

A
Discourse of the Common Weal
of this Realm of England

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Edited from the MSS

by the late

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The seconde Dialogue.

[f. 21]

KNIGHTE. When we had walked vp and downe in the said gardein a preatie while, I thought longe till I herde more of the said doctoures communication ; for he semed to me a verye wise man, not after the common sorte of theise
5 clerckes wich can taulke nothinge but of the facultie which they professe ; as if they be deuines, of devynitie ; lawers, of lawe ; and phisicions of phisique only. This man speaketh very naturally of euery thinge, as a man vniuersally sene, that had ioyned good Learninge with good witt. And
10 therfore I desired hime and the rest of oure companyons to Resort agayne to the matters that we left off. And first, to search and discourse what should be the cause of the said common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges, sayinge to the doctor thus: I mervayll much,
15 maister doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth ; seinge all thinges are (thanckes be to gode) so plentifull. There was neuer more
plentie of cattell then there is nowe, and yet [it] is scarcitie of thinges which commonly maketh * dearth. This
20 is a marvelous dearthe, that in such plentie cometh, contrary to his kynd.

That it is a merueilous dearth that comithe in tyme of plentye.

DOCTOR. Sir, yt is a thinge (no dowbt) to be mused [f. 21 b] vpon, and worthie of Inquisition ; lett me heare euery mans opinion of yours, and then youe shall heare myne.

HUSBANDMAN. I thincke it is longe of youe gentlemen
 Thoccacion of
 this dearth is
 laid to the
 gentilmen. that this dearth is, by reason youe enhaunce
 your landes to such an height, as men that
 liue theron must nedes sell deare againe, or els
 they were not able to make the rent againe. 5

KNIGHT. And I saye it is longe of youe husbandmen,
 Fro the gentil-
 man it is laide
 to the husband-
 man. that we are forced to raise oure rentes, by reason
 we must bye all thinges so deare that we haue
 of youe ; as corne, cattail, goose, pigge, capon,
 chicken, butter, and egges. What thinge is there 10
 of all theise thinges, but ye sell yt dearer nowe by the one
 halfe then ye did within theise viij yeres? Can not youre
 neihbours in this towne Remember that within theise viij
 yeares youe could bie the best pigge, or goose, that I could
 laie my handes one for iiij^d. which nowe cost me viij^d.; and 15
 a good Capon for iij^d. or iiij^d., a chicken for a peny, a hen
 for ij^d , which now will cost me double the mony ; and yt is
 likewise of greate ware, as of mutton and beife.

[f. 22] HUSBANDMAN. I graunt that ; but I saie youe and youre
 sort, men of Landes, are the first cause therof, by reason 20
 youe rayse youre Landes.

KNIGHT. Well, if youe and all youre sort will agree
 therto, that shalbe holpen ; vndertake youe, that youe and
 youre sort will sell all thinges at the price ye did
 The gentle-
 mens offer be-
 ynge resonable
 and excuse. xx^{ty} yeres agoe, and I dowt not to bringe all 25
 gentlemen to let vnto youe theyre landes at the
 rent they went at xx^{tie} yeres agoe. And that the
 fault is more in youe that be husbandmen then in vs that
 be gentlemen, it appeareth by this. All the land in the
 Realme, nor yet the one half, is [not] enhanced ; for sume 30
 haue takinges therin, as lesse or copies not yet expired, wich
 cannot be enhaunced, thoughe the owners wold. And
 noble men and gentlemen therbe, that whan there landes

be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothinge
 about the old rent ; so as the most part of the landes of this
 Realme stand yet at the old Rent. And yet neuertheles
 there is none at all on your sort, but they sell all they haue
 5 derer then they weare wont to doe by thone half. And yet
 these gentlemen that doe enhaunce their Rentes, doe not [f. 22 b]
 enhaunce yt to the dowble ; though I confesse that some
 of vs, that had landes given vs by the kinges highnes, that
 belonged heretofore to Abbayes and priories, and were neuer
 10 surueyhed to the vttermost before, or otherwise descended vnto
 vs, haue enhanced [manye] of them about the old rentes ;
 yet all that amounteth not to half the landes of the Realme.

DOCTOR. Howe saie youe ? he sayeth well to youe nowe ;
 will youe sell your wares as youe were wounte to doe, and
 15 he will lett youe haue his landes at the Rent youe were
 accustomed to haue ? Whan the husbandman had paused
 a while he said,

HUSBANDMAN. Yf I had the price of all thinges that I must
 pay for besides brought downe, I wold be contented, or els not.

20 DOCTOR. What thinges be those ?

HUSBANDMAN. Marie, Iron for the ploughes, harrowes,
 and Cartes ; tarre for my shepe ; shewes, cappes,
 linnen and wollen cloth for my meiny ; which, The husband-
 man refusith
 and puts ouer
 the fault to yron
 mongers and
 clothiers.
 If I should bye neuertheles as deare as I doe
 25 nowe, and yet sell my wares as good cheape,
 (though I should my Rent weare thereafter abated,) ex-
 cept the other thinges aforesaid myght abate [in] price
 together, I could neuer liue.

DOCTOR. Then I perceiue youe must haue the price of [f. 23]
 30 other thinges qualified, as well as the rent of your Landes,
 or youe can aforde your wares good cheape.

HUSBANDMAN. Yea, but I thincke yf the land were brought
 downe, that the prices of all other thinges wold fall with all.

DOCTOR. Graunte that all the landlordes in this Realme
 wold with one consent agree that their landes should be in
 their tenauntes handes at the lyke rent they were xx^{tie} yeres
 agoe ; ye said before ye could not sell youre wares as good
 cheape as ye might xx^{tie} yeres agoe, because of 5
 the price that is raysed on other thinges that ye
 must bie. And if youe would saye, that those men
 [sholde] be driven againe to sell those wares that
 ye bie first better cheape and then youe will sell
 youres therafter, I praie youe howe might they be compelled 10
 to doe so. They be strangers, and not within obedience of
 oure soueraigne lord, that doe sell such wares ; as yron, tar,
 flax and other. Then consider me, if youe cannot compell
 them, wether yt were expedient for vs to leue strangers to
 sell their commodities deare, and we oures 15
 good cheape ; yf it weare so, then weare it a great
 enrichinge of [other Countrys] and impouer-
 ishing of oure owne ; for they should haue
 much treasure for theirs, and haue oure com-
 modities [from vs for a very lyttyl ; excepte yee 20
 coulde devyce to make one price of ovr comodytyes] emonst
 oure selves, and an other outwarde, which I cannot se howe
 yt may be.

KNIGHT. Nay, I will make my neighboures an other
 reasonable offer, if they refuse this ; let my tenauntes pay 25
 me the same coine they were wount to pay xx^{tie}
 yeres agoe, as the first agrement was at the first
 settinge furth of my landes ; and yet I ame
 content to paye hime for all thinges at the price
 they goe nowe in the coine curraunt ; and I dowbt not to 30
 bringe all other gentlemen to the same agrement.

HUSBANDMAN. Howe cane I doe so ? for I must make
 my rent of such thinges as I doe rere vppon my takinge,

If all landes
 were abated in
 their rents
 whether this
 dearth wold be
 remedyed.

That it were
 not expedient
 that strangers
 sholde sell
 their wares
 dere and wee
 ours good
 chepe.

[f. 23 b]

An other offer
 of the gentil-
 man made to
 the husband-
 man.

and of no other thinge cane I make it ; therfore such mony as I receue for my wares, youe must take for my rent.

KNIGHT. Yea, but then let my rent be encreaced as youre paiment is increased after the rate, and yet I am contented.

HUSBANDMAN. What meane youe by that ?

KNIGHT. I meane this ; ye sell that ye were wont to sell afore time for xx^{tie} grotes, nowe for xxx^{tie} grotes ; let my rent be encreaced after the proportion and rate ; that is, for
 10 euery xx^{tie} grotes old rent, ten [shillynges] of this payment, so as the price of youre wares riseth ; and yet I doe kepe my land at the old stint.

HUSBANDMAN. My bargaine was but to pay for my takinge vi^l. xiii^s. iiii^d. yerely of rent, and I pay that truly ;
 15 youe cane require no more.

KNIGHT. I cannot much saie against that ; but yet I [f. 24] perceau I shalbe a lossor still by this bargaine, thowghe I cannot tell the reason why ; but I perceau youe sell deare that youe liue one, and I good cheape that is my liuinge ;
 20 helpe me, maister doctor, I praie youe, for the husbandmane driueth me to my shiftes.

DOCTOR. Marie, but me thinckes, touchinge the first matter ye did reason of, youe driue hime to his shiftes ; that is, to confesse that the dearth Riseth not at youre handes.
 25 And though he defend hime selfe for his paiment to youe by coulour of a lawe, yet he semeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth youe to take litle for youre lande, and that there is no lawe to constraine hime, but he may sell his wares as deare as he list. It is Inoughe, for youre
 30 purpose, that youe take in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at youre hand : but wheare the price of all thinges encreaseth as they doe, it is reason youe did raise youre wares, which is youre landes, or to be paid after the

old rate, as when youe did let youre landes, yf youe be compelled to paye for youre prouisione after the new rate ; wee will taulke of that hereafter, or lett that be considered

Whether yf the husbandman were forced to abate the prices of his stuf this dearthe should be then amended.

[f. 24^b]

of other men. But lett vs se if the husbandman weare forced to sell his thinges good cheape, 5 whether all thinges should be well then. Put the case this ; that the husbandman should be commaunded to sell his wheat at viij^d. the bushell, Rie at vj^d., Barley at iiij^d., his pigge and goose at iiij^d., his Capon at iiij^d., his hen at a peny, his chicken at ob., 10 his woll at a marke the tod, Beiffes and muttuns after the old price, as In times past hath bene ; he hathe then Inoughe to pay his landlord, as he had in times past ; his landlord againe hath as much rent as he was wount to haue ; and the same, whan the price is set, will goe as farre for the said 15 wares, [whereof] the prices be thus sett, as so much of old coine, paid after the old rate, wold haue donne. All this is yet well ; there is nether tenaunte nor Landlord yet greued. Well let vs goe further. The husbandman must bie yron, salt, tarre, pitche ; and suppose he should be also forced to 20 rere vp flax of his owne, and that the price of cloth, both linnen and wollen, and lether were sett after that rate. The gentleman must bie wines and spices, armor, glasse to glase his howese with all, yron also for tooles, weapons, and other instrumentes necessarie, salt, oyles, and such other diuers 25 thinges more then I cane reckon ; without sume wherof they may in no case liue, as yron and salte, for that is within the Realme, (yet of both is not halfe sufficient for the same,) oiles, tarre, pitche, rosing, wherof we haue none at all ; and withowt sume therof of the said commodities wold live but 30 grosslie and barbarously, as withowt wines, spices and silkes ; these must be browght frome beyonde the seas. Shall we bie them as good cheape after the rate. A man wold thincke

yes ; for when strangers should se that, with lesse mony then [f. 25]
 they weare wont to taike for these wares, they maie bie as
 much of the commodities of this Realme as they weare
 wont before with more mony, they will be content to take
 5 the lesse mony, whan it goeth as farre as the more monie
 went before ; [and] so sell their wares as good cheape ; as,
 for an example, where they sell nowe a yearde [of Velvet] for
 xx^s. or xxij^s., and paie all that for one tod of woll, weare it
 not as good for them to sell there velvet for a marke a yerd,
 10 so they had a tod of woll for a marke ?

KNIGHT. I wold thincke so ; for therbie he should be at
 no more losse then he is nowe. And so the licke reasone may
 serue for yron, salt, spices, oyles, pitch, tar, flax, wax, and
 all other owtwarde Commodities.

15 DOCTOR. Yf I should aske youe this Question, whether
 they should be Compelled by a lawe to sell there wares so
 or no, what could youe saie ?

KNIGHT. It maketh no mater whether it weare so or
 no ; and I thincke they cannot, because they be out of the
 20 kinges dominions, and at libertie whether they will bringe
 any to vs or no ; but seinge they may haue all thinges [here]
 as good cheape at the price they sell for lesse mony, then
 they had before for the greate price, they will willinglie
 bringe their wares and sell them so.

25 DOCTOR. Therof I dowbt, but yet not much ; for I [f. 25^b]
 thincke they would sell still at the highest, as they doe
 nowe, or bringe nothinge to vs at all. For youe must vnder-
 stande they come not always for commodities, but sumtimes
 to sell theirs here ; knowinge it is here to be best vendable,
 30 and to bie in other cuntryes other commodities where the
 same is best cheape ; and sometime to sell in * one part of
 the Realme their wares that be most there desired, and to
 goe to sume other part of the Realme for the commodities

that be there most aboundaunt and best cheape ; or partly
 for oure countrie and partly for an other ; and for that
 purpose coine vniversally currant is most [commodityous],
 especially yf they entend to bestowe it in anie
 other place then where they vnlode theire 5
 marchandize. And oure coine is not so alowed
 in other places as it is here ; whearfore the
 strangers should bare a greate losse yf they
 should take oure coine for theire wares ; they
 had then rather bringe theire wares to other places, where 10
 they might haue coine curraunte in all places for it, [that]
 they might bestowe wheare and when they lyst. Yf They
 would loke but for oure wares for theires, thincke ye that
 they would not studie to bringe to vs such wares, or
 stuffe, as should be [beste] cheape with them and most 15
 deare with vs.

KNIGHT. Yea, no dowbt, that is the pollicye of all
 merchauntes.

DOCTOR. What stuffe is that, trowe youe ?

[f. 26] KNIGHT. Mary, glasses of all sortes, painted clothes 20
 and papers, oringes, pippins, cherries, perfumed gloues and
 such trifles.

DOCTOR. Youe saie well ; they percase attempt vs with
 such ; and such are good cheape with them that costeth them
 but theire labours ; and theire people should els 25
 be idle ; yet these thinges be sumwhat, after their
 prices, in other places vendable as well as here ;
 but when we fele the lacke of yron, steyle, salt,
 hempe, flax, and such other, [suche] like wares
 as youe speake of will not be desired, but re- 30
 iected, and these other looked for.

KNIGHT. What other thinges els will they bringe, trowe
 youe ? Percase silkes, wines, spices, youe meane.

DOCTOR. No, not that, for they be in good price els wheare.

KNIGHT. What then should they haue to vtter vnto vs, that is best cheape with them and dearest with vs?

5 DOCTOR. I will not tell youe it, except it be in youre cares only, nor it weare expedient it weare spoken abroad.

KNIGHT. I praie youe tell me.

DOCTOR. I knowe youe are a man of trust, and of goode zeale towardes the kinges maiestie and his Realme. It is, I
10 may tell youe, brasse; for it goeth with them for good brasse indede, and therfore good cheape; and heare it What thinge is of that sorte. goeth a great parte for siluer, and therfore dearer with vs; and it is that they will bringe vnto vs.

KNIGHT. Howe? in brasse pottes, pannes and other
15 vessels of brasse?

DOCTOR. No. So no man will take such stuffe but for brasse indede.

KNIGHT. How then? Then the Doctor whispered in [f. 26b] my eare, and tould me that it was coine made beyond the
20 seas, like in all thinges to oure coine, which they brought ouer in heapes; and whan they see that estemed as siluer, thei bringe that for oure commodities; as for oure wolles, oure fealtes, chese, butter, cloth, tinne, and leade, which thinges euery mane will be glad to sell for the most they
25 canne gett; and beinge offered of strangers more of oure coine then they may gett within the countrie, they will sell then rather to the strangers then to vs, with whom the price is sett. Then strangers may aforde that coine good cheape, for they make it them selues. And the stuffe is good
30 cheape that they make yt off, and so they will geue therfore for oure said commodities as much as youe will aske. Then thoughte they made [not] such coine them selves, yet seinge they must pay more for oure wares, or els no man will bringe

it to them, whan he maie haue as much at home of his neighbour, the stranger must nedes haue a consideration of that, in the price of the said owtwarde marchandize, so that they sell, and hould them dearer. And thus by [thone waye] they maie enhaunce our cheif commodities, and giue vs brasse for them, whearwith we cannot bie such other like commodities as we should want, if they were not plentie with in oure Realme. Much like the exchange

Glauci et Diomedis permutatio.

that [Glaucus] made with diomedes, whan he gaue to [this] man his golden harnes for his brasen. 10

[f. 27] But the other waie, thei must nedes be brought to sell their wares deare to vs; and then if these husbandmen, and gentlemen, and so all other within this Realme, should be

He that sellithe good chepe and byethe deere shal not lyghtly thryue.

compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet bie all thinges deare that come frome beyonde the seas, I cannot see how they should long prosper. I neuer knowe hime that bought deare and sold good cheape, and did vse to doe anie Longe space, that did t^riuue. 15

KNIGHT. There maie be searchers made for such coine as youe speake of comminge in, and punishmentes devised theirfore; and for goinge furth of victualles also, that none should passe this Realme. 20

DOCTOR. There maie be * no devise Imagined so that ye be not deceiued in both pointes, as well in such coine browght in as in victualles browght furth; for manie hedes will devise manie wayes to get anie thinge by; and althoughe we be environed with a goode poole, that is to saie the sea, yet there is to manie posterns to gett in and out of yet vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath a preatie howse with anie family of his owne, and one gate to goe furth at and come in at, [and] the maister of the howse never so attentiuue yet sumwhat shalbe 25 30

It is not possible to kepe

- purloyned furth ; much more out of such a large
 Realme, hauinge so manie waies and posterns
 to gett furth and come in. And yet if strangers
 should be content to taikē but oure wares for
 5 theires, what should lett them to auance the price of other
 thinges, thoughe oures weare good cheape vnto them ? And
 then shall we be still losers, and they at the winninge hand [f. 27^b]
 with vs, while they sell deare and yet bie oures good cheape,
 and consequently enrich themselves and impouerishe vs.
 10 Yet had I rather auance oure wares in price, as they
 auance theires, as we now doe ; thowghe some be losers
 therby, and yet not so manie as should be the other waie.
 And yet, what busines should therbe in makeinge of prices for
 everie trifle ; for so it would be, yf the prices of anie thinge
 15 weare abated by commaundement. And theirfore
 I can not perceaue that, no more [thanne the
 dearthe hathe rysen at eythere of yowr handes, so
 no more] can yt be remedied by anie of youe
 both, I mean you gentleman and youe husband-
 20 man ; for yf it rose at either of youre handes, [so] it might be
 remedied likewise at the same, by releasinge of the thinge
 againe at either of youre handes, that was the cause of this
 Dearth. But if either * youe should release youre rent, or
 youe the price of youre victalles to the old rate, yet that
 25 wold not compell strangers to bringe downe the price of
 theires, as I haue saied ; and so longe as their commodities
 be Deare, it weare nether expedient, nor yet [could ye] thoughe
 youe wold, make youre commodities good cheape ; except
 youe can devise a waie howe to liue without them, and they
 30 with out youe ; which I thincke impossible ; or
 els to vse exchange, ware for ware, without coine,
 as it was before coine was found, as I rede, in
 the time of homer. Also the Civill Lawe doth the same

owr treasure
 from goyng
 forthe of the
 Realme if it be
 in more estima-
 cion elswhere.

That the
 dearthe rose
 neither at the
 gentleman nor
 the husband-
 mans hands.

Permutacion of
 things before
 Coyne.

affirme. Which thinge weare verie cumbersome, and would
 [f. 28] Require muche cariadge of wares vp and downe, wheare now
 by the benifite of coine a man maie by those tokens fetch
 the ware he lacketh a far of, with owt anie great trowble of
 Cariadge; and hard weare it readely to find [all wares], that 5
 the one [hath], might paie the other of equall valew.

HUSBANDMAN. Yf neither the gentleman nor I maie
 Remedie this matter, at whose handes lieth it to be holpen
 at then?

DOCTOR. I will tell youe my mynde therin herafter. 10
 But first let vs beate out the cause of this Dearth. Ther-
 fore let me learne what other thinge should be the cause
 therof.

CAPPER. Marie, these Inclosurs and great pasturs are a
 great cause of the same, whearby men doe turne theire 15
 arable land, beinge a livinge for divers poore men before
 tyme, nowe to one mans hande. And wheare bothe corne of
 al sortes, and also cattaille of all kinde, weare reared afore
 tyme, nowe is there nothinge but only shepe.
 Complainte a- And in stead of some C. or CC. parsons, that 20
 ganst sheep masters. had their livinges theron, now be theare but thre
 or foure sheppards, and the maister only, that hathe a
 livinge therof.

DOCTOR. Youe touch a matter that is much to be con-
 sidered, albeit I take not that only [to be] the cause of this 25
 dearth at this time; but this I thincke in my mind, that yf
 that kinde of inclosures doe asmuch increase in xx^{tie} yeres
 to come as it hath done xx^{tie} yeres past, it maie come to
 the great dissolucion and weakninge of the kinges straingthe
 of this Realme, which is more to be feared then dearth. 30
 And I thincke it to be the most occasion, of anie thinge ye
 [f. 28 b] spake of yet, of these wyld and vnhappie vprors emongst
 vs; for by Reasone of these enclosures manie of the kinges

subiectes haue no grounde to Liue vppon, as they haue had before time, and occupations be not alwaies set on worke all alyke; and therfore the people still encreasinge, and theire Liuinges deminished, yt must nedes come to

5 passe that a greate parte of the people shalbe Idle and lacke liuinges; and hunger is a bitter thinge to beare. Wherefore, when they lacke, they must murmur against them that haue plentie, and so stirr vp these tumultes.

That enclo-
sures is occa-
sion of desola-
tion and weken-
ynge the pour
of the Realme.

10 KNIGHT. Experience should seme plainlie to proue that Inclosures should be profitable, and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we se that countries, wheare most Inclosures be, are most wealthie, as essex, kent, devenshire, and such. And I hard a civilian once saie, that it was
15 [taken for a] maxime in his lawe, [this] sainge, that which is posessed of manie in common, is neglected of all; and experience sheweth that tennauntes in common be not so good husbandes, as when euery man hath his part in seuerall. Also I haue
20 hard saie, that in the most countries beyond the seas, they know not what a common grounde means.

Quod in com-
muni posside-
tur ab omnibus
negligitur.
Reasons to def-
end Enclo-
sures.

DOCTOR. I meane not all Inclosures, nor yet all commons, but only of such Inclosures as turneth commonly arrable feildes into pastures; and violent Inclo-
25 sures, without Recompence of them that haue right to comez therin; for if land weare seuerallie inclosed, to the intent to continue husbandrie theron, and [f. 29]
euerie man, that had Right to commen, had for his portion a pece of the same to him selfe Inclosed, I thincke no harme
30 but rather good should come therof, yf euerie man did agre theirt. But it would not sodenly be done; for there be manie a M. Cottagers in england, which, hauinge no landes to liue of theire oune but their handie labours, and some

What kynde
of enclosures
is hurtfull.



refreshinge vppon the said commons, yf they weare sodenly thrust out from that commoditie might make a great tumult and discorde in the common wealth. And percase also, yf men weare suffered to inclose theire groundes, vnder pretence to kepe it still in tillage, within a while after they 5 would turne all to pasture, as we se they doe now to fast, the more is the pittie.

KNIGHT. Yf they find more proffite therby then other wise, why should they not ?

DOCTOR. I can tell youe [well] inowgh why they should 10
 Whether that not, for they maie not purchase them selues
 that is profit- proffitt by that that may be hurtfull to others.
 able to one may But how to bringe them that [they] would not
 be profitable to al other yf doe so, is all the matter ; for so longe as they
 to al other yf he vse the same feate. find more proffitt by pasture then by tillage, 15
 they will still inclose, and turne arrable landes to pasture.

KNIGHT. That well maie be restrained by lawes, yf it be thought most proffittable for the common weale ; but all men doe not agre to that poynct.

DOCTOR. I wote well thei doe not, and therefore it 20
 weare hard to make a lawe therin, (so manie as haue proffitt by that matter resistinge it). And yf such a law weare made, yet men studiinge still there most profit, would defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

[f. 29^b] KNIGHT. I haue hard oftentimes much Reasoninge in 25
 this matter ; and some, in mainteyninge these Inclosures, would make this Reason. Euerie man is a member of the common weale, and that that is proffittable to one maie be proffittable to another, yf he would exercise the same feat. Therefore that is proffittable to one, and so to a nother, 30
 maie be proffittable to all, and so to the common wealth. As a great masse of treasure consisteth in manie pence, and one penny added to a nother, and so to the thrid and

fourth, yt maketh vp the great some ; so eche man, added to a nother, maketh vp the whole bodie of the common weale.

DOCTOR. That Reason is goode, (addinge so much and more to yt). Trew it is that that thinge which is profittable to eche man by him selue, (so it be not preiudiciall to anie other,) is profittable to the whole common weale, and not other wise ; or els robbinge and steling, which percase is profittable to some men, weare profittable to the whole common weale, which no man will admitt. But this feate of Inclosing is so
10 that, wheare it is profittable to one man, it is preiudiciall to manie. Therefore I thinke that Reason sufficiently answered.

KNIGHT. Also they will lay for them an other Reason ; sayinge that that is oure owne Commodities should [bee] alwaies aduansed as much as myght be, and these sheapes
15 proffitt is one of the greatest commodities we haue. Therefore yt ought to be aduansed as high as it might be.

DOCTOR. I could answere that argument with like [f. 30] reason as I did the other. Trew it is, we ought to aduance oure owne commodities as much as we can, (so
20 it be not to the [hyndraunce], as much or more, of [owr] other commodities) ; for wheare as the breed of conyes, dere and such like, is a commoditie to this Realme, yet yf we should all turne oure arable gronde to nowrishe that com-
25 moditie, and giue vp the plowe, and all other commodities, it weare a greate follie.

Euery commoditie must be so aduanced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greter commodities.

KNIGHT. They will say againe that all grounde is not mete for shepe.

DOCTOR. It is a verie evill grounde but either it servith
30 to breed or to feade them vpon, and yf all that is mete for the one [or for thother were] turned to the maintynance of shepe and no other thinge, wheare shall we haue oure other commodities growe ?

KNIGHT. All can not doe so, thoughe some doe.

DOCTOR. What should let them to doe all that some doe? yea, what should better enchourage them to doe then to se them become notable Rich men by the doinge therof, in short time? And then, yf euerie man should doe so, 5 (followinge the example of anie other,) what should ensue therof but a mere sollitude and vtter dissolation to the whole Realme, furnished only with shepe and shepherdes in stead of good men; whearby it might be a pray to oure enymies that first would sett vppon it; for then the shepe 10 masters and their shepherdes could make no resistance to the contrarie.

KNIGHT. Who can let them to make the most aduantage of that which is their owne.

DOCTOR. Yes, marie; men may not abuse their owne 15
[f. 30^b] thinges to the dammage of the common weale; yet for all this that I se, it is a thinge most necessarie to be provided for; yet I can not perceauie it should be the only cause of this dearth. For this Inclosinge and great graisinge, yf it weare occasion of 20 dearth of anie thinge, it muste be of corne cheiflie; and now, these ij or iij yeres paste, we haue had corne good cheape inowghe; and the dearth that was then was most of cattaill, as beafes and muttens; and the breede of these rather encrease then deminishe by pastures and 25 closinges.

No man may abuse his owne thinges to the preiudice of the common weale.

KNIGHT. Why should men be then offendid so much with these Inclosures?

DOCTOR. Yes, and not without a great cause; for thoughe these thre or foure yeres past, throughe the great 30 bountie of god, we haue had much plentie of corne, whearby it hath bene good cheape, one acre beringe as much as two weare wounte commonlie to doe; yet yf these yeres had

chaunced but meanlie fructfull of corne, (no dowbt,) we should haue had as great dearthe of corne as we had of other thinges ; and then it had bene in manor [an] vndoinge of the poore commons. And yf after theire should chaunce anie
 5 barren yerres of corne to fall, we should be assured to find as great extremytie in the price of corne, from that yt was wount to be, as we find now in the price of other victualles. And especially, yf we haue not ynowghe to serue within the Realme, which may happen hereafter more likly then in
 10 times past, by reason theire is much land turned to pasture. For euerie man will seke wheare most aduantage is, and they see theire is most advantage in grasinge and breedinge [f. 31] then in husbandrie and tillage, by a great deale. And so longe [as] it is so, the pasture shall [euer] encroche vpon the
 15 tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrarie.

KNIGHT. And how thincke youe this maie be remedied then?

DOCTOR. To make the proffitt of the plow to be as
 20 good, rate for rate, as the proffit of the graisiers and shep-masters.

KNIGHT. How cane that be done?

DOCTOR. Marie, I coniecture two maner of waies ; but I feare me they shall seme at the first blusse so
 25 displeasaunt vnto youe, ere youe consider it throughly, that youe will reiect them ere youe examin ; for we taulke now to haue thinges good
 cheape. And then, yf I should moue a meane that should make some thinge dearer for the time, I should be [an-
 30 one] reiected, as a man that spake against euerie mans purpose.

Howe inclo-
 sures might be
 remedied with-
 owte coercion
 of Lawes.

KNIGHT. Saie on youre mind, and spare not ; and thowghe youre [reason] at the first seme vnreasonable, yet

we will heare whether youe can bringe it to anie reasonable ende.

DOCTOR. Remember what youe haue in hand to treat of now; not how the prices of all thinges maie onlie be browght downe, but how these Inclosures maie be [broken 5 vp] and husbandrie more vsed; of the price of thinges we shall speake of heareafter.

KNIGHT. We will remembre well that.

DOCTOR. What maketh men to multiplie pastures and Inclosures gladly? 10

KNIGHT. Marie, the proffitt that groweth therby.

DOCTOR. It is verie true, and no other thinge. Then find [f. 31 b] the means to doe one of these two thinges that I shall tell youe, and youe shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe now pastures. 15

KNIGHT. What be those two thinges?

DOCTOR. Marie, ether [make] as litle gaynes to growe by pastures as there groweth by tillage; or els make that theare maie growe as much proffit by tillage as did before by pastures. And then, I dow't not, but tillage shalbe well 20 cherished of euerie man, as well as pasture is.

KNIGHT. And how may that be done?

DOCTOR. Marie, the first way is to make that woll be of as base a price [to] the breder therof as the corne is; and that shalbe, yf youe make alike restraynt of wolles, for 25 passinge ouer the sea vnwrowght, as ye make of corne. Ye haue a lawe made that no corne shall passe ouer and it be aboue a noble the quarter; yf it be vnder ye giue fre libertie for it to passe over; let woll be restrained likewise, for passinge over, so longe as it is aboue xiijs. iiij^d. the tod; 30 and whan it is vnder, let yt haue fre passage; that is one waie. An other is, to encrease the custome of That a like re- strain't of woole woll that passeth over vnwrowght; and by that

the price of it shalbe based to the breders, and yet the price over the sea shalbe never the lesse. But that is encreased in the price therof [on] straungers shall come vnto the kinges highnes;

sholde be made
as is of corne,
or none to be
sent ouer vn-
wroughte.

5 which is as profitable to [the] Realme as though it came to the breders, and myght releue them of their subsidwes. Thus far as towching the bringinge downe the price of wolles; now to the enhauncing of the same price in corne, to be as equiulent to the husbandman as woll should be.
10 And that might be browght to passe yf ye will let it haue as fre passage ouer sea, at all times, as ye haue now for woll. [f. 32]

MERCHAUNTE. By the first two wayes, men would send lesse woll over sea then they doe now; and by that waie, the kinges customes and proffittes of his staple should be
15 minished; by youre latter way, the price of corne should be much enhaunced, wheare with men should be muche greued.

DOCTOR. I wote well it would be deare at the first: but yf I can perswade youe that it weare reasonable it weare
20 so, and that the same could be no hinderaunce to the Realme vniversally, but great proffitt to the same, then I thincke we would be content it should be so: and as towching the kinges custome, I will speake afterward.

MERCHAUNTE. I will graunt, yf youe can show me
25 that.

DOCTOR. I will assaie it, albeit the matter be sumwhat intricate, and as I showed youe before, at the first face will displease many; for they will saie, would youe make corne
30 dearer then it is? haue youe dearth inowghe els without that? nay I praie youe find meanes to haue it better cheape, yf it maie be, it is deare inowghe alreadie; and such other like reasons would be said. But now let the husbandman answer suche men againe. Haue not ye graisers raised

Reasons whye
the husband-
man sholde be
at like libertie
as others to set
his wares.

the price of youre wolles and peltes? and youre
merchaunt men, clothiers and cappers, raised the
price of youre merchaundize and wares over it
was wount to be, in maner dowble? Is it not as
good reason then I should raise the price of 5

my corne? What reason is it that youre should be at large,
[f. 32 b] and I to be restrained? Ether let vs all be restrained together,
or els let vs all be at like libertie. Ye maie sell [yowr woole]
over the sea, youre felles, youre tallow, youre chese, youre
butter, youre lether, which riseth all by graisinge, at youre 10
pleasure, and that for the dearest penny ye can get for them.
And I shall not send owt my corne, except it be at x^d. the
bushell or vnder. That is as moch to saie, as we that be
husbandmen should not sell oure wares, except it be for
nothinge, or for so litle we shall not be able to live theron. 15
Thincke youre that yf the husbandman here did speake these
wordes, that he did not speake them reasonable?

HUSBANDMAN. I thancke youre with all my hart; for
youre haue spoken in the mattier more then I could doe my
self, and yet nothinge but that is true. We felt the harme, 20
but we wist not what was the cause therof; manie of vs saw,
xij yere ago, that oure proffittes was but small by the plowes;
and therfore divers of my neighbours that had, in times past,
some two, some thre, some fowre plowes of their owne, have
laid downe, some of them [parte, and som of theym] all their 25
teames, and turned ether part or all their arable grounde
into pasture, and therby haue wexed verie Rich men. And
everie day some of vs encloseth a [plote] of his ground to
pasture; and weare it not that oure grounde lieth in the
common feildes, intermingled one with a nother, I thincke 30
also oure feildes had bene enclosed, of a common agree-
ment of all the townshippe, longe ere this time. And to saie
the truthe, I, that haue enclosed litle or nothinge of my

grownd, could [never be able] to make vp my lordes rent [f. 33]
 weare it not for a litle brede of neate, shepe, swine, gese,
 and hens that I doe rere vpon my ground ;
 whearof, because the price is sumwhat round, I
 5 make more cleare proffitt then I doe of all my
 corne ; and yet I haue but a bare liuinge, by
 reason that manye thinges doe belonge to husbandrie which
 now be exceadinge chargeable, over they weare in times past.

That by breed-
 inge the hus-
 bandman hathe
 moste cleere
 gaines.

CAPPER. Thoughe this reason of maister doctors here
 10 doth please youe well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth
 vs that be artificers nothinge at all, which must bie both
 bread corne and mault for oure penny. And whear as
 youe, maister Doctor, saie it weare as good Reason that the
 husbandman should raise the price of his corne, and haue as
 15 fre vent of the same over sea as we [doo and haue of ovr
 wares], I can not greatly denie that ; but yet I saie, that
 euerie man hath nead of corne, and so they haue not of
 other wares so much.

DOCTOR. Therfore the more necessarie that corne is,
 20 the more be the men to be cherished that rered it ; for yf
 they se there be not so much proffitt in vsinge the plowghe
 as they se in other feates, thincke youe not that they will
 leue that trade, and fall to the other that they
 see more profitable? as ye maie perceave by
 25 the doinges of this honest mans neighbours,
 which haue turned theire arable land to pasture, because
 thei se more proffitt by pasture then by tillage. Is it not
 an old sayinge in [latten], honos alit artes,
 that is to saie, proffitt or aduancement norish-
 30 ethe euerie facultie ; which sayinge is so true,
 that it is alowed by the common Judgement of all men. [f. 33^b]
 We must vnderstand also that all thinges that
 should be done in a common wealth be not to

That proffit ad-
 uaucyeth all
 facultyes.

Honos alit
 artes.

That some
 thinges are to

be alured by
rewards and
some other
with streight
pains forced in
a comen weale.

be forced, or to be constrained by the streight penalties of the law; but some so, and some other by allurements, and rewardes rather. For what law can compell men to be industrious in travell, and labour of their bodies, or studious to learne 5 anie science or knowledge of the mynd? to these things they maie be well provoked, encouraged, and allured, yf they that be industrious and painfull be well Rewarded for their paines, and * be suffered to take gaines and wealth as reward of their labours. And so likewise [they] that be 10 learned, yf they be advaunced and honored accordinge to their forwardnes in learninge, euerie man will then studie ether to be industrious in bodely labour, or studious in things that pertaine to knowledge. Take this reward from them, and goe * about to compell them by lawes 15 therto, what man will plowge or digge the ground, or exercise anie manuell occupation wherein is anie payne? Or who will adventure over sease for anie marchandize? or vse anie facultie wherein anie perill or dainger should be, seinge his Rewarde shall be no more then his that sitteth 20 still? But ye will percase answer me, that all their Rewardes shall not be taken awaie, but part of it. Yet then youe must graunt me, that as yf all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must nedes decay; so yf part of that rewarde be minished, the vse of 25 those faculties shall minishe withall, after the rate; and so they shalbe the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded and esteemed. But now to our purpose; I thincke it more necessarie to devise a meane how husbandrie might be more occupied, 30 rather then lesse, which I can not perceave how it maie be brought to passe, but as men doe see the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie the feate. And this to be true,

[f. 34] The lesse profit or honor is geuen to any arte the lesse it shalbe frequentid.

[that] some thinges in a common wealth must be forced with paines and some by rewardes allured, [may appere] by that, that the wise and polittique senator Tully writeth, sayinge, that it was the wordes of solon, which
 5 was one of the seaven men of Greace, and of Cicero in Ep. ad Atticum.
 those seaven the only man that made lawes, that a common wealth was holden vp by ij thinges Cheifly, that is, by reward and paine; of which wordes I gather that men should be prouoked to good deades by rewardes and
 10 price, and [to] abstaine from evill doinges by paines. Trow youe, yf husbandmen be not better cherished and prouoked then they be to exercise the plowghe, but in processe of time so manie plowghes wilbe layed Downe, (as I feare me there be alreadie,) that yf a vnfructfull yere should happen
 15 emongst vs, as commonlie doth once in seaven yere, we should then not only haue dearth, but also suche scarsnes of corne, that we should be driuen to seake it from out-wardes partes, and paie deare for it.

KNIGHT. How could youe haue them better cherished
 20 to vse the plowghe?

DOCTOR. To let them haue more proffitt by it then [f. 34^b] they haue, and libertie to sell it at all times, and to all places, as frely as men maie doe theire otheir thinges. But then no dowbt the price of corne would rise, specially
 25 at the first more then at the lengthe; yet that price would provoke everie man to set plowghe in the ground, to husband waste groundes, yea to turne the landes which be Inclosed from pasture to arable lande; for every man will the gladder folow that whearin they se the more proffit and
 30 gaines. And therby must nedes insue both greate plentie of corne, and also much treasure should be browght into this Realme by occasion therof; and besides that, plentie of all other victualles increased emonst vs.

KNIGHT. That would I faine here youe declare how ?

DOCTOR. Youe haue hearde that by the fre vent and saile of corne, the husbandmans proffit is aduanced. Then it is showed how everie man naturally will folow that whearin he seeth most proffit. Therfore men will the gladder occupie husbandrie. And the more doe occupie husbandrie, the more plentie of corne must nedes be ; and the more plentie of corne there is, therof better cheape ; and also the more wilbe spared over that that shall suffice the Realme ; and then, that maie be spared in a good yere shall bringe vs againe other corne, or els the commodities of other countries necessarie for vs. Then the more husbandrie is occupied, the more vniversall brede should be of all victualles, as of neate, shepe, swyne, gese, eges, butter, and chese, for all these are rered much of corne.

KNIGHT. Yf men should sell, when a good reasonable [f. 35] yere is, all that is overplus whan the Realme is served, what should we doe yf a barren yere should happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yere before ?

DOCTOR. First, youe must consider that men be sure they will keape inowghe to serve them selves with in the Realme, or they sell anie forthe of the same ; and hauinge libertie to sell at their plesure, Downt ye not, but they had lever sell their corne ij^d. or iij^d. better cheape with in the Realme, then to be at chardges with carryinge, and perill of adventure, in sendinge it over the sea, and sell it derer, (except it be for much more gaines). And thus men, beinge prouoked with lucre, will kepe the more corne, Lokinge for a deare yere in the countrie, whearby must nedes be the greater store. And thoughe they did not soe, but should sell over the sea all that they might spare over that serveth

the Realme when the yere is plentifull, yet by reasone that, throwghe the meanes aforesaide, more plowes are sett aworke then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yere, yf a scarce yere should fall after, the corne of so manie plowes, 5 as in a goode yere woulde be more then inowghe, in [an vnfrutefull] yere at the Least would be sufficient to serve the Realme. And so should the Realme be served with inoughe of corne in a scarce yere, and in a plenteus yere no more then inoughe, which might be sold over the sea for greate 10 treasure or other commodities; wheare now, in a plentifull [f. 35^b] yere, we seake to haue as much as maie suffice the Realme. Then yf a scarce yere should happen, we must nedes lacke of oure owne to serue, and be driven to bie from beyonde the sea. And then, yf they weare as envious as we are, 15 mighte they not saie, when we required anie corne of them, that seinge they could get none frome vs, when we had plentie, why should they let vs haue anie corne when we haue scarsitie? Surelie common reason would that one region should healpe a nother whan it lacketh. And ther- 20 fore god hath ordeined that no countrie shoulde haue all commodities; but that, that one lacketh, an other bringeth furth, and that, that one countrie lacketh this yere, a nother hath plentie therof the same yere, to the entent that one maie know they haue nede of a nothers healpe, and therby 25 Loue and societie to grow emonst all the more. But here we will doe as thoughe we had nede of no other countrie in the earthe, but to liue all of oure selues; and [as] thoughe we might make the market of all thinges as we list oure selues; for thoughe god is bountifull vnto vs and sendeth vs manie 30 great commodities, yet we could not liue with owt the commodities of others. And, for an ensample, of yron [and] salt, thoughe we haue competentlie therof, yet we haue not the iij part to suffice the Realme; and that [canne] in no wise be [f. 36]

spared yf we will occupie husbandrie. Then tar, rosin, pitch, oile, steile, we haue none at all ; as for wyne, spices, linnen cloth, silkes, and collers, thoughte we might liue so without them, yet farre frome anie Civilitie shoulde it be. As I denie not [but mannye thynges wee myght have here sufficyentlye 5 that wee bye nowe from beyonde the Seas, and] manie thinges we might spare wholly ; whearof, yf time shall serve, I will talke more hereafter. But now to returne to the first point that I spake of before, to be one of the meanes to bringe husbandrie vp, that is by abasinge the estimacion 10 of woll and felles ; thoughte I take not that waie to be as goode as the other, for I doe not allow that meane that may base anie of oure commodities except it be for the enhauncinge of a better Commodity ; but yf bothe Commodities maie be enhaunced together, as by the last devise I thincke they 15 might be, I allowe that waie better ; neuerthesse wheare as youe, brother merchante, showed before that ether by restraining of wolles or other commodities, till they weare equivoilent with in the Realme after the Rate of the corne, or by enhaunsinge the custome of woll and other the saide 20 commodities, till the price, beside the custome of the saide commodities, weare brought like to the corne in proporcion,

The kinges highnes custome should be minished ;

[f. 36^b] Whether the kings custome sholde be minished by restraint of woole vnwrought. I thincke not so ; for the one waie, as much as he should haue for the more woll vented ouer, 25 so much should he haue for the lesse woll at a greater custome vented over. And thother waie is, asmuch as his grace should lose by his custome of woll, so much or more should his grace winne by the custome of clothes made within the Realme. But 30 one thinge I doe note by this Latter Devise, that yf they should take place, we must doe ; that is, yf we kepe with in vs much of oure commodities, we must spare manie other

things that we haue now frome beyonde the seas ; for we
 must alwaies take hede that we bie no more of strangers
 then we sell them ; [for so wee sholde empouerishe ovr selves
 and enriche theme]. For he weare no goode husband that
 5 hath no other yearly reuennewes but of husbandrie to Liue
 on, that will bie more in the markett then he selleth againe.
 And that is a point we might saue much by of oure
 treasure, in this Realme, yf we would. And I mervell no
 man taketh heade vnto it, what nombre first of
 10 trifles commeth hether from beyonde the seas,
 that we might ether clene spare, or els make
 them with in oure owne Realme, for the which
 we paie enestimable treasure euerie yeare, or els
 exchange substaunciall wares and necessarie for them, for
 15 the which we might receiue great treasure. Of the which
 sort I meane glasses, as well lookinge as drinckinge, as to
 glasse windowes, Dialles, tables, cardes, balles, puppetes,
 penhorne, Inckehorne, toothepikes, gloues, knives, dag-
 gers, pouches, broches, agletes, buttons of silke and siluer,
 20 erthen pottes, pinnes, poyntes, haukes belles, paper both whit
 and browne, and a thowsand like thinges, that might ether [f. 37]
 be clene spared, or els made within the Realme sufficient
 for vs. And as for some thinges, they make it of oure owne
 commodities and send it vs againe ; whearby they sett theire
 25 people on worke, and doe exshause much * treasure out
 of this Realme. As of oure woll they make clothe, cappes,
 and carsies ; of oure felles they make spanishe skinnes,
 gloues, girdles ; of oure tinne, salted, sponnes and dishes, of
 oure broken linnen cloth and ragges, paper both whit and
 30 browne. What treasure, thincke youe, goeth out of this
 Realme for euerie of these thinges ? And then for all
 together it exceedeth my estimation. There is no man that
 can be contented with anie other gloues then is made

Howe stran-
 gers do fetch
 from vs our
 great com-
 dities for very
 tryfles.

Owre delicacye
 in requirynge
 strangers
 wares.

in fraunce or in spaine; or carse, but it must
 be of flaunders die; nor cloth, but it must
 be of french die or fresadow; nor broche nor
 aglet, but of venys makeinge or millian; nor
 dagger, sworde, nor gridle, or knife, but of spanishe makeinge; 5
 no not so much as a spurre, but it must be fett at the
 milliners hand. I haue sene within these xx^{tie} yeres, when
 there weare not of these haberdashers that sell
 french or millan cappes, glasses, Daggers,
 swerdes, gridles and such thinges, not a dossen 10
 in all London. And now from the towere to
 westminster alonge, euerie streat is full of them; and theire
 shoppes glisters and shine of glasses, aswell lookinge as
 drinckinge, yea all manor vesselles of the same stuffe;
 [f. 37^b] painted cruses, gaye daggers, knives, swordes, and gridles 15
 that is able to make anie temporate man to gase on them,
 and to bie sumwhat, thoughe it serue to no purpose neces-
 sarie. What nede they beyonde the sea to travell to Peru
 or such farre countries, or to trie out the sandes of the river
 Tagus in spaine, [Pactolus] in asia and Ganges In Inda, to 20
 gett amongst them small sparkes of goulde, or
 to dig the bowelles of the earthe, for the mynde
 of siluer and gould, when they can of vncleane
 claye, not farre sowght for, and of [peoble] stones
 and fearne rootes make [good] gould and silver 25
 more then a great manie of gould myndes woulde
 make. I thincke not so litle as a hunderd thow-
 sand pounce a yeare is fett of oure treasure for thinges of no
 valew of them selues, but onlie for the labors
 of the workers of the same, which are sett on 30
 worke all of oure chardges. What grossnes be
 we of, that se it and suffer such a continuall spoile
 to be made of oure goodes and treasure, by

Thencease of
 haberdashers
 and millioners
 ouer they were
 wonte to be.

Howe the
 strangers finde
 an easier way
 to get treasure
 by things of no
 valewe than
 by any mynes
 of golde or sil-
 uer.

Howe stran-
 gers finde their
 people with
 ovr comodities
 and on our
 charges.

such meanes. And speciallie, that will suffer oure owne commodities to goe, and set straungers on worke, and then to bye them againe at there handes ; as of oure woll they make and die carsies, fresadowes, brodeclothes, and cappes, 5 beyond the seaze, and bringe them hether to be sold againe ; whearin note, I praie youe, what they doe make vs paye at the end for owre stuffe againe ; for the stranger custome, for [f. 38] the workmanshippe, and coullers, and lastly for the second custome in the returne of the wares into the realme againe ; 10 wheareas, with workinge the same with in oure Realme, oure owne men should be set on worke at the chardges of straungers ; the custome should be borne all by straungers to the kinge, and the cleare gaines to remaine with in the Realme.

KNIGHT. Yf we weighe such thinges, and other which 15 goeth over the sea yearly from vs for the same, youe speake to litle by asmuch againe ; for one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that thowghe straungers bie there woll deare, and paie twise custome, that is, both at goinge out of the woll and whan it returneth in cappes, yet the same 20 shalbe better cheape then that is made within the Realme ; wherof that should be longe, I would faine know.

DOCTOR. Whether it be longe of oure slothe, or of oure chargable fare, or of oure Idlenes, which we Englishe men doe vse, percase more then 25 anie nation, I know not ; yet it weare better for vs to paie more to oure owne people for those wares then lesse to straungers ; for how litle gaines so ever goeth over, it is lost to vs cleare. But how much so ever the gaines be, that goe 30 from one of vs to a nother, it is all saved with in the Realme ; and a like reason as youe made now, I hearde a bookebinder make me, when I asked him why we had no white and browne paper made [f. 38b]

Whie stran-
giers may a-
forde wares
made by them
better chepe
then wee may
the same made
here, and yet
that it were
better for vs to
bye our owne
thoughe they
were deerer.

within the Realme, [as well as they had made beyonde the Sea. Thanne he aunsweryd me that there was paper made a whyle within the Realme]. At the last, said he, the man perceaued that made it that he could not found his paper as good cheape as that came from beyonde the seaze, and so he 5 was forced to lay downe makinge of paper. And no blame to the man; for men would giue neuer the more for his paper because it was made heare; but I would haue ether the paper staied from cumminge in, or els so burdined with custome that, by that time it came hether, oure men might 10 afford theire paper better cheape then straungers might doe theires, the custome considered.

KNIGHT. Marie, theare youe speake a thinge that the kinges attornie would not agre vnto; for if such ware weare made with in the Realme, then the kinges custome should 15 be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the seaze.

DOCTOR. Yf the kinges attorney did regard as well the proffitt that should come after, as that is present before the eys, he would agre to this wel inough; 20 for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saued with in the Realme. And then it would not grow to the proffitt of the subiectes only, but it must nedes grow also to the proffitt of the kinge, for the wealth of the subiectes is 25 the wealth of the kinge. And in my opinion, they doe not best provide for his graces proffitt that procureth onlie a present commoditie, but rather that commoditie that maie longe endure with out the grieve of his subiectes.

KNIGHT. Youe would haue a lawe made, that no such 30 ware should be brought from beyond the sea to be sold heare, of such thinges as could be made heare as well as theare.

The most durable and most vniuersall profit is more to be estemid then the shorte and particuler profit.

[f. 39]

DOCTOR. Yea forsouth, so I would wishe.

KNIGHT. I was once in the parlament, when such a thinge was moued, but only for Cappes, That none made beyond the seaze should be sould within the
 5 Realme. And then it was answered by a greate wise man, that it was to be feared least it towched the league made betewne the kinges highenes and some forrein prince. What thincke youe then would haue bene saide, yf we would haue moved
 10 a law to be made that nothings made of oure woll, or tinne, or lead, or hides beyond the sea should haue bene sould heare?

Whether suche restraints doo toche the leagues with owtwarde prynces.

DOCTOR. I can not tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether anie such league be ; but I saie to
 15 youe, I thincke it a merveilus league that should let vs make lawes that might be proffittable vnto vs. And yf theare weare anie such league, I had rather it weare broken then kept ; which beinge broken should doe vs goode, and beinge kept should doe vs
 20 harme. And I suppose, that when we entre anie league, the same is ment to be for oure wealth, and not for oure hindaunce. Therfore the league would not be esteemed that might hinder oure common wealth.

No legue is to be cherished that is not for the common wealth.

KNIGHT. What and they would make a lawe beyond [f. 39^b]
 25 the sea, that wares made within this Realme should not be sould there? as they made of late, when we devised a law that no wines should be brought hither in straunge botomes.

DOCTOR. Yet would they be forced rather to dissolue
 30 theire law then we oures ; for oure stuffe is necessarie for them that is made heare ; as cloth, lether, tallow, beare, butter, cheise, pewter vessell, and such. Theirs be to vs more to serve pleasure then necessitie ; as tables, cardes,

perfumed gloues, glasses, gallie pottes, Dialles, oringes, pippins, and cheres; yea, their cheife Commodities might be better spared of vs then retained of them; without as wines, silkes, spices, Iron, and salt. I would to god we would folow the example of a poore haven towne, that I know did 5 of late, in the merches of wales, called Carnarvin; when

A worthie ex- their came a certaine vessell out of england, all
ample to be loaden with apples, which afore time was wount
folowed in to bringe them good corne, the towne com-
vsing of stran- maunded that none should bie the said apples, 10
giers. vppon a great paine; and so the bote stode so longe at the
heaven, without saile or vent, till the apples weare putrified
and lost; and when the owner demaunded of the balife of
the towne why he had staied his saile and vent, The baylife
answered againe, that the said vessell came thither to fett 15
the best wares they had in the countrie, as freses, brode
clothes, and woll; and instead of that he should leave in the
countrie, that which should be spent and wasted in lesse
then a weke. And said, bringe to vs corne and mault, as
youe weare wount to doe, wherof the countrie hath nede, 20
and ye shall be welcome at all times, and ye shall haue fre
vent and sale in oure port. Thincke ye the great citie of
london, sowthampton, bristow, Chester, and other, might
not learne a good lesson of this poore walshe towne in this
doinge? Might they not say, when shippes full of oringes, 25
pippins or cheres, come in, that yf they would take plomes,
Damsons and strawbereis for them, they should haue free
exchange? and when they bringe glasses, puppetes, Ratles
and such thinges, they should haue like trifles for them, yf
anie such weare to be had within the Realme, as there be 30
not. But yf they come for oure wolles, for oure clothes,
carseys, corne, tinne, lead, yea oure gould, silver, and such
substaunciall and necessarie thinges, let them bringe in

[f. 40]

again, flax, tar, oyle, fish and such other ; and not to vse them as litle children, geue them an aple for the best Juell they haue about them. And thus we are impouerished of oure treasure and chefe commoditie, and can not perceau
 5 it ; such is the fines of straungers wites, and the grossnes of oures ; yet it weare more tollerable yf we did but cherishe theire devises that be straungers ; but we doe now a dayes Devise oure selues manie other wayes to impouerishe oure selues and to exhause oure treasure. And now I must
 10 come to that thinge, that youe brother marchant towched before ; which I take to be the cheife cause of all this dearth of thinges, and of the manifest imporishment of this Realme, and might in breife time be the distruction of the same, yf it
 15 be not the [rather remedyede], that is the basinge or rather corruptinge of oure coine and treasure ; whearbie we haue devised a waie for the straungers not onlie to bie oure gould and silver for brasse, and not onlie to exhause this Realme of treasure, but also to bie oure cheife commodities in
 20 manor for nothinge. It was thought it should haue bene a meane, not onlie to bringe oure treasure home, but to bringe much of others ; but the [experience hathe] so plainlie declared the contrarie, so as it weare a verie dullardes part to be in dowbt therof.

25 KNIGHT. Forsowth, such a dullard ame I indede, that can not perceave what hinderaunce it should be to the Realme to haue this mettall, more then that, for oure coine ; seinge the coine is but a token to goe from man to man. And sithe it is stricken with the kinges seall to be currant,
 30 [what makithe it the mattiere] what mettall it be of, yea thoughte it be but lether or paper ?

Of the coyne,
 what harme
 comes and may
 come of the
 alteration of it.
 [f. 40^b]

DOCTOR. Youe saie but as most part of men doe saie, and yet they be far wide from the trewthe, as men that doe

not consider the thinge thoroughly ; for by that reason god
 could never send dearth emongst vs, but the kinge might
 quickly Remedie it; as yf corne weare at a crowne the bushell,
 The kinge might prouide crownes inoughe for him selfe and
 [f. 41] also his subiectes, made of brasse, to paie for the same. And 5
 so to make it as easie for him and his subiectes to paie a
 crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be now for
 them to paie j^d. for the same. And as the price of corne
 did rise, the kinge might raise the estimation of his coyne
 after the rate ; and so kepe the corne alwaies at one stint in 10
 deed, thoughe in name it did seme to rise. As for example,
 Suppose wheat this yeare to be at a grote the bushell, the
 next yeare ij grotes, the kinge might cause the grote to be
 called viij^d. ; and yf the bushell rose to xij^d. he might raise
 the estate of the grote to xij^d.; and so whether it weare by 15
 making of coine of other mettalles then be of price
 receauede emongst all men, or by the enhauncinge the price
 of the onlie coine made in mettall of estimation, the
 kinge might, yf youre reason weare true, kepe alwais, not
 only corne but also all other victalles and necessities for 20
 mans life, alwaies at one price indede, thoughe in [terme]
 they should varie. But youe maie se dailie by experience the
 contrarie hervnto ; for whan god sendeth dearth of corne,
 or of other thinges, Theare is nether Emperour nor kinge
 can heape it ; which they would gladly doe, yf they might, 25
 aswell for their owne ease as for their subiectes. And
 might sounde doe it yf youre reason towched afore might take
 place ; that is, yf ether they maie make coine of what
 [Estimat] they would of vile mettalles, or els enhaunce the
 value of coines made in mettalles of price to what some 30
 they would. Yet a man at the first blushe would thincke
 that a kinge in this Realme might doe this easily, and make
 what coine he would to be curraunt, and of what estima-

tion it pleased him. But he that so thincketh marketh [f. 41^b] but the tearmes, and not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them. [As] yf a man made no difference betewne 6 grotes that made [an] 5 oz. of silver, and xij grotes that made an ownc of silver; by the grote of the first sort, the vjth part of an ownc, or by a grote of the other sort, [ys] the xijth part of an ownc of silver vnderstanded. And so their must be as much difference betewne the one grote and the other as is 10 betewne tow and one, the hole thinge and halfe; though either of them be called but vnder one name, that is a grote. We must consider, though Gould and silver be the mettalles commonly whearin the coine is stricken to be tokens in exchange of thinges betewne man and man, yet is 15 it the wares that be necessarie for mans vse that are exchanged in dede for the owtward name of the coyne, and yt is the rarietie and plentie therof that maketh the price therof base or higher. And because it weare verie combersome and chargeable to carie so much of the wares 20 as [wee haue aboundaunce of to exchange for the wares that] we waunt alwaies; both for the weightes of oure wares, and also for that they could not be caried so far without perishing of the same; nor proportioned so even as there should be alwayes neither more nor lesse brought of oure 25 wares then weare equiuent with other wares that we can receue. Thearfore weare the mettalles of gould and siluer devised, as wares in so small weight most in value, and least combersome to carie, and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage ther- 30 of, and maie be cut and devided in most peices and porcions with out anie losse, to be as the meane to exchange all other wares by. And yf the thinge weare to be a new Devised, necessitie

That the substance and quantitie is estemid in coyne and not the name.

Aristo. li. 5
Eth.

That necessitie of mutual traffique and commoditie of exchange made coyne to [f. 42] be devised.

would cause vs to diuise the same waie againe. For, put the case theare weare no vse of mony amongst vs, but ony exchange of wares for wares, as [sumtymes] I doe reade
 Homerus de haue bene. We must at a time haue such plentie
 contu [sic] of thinges in oure Realme, as for example, of 5
 emptione, et corne, woll, and peltes, chese and butter; and
 venditione. Li. over so much as we should vent out for other
 primo. commodities as weare sufficient for vs, theare should remaine
 with vs so great store that spend it we could not, nor kepe
 it longe from perishinge; would not we be glad to exchange 10
 [that] aboundaunce of thinges, that could not abide the
 kepinge, [for such wares as wolde abyde the keepynge,]
 which we might exchange againe for such wares as I
 rehersed, or anie other as necessarie, when scarcetie of
 the same should happen amongst vs? ye verelie; and that 15
 we should studie to haue in that exchange such wares
 as would lie in lesse Romes, and contineweth
 Whye golde longest with out perishinge, and be caried to
 and siluer were the stuf moste and fro with lesse charge, and be most currant
 meete for at all times and at all places. Ys not Gould 20
 coyne to bee stricken in. and silver the thinges that be most of that sort?
 I meane most of valew, most light to be caried, longest
 able to abide the kepinge, [apteste] to Receave forme or
 marke, and most currant in all places, and most easily
 deuided into manie peces without losse of the stuffe. In 25
 some of the poinctes, I confesse precious stones doe excell
 silver and Gould, as in valew, or lightnes of cariage; but
 [thenne] they maie not be deuided with out perishinge of the
 substaunce, nor put againe to gether after they be once
 [f. 42 b] deuided, nor manie of them abide so manie daungers with 30
 out perishinge of the matter, nor yet receaue any stampe or
 marke easilie, nor be so vniversally esteemed. Therfore they
 be not so mete for Instrumentes of exchange as silver and

gould be, or els they for their prise or lightnes of cariage might be. And because gould and silver haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by a common consent of all the world, that is knowen to be of anie civillie, 5 to be instrumentes of exchange to mesure all thinges by, most apt to be ether caried far, or kept in store, or to receaue [for] thinges wherof we haue abundance, and to purchase then by them other thinges which we lacke, when and wheare we haue most [neede]. As 10 for example, yf theare weare no coyne currant, but exchange of thinges, as I saie sometime theare was, set this case; that a man had asmuch corne in one yeare as he could not well spend in fower yeares after, and perceaued he might not kepe it so longe as till a deare yeare or a scarce yeare 15 should come, and yf he did, much of it should perishe, or all; weare it not wisdom then for him to exchange the overplus of that corne for some other ware that might be longer kept, with out dainger of wast or minishinge, for the which he might at all times haue [eyther] corne againe at his 20 nede or some other necessarie thinge? Yes, no doubt, yf theare weare no silver nor gould, he would haue tin, brasse, or lead, or such other like thinge that would abide the kepinge with lesse detriment; and would desire to haue that thinge most that weare in lesse weight most in valewe, and [f. 43] 25 in lesse dainger of wearinge or perishinge, and most vniuersally receaved, wheare in gould and siluer excell all other mettalles.

KNIGHT. What makethe these mettalles to be of more valew then other?

30 DOCTOR. No dowbt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both in pleasure and vse, and partly the rarietie of them.

KNIGHT. What be these qualities? Yf youe praise gould

for his weight and pliablenes, lead doth excell it in these pointes; yf youe commend his coullor, Siluer by many mens Judgementes, whose coullor resembleth the day light for clearnes, passeth him, and hero/des preferreth it in his armes; because it is fardest of sene in the feild, and never semeth other coullor but his owne, be it never so far of, wheare all other seme blacke a far of, and so lose the strenghe of theire owne.

DOCTOR. Asmoch as the lead approacheth to gould in that point, I speake of weight and pliablenes, 10
Whie gold and siluer are esteimid before all other mettalls. it is cast behind it in other qualities, far more commendable; and so in coullor, it either passeth silver by some other mens Judgementes, because it resemblith the coullors of the celestiall bodies, as the sonne and starres, beinge the most excellent thinges that 15
 cometh vnder the vew of the bodely senses of man, or it is equiulent vnto it. In armes I know not how much it is esteemed; well I wote princes blase theire armes most with that coullor, whether it be for excellencie of the same or for that they loue the mettall so well it is made of, I can 20
 not tell. But now to esteme theire other qualities; gould is never wasted nor consumed by fier; yea the more it is burned the purer it is, which youe can saie of no other
 [f. 43^b] mettall. Then it wearith least by occupyinge, and foulleth not the thinge it toucheth, as siluer doth, with whom youe 25
 maie draw lines, which is a declaration the stuffe faulleth awaie; albeit that writers doe mervaille that it should draw so blacke a line, beinge of that brightnes and coullor of it selfe. Then theare is [no] rust nor skurf that mynishe that goodnes, or wasteth the substance of gould. It abbydeth 30
 the fretinge of liccours, of salt, [and] viniger, with out damage, [which] weareth anie other thinge. It nedeth no fier or it be made gould, as other requier it, it is gold as sonne as it is found.

It is drawn with out woll, as it weare woll. It is easily
spred in leaues, of a mervelous thinnes; ye maie adorne or
gild anie other mettalles with it, yea stones and timber.
It is also nothings inferior in commoditie of makinge
5 vessell or other Instrumentes to siluer, but rather pewrer,
clener, and more swete to kepe liccour in. Next him ap-
procheth silver in commendacions, as in cleanes, bewtie,
swetnes and brightnes. And it [serveth] not only to make
vesselles or other Instrumentes, but it is also spoonne, but
10 not with out wol as gold maie be; thoughe they could not
doe it afore time but with gold only; as I haue hearde
vestures weare made only of gold then, and now of late of
this silver; beinge spoonne with silke and gilded, they
counterfet the ould excesse of cloth of gold and tissue.
15 Now to speake of other mettalles, youe se what vses they
served for, which, yf they weare awaie, they should be more
estemed. Then I tould youe Rarietie commendeth the
said mettalles of gold and silver yet more then this; for as [f. 44]
they doe excell in qualities, so againe nature semeth to
20 haue layd them vpp in a farder warde then her other
guyftes, to shew vs that all fare things be rare, and that the
farest things, as they be hardest to be attained, so they be
most to be estemed. Yf glasse, as Erasmus saith, weare as
rare as silver, it should be as deare as silver, and not with
25 out cause; who could glase a window with silver, so as he
might [keepe] out the Iniurie of the whether, and nevertheles
receaue the commoditie of the light throughe the same into
his howse, as with glasse he myght? And so I might com-
mend other thinges for their vse, before gold and silver; as
30 Iron and stele, with whom we make manie better tooles for
manie necessarie vses then with gold or silver; but for [the
vses that wee talke of, Silvere and Golde doo cleerlye excell
all other metails]. I passe over this matter. Thus I haue

shewed some reasons why those mettalles of gold and silver are growne in estimation aboue others.

KNIGHT. Why doe kinges and princes strike these mettalles and other with a coine, but because they would haue that coine, of what valew so ever it be, to beare the 5 Estimation that the coine pretendith; which they did in vaine, yf they could make the mettalles that beareth that no better nor worse in estimation. Then I had lever haue small [gadds or] plates of silver and gold, with out anie coine at all, to goe abrode from man to man.

[f. 44^b] DOCTOR. Surely the time was even so emongst the
 Plini li. 33. ca. Romanes, * when nether brasse, silver, nor gold
 3. was coined, but weare esteemed only by the
 weight. And therof to this daie remaineth these vocables
 Sumtyme of coine, as libra, pondo, dipondium, and as 15
 brasse, siluer solidus, dinarius, vocables of weight; that after-
 and golde were ward weare gyven to coines pretendinge the
 waied before same weight; also the common officers, that
 coyne made. wheihed these rude mettalles, weare called libripendes,
 Inst. de test. wherof we haue mencion in Cyvell; but, because 20
 ord. of great trafique and assemblie of biers and
 sellers, it was tedious to tary for the weighinge of these
 mettalles and triinge of them, it was thought good that
 princes should stricke these mettalles with severall markes,
 for the varietie of the weightes they weare of, to assure the 25
 receaver, * the same to be no lesse then [the] weight it
 pretended. As for planer example, they strocke the pound
 weight with the marke of the pound, and the ounce with
 the marke of the ounce; and so after the varietie of the
 weightes of other peces variably marked, whearby began the 30
 names of coines; so that the people nided not to be troubled
 with weighinge and triinge of everie pece, beinge advertised
 by the marke of the print that everie pece contained the

weight that was assigneued by the marke set on euerie one. The princis credit was such then emonge their subiectes as they doubted nothinge. As sone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is to marke the halfe pound with the marke
 5 of the pound, and the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce, [a] while their credit made those coines currant, as I reade emonst the Romans practized more then once; but as sone as it was espied, the ij peces of D. li. went no
 10 fuder [thanne the one] pece of a hole pound went before; and at lengthe, as much as they wonne of the first they lost at the last in paiment of
 15 their rentes, customes, and senses; and so the nerer to east, the further from west; and they consequently lost their credit, much like as I haue knowen certain townes in
 20 england to haue donne; which weare wount to make their clothes of a certaine breadth and length, and so sett their sealles to the same; while they kept their Rate truly, strangers did but looke vppon their seall, and receaved their wares, whearby those townes had greate vent of
 25 their cloth, and consequently prospered very well. Afterward some in the townes, not content with reasonable gaynes, continually desiringe more and more, devised clothes of lesse lengthe, breadthe, and goodnes then they weare wounte to be, and yet, by [the commendacion] of the seall, to
 30 haue as muche monie for the same as they had before for good clothes; and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credit of their prodecessors to their singuler luker, which was recompensed with the losse of their posteritie; for after these clothes weare founde faultie, for all their
 35 sealles they weare not only never the better trusted, but much lesse for their seall, yea, though their clothes weare well made; for whan their falsehod and vntrweth was espied, then no man would bie their clothes till they

What losse
 comes of
 losse of cre-
 dence.

weare searched and vnfolded, Regardinge nothinge the
 seall. And yet, because they found them vntrew in sune
 part, they mistrusted them in other ; and so would give lesse
 for theire clothes then they would for anie other like, havinge
 [f. 45^b] no sealles to the same ; whearby the credit of the same 5
 townes was lost, and the townes vtterly decayd. Doe ye not
 see that oure coine is discredited alredey emongst strangers,
 which evermore desired to serve vs before all other nations,
 at all oure nedes, for the goodnes of oure coine ? And now
 they let vs haue nothinge frome them, [but onely] for oure 10
 commodities, as woll, felles, talow, butter, chese, tinne, and
 lead ; and wheare before time they weare wount to bringe vs
 for the same ether good gold or silver, or els as necessarie
 commodities againe, now they send vs other
 What doo
 straungers send
 vs for our trea-
 sure and chief
 comodities. trifles, as I spacke of before ; as glasses, gally 15
 pottes, tennis balles, papers, gyrdelles, browches,
 owches, buttons, dialles, or such like wares that
 standes them in no charge or vse ; or els, yf it be trew that I
 haue hearde saie, as I tould youe in youre eare before, they
 send vs brasse for oure treasure of gold and silver, and for 20
 oure saide commodities. I warrant youe, youe see nether
 gold nor silver browght over vnto vs, as it was here before
 vsed, and no mervaille. To what purpose should they
 bringe silver or gold hither, whearas the same is not esteemed ?
 Therefore I haue hearde say of a trewth, and I beleve it the 25
 rather to be trew, because it is likely, that sence oure coine
 hath bene based and altered, strangers haue conterfeted
 oure coine, and founde the meanes to haue greate masses
 transported hither and heare vttered it, as well for oure gold
 and silver, as for oure chefe commoditie ; which thinge I 30
 reporte me to youe, what Inconuenience it maie bringe the
 kinges highnes and this Realme vnto yf it be suffered, and
 that In brefe time.

KNIGHT. Theare be searchers that maie let that mattier [f. 46] well enowghe, yf they be trew, both for staiinge such false coine to come in and of oure ould coine to goe forthe.

DOCTOR. I saide so to the man that tould me the tale,
 5 that I tould youe of even now; and he answered me, theare weare manie waies to deceaue the searchers, yf they weare never so trew; as by puttinge the saide coine in their ships balast, or in some vesselles of [wyne], or
 10 other liquor transported either to vs or from vs.

Houe our owlde coyne may be transported, and the kyng or his officers not ware.

Then everie Cricke in the Realme haue not searchers; and yf they had, they be not such saintes as would not be corrupted for monie. And besides this, haue ye not made proclamacions, that oure ould coine,
 15 specially of gold, that it should not be currant heare aboue such a price? is not that the Rediest waie to drive awaie oure gold from vs, as everie thinge will goe wheare it is most estemed? and therfore oure treasure goeth over in shippes.

Wee devise the rediest way to drag away our treasure.

20 KNIGHT. I beleue well that these be meanes to exhause oure olde treasure frome vs, which ye haue rehersed; but howe it should make everie thinge so deare amonge oure selves, as ye say it dothe, I can not yet perceave the Reason.

DOCTOR. Why, doe ye not perceauē that, by reason
 25 herof, [yee] paie dearer for everie thinge that we haue from beyonde the seas then we weare wount to doe?

KNIGHT. That can not be denied.

DOCTOR. By how much, trow youe?

KNIGHT. By the third part well, in all manor of thinges.

30 DOCTOR. Must not they that bye deare, sell deare againe their wares?

KNIGHT. That is trew, yf they intend to thrive; for he that selles good cheape, and bies deare, shall never thrive.

DOCTOR. Ye haue youre selfe declared the reason, why
 [f. 46 b] thinges with [in] the Realme be so deare ; for we must bie
 deare all thinges brought from beyonde the seas,
 Why things within the Realme shold be so dere. and therfore we must sell againe as deare oure
 thinges, or els we should make ill bargaines for 5
 oure selves. And thoughe that reason makes it
 plaine, yet experience makethe it plainer ; for wheare youe
 saie that everie thinge brought beyond the sea is commonly
 dearer by the third part then it was, Doe ye not see the
 same proportion raised in oure wares, yf it be not more, yea 10
 in the old coine it selfe ? Is not the angell that was before
 but xx^{tie} grotes, now at xxx^{tie}, and so all other old coine after
 the same rate ? But I thincke theare is no more silver
 given in the xxx^{tie} grotes now then was before in xx^{tie}, yf it
 be so much. And so I thincke, settinge oure coine apart, 15
 that we shall haue as much silke, wines, or oyles from
 beyonde the seas, for oure todde of woll now as we might
 haue had before the alteration of this coine.

MERCHAUNTE. I would vndertake to serve youe so.

KNIGHT. What losse haue we by this, when we sell 20
 oure commodities as deare as we bie [theres] ?

DOCTOR. I graunte, to one sort of men I count it
 no losse ; yea to some other, gaines more then losse ; but
 yet to some other a greater losse, then it is proffitt to
 thother ; yea, generally to the impoverishinge of the Realme, 25
 and the weakeninge of the kinges maiesties power ex-
 cedinglie.

KNIGHT. I prairie youe, what be these sortes that yow
 meane ; and first, of those that ye thincke haue no losse
 therby ?

DOCTOR. I meane all those that live by byinge and
 sellinge ; for as they bie deare, so they sell theareafter.

KNIGHT. What is the next sort that ye saie winnes by it ?

DOCTOR. Marie, all such as haue takinges, or farmes [f. 47] in their owne maintenaunce, at the olde rent ; for wheare they paie after the old rate, they sell after the new ; that is, they paie for their land
 5 good cheape, and sell all thinges growinge therof deare.

Sum haue
 gayns by
 thalteracion of
 the coyne.

KNIGHT. What sorte is that which youe said had greater losse theareby then those men had proffitte ?

DOCTOR. It is all noble men, and gentlemen, and all
 10 other that live by a stinted rent, or stipend, or doe not maner the ground, or doe occupie no byinge or sellinge.

KNIGHT. I praie youe, pervse those sortes as youe did [the other], one by one, and by cours.

DOCTOR. I will gladly. First, the noblemen and gentle-
 15 men live for the most on the yearly revennewes of the landes and fees given them of the kinge. Then ye knowe, he that maie spend 300^{li}. a yeare by such revennewes and fees, may kepe no better porte
 then his father, or anie other before him, that
 20 could spend but 200^{li}. And so ye maie perceive, it is a great abatment of a mans [countenaunce] to take awaie the third part of his livinge. And therefore gentlemen doe so much studie the Increase of their landes, enhauncinge of their rentes, and so take farmes and
 25 pastures into their owne handes, as ye se they doe ; and also to seke to maintaine their [countenaunce], as their prodecessors did, and yet they come short thearin. Other, seinge the charges of howsehold so muche as by no provision they can make can be holpen, they give over their
 30 howseholdes, and get them chambers in London, or abowte the courte ; and theare spend their time, some of them with a servaunte or ij, wheare he was wounte to kepe xxx^{tie} or xl^{tie} persons daily in his howse, and to doe good in the [f. 47^b]

Who hathe
 losse by
 thalteracion of
 the coyne.

countreie, in kepinge good order and rule amonge his neighboures. The other sorte be, everie servinge man and men of warre, that havinge but their old stinted wages, can not finde them selves therewith as they might afore time, without Ravine or spoile. Ye know vj^d. a daie will not now 5 goe so far as iij^d. would afore time ; and thearfore ye haue men so vnwillinge to serve the kinge now a daies, [from] that they weare wounte to be ; also wheare xl^s. a yeare was good honest wages for a yeoman afore this time, and xx^d. a wekes borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will scant 10 beare their charges.

KNIGHT. That is longe of the excesse as well In apparell as in faire ; for now a daies servinge men are more costly in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely, then their masters weare wounte to doe in times past. 15

DOCTOR. No doubte that is one greate [cause of the greater] charge of howsehold ; for I knowe when a servinge

Of excesse in
apparell and
fare. man was content to goe in a kendall cote in somer,
or in a frese cote in winter, and with a plaine white
hose made mete for his bodie, and with a pece of 20
beof or sume other dishe all the weke longe. Now he will
loke to haue, at the least, for somer a cote of the finest cloth
maie be had for mony, and his hosen of the finest carsey, and
that of sume strange coullor or die, as flanders die, or french
puke, that a prince or great lord can weare no finer, yf he weare 25
cloth ; then their cotes shalbe garded, cut, and stiched ; and
the briches of their hosen so drawne with silkes that the
[f. 48] workemanshipe shall farre passe the price of the stufe ; and
this thinge is not restrained, as it should be, but rather
cherished of their masters, one strivinge with an other 30
who maie be most proude, and whose retinewe may most
lavishe, or goe gaie for a time of shew ; wheare as, throughe
suche excesse, they are faine all the rest of the yeare to

kepe the fewer servauntes. And so in excesse of meates they fare at some time, that In the hole yeare after they kepe no howses at all, or yf they doe, it shalbe verie small. Like excesses, as well in apparell as in fare, weare vsed in Rome, 5 a litle before the declination of the empire, so as wise men haue thought it was occasion of the decaie therof. And therefore Cato, and divers others wise Senators at that time, would haue had lawes made for the restraunte of such excesse ; and for that, thorouge the insolencie of some that 10 maintained the contrarie, the same weare not daily executed, such pride ensued theare, and of pride deuision, and throughe deuision, vtter desolacion of the common wealthe. I praie god, this Realme may beware by that example, and especially London, the head of this empire, wheare suche excesses, 15 by reason the wealthe that is of all this Realme is heaped vp, as the corne of the field into a barne, be most vsed ; for in other partes commonly of this Realme, the lawe of necessitie kepes men in good case, for excedinge ether in apparell or fare. I thincke we weare as much dreaded, or [f. 48^b] 20 more, of oure enemies when oure gentlemen went simply and oure servingemen plainly, with out cut or garde, bearinge the hevie sworde and bucler, on their thighe, in steade of cuttes and gardes, and light daunsinge swordes, and Rapiers. And when they rode, caryinge goode speares in 25 their handes, in stead of white rodde which they carie now, more like ladies, or gentlewomen, then men ; all which Delicacies makes oure men cleane effeminate, and without strengthe.

KNIGHT. We maie thancke oure longe peace and quiet- 30 nes with in the realme, that men be not forced to ride so stronge ; it was a troublous worlde, as well with in the Realme as with oute, when men went and rode as youe speake of.

DOCTOR. What can youe tell when suche a worlde may

come? Wise men saie that in peace men must locke and
 In peace loke provide for warre, and in warre againe for peace ;
 for warre. yf men weare suer alwaies of peace, theare neded
 no man to kepe men at all ; but sithe it is otherwise, and
 that the iniquitie of men is suche as they cannot be longe 5
 with oute warre, and that we reckon here in Englonde oure
 cheif streingthe to be in servingemen and yomen, it weare
 wisdom to exercise them, in time of peace, with such
 apparell, fare, and hardnes, as they must nedes sustaine in
 time of warre. Then the same shalbe no noveltie to them 10
 when they come to it ; and their bodies shalbe stronger to
 beare that, that they weare accustomed with all before. Let
 this I saie be of no credit, yf delicacie and tendernes was
 [f. 49] not the Just occasion of the subduinge the greatest empires
 that weare. 15

KNIGHT. Suerly ye saie verie well, and that which
 soundeth to good reason ; for I must nedes alow that I haue
 found trew my selfe ; for my men are so tenderly vsed in
 time of peace that they can not awaie with anie hevie
 armor in time of warre, but ether shirtes of male or cotes 20
 of linnen ragges, which at a shott maie happen to deceiue
 vs. Then, what saie youe to oure buildinges, that we haue
 heare in Ingland of late daies, farre more excessiue then at
 anie time heretofore ; doth not that empoverishe the Realme,
 and cause men to kepe lesse howses ? 25

DOCTOR. I saie all these thinges be tokens [and] orna-
 mentes of peace, and that no dowbte is cause of lesse hows-
 holdes, sith the buyldinge and trimminge of these howses
 spent awaie that that should be otherwise spent in howshold.
 But it doth not impoverishe the Realme at all ; for all the 30
 expenses of buyldinges, for the most parte, is spent emonge
 oure selves, and emonge oure neighbours and councitmen ;
 as emonge carpenters, masons and laborers ; except men will

fall to gildinge or paintinge of these howses, for in that much treasure may be spent to no vse. Allso the arrisses, verderers, and tapstrie worke, wheare with they be hanged, commonly conueieth over into flanders, and other strange
5 countries wheare they be had fro, muche of our treasure.

KNIGHT. Sir, yet I must remember youe of one thinge more, which men doe suppose to be a greate occasion of this spendinge of treasure abroad; and that is this, wheare [f. 49b] theare is cominge into the kinges handes, of late, much landes,
15 by reason of monesteries, Colleges and chauntres dissolved; which men suppose hath bene the cause, ij maner of waies, that theare is lesse treasure in the Realme. One is, because the Revennues of the said places dissolved, hearetofore weare spent in the countrie, and went from hand to hand
15 [there], for vittalles, cloth and other thinges, and now hath gotten to one place owte of the countrie; an other is, that divers men, which had anie Riches or wealth, vttered the same to bie parcell of the dissolved landes lyinge commodious for them; whearby, the one waie and the other,
20 the [riches of the] whole countrie is cleane sweped awaie.

DOCTOR. Trewth it is also; that makes the countrie abroad bare for the time, and had kept it so still, yf the kinges maiestie had not disperced the same landes abroad amonge them in the countrie againe; but now that his
25 highnes hath departed with a greate deale of those possessions, parte by guift, and parte by sale, treasure shall shortly increase againe abroad, as much as ever it was, yf it be not letted by other meanes. So that [I] take it to be no great * cause of this dearth that we haue, for the soile is not
30 * taken awaie, but the possession therof is only transferred from one kind of person to a nother.

KNIGHT. Then to returne to the matter of the coine [f. 50] wheare we left; I haue heard [yowr] conceit, how the

alteration thearof doth sume men no harme, as biers and sellers; some other it doth good, as vnto fermers that had land at the old rent; and some other, as gentlemen, [menne] of warre, servingmen, and all other livinge by anie rated and stinted rent or stipend, are greate loosers by it. I hard youe 5 saie, it was so much with all to the losse of the kinges maiestie, that it might be to the great perill, not only of this Roiall estate, but also to the whole Realme in processe of time; I merveill how it should be so, for I heard wise men saie, that the kinges father did winne * inestimable greate somes by the 10 alteration of the coine.

DOCTOR. So it was for the time; but I [lyken] that gaines to such as men haue, when men sell awaye their landes, to haue the greater some at one time, and ever after to lose the continuall encrease that should grow thearof. 15

Howe the alteration of the coyne is moste losse to the Kyng. For ye knowe all the treasure of this Realme must once in few yeares come to the kinges highnes handes, by one meane or other; and from him it should goe abrode againe to his subiectes; as all springes runne to the ocean sea, and oute 20 of it they sprede abroade agayne. Then, as they came in of late in good mettall, they came fourth in such as ye se now. And albeit it semes at the first face to impoverishe but the subiectes only, at length it is to be feared lest it doe impoverishe the kinges highnes; and then yf his grace 25 [f. 50b] should want, in time of warre, speceally sufficient treasure to paie for armore, weapons, tacklinges of shippes, goounes, and other artillarie, necessarie for the warre, that could by no meanes have of his subiectes wheare with to bie the same, what [case] should his grace be in, and his Realme? 30

Suerly very ill. And thearfore these coines and treasures be not with out cause called of wise men [nervi] bellorum, that is to saie, The 35

Money is
caulyde Nervi
bellorum.

senowes of warre. And that is the greatest danger that, I consider, should grow for want of treasure, to the kinge and his Realme; for though the kinges highenes maie haue what coine he will currant with in the Realme, yet the
 5 strangers can not be compelled to take them. And I graunt yf men might live with in them selves altogether, with oute borrowinge of anie thinge outwarde, we might devise what coine we would; but sence we must haue nede of other, and other of vs, we must frame oure thinges, not
 10 after oure fantasies, but to folowe the common market of all the world; and we maie not set the price of thinges at oure pleasure, but folowe the price of the vniversall market of all the world. I graunte brasse hath bene coined ere this, yea, and lether in some places; but ever I rede that was
 15 an extreme nede, which thinge is not to be folowed as an example, but to be eschued as longe as possible may be. Also I heare saie, that in fraunce [and] flanders theare goeth abroad such coine at these daies; but that doth not exile [f. 51]
 all other good coine; but they be currant with all, and
 20 plentie theareof, howsoever they vse it; and because I haue no experience of their vsage theare, how both coynes are vsed, Thearefore I will thincke it wisdom we did learne of them how we might vse thone and thother, [kepyng] either of like rate, as they doe; so that they should never desire anie of
 25 oure coine for anie greater valew then they be esteemed at with them, [nor wee theyres for annye greater estimate with vs than with theym]. And then should we be sure to kepe oure treasure at a staie. And as for recoveringe of old treasure that is alreadie gonne, theare might be order that
 30 some commoditie of ours weare so restrained from them that it should not be sold but for silver or gold, or for the third part or halfe in such coines as is vniversally currant; and thus cheifly oure treasure

For recouering
 of our thresure
 home again.

might be recovered by these ij meanes ; first, yf we forbid bringinge in of so many trifles, as I before rehersed to be brought vs from beyonde the seas ; and that nothinge made beyonde the sea, of oure commodities, should be sould heare. And secondly, yf we forbid that none of oure 5 commodities should passe over vnwrought ; which, beinge wrought heare and then sould over, should bringe infinite treasure in short time.

KNIGHT. Marie, and theare youe be contrary to the opinions of many greate wise men ; which thincke it better 10 that all oure woll weare sold over the sea vnwrought, then anie clothiars should be set a worke within the Realme.

[f. 51 b] DOCTOR. That weare a strange thinge in my opinion, that anie man should thincke so ; and what should move them to be of that opinion, I pray youe? 15

KNIGHT. I will tell youe ; they take it that all these Insurrections doe stirre by occasion of all these clothiers ; for when oure clothiers lacke vent over sea, theare is greate multitude of these clothiers idle ; and when they be idle, then they assemble in companies, and murmur for lacke of 20

Whether al our
woole were
expedient to
be solde ouer
and vn-
wroughte.
livinge, and so pike one quarrell or other to stirre the power commons, that be as Idle as they, to a commocion ; and sometime, by occasion of warres, theare must nedes be some staie some-
time of clothes, so that they can not alwayes 25

haue saile or vent ; at everie which time, yf the said clothiars should take occasion of commocion, they thincke it weare better theare weare none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently that the woll weare vttered vnwrought over sea, then to haue it wrought heare. 30

DOCTOR. So it may seme them that consider on Inconvenience and not an other. Surely whosoever hath anie persons vnder his governaunce, shall haue much adoe

to governe them in quiet ; and he that hath a greate familie shall haue some time trowble in the rewlinge of theime. [Yet were it but a meane pollicie eyther for a prince to minishe his nomber, or for a master of a house to putte
 5 away his seruantes, because he wolde not haue anye troble with the gouernaunce of them.] Now he that [f. 52] would so doe, might be well resembled to a man that would sell his land, because he would not be troubled with the accompte of it. I thincke it meter that we
 10 did not onlie increase the feate of clothinge, but also Intende divers other feates and occupations whearby the people might be set a worke, rather then to take a waie any occupation from them ; speciallie
 such as clothinge is, that settes so manie thow-
 15 sandes a worke, and inricheth both towne and That misteries are rather to be increased then diminish- ed. countrie. Yea wheare it is occupied In venis as I heard, and in many other places beyonde the sea, they weare rewarded and cherished, everie man that bringes in anie new arte or mistorie whearby the people might be set
 20 aworke, with such thinges as should both finde their workemen aworke, and also bringe some treasure or commoditie into the countrie. And shall we, contrariwise, labour to destroie oure best and most proffittable trade, which is by clothinge ? I woulde know what would bringe
 25 vs treasure from beyonde the seas and from strange partes, or wheare with so manie people should be set a worke, as haue now their livinges by clothinge, yf that occupation weare laide downe ?

KNIGHT. Marie, we might haue treasure enoughe from
 30 outward partes for oure wolles, thoughe none weare wrought with in the Realme. And as for occupation to sett clothiers a worke, they might be set to the plowghe and to husbandrie ; [f. 52 b] and that should make husbandrie to be more occupied, and

grasinge lesse vsed, when all these people that nowe doe occupie cloth should fall to husbandrie.

DOCTOR. As to the first that ye saide, that woll is sufficient to bringe in treasure. Yf it weare, as it is not [in dede], yet that feate weare not for the common wealthe 5 nor continuance of the Realme; for then everie man would fall to brede shepe and to encrease woll; and so at lengthe all the occupacions should be set aside, and breedinge of shepe onlie occupied. Then youe knowe a few shepe masters would serve for a whole shire; so in proces of time 10 the multitude of the kinges subiectes should be worne away, and none left but a few shepmasters and sheppardes, which weare no number sufficient to serve the kinge in his nede, or defende his realme from enemies. As to the other parte of [your] tale, wheareby ye would that these clothiars 15 should fall from that occupacion to husbandrie; how could so many, added to them that occupie husbandrie alredie, get theire livinges by the same, when they that be husbandmen now haue but a scant lyvinge therby? And yf youe would saie to me that they should have free vent or 20 sale of theire corne over the sea, then comes the same [f. 53] Inconvenience in, that ye thought to avoide before, by puttinge them from clothinge; for in some yeares that should happen, either throughe warres or by reason of plentie in all partes beyonde the seas, that they should haue 25 no vent of theire corne, and theareby be driven to be idle; and consequently for lacke of livinges to assemble together and make like vprores as ye spake of before. They haue in fraunce more handicraftes occupied, and greater multitude of artificers, then we haue heare, by a greate deale; 30 and for all that they haue made manie greate sturres and commotions before this, yet they will not destroie artificers, for umei know that the highest princes of them all, with

oute such artificers, weare not able to maintaine their estate. Doth not all these tolles, customes, taxes, tallages, subsidues, cheifly grow by such artificers? What Kinge can maintaine his estate by his yearly reuennwes only
 5 growinge of his Landes? for as manie seruauntes in a howse well set on worke gaine every daie sumwhat to their master, so doth every artificer in a Realme gaine ech sumwhat, and altogether a greate masse to the Kinge every yeare.

10 KNIGHT. Well, youe haue hearde what minde many wiser men then I am are of.

DOCTOR. I perceauē that there be manie greate men [f. 53^b] of that opinion in this Realme; or els they had not dowblted the custome of cloth, nor charged all cloth made with in
 15 the realme with xij. on every pound in the last subsidie; which was the very highe waie to make clothiers give vp their occupyng, as I feare me it hath donne; and bread much of the Inconuenience that ye sawe heare the last somer, and is like to be occasion of more, yf they hold on
 20 in that opinion. And now, because we are Three sortes of misteryes entred into communication of artificers, I will make this deuision of them. Some of them doe but bringe monie oute of the cuntry; some other, that which they doe get, they spend againe in the cuntry; and the third sorte of
 25 artificers be they that doe bringe treasure into One bringes oute treasure. the cuntry. Off the first, I reckon all mercers, grocers, vinteners, haberdashers, mileyners, and such as doe sell wares growinge beyond the seas, and doe fetch oute our treasure of the same. Which kinde of artificers, as I
 30 reckon them tollorable, and yet are not so necessarie in a common wealth but they might be best spared of all other; yet yf we had not other artificers, to bringe in as much treasure as they bringe furth, we should be greate losers

- An other spend that they gette in the same
[f. 54] contreye a-gayne.
- by them. Of the second sort be these: Sho-
makers, tailors, carpenters, masons, tilers, bow-
chers, brewers, bakers, vitailers of all sortes, which
like as they get theire livinge in the countrie,
so they spende it; but they bringe in no treasour vnto vs. 5
- The thirde sorte brings in treasore, and therfore moste to be cherished.
- Thearfore we must [cherishe] well the third sorte;
and these be clothiars, tannars, cappers, and
worsted makers, only that I knowe, [which,] by
theire misteries and faculties, doe bringe in anie
treasour. As for oure woll, felles, tinne, lead, 10
butter and chese, these be the commodities that the ground
beares, requiringe the Industrie of a few persons; and yf we
should only trust to such, and devise nothings ells to
occupie oure selves, a few persons wold serve vs for the
reringe of such thinges, and few also [it wolde] find; and so 15
should the Realme be like a [graunge], better furnished with
beastes then with men; whearby it might be subiect to the
spoil of other nations aboute; which is the more to be
feared and eschued, because the countrie of his owne kind
is apt to bringe furth such thinges, as is said before, for 20
the brede of cattail, then for such thinges as [be] for the
Pomponius nowrishment of men; Yf Pomponius mela be
Mela. to be beleved, which, describinge the Iland, saith
thus: plana, ingens, fecunda, verum ijs que pecora quam
homines benignius alunt. That is to saie, it is plaine, large, 25
and plentifull, but of those thinges that norisheth beastes
[f. 54 b] more kindly then men. So many forestes, Chases, Parkes,
marshes and wast groundes, that be more heare then most
commonly ells wheare, declare the same not to be all in
vaine that he affirmes; that hath not so much arable 30
grounde, vines, olives, fructes, and such as be most neces-
sarie for the foode of men. And as they require manie
handes in the culture, so they find most personnes foode; as

fraunce, Spaine and diuers other countries haue. Thearefore
 as much grounde, *as* heare is apte for those thinges, would
 be [turned] (as much as maie be) to such vses as maie
 find most persons. And over that, townes and Cities would
 5 be replenished with all kind of artificers ; not only clothiars,
 which as yet weare oure naturall occupation, but with
 cappers, glovers, paper makers, glasiers, pointers, gold-
 smithes, blacke smithes of all sortes, coverlet makers, nedle
 makers, pinner and such other ; so as we should not only
 10 haue enowghe of such thinges to serve oure realme, and
 saue an infinite treasour that goeth now over for so manie
 of the same, but also might spare of such thinges redie
 wrought to be sold over, whearby we should fetch againe
 other necessarie commodities and treasours. And thus
 15 should be both replenished the Realme of people able to
 defende it, and also winne much treasour to the
 same. Such occupations alone doe enrich Misteries do
enriche coun-
tries that bene
els barren. diuers countries, that be els barren of them-
 selves ; and what riches they bringe to the [f. 55]
 20 countrie wheare they be well vsed, the countrie of flaunders
 and Germany doe well declare ; wheare, throughe such
 occupations, it hath so manie and wealthie Cities, that it
 weare vncredible in so litle grounde to be. Wheare fore in
 my mynde they are farre wide of right consideration, that
 25 would haue none or lesse clothinge with in the Realme,
 because it is somtimes occasion of busines or tumultes, for
 lacke of vent. Theare is nothings everie waie so com-
 modious or necessarie for mens vse, but it is sometime by
 ill handlinge occasion of displeasure ; no, not fiere and water,
 30 that be so necessarie as nothings can be more.

KNIGHT. Yea, master doctor, we stand not in like case
 as fraunce or flaunders, that youe speake of ; yf they haue
 not vent one waie, they may haue it an other waie alwaies,

for firme lande is rounde abowte them in maner ; yf they be at warre with one neighbour, they wilbe frendes with an other, to whose countries they maie send their commodities to sell.

DOCTOR. So maie we be, yf we be wise [we may] kepe 5
 one freind or other alwaies in hand. Who wilbe
 Alianances with
 straungers are
 to be cherish-
 ed. so mad, beinge a private man, but he wilbe sure
 to doe so? [Lette wise] men consider what
 freindes this Realme hathe had in times past ;
 and yf they be lost, or interrupted an other waie sence, let 10
 vs purchase other for them, or els give as little occasion of
 breach with our neighbors as may be. The wise man, as I
 remember, saith in ecclesiastes : Non bonum est homini esse
 solum.

[f. 55 b] KNIGHT. Also in fraunce they haue divers bandes of 15
 men of armes, in divers places of the realme, to
 Whether men
 at armes were
 as necessarye
 here as in
 fraunce. repress such tumultes quickly, yf anie should
 arise ; yf we had the like heare, we might be bold
 to haue as manie artificers as they haue.

HUSBANDMAN. God forbid that we haue anie such 20
 tirantes come amongst vs ; for as they saie, such will in the
 countrie of fraunce take pore mens hens, chickens, pigges,
 and other provision, and paie nothinge for it ; except it be an
 evell turne, as to ravishe his wife or daughter for it.

MERCHAUNTE. Marie, I thinke that waye wold be rather 25
 occasion of commotions to be stirred, then to be quenched,
 for, as he saide, the stomakes of * Englishmen would neuer
 beare that, to suffer suche iniurie and Reproches, as I
 knowe suche vse to doe to the subiectes of france, in
 reproche of whome we call them paisantes. 30

KNIGHT. Marie, but the Kinge owr maister mighte
 restraine them well inoughe, for doinge outrages, vpon great
 paines.

DOCTOR. What and it weare skant in his power to doe it? The Romaines had sometye suche men of armes in divers places, for the defence of the empire, it was thoughte, but at the lengthe it overthrew the same. Julius Caesar dothe declare the same; and manie tymes after, when the Emperours died, the men of warre erected what emperour they lusted; somtyme a slave, contrarie to the election of the Senate of Rome, beinge cheife counsellours of thempire, till the whole empire was destroyed. It is not for commotions of subiectes that france keapethe suche, but the estate and necessitie of the countrie, which is environned about withe enemies, and neyther sea nor wall betwene; against whose iniuries and invasions they mainteine these men of [f. 56] warre of necessitie. They would faine ley them downe, yf they durst for feare of their neighbors. And some wise men haue said and written, that the same men of armes maie be the destruction of their kingedome at length. And besides that, the largenes of the dominion and situation of the same towards the other countries doth [not require] such men. And moreover the Revennwes of this Realme is not able to make vp the like number with fraunce; and yf we should make uppe a lesse number, we should declare oure selves inferior in power to Fraunce, to whom we haue bene counted hitherto superiors in successe, throwghe stoutnes of oure subiectes only. And therefore I would not haue a small sore cured with a greater grieve; nor for avoidinge of sedition emonge people, which happenethe very seldome and sounne quenched, to bringe in a continuall yocke and charge, both to the kinge and his subiectes.

The lesse
griefe wolde
not be holpen
with a greater
sore.

KNIGHT. Ye saie well, and so as I cane saie no more against youre sentence; but yet I would wishe youre sainge could suffice other, as well as it doth me.

DOCTOR. Well, now it is time to make an ende ; I haue troubled youe here with a tedious and longe talke.

[f. 56b] KNIGHT. I would be contented to be troubled longer after that sorte.

MERCHAUNTE AND CAPPER. And so coulde we, thoughe 5
it weare all this daie, but for troublinge of youre selfe, good
master doctor.

KNIGHT. Yet the most necessarie point, which we speacke of, is yet behinde. That is, howe these maie be remedied ; and therefore we will not goe from youe till we 10
haue youre advise herein.

DOCTOR. A godes name, I will showe youe my fantasie in that parte, but let vs first goe to supper, wheare oure host hath prepared honestly for vs.

THE ENDE OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.