

"Ye have herde howe it was sayd unto them of the olde tyme. Thou shalt not kyll. Whosoever shall kyll, shalbe in daunger of judgement. But I say unto you, whosoever ys angre with hys brother, shalbe in daunger of judgement. Whosoever shall say unto his brother, Racha! shalbe in daunger of a counseill. But whosoever shall say unto his brother, Thou fole! shalbe in daunger of hell fyre. Therefore when thou offerest thy gyfte

att the altre, and there remembrest that thy brother hath eny thyng agaynst the: leve there thyne offryng before the altre, and go thy waye fyrst and reconcyte thy silff to thy brother, and then come and offre thy gyfte.

"Agre with thine adversary at once, whyles thou arte in the waye with hym, lest thine adversary delivre the to the judge, and the judge delyvre the to the minister,¹ and then thou be cast into preson. I say unto the verely: thou shalt not come out thence tyll thou have payed the utmoost forthyng.²

"Ye have herde howe yt was sayde to them of olde tyme, thou shalt not commytt advoutrie.³ But I say unto you, that whosoever eyeth a wyfe, lustyng after her, hathe commytted advoutrie with her already in his hert.

"Wherfore yf thy right eye offende the, plucke hym out and caste him from the, Better hit is for the, that one of thy membres perysshe then that thy whole body shuld be caste in to hell. Also yf thy right honde offend the, cutt hym off and caste hym from the. Better hit is that one of thy membres perisshe, then that all thy body shulde be caste in to hell.

"Hit ys sayd, whosoever put⁴ awaye his wyfe, let hym geve her a testimonyall of her divorcement. But I say unto you: whosoever put⁴ awaye hys wyfe (except hit be for fornicacion) causeth her to breake matrimony, And who soever maryeth her that is divorced, breaketh wedlocke.

"Agayne ye have herde, howe it was said to them of olde tyme, thou shalt not forswere thysilfe, but shalt performe thine othe to God. But I saye unto you swere not at all: nether by heven, for hit ys Goddes seate: nor yet by the erth, For it is hys fote stole: Nether by Jerusalem, for it is the cite of the greate kyng: Nether shalt thou swere by thy heed, because thou canst not make one heer whyte, or blacke: But youre comunicacion shalbe, ye, ye: nay, nay. For whatsoever is more then that, cometh of evle.

"Ye have herde howe it is sayd, an eye for an eye: a tothe for a tothe. But I say unto you, that ye withstond⁵ not wronge: But yf a man geve the a blowe on thy right cheke, turne to hym the othre. And yf eny man wyll sue the at the lawe, and take thi coote from the, lett hym have thi clooke also. And whosoever wyll compell the to goo a myle, goo wyth him twayne. Geve to him that axeth: and from him that wolde borowe turne not away.

¹ or

¹ officer ² farthing ³ adultery ⁴ puts ⁵ resist

"Ye have herde howe it is saide: thou shalt love thyne neighbour, and hate thyne enemy. But y saye unto you, love youre enemies. Blesse them that curse you. Doo good to them that hate you, Praye for them which doo you wronge, and persecute you, that ye maye be the chylde of youre heavenly Father: for he maketh his sunne to aryse on the evle and on the good, and sendeth his reyne on the juste and on the onjuste. For if ye shall love them, which love you: what rewarde shall ye have? Doo not the publicans even so? And if ye be frendly to youre brethren only: what singuler thyng doo ye? Doo nott the publicans lyke wyse? Ye shall therefore be perfecte, even as youre heavenly Father is perfecte."

HUGH LATIMER (1485?-1555)

FROM THE FIRST SERMON BEFORE
KING EDWARD VI

And necessary it is that a kyng have a treasure all wayes in a redines, for that, and such other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treasure, if it be not sufficiente, he maye lawfully and wyth a salve¹ conscience take taxis of hys subjectes. For it were not mete² the treasure shoulde be in the subjectes purses when the money shoulde be occupied,³ nor it were not best for themselves, for the lacke there of, it myght cause both it and all the rest that they have shold not long be theirs, And so for a necessarye and expedyent occacion, it is warranted by Goddes word to take of the subjectes. But if there be sufficiente treasures, and the burdenyng of subjectes be for a vayne thyng, so that he wyl require thus much, or so much, of his subjects, whyche perchaunce are in great necessitie and penurye, then this covetous intent, and the request thereof, is to muche, whych God forbiddeth the king her in this place of scripture to have. But who shal se this "to much," or tell the king of this "to much"? Thinke you anye of the Kynges prevye chamber? No. For feare of losse of favor. Shall any of his sworne chapelins? No. Thei bee of the clauset⁴ and kepe close such matters. But the Kyng him selfe must se this "to much," and that shal he do by no meanes with the corporal eyes. Wherefore he must have a paier of spectacles, whiche shall have two cleare syghtes in them, that is, the one is fayth, not a seasonable fayeth, which shall laste but a wyle, but a fayeth whiche is continuyng in God.

¹ safe ² proper ³ made use of ⁴ closet

The seconde cleare sighte is charitie, whych is fervente towards hys Chrysten brother. By them two must the Kyng se ever when he hath to muche. But fewe therbe that useth these spectacles, the more is theyr dampnacion. Not wythoute cause Chrisostome wyth admiracion¹ sayeth, "*Mirror si aliquis rectorum potest salvari*. I marvell if anye ruler can be saved." Whyche wordes he speaketh not of an impossibilitie, but of a great difficultie; for that their charge is marvelous great, and that none aboute them dare shew them the truth of the thing how it goth. Wel then, if God wyl not allowe a king to much, whither² wyl he allowe a subject to much? No, that he wil not. Whether have any man here in England to much? I doubtte most riche men have to muche, for wythout to muche, we can get nothyng. As for example, the Phisicion. If the pore man be dyseased, he can have no helpe wythout to much; and of the lawyer the pore man can get no counsell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except he geve him to much. At marchandes handes no kynd of wares can be had, except we geve for it to muche. You landelordes, you rent-reisers, I maye saye you steplordes, you unnaturall lordes, you have for your possessions yerely to much. For that³ herebefore went for .xx. or .xl. pound by yere, (which is an honest porcion to be had *gratis* in one Lordeshyp, of a nother mannes sweat and laboure) now is it let for .l. (fifty) or a .C. (hundred) pound by yere. Of thys "to muche" commeth thys monstrous and portentous dearthis made by man. Not with standyng God doeth sende us plentifullye the fruites of the earth, mercyfullye, contrarye unto oure desertes, not wythstandyng "to muche," whyche these riche menne have, causeth suche dearth, that poore menne (whyche live of theyr laboure) can not wyth the sweate of their face have a livinge, all kinde of victales is so deare, pigges, gese, capons, chickens, egges, etc.

These thinges with other are so unreasonably enhanced. And I thinke verely that if it this⁴ continewe, we shal at length be constrayned to paye for a pygge a pounde. I wyl tel you, my lordes and maysters, thys is not for the kynges honoure. Yet some wyl saye, knowest thou what belongeth unto the kynges honoure better then we? I answer, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is moost perfectly mentioned and painted furth in the scriptures, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme,

¹ wonder ² whether ³ what ⁴ thus

that ye cannot reade it, albeit, that your counsaile be never so politike, yet is it not for the kynges honoure. What his honoure meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kynges honoure that his subjectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and Cleargie be set about their worcke in preching and studieng, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is the Kinges honoure that the comen wealthe be avaunsed, that the dearth of these forsaied thynges be provided for, and the commodities of thys Realme so employed, as it may be to the setting his subjectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes. And herin resteth the kynges honoure and hys office. So doynge, his accompte before God shalbe allowed, and rewarded. Furder¹ more, if the kynges honoure (as sum men say) standeth in the great multitude of people, then these grasiars, inclosers, and rente-rearers, are hinderers of the kynges honoure. For wher as have bene a great meany² of householders and inhabitautes, ther is nowe but a shepherd and his dogge, so thei hynder the kynges honoure most of al. My lordes and maisters, I say also that all suche procedynges which are agaynste the Kynges honoure (as I have a part declared before) and as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly, to make the yomanry slavery and the Cleargye shavery. For suche worckes are al syngular,³ private welth and commoditye. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is taken away; and nowe we have to little. But for myne owne part, I have no cause to complaine, for, I thanke God and the kyng, I have sufficient, and God is my judge I came not to crave of anye man any thyng; but I knowe them that have to litle. There lyeth a greete matter by these appropriacions, greete reformacions is to be had in them. I knowe wher is a great market Towne with divers hamelets and inhabitautes, wher do rise yerely of their labours to the value of .l. (fifty) pounde, and the vicar that serveth (being so great a cure) hath but .xii. or .xiii. markes by yere, so that of thys pension he is not able to by him bokes, nor geve hys neyghboure dryncke, al the great gaine goeth another way. My father was a Yoman, and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of .iii. or .iiii. pound by yere at the uttermost, and here upon he tilled so much as kepte halfe a dosen men. He had walke⁴ for a hundred shepe, and my mother mylked

¹ further ² company ³ for the benefit of an individual ⁴ pasture

.xxx. kyne. He was able and did find the king a harnesse, wyth hym selfe, and hys horse, whyle he came to the place that he should receyve the kynges wages. I can remembre that I buckled hys harnes when he went unto Blacke-heeath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to have preached before the kynges majestie nowe. He maryed my systers with v. pounde or .xx. nobles a pece, so that he broughte them up in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almess¹ he gave to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth .xvi. pounde by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himselfe, nor for his children, or geve a cup of drincke to the pore. Thus al the enhancing and rearing goth to your private commoditye and wealth. So that where ye had a single "to much," you have that: and syns the same, ye have enhanced the rente, and so have encreased an other "to much." So now ye have doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended. We have good statutes made for the comen welth as touching comeners, enclosers, many metinges and Sessions, but in the end of the matter their² commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thyng I wyl saye unto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, even, from the devill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to passe, that the yomanry be not able to put their sonnes to schole (as in dede universities do wonderously decaye all redy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the avoidyng of whoredome, I say ye plucke salvation from the people and utterly destroy the realme. For by yomans sonnes the fayth of Christ is and hath bene mayntained chefully. Is this realme taught by rich mens sonnes? No, no! Reade the Cronicles; ye shall fynde sumtime noble mennes sonnes which have bene unpreaching byshoppes and prelates, but ye shall finde none of them learned men. But verilye, they that shoulde loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the greatest against them. In thys realm are a great meany³ of folkes, and amongst many I knowe but one of tender zeale, at the mocion of his poore tennautes, hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their reliefe. For Goddes love, let not him be a Phenix, let him not be

¹ alms ² there ³ company

alone, let hym not be an Hermite closed in a wall, sum good man follow him and do as he geveth example! Surveiers¹ there be, that gredly gorge up their covetouse guttes, hand-makers² I meane (honest men I touch not but al suche as survei³); thei make up⁴ their mouthes but the commens⁵ be utterlye undone by them. Whose⁶ bitter cry ascendyng up to the eares of the God of Sabaoth, the gredy pyt of hel burning fire (without great repent-aunce) do tary and loke for them.⁷ A redresse God graunt! For suerly, suerly, but that .ii. thynges do comfort me, I wold despaire of the redresse in these maters. One is, that the kinges majestie whan he commeth to age wyll se a redresse of these thinges so out of frame, geving example by letting doune his owne landes first and then enjoyne hys subjectes to folowe him. The second hope I have, is, I beleve that the general accomptyng⁸ daye is at hande, the dreadfull day of judgement I meane, whiche shall make an end of al these calamities and miseries. For as the scryptures be, *Cum dixerint, pax pax*, "When they shall say, Peace, peace," *Omnia tuta*, "All thynges are sure," then is the day at hand, a mery day, I saye, for al such as do in this world studye to serve and please god and continue in his fayth, feare and love: and a dreadful, horrible day for them that decline from God, walking in ther owne wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the xxv of Mathew is sayd: *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum*, "Go ye curssed into everlastyng punysshment, wher shall be waylinge and gnashing of teeth." But unto the other he shall saye: *Venite benedicti*, "come ye blessed chylidren of my father, possesse ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginninge of the worlde." Of the which God make us al partakers! Amen.

ROGER ASCHAM (1515-1568)

THE SCHOLEMASTER

FROM THE FIRST BOOKE FOR THE YOUTH

After the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right joyning together of substantives with adjectives, the nowne with the verbe, the relative with the antecedent. And in learninge farther hys Syntaxis, by mine advice, he shall

¹ government officials ² grafters ³ serve as overseers ⁴ fill ⁵ commons, common people ⁶ i.e. the commons ⁷ i.e. the surveyors ⁸ accounting

not use the common order in common scholes, for making of Latines: wherby the childe commonlie learneth, first, an evill choice of wordes, (and right choice of wordes, saith Caesar, is the foundation of eloquence) than,¹ a wrong placing of wordes: and lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgement, both of wordes and sentences. These faultes, taking once roote in yougthe, be never, or hardlie, plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from learning, than the care they have, to satisfie their masters, in making of Latines.

For the scholer is commonlie beat for the making, when the master were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather, marring of the same: The master many times being as ignorant as the childe what to saie properlie and fitlie to the matter. Two scholemasters have set forth in print, either of them a booke, of soch kinde of Latines, Horman and Whittington.

A childe shall learne of the better of them, that, which an other daie, if he be wise, and cum to judgement, he must be faine to unlearne againe.

There is a waie, touched in the first booke of *Cicero De Oratore*, which, wiselie brought into scholes, truely taught, and constantly used, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie feare in making of Latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie understanding of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to write, a true judgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge so ever he doth use.

The waie is this. After the three concordances² learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto hym the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together and chosen out by Sturmius for the capacite of children. First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter: then, let him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the understanding of it: Lastlie, parse it over perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by,³ both construe and parse it over againe; so that it may appeare that the childe douteth⁴ in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting

¹ then ² See the first sentence of this selection. ³ immediately ⁴ is at a loss

in some place where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than¹ let the childe translate his owne Englishe into Latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tullies² booke, and laie them both together: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of Tullies wordes, let the master praise him, and saie, "Here ye do well." For I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge as is praise.

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master, either froune, or chide with him, if the childe have done his diligence, and used no trewardship³ therin. For I know by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two fautes⁴ jentlie warned of then of foure things rightly hitt. For than⁵ the master shall have good occasion to saie unto him, "N.,⁶ Tullie would have used such a worde, not this: Tullie would have placed this word here, not there: would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender: he would have used this moode, this tens, this simple, rather than this compound: this adverbe here, not there: he would have ended the sentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or participle," etc.

In these fewe lines, I have wrapped up the most tedious part of Grammer: and also the ground of almost all the Rewles, that are so busilie taught by the Master, and so hardlie learned by the Scholer, in all common Scholes: which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholer shall learne without great paine: the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholer being brought into so plaine and easie a waie. And therefore, we do not contemne Rewles, but we gladlie teach Rewles: and teach them, more plainlie, sensiblie, and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common Scholes. For whan the Master shall compare Tullies booke with his Scholers translation, let the Master, at the first, lead and teach his Scholer to joyne the Rewles of his Grammer booke, with the examples of

¹ then ² Cicero's ³ negligence ⁴ faults ⁵ then
⁶ N stands for the name of the child.

his present lesson, untill the Scholer, by him selfe, be hable to fetch out of his Grammer everie Rewle for everie Example: So as the Grammer booke be ever in the Scholers hand, and also used of him, as a Dictionarie, for everie present use. This is a lively and perfitte waie of teaching of Rewles: where the common waie, used in common Scholes, to read the Grammer alone by it selfe, is tedious for the Master, hard for the Scholer, colde and uncumfortable for them bothe.

Let your Scholer be never afraide to aske you any dout, but use discretlie the best allurements ye can to encourage him to the same: lest his overmoch fearinge of you drive him to seeke some disorderlie shifte: as, to seeke to be helped by some other booke, or to be prompted by some other Scholer, and so goe aboute to begile you moch, and him selfe more.

With this waie, of good understanding the mater, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, dailie translatinge, cherefull admonishinge, and heedfull amendinge of faultes: never leavinge behinde juste praise for well doinge, I would have the Scholer brought up withall, till he had red, and translated over the first booke of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good peece of a Comedie of Terence also.

All this while, by mine advise, the childe shall use to speake no Latine: For, as Cicero saith in like mater, with like wordes, *loquendo, male loqui discunt*. And, that excellent learned man, G. Budaeus, in his Greeke Commentaries, sore complaineth, that whan he began to learne the Latin tonge, use of speaking Latin at the table, and elsewhere, unadvisedlie, did bring him to soch an evill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the daies of his life afterward, both for redinesse in speaking, and also good judgement in writinge.

In very deede, if children were brought up, in soch a house, or soch a Schole, where the Latin tonge were properlie and perfitlie spoken, as Tib. and Ca. Gracci were brought up, in their mother Cornelias house, surelie than¹ the dailie use of speaking were the best and readiest waie to learne the Latin tong. But, now, commonlie, in the best Scholes in England, for wordes, right choice is smallie regarded, true proprietie whollie neglected, confusion is brought in, barbariousnesse is bred up so in yong wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marde for speaking, but also corrupted in

¹ then

judgement: as with moch adoe, or never at all they be brought to right frame againe.

Yet all men covet to have their children speake Latin: and so do I verie earnestlie too. We bothe have one purpose: we agree in desire, we wish one end: but we differ somewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end. Other would have them speake at all adventures: and, so they be speakeing, to speake, the Master careth not, the Scholer knoweth not, what. This is to seeme and not to bee: except it be to be bolde without shame, rashe without skill, full of wordes without witte. I wish to have them speake so as it may well appeare that the braine doth governe the tonge, and that reason leadeth forth the taulke. Socrates doctrine is true in *Plato*, and well marked, and truely uttered by Horace in *Arte Poetica*, that, where so ever knowledge doth accompanie the witte, there best utterance doth alwaies awaite upon the tonge: For good understanding must first be bred in the childe, which, being nurished with skill, and use of writing (as I will teach more largelie hereafter) is the onelie waie to bring him to judgement and readinesse in speakeing: and that in farre shorter time (if he followe constantlie the trade¹ of this litle lesson) than he shall do, by common teaching of the common scholes in England.

But, to go forward, as you perceive your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with understanding his lesson more quicklie, with parsing more readelie, with translating more spedelie and perfitlie then he was wonte, after, give him longer lessons to translate: and withall, begin to teach him, both in nownes, and verbes, what is *Proprium*, and what is *Translatum*, what *Synonymum*, what *Diversum*, which be *Contraria*, and which be most notable *Phrases* in all his lecture: As, *Proprium, Rex Sepultus est magnificè; Translatum, Cum illo principe, Sepulta est & gloria et Salus Reipublicae; Synonyma, Ensis, Gladius; Laudare, praedicare; Diversa, Diligere, Amare; Calere, Exardescere; Inimicus, Hostis; Contraria, Acerbum & luctuosum bellum, Dulcis & laeta Pax; Phrases, Dare verba, abjicere obedientiam.*

Your scholer then, must have the third paper booke; in the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort foure of these forenamed sixe, diligentlie marked out of everie lesson. Or else, three, or two, if there be no moe: and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omitte the

¹ practice.

order, but write these: *Diversa, nulla; Contraria, nulla; etc.*

This diligent translating, joyned with this heedful marking, in the foresaid Epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine Oration of Tullie, as *pro lege Manil: pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C. Caes*: shall worke soch a right choise of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, soch a true judgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittielie, as wise men shall both praise and marvell at.

If your scholer do misse sometimes, in marking rightlie these foresaid sixe thinges, chide not hastelie: for that shall, both dull his witte, and discourage his diligence: but monish him gentelie: which shall make him, both willing to amende, and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning. I have now wished, twice or thrise, this gentle nature, to be in a Scholemaster: And, that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, love is fitter then feare, gentlenes better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learninge.

With the common use of teaching and beating in common scholes of England, I will not greatlie contend: which if I did, it were but a small grammaticall controversie, neither belonging to heresie nor treason,¹ nor greatly touching God nor the Prince: although in very deede, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children, doth as much serve to the good or ill service, of God, our Prince, and our whole cuntry, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladlie agree with all good Scholemasters in these pointes: to have children brought to a good perfitnes in learning: to all honestie in maners: to have all fautes² rightlie amended: to have everie vice severelie corrected: but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to these pointes, we somewhat differ. For commonlie, many scholemasters, some, as I have seen, moe,³ as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather breake him than bowe him, rather marre him then mend him. For when the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beate his scholer: and though he him selfe should be punished for his folie, yet must he beate some scholer for his pleasure: though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholer to deserve so. These, ye will say, be

¹ This is a proverbial expression. ² faults ³ more

fond¹ scholemasters, and fewe they be that be found to be soch. They be fond in deede, but surelie overmany soch be found everie where. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punishe nature as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times, the better nature is sorer punished: For, if one, by quicknes of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnes of witte, taketh it not so speedelie: the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished: whan a wise scholemaster should rather discretelie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so moch wey² what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter. For this I know, not onelie by reading of booke in my studie, but also by experience of life, abrode in the world, that those which be commonlie the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be olde, were never commonlie the quickest of witte, when they were yonge. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to thinke, be these fewe, which I will reckon. Quicke wittes, commonlie, be apte to take, unapte to keepe: soone hote and desirous of this and that: as colde and some verry of the same againe: more quicke to enter spedelie, than hable³ to pearse⁴ farre: even like over sharpe tooles, whose edges be verie soone turned. Soch wittes delite them selves in easie and pleasant studies, and never passe farre forward in hie and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wittes commonlie may prove the best Poetes, but not the wisest Orators: readie of tonge to speake boldlie, not deepe of judgement, either for good counsell or wise writing. Also, for maners and life, quicke wittes, commonlie, be, in desire, new-fangle,⁵ in purpose unconstant, light to promise any thing, readie to forget every thing: both benefite and injurie: and therby neither fast to frend, nor fearefull to foe: inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in greatest affaires: bolde, with any person: busie, in every matter: sothing⁶ soch as be present: nipping any that is absent: of nature also, alwaies, flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiors: and, by quicknes of witte, verie quicke and readie, to like none so well as them selves.

Moreover commonlie, men, very quicke of witte, be also, verie light of conditions:⁷ and thereby, very readie of disposition, to be

¹ foolish ² weigh ³ able ⁴ pierce ⁵ fond of novelty ⁶ agreeing with ⁷ character

caried over quicklie, by any light cumpanie, to any riot and unthriftiness, when they be yonge: and therefore seldome, either honest of life, or riche in living, when they be olde. For, quicke in witte and light in maners, be, either seldome troubled, or verie sone wery, in carying a verie hevie purse. Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, over-quicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brainsicke. These two last wordes, Headie, and Brainsicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturalie of the matter, and teamed aptlie by the condition, of over moch quickenes of witte. In yougthe also they be readie scoffers, privie mockers, and ever over light and mery. In aige, sone testie, very waspish, and alwaies over miserable: and yet fewe of them cum to any great aige, by reason of their misordered life when they were yong: but a great deale fewer of them cum to shewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abrode in the world, but either live obscurelie, men know not how, or dye obscurelie, men marke not whan. They be like trees, that shewe forth faire blossoms and broad leaves in spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruite in harvest time: and that, onelie soch as fall and rotte before they be ripe, and so, never, or seldome, cum to any good at all. For this ye shall finde most true by experience, that amongst a number of quicke wittes in yougthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for them selves, or verie profitable to serve the common wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way: except a very fewe, to whom peradventure blood and happie parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage. The which felicitie, because it commeth by others procuring, not by their owne deserving, and stand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag so ever is borne by them, is in deed, of it selfe, and in wise mens eyes, of no great estimation.

JOHN FOXE (1516-1587)

ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THESE LATTER AND PERILLOUS DAYES THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER AT THE TIME OF THEIR DEATH

Upon the north-side of the towne, in the ditch over against Bailly¹ Colledge, the place of

¹ Balliol

execution was appointed; and for feare of any tumult that might arise, to let¹ the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded by the Queenes letters and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficientlie appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the maior and the bayliffes. Master Ridley had a faire blacke gowne furred, and faced with foines,² such as he was wont to weare beeing bishop, and a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a paire of slippers to the stake, and going between the maior and an alderman, etc. After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze³ frock all worne, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchiefe on his head all readie to the fire, a newe long shrowde hanging over his hose⁴ downe to the feet; which at the first sight stirred mens hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamitie whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctour Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo,⁵ looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seene him at the glass windowe, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busie with Frier Soto and his fellowes, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking backe, espied Master Latimer comming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a prettie way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entring the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortlie after espying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerefull looke he ran to him, imbraced and kissed him; and, as they that stood neere reported, comforted him saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either asswage the furie of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." With that went he to the stake, kneeled downe by it, kissed it, and most effectuouslie praied, and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestlie calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see

¹ hinder ² trimmings of beech-martin fur ³ a coarse woolen cloth made at Bristol ⁴ breeches
⁵ the old north gate at Oxford, used as a prison

the execution, remooved themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edwards time ye heard before, beganne his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul in the 13 chap. of the first epistle to the Corinthians: *Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio*, that is, "If I yeelde my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gaine nothing thereby." Wherein he alledged that the goodnesse of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holines of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged her selfe, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperatelie sundered their lives from their bodies, as hee feared that those men that stood before him would doe. But he cried stil¹ to the people to beware of them, for they were heretikes, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversities in opinions, as Lutherians, Ecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ and the catholike faith beleevd far otherwise. At which place they² lifted uppe both their hands and eies to heaven, as it were calling God to witnes of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, whereas they thought he spake amisse. Hee ended with a verie short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and soules, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant in all a quarter of an houre.

Doctor Ridley said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said: "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled downe upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a forme³ thereby. Unto whom Master Ridley said: "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christs sake, that I may speake but two or three wordes." And whilst my lord bent his head to the maior and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speake, the bailiffes and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily

¹ constantly ² Ridley and Latimer ³ bench

unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said: "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not onely have liberty so to doe, but also the benefite of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Maister Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshall. "Therefore if you will not so doe; then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my bodie, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his knowne truth: Gods will be done in me!" And with that he rose up and said with a loud voice: "Well then, I commit our cause to almightie God, which shall indifferently¹ judge all." To whose saying, Maister Latimer added his old posie,² "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if hee might be suffered.

Incontinently³ they were commanded to make them readie, which they with all meeknesse obeyed. Master Ridley tooke his gowne and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-lawe Master Shepside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his owne charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, hee gave away; other the bailiffes took. He gave away besides divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifullie weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new goat; and to divers of my Lord Williams gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegges, and races⁴ of ginger; his diall, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the pointes of his hose. Happie was he that might get any ragge of him. Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quickly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shrowd,⁵ hee seemed as comly a person to them that were there present as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes hee appeared a withered and crooked sillie olde man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his trusse,⁶ said to his brother: "It were best for me to go in my trusse still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more paine: and

¹ impartially ² motto ³ immediately ⁴ roots ⁵ shirt
⁶ a padded jacket

the trusse will do a poore man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said: "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himselfe. Then beeing in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hande and said: "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most heartie thanks, for that thou hast called mee to be a professour of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercie upon this realme of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chaine of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridleys and Maister Latimers middles; and as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley tooke the chaine in his hand, and shaked the same, for it did girde in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said: "Good fellow, knocke it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bringe him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his necke. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," sayd he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," sayd he, "for my brother?" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," sayd hee, "betime;¹ least ye come too late." So his brother went, and caried of the same gunpowder unto Maister Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my Lord Williams, and saide: "My lord, I must be a suter unto your lordshippe in the behalfe of divers poore men, and speciallie in the cause of my poor sister; I have made a supplication to the Queenes Majestie in their behalves. I beseech your lordship for Christs sake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordshippe to certifie you herof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whiles I was in the see of London divers poore men tooke leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I heare say the bishop that now occupieth the same roome will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrarie unto all lawe and conscience hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a meane for them; you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggotte, kindled with

¹ early

fire, and laid the same downe at Dr. Ridleys feete. To whome Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Bee of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. Wee shall this day light such a candle, by Gods grace, in England, as I trust shall never bee putte out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful lowd voice: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum." And after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehementlie on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soule!" who received the flame as it were imbracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soone died (as it appeared) with verie little paine or none. And thus much concerning the end of this olde and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travailes,¹ fruitfull life, and constant death the whole realme hath cause to give great thanks to almightie God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evill making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laide about the gosse² and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept downe by the wood; which when he felt, hee desired them for Christes sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his paine (for the which cause hee gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what hee did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he cleane covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned cleane all his neather parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leape up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burne." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legges were consumed by reason of his struggling through the paine (whereof hee had no release, but onelie his contentation in God), he showed that side toward us cleane, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgate not to call unto God still,

¹ labors ² gorse, furze

having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermedling¹ this cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burne." In which paines he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill² pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stirre no more, but burned on the other side, falling downe at Master Latimers feete. Which some said happened by reason that the chain loosed; other said that he fel over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the neather lims.

Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, hee desired them to hold him to it with their billes. However it was, surelie it mooved hundreds to teares, in beholding the horrible sight; for I thinke there was none that had not cleane exiled all humanitie and mercie, which would not have lamented to beholde the furie of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signes there were of sorrow on everie side. Some tooke it grevouslie to see their deatnes, whose lives they held full deare: some pittied their persons, that thought their soules had no need thereof. His brother mooved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicitee, that he thought then to doe him best service when he hastned his end. Some cried out of the lucke, to see his indevor (who most dearelie loved him, and sought his release) turne to his greater vexation and increase of paine. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this common wealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not chuse but sorrow with teares to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly vertues, the study of so manie yeres, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lords glorie, when hee commeth with his saints, shall shortlie, I trust, declare.

¹ intermingling ² a kind of weapon consisting of a curved blade fixed at the end of a pole

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY (1554-1586)

ARCADIA

BOOK I. CHAP. I

And now they were already come upon the stays,¹ when one of the sailors descried a galley which came with sails and oars directly in the chase of them, and straight perceived it was a well-known pirate, who hunted, not only for goods, but for bodies of men, which he employed either to be his galley-slaves or to sell at the best market. Which when the master understood, he commanded forthwith to set on all the canvas they could and fly homeward, leaving in that sort poor Pyrocles, so near to be rescued. But what did not Musidorus say? what did he not offer to persuade them to venture the fight? But fear, standing at the gates of their ears, put back all persuasions; so that he had nothing to accompany Pyrocles but his eyes, nor to succour him but his wishes. Therefore praying for him, and casting a long look that way, he saw the galley leave the pursuit of them and turn to take up the spoils of the other wreck; and, lastly, he might well see them lift up the young man; and, "Alas!" said he to himself, "dear Pyrocles, shall that body of thine be enchained? Shall those victorious hands of thine be commanded to base offices? Shall virtue become a slave to those that be slaves to viciousness? Alas, better had it been thou hadst ended nobly thy noble days. What death is so evil as unworthy servitude?" But that opinion soon ceased when he saw the galley setting upon another ship, which held long and strong fight with her; for then he began afresh to fear the life of his friend, and to wish well to the pirates, whom before he hated, lest in their ruin he might perish. But the fishermen made such speed into the haven that they absented his eyes from beholding the issue;

¹ come upon the stays = go about from one tack to another

where being entered, he could procure neither them nor any other as then¹ to put themselves into the sea; so that, being as full of sorrow for being unable to do anything as void of counsel how to do anything, besides that sickness grew something upon him, the honest shepherds Strephon and Claius (who, being themselves true friends, did the more perfectly judge the justness of his sorrow) advise him that he should mitigate somewhat of his woe, since he had gotten an amendment in fortune, being come from assured persuasion of his death to have no cause to despair of his life, as one that had lamented the death of his sheep should after know they were but strayed, would receive pleasure, though readily he knew not where to find them.

CHAP. II

"Now, sir," said they, "thus for ourselves it is. We are, in profession, but shepherds, and, in this country of Laconia, little better than strangers, and, therefore, neither in skill nor ability of power greatly to stead you. But what we can present unto you is this: Arcadia, of which country we are, is but a little way hence, and even upon the next confines. There dwelleth a gentleman, by name Kalandar, who vouchsafeth much favour unto us; a man who for his hospitality is so much haunted² that no news stir but come to his ears; for his upright dealing so beloved of his neighbours that he hath many ever ready to do him their uttermost service, and, by the great goodwill our Prince bears him, may soon obtain the use of his name and credit, which hath a principal sway, not only in his own Arcadia, but in all these countries of Peloponnesus; and, which is worth all, all these things give him not so much power as his nature gives him will to benefit, so that it seems no music is so sweet to his ear as deserved thanks. To him we will bring you, and there you may

¹ as then = at the time ² visited