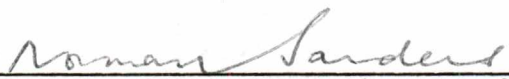
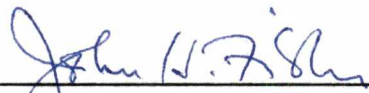


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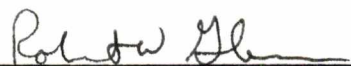
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by John Micheal Crafton entitled "A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Thomas Wilson's The Arte of Rhetorique (1553)." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.


Norman T. Sanders, Major Professor

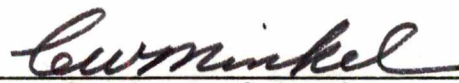
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and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


The Graduate School

A CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF THOMAS WILSON'S
THE ARTE OF RHETORIQUE (1553)

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

John Micheal Crafton

June 1985

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Completing this dissertation would have been impossible without the constant source of inspiration provided by my director, Dr. Norman T. Sanders. I wish also to thank the other members of my committee: Professors John H. Fisher, Bain T. Stewart, and Robert Glen. Finally, it must be mentioned that although Dr. Daniel J. Schneider could not participate in this committee due to his absence, he has nonetheless served as a powerfully motivating force in my work.

ABSTRACT

Thomas Wilson's The Arte of Rhetorique (1553) is the first English rendition of a complete rhetoric in the Ciceronian tradition. As such it is crucial for understanding the history of the language and English rhetorical and literary theory. Therefore, a definitive text is required. Although none was available when this project began, much work had been done in the form of unpublished dissertations: R.H. Wagner (1928), Daniel K. Church (1978), and Thomas Derrick (1978), later published in 1982. This edition builds upon that research in that it establishes according to the principles of modern textual scholarship. The copy-text for this edition is the first edition of 1553, Newberry copy, and the additions that Wilson included in the 1560 second edition. This copy-text has been collated against most of the extant copies of 1553 and 1560 and against at least one copy of each subsequent edition: 1562, 1563, 1567, 1580, 1584, 1585, and 1909. The results of these collations are contained in the appendixes, which include exhaustive lists of the print variants and the historical collations. The textual information is used in the textual introduction in the discussion of the genealogy of the texts. The copy-text was analyzed by running-titles and some speculation about the text's composition is there provided.

This text also includes a substantial biographical introduction which pulls together much of the scattered information about Wilson and discusses his life in terms of his scholarship, religion, and politics. His life and work is furthermore placed in the context of the political and educational reforms and ideas of the Tudor humanists. Also, a critical introduction surveys the ancient, medieval, and Renaissance traditions of rhetoric relevant to establish Wilson's place therein, and it evaluates The Arte as a manual for social and linguistic criticism. Finally, a commentary is provided which glosses most of Wilson's influences, classical and otherwise, and the difficult terms or passages in the text.

PREFACE

The Arte of Rhetorique is an important enough text to have been the subject of a number of scholarly studies. Most of the scholarship on Wilson is of three kinds: historical, rhetorical, and textual. The purpose of this edition is to establish a definitive critical, old-spelling text based upon the earlier work. However, this study offers new information and interpretation in each of the three areas, yet the essays are introductory and point to the possibility of further work.

The bulk of the historical interest has been in Wilson's life, illuminating it in order to see better the inner workings of sixteenth-century social climbing and Elizabethan politics. Wilson's texts have been used, then, as primary sources for his biography; this is the dominant method of studies prior to the twentieth century, particularly noticeable in the work of the exemplary Strype. Yet Kitchen and Wilson's best biographer, A.J. Schmidt, have also used this method. Schmidt argues that the texts reflect the man, and therefore one can find the ideas of the text fulfilled in Wilson's life. Derrick and Church briefly sketch Wilson's life in order to introduce the rhetoric, and accordingly they highlight the years surrounding its publication. My study attempts to move beyond the earlier ones in two ways. Here Wilson's entire

life is fully sketched in order to provide a complete biography from his family tree to his death for the purpose of offering a complete synopsis, referring the interested reader to the more specialized studies. Furthermore, this introduction goes into greater detail than earlier ones to discuss the nature of education at the time in order to provide the materials for an understanding of how Wilson's training played a role in creating the rhetoric. I have also taken some pains in explaining Wilson's life as an exiled Protestant activist in Italy and as a political servant to Elizabeth, which have not been combined before, in order to reveal how Wilson's life serves to explicate the theme of nationalism so prevalent in the rhetoric.

The rhetorical studies of Wilson have generally tried to place him in a particular rhetorical tradition or enumerate his sources. Russell Wagner's pathfinding work comprises the most impressive piece of scholarship in this tradition, and all subsequent Wilson scholars owe him a great debt. Much of what Wagner did was to isolate the most important sources (e.g. ad Herennium, De Oratore, De Copia, De Conscribendis Epistolis, and Apophthegmata.) and indicate another group of what may be considered as lesser sources (e.g. Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Valerius Maximus,

and Pliny). But he argues that Wilson did not use any English sources other than Udall's translation of Apophthegmata. However, later scholarship has argued convincingly that Wilson made great use of Cox and Sherry, authors of the only two English works on rhetoric before Wilson. I have followed in this tradition and profited from it, adding only a handful of notes from my studies. Most of the other rhetorical studies have attempted to force him into one or more of the great rhetorical traditions. Howell placed him in the Ciceronian tradition of the English Renaissance; Baldwin placed him in the Aristotelian tradition. Wagner simply calls him an eclectic. I have argued that Wilson follows a particular tradition of Isocratean political rhetoric, founded by Corax and filtered through the Roman and medieval rhetorical traditions, which he adapts as a method of propagating the Protestant Reformation of the Tudor Renaissance. That is, Wilson writes the rhetoric as a guide book for creating a utopia in England through the medium of policed language, a language free of Europe, of the Vatican, and of obscurity. Wilson used a variety of sources, both secular and sacred, creating a tension that Derrick uses to organize his critical introduction. However, Wilson used those sources to create propaganda for the ideals of Tudor England that developed in

Cambridge during Edward VI's brief reign and that hardened during Mary Tudor's.

Finally, the textual study of Wilson before this edition has been worked by only four scholars: Mair, Wagner, Church, and Derrick. Mair did a very poor job of putting together a text because he did not use the 1553 edition in his collations. Wagner isolated this problem and argued that the 1553 edition should be the copy-text and that Wilson never had anything to do with the book after he handed Kingston, his second publisher, a prologue and ten jests to include in the 1560 edition. Church, Derrick, and I, working independently in the tradition of modern textual criticism, have arrived at similar conclusions about the nature of the text. We all agree that the 1553 is the better edition, though I argue for giving more consideration to accidental changes in 1560 than the others do. We all provide the same basic textual evidence except that I have gone further in my historical collations in order to provide all changes among the editions, not just substantives. And I have found a press correction in the 1553 that had been overlooked by the other scholars. Moreover running title analysis reveals evidence that at least two compositors set the first edition. We differ, however, on the genealogy of the texts only slightly. Church argues that 1563, 1567, and

1580 were all set from 1562. Derrick and I, having discovered composite copies of 1563 and 1567, argue that 1567 was set from sheets of 1562 and 1563 and that 1580 was set from sheets of 1562, 1563, and 1567.

While this text is complete, there is still much more work to be done in the three areas mentioned. There is a great deal more to be learned about how Grafton printed Wilson's texts; we need to know more about the activities of Tudor political agents; and we certainly can draw more inferences about the connections between politics and the English language of the Renaissance.

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VOLUME I

I. INTRODUCTION

Biographical

If we take style in the complex sense, that is, not only the patterns in the form, but the production of the form as well, then we must investigate the whole man in order to understand the style of any given work. As Aristotle's Politics asserts, man achieves being only in the political environment as an acorn achieves being in the oak, so we must understand the writer of The Arte of Rhetorique within the context of his training and achievements, the efficient and final causes of his style. The Arte of Rhetorique is as central a document of the Tudor Renaissance as The Scholemaster, and the writer's life exemplifies how such a centrality could evolve. A.J. Schmidt, one of the few reliable biographers of Wilson, states "the life of Thomas Wilson because of his versatility was to some extent a microcosm of the Tudor age in which he lived."¹ It is easy to agree with the

¹Albert J. Schmidt, "Thomas Wilson, Tudor Scholar-Statesman," HLQ, 20 (1957), 206.

statement since the scattered fragments of Wilson's biography can easily be made to fit nearly any kind of interpretation. My own purpose is two-fold: to bring together the scattered evidence for Wilson's biography in an attempt to present a synthesized introductory biography, and to investigate how his life explains his work, and how his work predicts his aspirations. Wilson was a forward looking man who knew that advantages came sometimes to the lucky but more certainly to the prepared.

We first engage Thomas Wilson's beginnings when the earliest recorded members of his family mysteriously converge upon the marshy flats of Strubby, east of the Lincoln wolds. Schmidt says that tradition in Lincolnshire claims that the first Wilson was William who came from Yorkshire. He came to Lindsey in the 1450's when it was in commercial decay in order to take advantage of the vacuum there. It is not clear, however, how the Wilsons moved from such humble origins to a family of some social note. William's son Thomas married Margaret Songer and had at least two sons, Edward and Thomas. Edward went to Gravely in Kent. Thomas lived at Coddreth in Herfordshire. Their son and heir Edmund, about whom very little is known, fathered another Thomas, father of Dr. Thomas and heir of Edmund. So the line of Wilson heirs is as follows: William, Thomas, Edmund, the elder Thomas,

and Dr. Thomas. The elder Thomas stayed in Lincolnshire and married Anne Cumberworth, sometime before 1523 we assume.² The Wilson family must have been in a fairly good position at this point because Anne came with good family connections, daughter of Roger Cumberworth and Margery Braytofte, who was the heir of Hugh Braytofte of Braytofte Hall.³ From the Braytofte connection we find the first documented source of the Wilsons' wealth and position. The elder Thomas and Anne had five sons: Thomas, Humphrey, Godfrey, William, and Charles. Charles died young; Humphrey and William both became gentlemen of Lincolnshire, and Godfrey became a member of the Draper's company and was later a financial assistant to Thomas.⁴

Through indirections, then, we discover that the direction of the Wilson family was clearly upwardly mobile. The elder Thomas Wilson's name appeared in 1539

²Schmidt, "Some Notes on Dr. Thomas Wilson and his Lincolnshire Connections," The Lincolnshire Historian, 2 (1957), 15-16.

³Anon., "Biographical Sketch of the Right Honorable Thomas Wilson, LL.D. Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth," Gentleman's Magazine, 3, New Series (1835), 468.

⁴Schmidt, "Some Notes," pp. 20-21.

on the muster rolls of Lincolnshire in 1539 which listed persons who were either gentry or distinguished by property. Schmidt points out that "although not designated as a gentleman, Thomas Wilson was one of the two persons charged with the greatest responsibility in Strubby. He and his neighbor, William Wymbush, were called upon to contribute a horse and harness each while the remaining persons listed, seven in number, were requisitioned for the same as a group."⁵ Thus it appears that the elder Thomas had come into some money at least by 1539 while living in Strubby. There are no clear lists or inventories of his wealth; it is possible, of course, that the holdings of the family simply were not mentioned early on.

Many of the names listed on the muster rolls were of those who took part in 1536 in the Lincolnshire uprising,⁶ the Pilgrimage of Grace, the revolt to protest Henry VIII's seizing of the monasteries. The abbey lands in Lincolnshire were not returned to the monks nor were they retained by the crown. They were "disposed of rapidly on terms favorable to the people and

⁵Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 16

⁶Schmidt, "Some Notes."

unfavourable to" the king, a policy that had the effect of winning back the loyalty of the gentlemen of Lincolnshire.⁷ It is possible that Thomas Wilson's father gathered together enough money between 1524 and 1540 to buy up some of the land made available by the upheaval. Another beneficiary of the changes was the Willoughby family with whom the Wilsons were certainly intimate by the late 1540's, because at that time Thomas became a tutor to the two young dukes of Suffolk, sons of Katherine Willoughby-Brandon. Since the Willoughby family "waxed high among the landholders in the areas around Strubby," the Wilsons may well have come into contact with them in the 30's or even earlier.⁸ It would have been a fortunate alliance that any rising family would have desired.

The Willoughbys had inherited a good deal of wealth from the Well family and had influence at court. This influence was enhanced when William Willoughby married Mary of Salinas, the maid of honor to Catherine of Aragon. After William died in 1526, his daughter, Katherine, was left to the supervision of Charles Brandon, son-in-law to

⁷James A. Froude, History of England (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., n.d.), II, 591-92.

⁸Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 17.

Henry VIII. When Charles' wife, Mary, died in 1533, he married Katherine, his ward, and she became the second dutchess of Suffolk. Consequently, Charles Brandon managed the Lincolnshire holdings and bought up more lands after the revolt. We may assume that the elder Thomas made his acquaintance with the Willoughby-Brandons, his neighbors, and that his connections with that family aided not only Wilson's father in achieving improved social status in Lincolnshire, but also helped ease the way for Thomas Wilson to achieve his various successes. The Wilsons in this sense parallel the way the changes in Tudor society, brought on by increasing secularity, and mercantilism, reshuffled members of the social classes and established social status for otherwise obscure men, a development whose implications were never lost on Thomas.

Clearly then Thomas's family could have provided the necessary support for his climb to social power. Although Pollard's biography in the DNB gives 1525 as Wilson's birth date, Schmidt corrects that to 1523 or early 1524 based on three pieces of evidence.⁹ The record of his admission to King's College on 13 August 1542 gives him as age 18. In a manuscript (P.R.O. Town Deposition, C. 24/30) dated 29 January 1553, he claims to be 29. And his

⁹Schmidt, "Some Notes."

portrait in the National Gallery reads "Etatis LII 1575." The first two facts fix his birth year as 1524 and the last, as 1523. Therefore he must have been born at least a year before the generally given date of 1525.

During his early years at Strubby, he probably attended a petty school. In 1536-37 he was sent to Eton, and he left as a King's scholar for Cambridge in 1542.¹⁰ We know little about his stay at Eton. Kitchen speculates that he showed promise as an intelligent student with a gift for languages.¹¹ Such assumptions are safe enough, and since we have little other than assumptions, it is important at this point to present the context of this early education with the few pieces of specific information at our disposal, because Wilson's education was fortunately the foundation of his political life. ✓

Wilson's departure for Eton was not only fortuitous because he could leave Lincolnshire during the time of the revolt but also because he could benefit from the humanist movement's changes in the schools initiated by Henry VIII. Leach claims that no other "King ever showed more desire

¹⁰Schmidt, "Some Notes."

¹¹G.W. Kitchen, Seven Sages of Durham (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911), p. 70.

to promote learning and learned men, and none was more impressed by and desirous of impressing on others the advantages, or did more for the advancement of education." In fact, "The reign of Henry VIII has a far better title than that of his son to be regarded as an era of educational development."¹² The intellectual spirit that Wilson inherited placed its emphasis on the study of classical Latin. In the 1512 statutes of St. Paul's school Colet makes this point clear when he claims that medieval Latin literature, which "more rather may be called blotterature than literature," should not be taught. He says, "I utterly abanish and exclude out of this school and charge the masters that they teach always that is the best, and instruct the children in Greek and Latin in reading unto them such authors that hath wisdom joined to the pure chaste eloquence."¹³

Part of the reason for placing such an emphasis on the study of Latin can be explained as Charleton and Leach do by claiming that the medieval tradition of language

¹²A.F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), p. 277.

¹³Colet, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose: 1481-1555, ed. Elizabeth M. Nugent (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956), p. 41.

study was simply too strong to be avoided in the institutions of education; therefore, the new state that Henry VIII envisioned and that Wolsely helped create could not shift away from studying Latin; indeed they didn't dream of it. But they did shift emphasis to the study of the new Latin that was emerging in the Italian schools. But we see also that the study of "pure Latin" and later the study of Greek be significant not only because of the changes brought about in Italy but also because language study was perceived as the best method for understanding the phenomenal universe. That is, the humanist wanted to observe and to absorb the wisdom available from the medieval tradition (Colet mentions Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Sedulius, Juvenius, and Prudentius as examples), yet through diligent study of Latin, he could peer through "impure" medieval Latin to the purer world of classical Latin of the light age. The final goal of this study would be to peer through the structures of an older language or any cleansed language to the things themselves.

Erasmus tells us in De Ratione studii: "In the first place all knowledge is perceived to fall into two classes, knowledge of things and knowledge of words. Knowledge of words comes first in time; knowledge of things is first in importance..... Since we can understand nothing except

through words, whoever is unskilled in language, will be blind in judgment, wandering in mind, and crazed when he deals with a knowledge of things."¹⁴ This highly metaphorical language is reminiscent of Plato's in his cave analogy in Book VII of The Republic. Plato, a darling of the Renaissance and central to the new concept of man that Ficino, Mirandolla, and Parrozzini were developing, warns in the Cratylus against taking the surfaces of language too seriously but also argues strongly that if words could be traced back to their original state or if they could somehow be purified, then man could understand the unfallen discourse of the gods and thus appropriate an unfallen understanding of the world. When the humanist scholars of the Renaissance, from Poggio on, discovered old manuscripts, they became more aware of the changes that Latin had undergone. Considering these changes as marks of decay, they wanted to repair the state of Latin by appealing to that of the Ciceronian period, which presumably would resemble the original shape of the language.

From the Winchester and Eton time-tables of 1530 we can roughly sketch the sort of regimen Wilson and the

¹⁴Cited in Donald L. Clark, John Milton at St. Paul's School (New York: Archon, 1964), p. 105.

other young scholars must have undergone. School began at six with a prayer; at nine-thirty they said de profundis and ate breakfast; then they went back to class until eleven; after breaking for lunch, they came back at one and stayed until leaving at five for supper. The program was strict. The first form studied Stanbridge's Accidence, worked with a verb each day, Monday through Thursday, repeated their rules on Friday, and on Saturday studied Cato and Aesop. The second form worked again with verbs and made short Latin phrases or sentences, called vulgars. They also used Stanbridge, added his Vocabulary and Parvula to their studies. This form used Aesop throughout the week except Sundays, when they studied Cato. The third form continued studying verbs. They began studying gender and reading Lucien's dialogues in addition to reading Aesop. During this year, the scholars began writing themes "at the pleasure of the master...dyverse ways." The fourth form continued working with verbs and writing vulgars, but the study moved more rapidly. The master would assign a portion of Terence in the morning which the boys construed and parsed after lunch. The boys added Cicero and Ovid to their reading and added letter writing to their compositions. The fifth and last form mentioned in the tables continued the rules of Latin, added Sallust and Virgil to Cicero and Ovid, and

wrote letters and poems.¹⁵

We can yet specify other books most certainly used at Eton to teach Latin. Clearly Stanbridge's books were quite popular, but also William Horner's Vulgaria, a book of some 3000 sentences arranged topically in 319 pages, published while he was at Eton in 1519, must have been used. Headmaster Nicholas Udall's Floures of Terence (1534) certainly was published to be used in classes. Furthermore Erasmus' De Copia, Colloquia, and De Conscribendis Epistolas were often used. Several copies of Horace have been found and they were probably used. Mosellus' Figures of Speech, Susenbrotus' Tabulae, and two other tables of tropes have been found in the schools and were available to the teachers at least. Vives, the Spanish humanist, and friend of Erasmus at Louvain (1492-1540), was also influential in that "his Introductio ad Sapientiam (1524) was used at Eton, Westminster, Shrewsbury, and Norwich, and his De Trandensid Disciplinis (1531), with its insistence on the need to observe the child and to adapt both aims and method to his needs, its call for a humane relationship between master and pupil, its advocacy of the vernacular in the earliest stages of

¹⁵A.F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598-1909 (New York: AMS, 1964), pp. 448-451.

education and its thoroughly humanistic approach to the study of the classics, provided much of the theoretical basis for 16th century innovation in English education."¹⁶

Students were supposed to develop through incrementally more complex forms of imitation, from simple forms of accidence to writing letters, to writing themes, imitating Terence, and finally living the spirit of Cicero. The method of instruction for the upper formes was probably something like the Roman grammaticus, later called the praelectio. Wolsey describes a praelectio on Terence which may be the pattern for the procedure in general: the text at hand is expounded upon by the master "with a brief account of the author's circumstances, character and stylistic virtues; then he explains how pleasant and useful is the reading of comedies and what is the meaning and derivation of the word 'comedy'. He summarizes the plot and explains the metre, reads the lines in grammatical order, and points out archaisms, coinages, Greek words and various grammatical and rhetorical figures, calling attention to beauties of style

¹⁶This information is all taken from M.L. Clarke, Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959), chap. 1.

and features worthy of imitation."¹⁷ Thus, translating and imitating the models of good Latin literature was central to the educational practice of the Renaissance. Clarke reiterates the importance of this concept for understanding educational reform of his period: "In planning for St. Paul's school both Erasmus and Colet had made both clear and emphatic that, valuable as the rules and precepts might be, the reading, understanding, and imitating of good Latin authors, poets, historians, and orators, avail more in teaching a boy to speak and write clear Latin."¹⁸

Toward the latter part of the Etonian education, the scholars moved from translation and imitation to original composition, a process which certainly influenced The Arte of Rhetorique. One important aspect of this exercise was epistolary composition. Using the epistles of Cicero and Erasmus' extremely influential De conscribendis epistolis, which Clark says could be found at Eton in 1530, the young Wilson would have begun finding his way toward the essay, particularly since he translated part of Erasmus' Epistolis and included it as a sample of deliberative

¹⁷ Donald L. Clark, p. 13.

¹⁸ Donald L. Clarke, p. 153.

rhetoric in his rhetoric. An important part of instructing fledgling writers was enumerating the multiplicity of audiences and subjects and explaining the process of shaping a particular subject for a particular audience. Charleton quotes from the statutes of Rivington on the process of learning to write letters:

the elder sort must be exercised in devising and writing sundry epistles to sundry persons, of sundry matters, as of chiding, exhorting, comforting, counselling, praying, lamenting, some to friends, some to foes, some to strangers; of weighty matters or merry, as shooting, hunting, etc., of adversity, of prosperity, of war and peace, divine and profane, of all¹⁹ sciences and occupations, some long and some short.

Eton used for instruction in letter writing Depautier's Ars Epistolica (Antwerp, 1529) which divides letters into three classes: descriptive, political, and familiar. This division would furthermore connect this kind of writing to the three types of oratory. Aphthonias' Progymnastica and Erasmus' De Copia were used for theme and letter writing.

The Latin instruction, as well as the practice that followed therefrom, was not without content. The earliest exercises stressed good manners and morals. Part I of Sulpicius Quos decet in mensa, also used at Eton, gives

¹⁹Kenneth Charleton, Education in Renaissance England (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 114.

maxims of conduct and admonitions against anger, gluttony, idleness and so forth; Part II emphasizes table manners. "Latin authors," says Clarke, "did double duty--to teach the boys both pure Latin and clean morals."²⁰

Horner's Vulgaria was full of moral lessons. The fact that Cato's Distichs and Aesop's Fables occupied so great a part of the curriculum further suggests the need to include a heavy dose of morality in students' reading. Stanbridge's Accidence (1520) includes in a little poem to the reader the full goals of the young scholar.

All little children busily your style ye dress,
Unto this treatise with goodly advertance,
These Latin words in your heart to impress,
To the end that ye may with all intelligence,
Serve God, your Maker Holy, unto His reverence.
And if ye do not, the rod must not spare
You for to learn with his sharp moral sense.²¹
Take now, good heed, and hearken your vulgar.

This tradition again follows from the church's influence on education, but also from the classical sources of Quintilian, Cicero, Plato, and Isocrates.

A possibly important subject for Thomas would have been Greek, which Clark says was introduced to Eton by the

²⁰Donald L. Clark, p. 54.

²¹John Stanbridge, "Vulgaria Stanbrigiana," Thought and Culture, p.114.

early provost Aldrich and was being taught between the years 1515 and 1521.²² Yet Charleton claims that Greek got little more than "lip service."²³ The difficulty with teaching these two languages in the grammar school was the paucity of capable teachers available at the time. Scholars of these exotic languages were few and monopolized by the universities, a fact implied in Colet's often quoted admonition that the "Master of St. Paul's be learned in Greeke if such may be got."²⁴ Charleton points out that the importance of Greek was increasing. Although "not included in the 1530 curriculum of Eton, the 1560 revision of the statutes prescribed the elements of [Greek] grammar for the two highest forms."²⁵ While this statement would seem to indicate Wilson's not having studied Greek at Eton, it really only indicates that there was no widespread teaching of Greek.

Several other minor pieces of evidence establish the

²²M.L. Clark, P. 54.

²³Charleton, p. 117.

²⁴Donald L. Clark, p. 12.

²⁵Charleton, p. 117.

probability that Wilson would have studied Greek at Eton. Aldrich, the provost, and Udall, Wilson's friend and teacher, were both aware of Erasmus' notion in De Ratione Studii that students should be taught both Latin and Greek since one language explains the other. Since Clarendon's Greek grammar was published in 1530, the masters at Eton would have had access to a textbook. William Horner's Vulgaria written for use in Eton classes is sprinkled with Greek phrases. This fact implies that he thought his students would be familiar with a little Greek or that he and those using his text would teach the students how to read the phrases. The masters might well have started the dutiful and very capable Wilson on his way to translating Greek. Even though the texts were available and the students were willing (some students at any rate), the study of Greek did not attain noteworthy proportions at this time. Sir Thomas Pope claimed in 1555, "I remember when I was a young scholar at Eton the Greek tongue was growing apace, but the study of it of late is much decayed."²⁶

Before leaving Eton Wilson probably established a solid friendship with his headmaster Nicholas Udall, for later he quoted Udall's Ralph Roister Doister in the third

²⁶Charleton, p. 159.

edition of his logic, The Rule of Reason. And he helped Udall out of some legal difficulties.²⁷ In May 1551 John Greenberye, a friend of Udall desired to obtain the post of victualler to the garrison at Calais. Udall got Wilson to procure letters of recommendation from Lord Willoughby who was Deputy there. Udall then received ten pounds from Greenberye and agreed to return five of it if Greenberye's enterprise did not fall out correctly. It didn't; Udall refused to pay and was arrested. Wilson then testified for Udall in his deposition (P.R.O. Town Deposition, C, 24, 30) that Udall should not have to pay because Greenberye owed him five pounds, ten shillings for an earlier loan. Udall won. While it seems that the headmaster must have felt a strong friendship for Wilson before asking for such a favor as this deposition, one could argue that he simply took advantage of Wilson's Willoughby-Brandon connection and of the fact that Wilson was a former student, because Udall had a history of taking advantage.

Hallis records an episode at Eton in 1541 when two of Udall's students were caught in a robbery and accused

²⁷The details of this connection are taken from A.W. Reed, "Nicholas Udall and Thomas Wilson," RES. 1 (1925), 275-83.

their master of complicity. During the Privy Council's examination, Udall denied being involved in the robbery but admitted sexual offences with the boys. He was removed as headmaster, yet managed to maintain a public life as is evident in the Greenberye affair. Hallis adds that Udall was also famous for being the severest punisher at Eton, basing his claim upon a pronouncement by Walter Haddon, but Leach claims it is Richard Cox that Haddon refers to.²⁸ Nevertheless, Hallis implies that Udall was a scoundrel and no one's true friend. Although Hallis' account reveals Udall's career and character to be less than spotless, we need not assume that he did not help advance Wilson's career.

However much Greek young Wilson had studied, he did in fact become a scholar at King's College, Cambridge, during a most fascinating point in that city's history. He left Eton for the university in 1542, graduated with a B.A. in 1545-46 and took the M.A. in 1549,²⁹ after which he lived in Cambridge intermittently until 1553 when he joined the ranks of Protestant exiles and went abroad. Schmidt says that while Wilson was at Cambridge "he

²⁸ Christopher Hallis, Eton, A History (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), p. 35.

²⁹ A.F. Pollard, DNB, (1921-22), p. 603.

learned politics and Protestantism, as well as the classics."³⁰ By the early 1550's, he joined the political party of the Dudleys and Greys and the religious party of Bucer and Latimer. Wilson would also have been aware of how important and dangerous religious politics were because in 1540 the old chancellor of Cambridge, the Catholic Fisher, had been executed on the block for his truculence over Henry's proceedings against Rome.

While we must evaluate the dynamics of the political, religious, and scholarly ties at Cambridge as a piece, let us isolate for the moment the issue of the classics.

Udall probably built up Wilson's enthusiasm for study at Cambridge where Greek and Divinity had been taught by the great Erasmus, whose Apophthegemta Udall was at this time translating for Grafton's press. Wilson would have been excited about hearing the new Regius lecturers, John Cheke ✓ on Greek and Thomas Smith on Civil Law. The excitement at Cambridge at this time is best evoked by Ascham:

If you want to hear anything about Cambridge, here is something that will perhaps be news to you. The munificence of our best of kings has bestowed on this university a most noble and immortal aid to all kinds of learning. Wiggin (Divinity), Smith (Law), Cheke (Greek), Wakefield (Hebrew), and Blith--who married Cheke's sister--(Medicine), have been appointed public professors: they are each to receive a yearly

³⁰Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 17.

salary of forty pounds. Aristotle and Plato are read by the young men in the original, but that has been done among us at St. John's for the last five years. Sophocles and Euripides are here better known than Plautus used to be when you were up. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, are more on the lips and in the hands of all now than Livy was then. What you used to hear about,³¹ Cicero you now hear about Demosthenes.

But Clark tells us the curriculum was still essentially medieval: "The traditional arts course of the universities comprised the old trivium and quadrivium, grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy, with the addition of moral and natural philosophy and metaphysics. So long as this scheme provided the basis of the university course there was little room in it for the study of language and literature, for grammar and rhetoric were of minor importance compared to the other arts, and were to a large extent covered by the grammar school course."³² The influence of humanism, which will be dealt with more fully in the critical introduction, was slow to develop and in Oxford, by the 1530's, the wheel spun by Colet, Linacre, and Grocyn was almost ready to stop. Charleton darkens

³¹Roger Ascham, Letter to John Brandesby, English Historical Documents, ed David C. Douglas (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1971), V, 1070.

³²M.L. Clark, p. 21.

this picture even further with his description of the university in mid-century as a place where lecturers and students were encouraged to study, as William Harrison said, "little other than histories, tables, dice and trifles."³³ The old disputations still formed a large part of university curricula. Charleton states:

In addition to the statutory lecturing of the Regent Masters and the newly endowed lectureships...the university was responsible for the "exercises" of the students which took place in the schools every Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoon in term. In these the student was meant, through the medium of the traditional disputation and declamation, to apply the formal precepts in logic and rhetoric received in both university and collegiate lectures to the practical business of public speaking and debate. The orations which the students produced for these "exercises" were intended as practical tests for the sophisters, those in the last two years of their undergraduate training, acting as essays would for the modern student. The disputations were also to be attended by the second-year men, who were thus introduced to the elaborate pattern of procedure between the respondent and his two opponents, supervised by a Regent master as moderator. It was taken for granted, of course, that the student had had some introduction to this kind of work in the grammar school composition of themes on rhetorical patterns, and would continue the keeping of commonplace books, an essential and universal part of an undergraduate's work, and one which Richard Holdsworth reminded his pupils would "furnish you with a quantity of syllables to perfect your Latin and supply you in copiousness of word and good expressions, and also raise your fancy to a poetic strain." The Determinations which an intending Bachelor performed in "the schools" during lent, were a final public demonstration of an

³³Charleton, p. 144.

undergraduate's proficiency in the art of public speaking, as well as a recognition of his fitness to proceed to higher studies. Thus, by his early and continuous study of grammar the student familiarized himself with the Latin language and its structure. Through logic he learned to think precisely and without irrelevance, and by rhetoric to convey his thought in a manner which would persuade³⁴ his hearers of the rightness of his argument.

Perhaps it is in terms of the progress of Greek that we must see what would have attracted Wilson to the scholarly life. The enthusiasm for the study of Greek had been growing, reaching a peak in 1542 when Wilson arrived, so it is important to note how that enthusiasm developed and what caused its decline. The old Chancellor had introduced Greek to the university by having Erasmus lecture there on this subject in 1511.³⁵ Erasmus' residence from 1511 to 1514 created no great following, as he had to teach a course in divinity because there were so few students interested in studying Greek. But while Erasmus may have not spoken to packed halls, his influence was not insignificant. Before coming to Cambridge he had influenced two men who would press for the study of Greek

³⁴Charleton, p. 143.

³⁵H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (New York: Archon, 1972), pp. 22-23.

when they returned to Cambridge. At Paris in 1511 he taught Stephen Gardiner who became chancellor after Cromwell in 1540. Richard Croke, of Eton and King's, also fell under his influence in Paris. He stirred several others at Cambridge, such as John Bryna, Thomas Lupset, Richard Foxe (founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford), Thomas Grear, Franciscan Richard Brinkley, John Vaughn, John Faune, Erasmus' successor as Lady Margaret professor, Richard Sampson, John Laer (known as John Siberch), and, Erasmus' favorite, Henry Bullock.³⁶

Greek was first regularly taught at Cambridge in 1518 by Richard Croke who became the appointed reader of Greek.³⁷ Printed Greek was introduced in England first at Cambridge by John Siberch, who had financed Croke's elementary Greek primer printed abroad in Cologne in 1521, which included a Latin translation by Bullock.³⁸ After Croke left Cambridge in 1529, Thomas Smith became the regular reader of Greek and "for a few years lectured with success in Homer and Aristotle, Plato and Euripides."³⁹ Eventually, Cheke set the school

³⁶Porter, pp. 24-33.

³⁷M.L. Clark, p. 24.

³⁸Porter, p. 33.

³⁹M.L. Clark, p. 24.

ablaze first as reader then as the first Regius professor in 1540.

This excitement subsided in 1542 when Cheke left to tutor Prince Edward after having lost a battle with Gardiner over the proper method of pronouncing certain Greek vowels. During the period of 1530-42 Smith and Cheke, influenced by Erasmus' work on pronunciation, fomented what is amusingly called the "etists, itists" controversy, an issue concerned with the pronunciation of Greek vowels. The current pronunciation at Cambridge, and the scholarly world, of epsilon, eta, and iota was all the same--iota, hence "itists." Cheke and Smith tried to restore the old sounds by delineating three separate sounds for the three vowels, but they were opposed by the conservative chancellor, Stephen Gardiner. Smith replied in a letter dated 12 August 1542, subsequently published in Paris in 1568 and titled "De recta et emendata linguae Graecae Pronunciatione." Gardiner's reply dated 12 December 1542 ended the discussion by restraining any further appeals on the matter.⁴⁰ Consequently, according to Ascham and Cheke's letters, student numbers began to fall as people lost interest in their Greek

⁴⁰Gardiner, Letter to Thomas Smith, 18 September 1542, Thought and Culture, p.101.

because Cheke and Smith were forced to use the old pronunciation against their better judgment, and their enthusiasm for classical Greek began to wane. Disheartened, Cheke left Cambridge for London in 1542-43 to tutor the young Edward VI.

Ascham at St. John's and Nicholas Carr as Regius professor carried on the study of Greek, and scholarly life became more spirited when Cheke returned as provost and Martin Bucer was appointed Regius in Divinity in 1548. Wilson arrived in time to see Cheke leave and to talk with a number of students frustrated by the political blockade to research. The event clearly illustrated how easily the energy of the protestant's independent research could be stopped by political power using whatever dogma it wished. The Marian hiatus that Wilson was to live through would not have surprised him much, for the political struggle in the Greek controversy greatly resembles those of the counter-reformation. The linguistic controversy would not have appeared to Wilson some mere academic folderol anymore than it did to Cheke and Smith, for these men were following the general manner of the exceptional Colet, which is to say that they were attempting through reason and diligent scholarship to resuscitate the flowers of the ancient world in the Tudor period in the most detailed area of pronunciation. Colet saw this movement as a part

of the Christian humanists' desire to view God and his works aright; and as such it provided his actions with political motivation because the movement implies an inadequacy within the Catholic tradition of Biblical and Latin study. The protestant humanist locates his authority not in the church fathers so much as in reason and textual study which enables him to go to the sources of the Bible, to go behind the Vulgate, to the Greek and Hebrew in order to retranslate God's word more adequately, initially into a refined Latin and later into the vernacular. As Colet had animated Oxford with this reformed and independent study of the Bible, so Cambridge was moved by the force of Erasmus' work on the New Testament (1518), work which would for Erasmus clear the way to "see verily within a few years a true and godly kind of Christian spring up in every place, which would not only in ceremonies, disposition, and titles profess the name of Christ, but in their very heart and true conversation of living."⁴¹ The point was to have the pure plenitude of the past reborn in the present without all the interpretive commentary of the Catholic theologians. And in 1535 according to the royal injunctions "Degrees and lectures in canon law were

⁴¹Porter, p. 38.

abolished; all divinity lectures were to be 'according to the true sense' of the Scriptures, and not after the manner of the scholastic commentators; all students were to be encouraged to read the Scriptures privately, and Melanchthon as well as Aristotle was listed as a prescribed author; in every college, every day, there should be one lecture on Latin, and one on Greek. The pattern of studies in arts and theology was still not wholly different from that which Fisher had known as a student. But the differences, whether of addition or omission, were to say the least, significant."⁴²

Thus, the pursuit of textual study at Cambridge was a political activity in support of the reformed religion. The paring away of the tough rind of accumulated tradition to disclose the fruit of the original Hebraic and Hellenic worlds was stopped by the conservative hand of Gardiner, an old Wolsey satrap who favored the Roman faith but sided with Henry's divorce, always keeping an apparent loyalty to the King.⁴³ Consequently, after succeeding Fisher and Cromwell as Chancellor, Gardiner did not want to stir up any great controversy at his university; unlike

⁴²Porter, p. 50.

⁴³James A. Muller, Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction (New York: Octagon, 1970), pp. 54-58.

Raleigh, perhaps, it mattered to him "which way the head lieth." His response to Smith upheld the old method of pronunciation in a classically conservative argument. Admitting that the old pronunciation was not intrinsically correct, he stated, "My contention, indeed, it not that is is done because it is correct, but that because it is done, it is the correct thing to do."⁴⁴ This was the dialectic that the reformers had to contend with, the struggle to recreate the past yet to do so along the lines accepted by the governor. As Gardiner stopped the reform in pronunciation, so Mary would halt the reform in theology. Thus scholarly, religious, and political struggle are all represented by metonymy in the controversy about iota.

As Thomas would have observed closely the tangled web of scholarship and politics, so also would he have attended to firming up his political alliances. Kitchen, an early biographer of the first seven deans of Durham, mourns that during this period "nor afterwards did he show the least desire to become a clergyman.... His mind was essentially legal and political."⁴⁵ Wilson did dance

⁴⁴Gardiner, Thought and Culture, p. 101.

⁴⁵Kitchen, p. 71.

to the political lyre at Cambridge, for he effectively strengthened his ties with a rising faction of political power. Nor were his actions inappropriate or even eccentric, for public religious issues of any note were also political issues. It is tempting to say they they were one and the same. Also from the 1540's onward an increasing number of "gentle-born youth" enrolled at Oxford and Cambridge to be trained as statesmen and to fulfill the visions of Castiglione and Elyot.⁴⁶ All of these scholars were not too concerned with becoming perfect courtiers though. "Indeed there is evidence to show that the university authorities were on occasion in doubt as to whether they should be treated as bona fide students or not."⁴⁷ Wilson, however, was certainly as much a bona fide student as he was a political player. Somehow in the interval between 1541 and 1549 Wilson made substantial alliances with Richard Grafton, William Haddon, Roger Ascham, Thomas Smith, and John Cheke and strengthened his ties with the Brandons, Dymokes, Greys, Dudleys, and Cecils. Yet the specifics of these connections have to be inferred because there is little

⁴⁶Charleton, p. 135.

⁴⁷Charleton, pp. 138-39.

direct evidence about their associations.⁴⁸

However, we do have to build very delicately the web of connections that Wilson established at Cambridge. First, as Schmidt has pointed out, Wilson would have made some contact through his father with the Willoughby-Brandons, and the other Lincolnshire neighbors, the Dymockes and the Cecils.⁴⁹ Charles Brandon may have been assisted by the rising gentry who were then rewarded with monastic holdings as implied in the muster rolls. Like his father, Sir Edward Dymocke was also made sheriff in 1536, a move certainly indicating a compliance with Brandon and with Henry's policies in Lincolnshire.⁵⁰ It was at Sir Edward's house in Scrivelsby on summer vacation in 1551 or 1552 that Wilson wrote The Arte of Rhetorique, as he records in the

⁴⁸But we should not claim as does E.J. Baskerville, that no association can be made between Ascham and Wilson and any relationship to Cheke cannot be dated prior to 1554-55 when the two men were at Padua. "Thomas Wilson and Sir Thomas Smith at Cambridge," N & Q, 27, No. 2 (1980), 113-16.

⁴⁹G.H. Mair, Introduction, The Arte of Rhetorique, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. vi-viii.

⁵⁰Sidney Lee, "Dymock, Sir John," DNB, (1888-89).

dedicatory epistle. But if the family alliance with the Willoughby-Brandons was maintained and enhanced after the tumultuous 1536 rebellion, then we might imagine that Wilson went to Eton in 1537 aided by the Brandon's introduction. After all, they thought highly enough of him by 1549 to employ him as personal tutor for their sons.

Given Wilson's political and scholarly inclinations he would have been attracted to the circle of scholars made up of Cheke, Smith, Redman, Ascham, Haddon and Bucer.⁵¹ By the end of the forties, he had gained entrance to the group, for Walter Haddon and Roger Ascham assisted him in tutoring the Suffolk boys;⁵² and it was Haddon who co-authored with Wilson the elegy on the boys' death. Although Cheke had left when Wilson arrived, he could easily have met him through Ascham and Haddon. ✓ Wilson made the acquaintance of Bucer through his

⁵¹The group would have stood out and been easy to meet since the populations of the schools were small: St. John's--30-33; King's--10-12. Hugh Kearney, Scholars and Gentlemen (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1970), pp. 40-41.

⁵²Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967), p. 263.

patroness Katherine Willoughby. Since Bucer was a magnet for many protestants, Wilson would have been attracted to him in any case, but Katherine Willoughby helped with Bucer's appointment and nursed him in his sickness, thus probably creating in Wilson more than the average protestant's support,⁵³ and encouraging his claim in the Rhetorique that all Cambridge lamented Bucer's demise. Wilson also clearly knew Thomas Smith, and Strype points out that Wilson was a member of the group that gathered round Smith and Cheke. We know, furthermore, that Smith carefully read and annotated Wilson's Rule (1551), for his copy is available in the British Museum. Of course, Wilson's alliance with Cheke, however insubstantial at Cambridge, solidified in Pauda in 1554-55 where they studied Demosthenes. In the 1550's Wilson became instrumental to the scholarly group because his books served an important function, as Wagner states:

It was to such a group that Wilson was for some

⁵³Bucer, aided by Latimer's sermons, preached against Real Presence in the eucharist, for vernacular liturgy, and against Catholicism, Romish trappings and justifications by faith, and every one of these position is represented in the Rhetorique. Porter, p. 53; Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 18.

reason attracted, whether because he was a very promising scholar or because he was a fervent Protestant, we do not know. Whether he accepted an invitation to join the group because he, a commoner, was flattered by this evidence of esteem on the part of those better born, we can only conjecture. One thing is certain--Wilson was the youngest of the group, and least advanced in his scholarly career; he was still a student. Perhaps, therefore, because he was an excellent Latinist, because he was not actively engaged in university teaching or in politics or public affairs--and almost the only one not so busied--and because he was still at his books, it fell to his lot to advance the cause by producing a logic and a rhetoric in English. So far as rhetoric was concerned, it was no doubt a thoroughly congenial assignment. Coming from the middle class as he did, Wilson could not have failed to see how appropriate--nay, how supremely important--were the lessons rhetoric had to teach the great mass of unlearned but rapidly rising members of that group. That he, who had but recently been one of the mute and inarticulate, should be chosen to unlock and display abroad the treasures of eloquence hitherto unavailable to his own class, cannot have failed to call forth his best efforts. That he was so inspired, is in fact⁵⁴ apparent at more than one place in the *Rhetorique*.

Speculating on how Wilson managed his connections at Cambridge, we might well imagine that a couple of Etonian connections smoothed the way. Referring to Grafton, Wilson in the *Rule* says, "I must nedes confesse, that the Printer hereof your maiesties servaunt provoked me firste hereunto, unto whome I have ever founde my selfe greatly beholdyng, not onely at my beyng in Cambridge, but also at

⁵⁴Russell H. Wagner, "Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, " *Speech Monographs*, 27 (1960), 7.

all times els; when I moste neded helpe"(A. iiii.r). This statement written in 1550-51 obviously refers to Grafton's printing Wilson and Haddon's eulogy for the two Brandon boys. However, the debt seems much larger. What else could he mean? Perhaps the statement is nothing more than rhetorical hyperbole, or perhaps he means that Udall got Grafton to help Wilson gain admittance to the tutorial chambers of Haddon and others. Grafton was, after all, part of the rising group of radical Protestants and a clear partisan of the Greys. Introducing Wilson to Haddon would not have been too difficult a task. Haddon, an Etonian, received his M.A. in 1541 just in time to teach the young Wilson. However the two became acquainted, Haddon and Wilson became friends and Wilson contributed some Latin poems to Haddon's Lucubrationes, a dedicatory epistle to Warwick for Haddon's Exhortatio ad Literas, and of course there is Vita et obitu Henrici et Caroli Brandoni, their collaboration already mentioned.⁵⁵

We may easily imagine a connection from Haddon to Smith (Haddon's mentor) in 1542 upon Smith's return to Cambridge; through him Wilson would have met Redman and Ascham. Obviously by the time of Cheke's return as the

⁵⁵Charles H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, (Cambridge: Dreighton, 1858), I, 436.

provost of King's College, about which Wilson tells an amusing anecdote in the Arte, he would have become a firm member of the reformers' group.

Wilson was clearly groomed for the role of reformer ✓ at Cambridge. With Haddon and Cheke who were interested in ecclesiastical reform, and with Ascham who in 1534 boasted, I have "chanced among my companions to speak against the Pope,"⁵⁶ and with Bucer who preached fervently against Rome, Wilson forged a bond with the rising faction of protestant reformers that he would never break.⁵⁷ By 1549 Wilson had his M.A. and became tutor for the Brandon boys; obviously, his religious views must have appeared similar to Bucer's (evident in his first two books) because the Duchess of Suffolk otherwise would not have approved of his tutoring her sons. When his charges died on 16 July 1551, Wilson and Haddon published their eulogy, most of which is reprinted in English translation in the rhetoric as examples of praise and comfort. And Wilson with an eye to the future

⁵⁶Porter, p. 59.

⁵⁷By 1549 Wilson had seen at Great St. Mary's a sale of vestements, at Jesus Chapel six altars pulled down, at Queen's two side altars pulled down and the walls whitewashed.

dedicated the piece to the new Duke of Suffolk, Henry Grey. So through the Brandons Wilson associated himself with the Greys and the Dudleys. He dedicated the Rhetorique to the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's eldest son, John Dudley, in 1553. With such a network of political contacts, he must also have managed to further his acquaintance with Cecil, a former student of Cheke and a resident of Lincoln.

During this period between 1549 and 1553 Wilson's life accelerated greatly. He established himself as a worthy scholar with his first two books, both of which ironically would later become evidence in his inquisition trial that would nearly destroy him. Sometime during Wilson's stay at Cambridge, probably after receiving his M.A., Grafton suggested to Wilson that he should English a logic text. Feeling the call of a second stage in the Renaissance movement--first the need to create good texts and secondly the need to translate the classics into the vernacular, Wilson answered the challenge and wrote The Rule of Reason which Grafton published in 1551. Wilson draws on the texts he studied at Cambridge: Agricola's De inventione dialectica, Boethius' De Differentiis topicis, Cicero's Topica, and, of course, Aristotle's Organon. William Howell, in his careful analysis of the Rule, claims that it "is not a translation of Aristotle's

Organon. But it is an attempt to render into English the main concepts and terms of the Organon, as those concepts and terms had come to be understood in the Renaissance; and it too is of good quality as a work of learning."⁵⁸ Wilson's work follows much of scholastic logic. He is not so much concerned with being original as he is with being a service to his country. As he says, "I have assaied through my diligence to make Logique as familier to Thenglishman, as bi diuerse mennes industries, the moste part of other the liberall sciences are."⁵⁹ His desire here which he also expresses throughout the Rhetorique is to teach those unlearned in Latin the discipline of logic.

The flowers of Latinity in Rule are, as Howell is quick to point out, rather the dried petals of scholasticism, yet they must have had ample appeal for the text to go through as many editions as it did. Perhaps Wilson's book clarified many uncertainties that students had found in the Latin treatises of logic, and perhaps the

⁵⁸Wilbur S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), p. 17.

⁵⁹Wilson, Rule of Reason, ed. Richard Sprague (Northridge: San Fernando Valley State College, 1972), p. 1.

merchants who were coming into some wealth without an education felt compelled to sample an exposition of the structure of knowledge. Finally, of course, the text's strong protestant appeal carried it into many hands. As Wilson says, not only is logic "an Arte to reason probably, on bothe partes, of al matiers that be putte foorth..., not onely to knowe worldely affaires, but also to knowe God and all his heavenly woorkes, so farre as nature maie comprehende."⁶⁰ The Rule is a traditionally conceived and presented text. Although Wilson claims four functions for logic (defining, dividing, constructing true arguments, and refuting false arguments), his book is divided in three major sections: judgment, invention, and fallacies. This organization reflects the influence of Agricola's work, and through him much of the medieval and classical tradition.⁶¹ Wilson also carries over from the tradition the tortuous explanation of predicables and predicaments which Howell glosses for us by asserting that "the predicables may be described as those words which define and delimit the boundaries of scientific statements; the predicaments, as

⁶⁰Wilson, Rule, pp. 8, 12.

⁶¹Howell, p. 16.

those words which name the possible scientific conception men may have as to the nature of reality."⁶² In Book II, on invention, the scholastical discussion of places is represented. The Aristotelian rules for argument construction taken from the Prior Analytics are used not only to carry the tradition but also to distribute protestant propaganda. One example of a well-constructed syllogism will bear out the point:

Whosoever desireth to liue verteouslie, must marie a wife.
 Every true preacher of Goddes woorde desireth to liue verteouslie.
 Ergo every true preacher must marie a wife.⁶³

The final section on fallacies is taken from Aristotle's The Sophistical Elenchi as was the case in many Latin treatises of logic.⁶⁴

Wilson's father died in 1551, and after publication

⁶²Howell, p. 19.

⁶³Wilson, Rule, p. 147.

⁶⁴Howell, p. 28. It is interesting to note that Wilson's logic has received most of its modern critical attention not for its treatment of Aristotelian logic but for a thirty-five line quotation from Ralphe Roister Doister.

of Rule in later 1551-52 we might imagine Thomas spent the first part of 1552 at home in Strubby taking care of the inheritance and settling various family matters in his role of the eldest son. He certainly assumed the role of gentleman, for in January of 1553 he referred to himself as "Thomas Wilson, gent., of Washingborough in the county of Lincoln."⁶⁵ As a gentleman of Lincolnshire he must have needed to contact Dymoke, the sometime sheriff of Lincolnshire (1536, 1547, 1553, 1556, 1557), for by the summer, as Wilson says in the dedicatory epistle to his rhetoric, he spent a quiet time of vacation, obviously after a very busy two years (1550-52) at Cambridge and at Lincolnshire. In the epistle he claims that John Dudley had asked him to publish a rhetorique as he had done the logic. We may certainly imagine that such an undertaking had been a topic of conversation with the Cambridge group, for the text is lauded by Walter Haddon, Nicholas Udall, and Rober Hilermius in their dedicatory Latin poems. The publication was a momentous occasion; no complete rhetorique had been written in English, and, finally, now Wilson accomplished it in the respected classical tradition of Cicero.

Yet the occasion was also a political one. Wilson as

⁶⁵Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 18.

an established member of the reformist group, at Cambridge, was in a rather precarious political position when Mary came to the throne on 20 July, 1553. He had just published his protestant rhetorique which contains as mentioned above strong antipapist sentiment. Wilson's text would also associate him with the party of Lady Jane Grey, not just because it is protestant but because the publisher, Richard Grafton, had printed a proclamation to her accession to the throne, and his patron, John Dudley, was her brother-in-law. His political party was not only in decline but also in danger. Wilson probably went back to Cambridge from Lincolnshire. After the Arte of Rhetorique was printed and after Mary's accession that summer, he left Cambridge in order to return to Lincolnshire. After hearing that his teacher Cheke, an ally of Northumberland, was arrested on 27 July and that many fellows at Cambridge "were obliged to leave the university"⁶⁶ and then England, Wilson must have felt the desire to join what was to be called the Marian Exile.

The exile began in 1553, and at least ninety men from Cambridge left England. Porter claims that Wilson traveled with Cheke to Frankfort and then to Padua. The fact dates Wilson's departure no earlier than 13 September

⁶⁶Porter, p. 76.

1554, the date Cheke was released from prison.⁶⁷ In Padua Cheke formed part of an intellectual colony whose members included Acworth, Nowell, the Hoby brothers, and Francis Walsingham. Garret claims that the Marian exile was two-fold: one in Germany and the other in France. The second movement beginning at about 1556 was unorganized and populated by those in trouble with the court for civil as well as religious reasons. The first movement to Germany, Garrett claims, was orchestrated by Gardiner and Cecil. Gardiner wanted to reduce the pressure in the Protestant ranks to revolt. Cecil wanted simply to save protestantism. The first movement began in January 1554 and had financial and material support from wealthy and powerful Protestants in England, Germany, and the Low Countries. Some of the 678 who migrated went south as did Cheke and the members of his group.⁶⁸

In Padua Wilson began to work with Cheke translating Demosthenes. Also he delivered an oration on Edward Courtenay's death at St. Anthony's church. This must not have been enough activity for Cheke and Wilson because

⁶⁷Porter, p. 77.

⁶⁸Christina Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1966), pp. 3-11.

they grew restless and felt the need for travel. In 1556-56 Cheke, whom Garret calls the chief propaganda leader of the movement,⁶⁹ left Padua for Brussels in early 1556 to see his wife, yet on his travel from Brussels to Antwerp he was captured on 15 May and brought back to England to stand trial for his religious views.⁷⁰ Wilson also left Padua.

He traveled to Rome in 1557, involved himself in a papal suit, and ended up in prison. The details are sketchy, and the only reliable source of information is Sir Edward Carne's correspondance from Rome to Queen Mary. It seems that Carne ordered a commission of appeal between Charles Tyrrell and Chetwood concerning a matrimonial dispute involving a gentlewoman named Agnes Woodall. The details of the case are not known, but Carne and Mary supported Tyrrell's appeal. The Pope, however, revoked Carnes's appeal after reading some letters from the newly appointed Cardinal Peto in England presented to him by Thomas Wilson, then employed as soliciter for Chetwood, who had gained access to the Pope through the Pope's young nephew, Cardinal di Napoli. The contents of the letters

⁶⁹Garrett, p. 49.

⁷⁰Thompson Cooper, DNB, (1921-22), IV, 181.

are unknown. Carne reported in a later letter dated December 11 that Wilson had presented more letters from Cardinal Peto on staying the case and that when these letters were read by the Pope he ordered all of those around him to not reveal to anyone that the Pope had read these letters. In the same letter Carne stated that the Abbot of St. Salutis in Cardinal Pole's service in England knew of letters from a "great Bishop of England" with information against Pole. Carne suspected some connection between Wilson and the letters against Pole but could not confirm it, so he asked for the queen to investigate the matter further in England. It is not clear what Mary discovered, but in a summons dated March 17, 1558, which Carne delivered to Wilson in late April, she ordered Wilson to return to England by June 15. Carne then reported to Mary that Wilson showed no intentions of leaving Rome. Since Wilson would not return, Mary encouraged Pope Paul IV to arrest him as a dangerous heretic. Before the summer was out, he was lodged in the inquisition prison. While he remained there, Wilson says, "deathe was presente, and the tormente at hande, whereof I felt some smarte"(p. 159). The public charges were that his books were heretical and after much debate Wilson was asked "to submit...to the holie Father, and the devoute Colledge of Cardinales"(p. 159), which he refused to do.

He languished for a year until the death of Pope Paul IV, who had been reviving the inquisitional machinery so strongly that after his death there was a general riot against the hated inquisition prison. It was set on fire and the captives released. After this miraculous break from the machinery that would have ended his career before it really began, Wilson traveled back to Ferrara where he took the LL.D. in civil laws and by early 1560 he left the continent.⁷¹ Upon the basis of this degree he was awarded the doctorate at Oxford on 6 September 1566 and at Cambridge on 30 August 1571.⁷²

Schmidt, basing his claim on Wilson's 1560 prologue, says that Wilson turned to statecraft when he was "disillusioned with scholarship and penniless."⁷³ But there is really no need to assume this. Wilson's family lands were still his and he still had connections in court through Robert Dudley and William Cecil. In fact, they interceded on his behalf through Archbishop Anthony Parker who commissioned him as advocate in the Court of Arches on 28 Feb 1560-61. Pollard adds that "Parker also seems to

⁷¹Wagner, p. 10.

⁷²DNB, p. 604.

⁷³Schmidt, "Tudor Scholar," p. 208.

have appointed him dean of the college he founded, Stoke Clark, Suffolk."⁷⁴ Furthermore in the same year he became master at St. Katherine's hospital by the Tower of London and master in the Court of Requests. So he was not without resources nor did he turn to statecraft, for he had always been readying himself for political power through his associations at Cambridge. Although in December 7, 1560, he allowed the second edition of the Rhetorique to be published by John Kingston, who had taken over much of Grafton's business, with a prologue claiming that he would never work on rhetoric again because he had "felt some smart" by it in Rome, he was not through with scholarship but only through with his early scholarly work, which had served more purposes than he could have imagined, and was now ready to turn to a new phase of scholarship which would complement his legal and diplomatic career in London under Elizabeth.

This then is the end of his biography relevant to the understanding of Wilson's production of the Rhetorique. Yet the remainder of the biography is relevant in order to assess the ways in which Wilson followed his own advice for creating a utopian England.

Wilson followed his advice to marry, for he in

⁷⁴Pollard, DNB.

1560-61 married Agnes Brook⁷⁵ who was a widow and daughter of John Winter of Lyndney. She died in June 1574 after bearing him three children Nicholas (b. 1562), Mary and Lucrece (born before 1565). In 1576 Wilson married Jane Pinchon, widow of John Pinchon and granddaughter of Richard Empsen, the "fleecer-in-chief" of Henry VII.⁷⁶

His political connections were equally fortuitous. Late 1560 was a good time for Wilson's return since his old Lincolnshire neighbor William Cecil, soon to be Lord Burghley, had just negotiated in July of that year the Treaty of Edinburgh, considered "one of Cecil's greatest achievement's."⁷⁷ This treaty calmed matters in Scotland and France for a while and gave Elizabeth enough confidence to ask for the restoration of Calais as part of the peace. Thus as a returning exile having suffered under Mary Tudor for his ardent support of the reformed religion, Wilson would seem easily deserving of the positions that Archbishop Parker offered him. His offices

⁷⁵Pollard has the sequence of marriage wrong. Pollard, DNB, p. 604.

⁷⁶Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 20.

⁷⁷P.S. Crowson, Tudor Foreign Policy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 178.

in Arches and Requests enabled him to use his doctorate in civil laws that had served Thomas Smith so well, qualifying him for the Regius professorship in Civil Law at Cambridge and for diplomatic work and finally for his position as Secretary of State. Even though the common law was pressing hard upon civil law and civil law began to lose its prestige when canon law was stricken down under Henry VIII by Cromwell in 1535, Wilson's grooming was nonetheless excellent to prepare him for a career of public service under Elizabeth.⁷⁸ His work as advocate to Arches and master in Requests must have been performed well for there is no record of any complaints. In fact, it opened doors which led him to diplomatic offices during these early years of his public service.

His tenure at St. Katherine's was a different matter. Kitchen quotes Ducarel the old commissioner of St. Katherine's, "The Master [Wilson] sold to the Lord Mayor and communalty of London, the Fair of St. Katherine's for the sum of 700 marks; surrendered the charter of Henry VI, and took as new one of Elizabeth, leaving out the liberty of the aforesaid fair; and did many other things very

⁷⁸Robert H. Tawney, Introduction, Discourse Upon Usury, ed. Robert H. Tawney (New York: Harcourt, n.d.), p. 5.

prejudicial to his successor."⁷⁹ He also seems to have concocted a method of controlling all the estates of the house within the precincts of St. Katherine's.⁸⁰ The most often quoted complaint is his desire to take down the choir, which Stow's Survey claims was as big as St. Paul's, for his own pecuniary interests, as Pollard charmingly states, that "he incurred some odium" for taking it down,⁸¹ but Fuller softens the scandal by claiming, "I am loath to beleve it done out of covetousness, to gain by the materials thereof, but would rather conceive it so run to ruin, that it was past repairing."⁸² These complaints against Wilson's inept managing are hard to take seriously as they are passed on so uncritically.⁸³

The most recent and probably most reliable account of Wilson's work at St. Katherine's forms chapter six in

⁷⁹Kitchen, p. 92.

⁸⁰Cooper, p. 434.

⁸¹Pollard, DNB, p. 604.

⁸²Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England (New York: AMS Press, 1965), II, 278.

⁸³Schmidt, "Tudor Scholar," pp. 216-17.

Jamison's The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower of London. Offering a more balanced and documented appraisal of Wilson's work there, she concludes, however, that "there is much evidence that he had little or no concern for the Hospital for its own sake and it only benefited from his actions where its interests coincided with the Master's. Even at the end of his long Mastership, in his will made just before his death in 1581, he left nothing to the Hospital or its inmates, only ordering that he should be buried in the church."⁸⁴ During his tenure he managed to get a new charter from Elizabeth in 7 December 1563 exempting him from priest's orders, but the religious services went on as before; thus, he opened the way for more flexible leadership and continued his policy of decreasing church influence on government.⁸⁵ Although he borrowed money for repairs that the hospital needed, the bargain struck for the institution was not a very good one, and the money lenders just happened to be John Watson and Godfrey Wilson, Thomas' brother. They lent the hospital 200

⁸⁴Catherine Jamison, The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1952), p 70.

⁸⁵Jamison, p. 71.

pounds in return for a 40 pound annuity, which reveals Wilson's tendency to profit whenever possible from government action.⁸⁶

After such a deal Wilson began working to gain more revenues for the hospital. He tried to sell St. Katherine's fair rights and threatened to hold it during the time of St. Bartholomew's. But the threat wasn't taken seriously until he sweetened the bargain by offering to the Court of Aldermen the control of the precinct. The Aldermen were eager to buy this power but the inhabitants petitioned to Cecil against such a sale and won. The case had the effect of making the threat of the fair seem weightier so that the court agreed to pay the hospital 300 pounds not to have the fair. Wilson also refused to pay Tenth's or First Fruits, a refusal that made money for his institution. Wilson argued on 7 July 1565 in the court of First Fruits and Tenth's that the hospital was an institution established for the maintenance of the poor and therefore not required to pay First Fruits. He won the case. Thus while Wilson profited during his tenure at St. Katherine's so did the hospital, for it had not made money from the fair in many years and was due to pay First Fruit and Tenth's annually at roughly thirty two pounds

⁸⁶Jamison, pp. 71-72.

until Wilson's intervention.⁸⁷

Wilson was active in other political circles in the 1560's. He was a member of Parliament for Michaelborough in Cornwall in the session which began January 1562-63 and was dissolved 2 January 1566-67. He sat without attracting a great deal of notice to himself, though serving competently, for he was appointed to a commission in April 1564 along with Dr. Valentine Dale to question John Hales about a book Hales had published supporting Lady Catherine Grey's claims to the throne.⁸⁸ While an earlier supporter of Northumberland and Henry Grey, he had obviously exhibited himself as a stronger supporter of Elizabeth in order to be appointed to this first in a series of inquisitorial roles. Finally, he presented to the Queen on New Year's Day a Latin oration, "*De clementia oratio panegyrica ad reginam Elizabetham*" 1566-67. His political performance up to this point had gained him access to ambassadorial work which he had desired only two years after his return to England from Italy, when he stated in a letter in 1562 that he felt compelled "to serve abroad" (S.P. For. 1308, Dec 20, 1562, and 237, Feb

⁸⁷ Jamison, p. 77.

⁸⁸ Pollard, DNB, p. 604.

1. 1563),⁸⁹ but there is no evidence that he did so at this time. Yet he had the confidence of the court and the training to become an ambassador, and Sir Thomas Challoner, another Etonian, requested that Wilson should replace him as ambassador to Madrid.⁹⁰

He was first sent abroad with the rank of ambassador to Portugal in 1567 in October, though his commission was dated 6 May.⁹¹ He was in Lisbon but a short time, returning in late 1568; but while there he observed a great deal about the economy of Portugal which he writes of in his Discourse upon Usury. He also met with Jerome Osorius, bishop of Silves, and brought back to England a reply from the bishop to Walter Haddon in a controversy they were having over Osorius' perceptions of the errors of the English church.⁹² He also negotiated a commercial problem that his first wife's brother, Admiral Sir William Winter, was having with the Portuguese court.

⁸⁹Pollard, DNB, p. 604.

⁹⁰Tawney, p. 6.

⁹¹Pollard, DNB, p. 604; Tawney.

⁹²John Strype, Annals of the Reformation (1708-09; rpt. New York: Ben Franklin Reprints, 1968), III, 96-97.

In fact, Tawney claims that nearly all of his business that year was commercial. After his mission he was recognized as one of the best authorities on "Portuguese affairs and questions of trade."⁹³ He requested on 13 May 1569 to travel to Lisbon again but was denied; he was, however, given the position of acting as "intermediary between Portuguese envoys in London and the English government."⁹⁴

It is not clear why he was not sent back to Portugal, perhaps because he busied himself with commercial matters rather too often and in too personal a fashion, after the manner of his duties at St. Katherine's, or more likely perhaps because relations between England and Spain became unfriendly. Though Philip and Elizabeth were generally on good terms during this period, in August 1567 Philip sent Alva to the Netherlands with 25,000 troops in order to suppress any threat to Catholic hegemony. Elizabeth was less than pleased.⁹⁵ As a result Cecil argued for an alliance with William of Orange in the Netherlands to counter Philip's attempts to

⁹³Tawney.

⁹⁴Pollard, DNB, p. 604.

⁹⁵Crowson, p. 190.

dominate the country. He also argued for a strong retaliation to Philip's troop movements. They did so by sending Drake to cut Philip's silver supply coming from America.⁹⁶ Amid this anti-Spanish sentiment Leicester had been associating with the Spanish Ambassador De Spes. Therefore, Cecil would have eyed with suspicion Leicester and his associates including Wilson, always a Dudley partisan. This suspicion could have delayed Wilson's departure for Portugal.⁹⁷

However, this rivalry between Dudley and Cecil finally did not stand in Wilson's way, because he was friends with both Cecil and Leicester. All three worked together to remove the threat of the Earls of the North, as well as De Spes and Riddolfi. Wilson assisted in the interrogation of the conspirators of this uprising. On 7 Sept 1571, Cecil had Wilson and Henry Sadler dragged out of bed in the middle of the night to convey Norfolk, Henry Howard, to the tower. With Thomas Smith, Wilson interrogated and tortured the conspirators so persistently

⁹⁶ Crowson, p. 193.

⁹⁷ A.F. Pollard, The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (New York: AMS Press, 1967), p. 183.

that Wilson took residence in the tower for a short time and wrote letters from the "prison in the Bloody Tower."⁹⁸ Cooper says, "The rack was employed in at least one instance," referring perhaps to a commission dated 15 September requesting Wilson put two of Norfolk's servants to the rack.⁹⁹ He was employed in such business sporadically through the whole summer and autumn of that year. Such dedication has led to Wilson's being accused of enjoying this work and of being "a remorseless torturer or an officious priest-catcher."¹⁰⁰ Perhaps after his experiences under Pope Paul IV in Italy in the Inquisition prison, he did relish getting some revenge. Tawney neutralizes this tone: "The amiable pedantry of their letter to Burghley asking to be released--'they would not wish to be one of Homer's gods if they thought they should be Minos, Aeacus, or Rhadamanthus; had rather be one of the least umbrae in campis Elysiis'--is perhaps more attractive to posterity than the bloodthirsty patriotism ascribed to Wilson by his contemporaries."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Paul Johnson, Elizabeth I, (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, & Winston, 1974), p. 183.

⁹⁹Cooper, p. 435; DNB, p. 605.

¹⁰⁰Cooper, p. 437.

¹⁰¹Tawney, pp. 6-7.

Whether or not Wilson enjoyed a bit of sadism in the tower, we are compelled to conclude that he had the full confidence of Cecil and Elizabeth and that his Dudley alliances finally hurt him not at all. Wilson must have also busied himself in 1568-70 with maintaining his political connections, for he was elected M.P. for Lincoln city and sat in Parliament in 1571, 1572, 1576, and 1580. These positions were not freely given away in Lincoln either, for "There was rivalry for influence in parliamentary elections in Lincolnshire between such families as the Cecils, the Clintons and the Manners."¹⁰² Schmidt goes on to express bafflement at Wilson's ability to secure his own elections in 1571 and 1572 but speculates that he must have had a good deal of local support, which may further substantiate the view that the Wilsons had established themselves as a family of noteworthy wealth and influence before the 1570's in order for Thomas to have generated so much support so suddenly. This second excursion into parliamentary politics was much more active than his first.¹⁰³ The session met on 8

¹⁰²Schmidt, "Some Notes," p. 19.

¹⁰³The following details of his activity in Parliament are taken from Tawney, p. 7.

May 1572; he made speeches on a bill against vagabonds and against usury; he was on a committee considering a bill for Councillors' fees, on another committee on a bill for Sir William Harper, another concerning sea-marks and severance of sheriffs of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. On 8 July of 1572, he was "commissioned to provide for the better regulation of commerce," and in the following summer he met with many Portuguese ambassadors. But on the heels of the Riddolfi plot he was on committees concerning Mary Queen of Scots. He met with the House of Lords on May 18, 1572, about her, meeting again on May 28, 1572, and June 7, 1572. In June of 1572 he was sent with Sir Ralph Sadler to Mary "to expostulate with her by way of accusation."¹⁰⁴ In Cambridge University Library there are three orations against Mary Queen of Scots demanding her death that may well be his, two are in Latin and one in a Scottish dialect.

Wilson continued working in London up to his first trip to the Netherlands. "On 20 October 1573 he was in a special commission of oyer and terminer for London and Middlesex. He was also a member of the high commission for causes ecclesiastical, and in that capacity signed the warrant for the apprehension of Thomas Cartwright the

¹⁰⁴Pollard, DNB. p. 605.

noted puritan on 11 December, 1573,"¹⁰⁵ But his scholarly pen did not lie idle during this period and we might say he capped off this period between overseas duties with his last two publications, The Three Orations of Demosthenes (1570) and The Discourse Upon Usury (1572). These are his statements of foreign policy and domestic policy respectively and are dedicated to Cecil and Leicester; there were not two people more helpful in the realm to him at this time, for though they were in some trouble with the queen for the way they handled Norfolk and Mary,¹⁰⁶ they became again and would be for some time quite powerful. Therefore, it is worth a few moments to mention these two works before passing on to Wilson's later diplomatic life.

The first book, The Three Orations, rather curiously noted in Sandys' History for being published in the same year as The Scholemaster and written by one who complained against the use of "inke-horne termes,"¹⁰⁷ is a scholarly tour de force in the old style. Aside from the

¹⁰⁵Cooper, p. 435.

¹⁰⁶Pollard, History, p. 107. _____

¹⁰⁷John E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (New York: Hafner, 1964), II, 237.

long dedicatory epistle to Cecil, which spends its time praising Cheke (who Wagner says translated the "Olythiacs" in Padua for Wilson), several Latin poems, and a preface, Wilson also includes excerpts from classical authors' accounts of Demosthenes (Aristotle, Cicero, Lucien, Dionisius Halicarnasseus, Quintilian, Erasmus, Vives, Saduletus) an excerpt from Antigone on duty to the state, the Athenian soldier's oath, a description of Athens, and of its bordering countries, and a short oration of Titus Livius exemplifying the rhetorical tradition of Demosthenes. Also all the orations, three "Olythiacs" and four "Phillipiads," are prefaced by arguments of the matter which is enhanced by several side notes that call attention to key points in the orations by repeating phrases or condensing arguments. He ends the book with several collected sentences from other orations of Demosthenes relevant to statecraft and finally a long biographical note he entitled "The life and doings of Demosthenes, gathered out of Plutarch, Suidas, Libanius, Lucian, and others."

The text is noteworthy for being one of the few translations from the original Greek made during the period and for being the only printed translation of a Greek orator in this period.¹⁰⁸ In the Literary

¹⁰⁸ Henry B. Lathrop. Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), p. 193.

Magazine, 1758, p. 151, the author, perhaps Dr. Johnson, claims that Wilson was commissioned by the government to publish the work. Although this assertion cannot be confirmed, the translation is obviously propaganda. As Schmidt says, "Recognizing the threat from Hapsburg, Guise, and the Pope abroad, he produced as early as 1570 a piece of propaganda literature drawn from the wisdom of Hellas."¹⁰⁹ The case is really, I believe, one of serendipity. Wilson was probably first introduced to Demosthenes at Cambridge, and at Padua in 1556 he probably began rereading him with Cheke. Wilson states:

And thinking of my being with him [Cheke] in Italie in that famous Universitie of Padua; I did cal to minde his care that he had over all the Englishe men there, to go to their bokes; and how gladly he did read to me and others, certaine Orations of Demosthenes in Greeke, the interpretation whereof, I and they had from his mouth.¹¹⁰

Although he most likely began the translations with help from Cheke, he did bring the work out himself; whether or

¹⁰⁹Pollard, DNB, p. 605; Schmidt, "Thomas Wilson and the Tudor Commonwealth: An Essay in Civic Humanism," HLQ, 23 (1959), 56.

¹¹⁰Wilson, The Three Orations of Demosthenes (1570; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), p.[]4r. All further references to this text will be cited parenthetically.

not he had help from the government we probably will never be able to tell.

The first three orations are those Demosthenes spoke before the Athenians to help Olynthus fight Philip II of Macedon (349 b.c.), and the last four orations were spoken after Philip had taken Olynthus in order to dissuade the Athenians from making any alliance and from accepting his offers of peace (339 b.c.). Wilson takes this story to the public at a time when Philip of Spain had been edging his way to dominion over the Netherlands. Wilson's several references to the "perilous" and "dangerous" times, his continued cry in the scholia about how England could use Demosthenes, and his strident repetition of how meet it is to stop an enemy on terrain other than one's own, all clearly indicate his political purpose for publishing the translation.¹¹¹ But Wilson tells us plainly: "He that loves hys cuntrye, and desires to procure the welfare of it, let him reade Demosthenes, and he shall not want matter to doe hymselfe good.... Demosthenes doth shewe the worlde to us, and as it was then, so it is now"(p. *. 1. a). In the editorial apparatus Wilson carries over some key ideas from the Rhetorique as well: the eloquent man is "the chiefest

¹¹¹Lathrop, p. 194.

ornament on earth," study and imitation of virtuous people and their works provides virtue, and a plain, direct style of discourse is always best. He even goes so far as to state, at some scholarly risk for the time, that Demosthenes is superior to Cicero. But most significantly he establishes himself as an ardent interventionist and supporter of Cecil and, by parity of reasoning, a supporter of the Low Countries against the French and the Spanish.

His second publication, Discourse upon Usury, has its dedicatory letter signed 20 July 1569, so it was perhaps completed before the Orations but published two years later; it was also published in a second edition in 1584. The reason for the delay between the date of the letter and the date of the publication is not clear. Perhaps Wilson put off having it published because he thought it would serve him better later, but when he saw that Elizabeth was hesitant to send him abroad he hurried the publication; perhaps more likely, since he had dedicated it to Leicester in 1569, he thought he had better wait until Dudley's stock rose somewhat in the Queen's calculations. But, as Pollard says, it was not at all a controversial text, for there were several religious arguments against usury, none of which were successful.¹¹² The religious quality of the text

¹¹²Pollard, DNB, p. 605.

amuses Kitchen who claims the book reads like so many theological arguments--charming but impossible.¹¹³

But Wilson's text was somewhat more valuable since the business of usury, Tawney claims, was second only to the enclosure question as a social problem. Tawney adds that Wilson's work was often quoted by economists well into the 17th century partly because it was not just a monkish, testament-bound diatribe, but rather it showed a firm grasp of theoretical economics for the time, and it revealed a good deal of specific information about Portugal's and The Netherlands' finances and exchanges. Bishop Jewel, no mean judge of arguments, praised the text in a letter:

I have perused your learned and godly travail touching the matter of usury, M.D. Wilson, and have no doubt but, if it may please you to make it common, very much good may grow of it. Such variety of matter, such weight of reasons, such examples of antiquity, such authority of doctors both Greeks and Latins, such allegation of laws, not only civil and canon, but also provincial and temporal, such variety of cases so learnedly and so clearly answered, such learning, such eloquence, and so evident witness of God's¹¹⁴ holy will, can never possible pass in vain.

¹¹³Kitchen, pp. 84-85.

¹¹⁴Jewel, "Letter to Dr. Wilson," The Works of John Jewel, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1850), IV, 1276.

The book is largely made up of the speeches of four characters, but it begins with a dedicatory epistle to Dudley and a "Prologue to the Christian Reader." In the prefatory material he establishes the two major themes of the book: in the letter to Leicester, he states that "usurie onely is the chiefest cause of the greatest miserie of thys lande";¹¹⁵ and in the preface, he states the need to refuse usury and "lend freely ... that you may heape gayn to your selves from god plentifullie"(p. 190). The four speakers are as follows: the wealthy merchant, Gromel-gainer; the temporal, "petty fogger" lawyer, "beeinge yet never allowed in anye Inne of Court or Chauncery for his learning"(p. 193), both of whom are in favor of usury; the Preacher Okerfoe, and the Doctor or Civilian, the learned lawyer, both of whom argue against usury. Okerfoe's argument is based on Scripture, church fathers, and somewhat scholastical reasoning in order to show how usury prevents a nation from being composed of "clene and undefiled persons"(p. 217). The Civilian's oration is the longest, most detailed, and most organized. Here Wilson speaks, using the skills of the rhetorician.

¹¹⁵Tawney's edition; hereinafter cited parenthetically.

The Civilian breaks his argument into six points.

(1) The nature of usury: he defines usury by Greek, Latin, and Hebrew roots and by reference to St. Barnard, Justinian, and Melanchthon, settling on this statement: "Usurye or fenorye is a gayne demaunded above the principle, onely for the benefit or pleasure shewed in lendynge"(p. 276). (2) The evil of usury: it lacks virtue (charity); God is against it; canon law and the church fathers are against it; the usurer is evil because he is idle; he destroys other men, towns, and countries. (3) The variety of usury: he shows many different cases where usury occurred and explains the exchange system, using Antwerp as an example. (4) Exchanges not usurious: there are loans given in return for other loans, penalties for late payments, or gifts. (5) Various punishments for usury: he argues that a usurer should be barred from communion and should not receive a Christian burial. (6) Treatment of usurers: he claims that they should be punished severly. The text begins with a short dialogue of all four; then it is followed by the Preacher's oration and rebutted by the Lawyer and the Merchant. The Preacher responds. Then follows the Civilian's oration, the longest, and finally the Preacher's concluding oration. Wilson ends the text with a last word to the reader stating how difficult it is to follow the advice he has

given but reaffirms its importance nonetheless.

Raymond De Roover gives Wilson careful analysis in his book on Gresham claiming that Wilson had a better grasp of theoretical economics than Gresham, but Wilson relied on his theory, based largely on faith and church doctrine, so much that he lost sight of the microeconomic conditions which indicated the necessity of using interest.¹¹⁶ Tawney wonders how or why such a man with an eye and ear finely attuned to the changing world and dealing with it appropriately should become so dogmatic about interest rates. He says the answer is two-fold. the first part is found in his career:

Like the Doctor in his Discourse, he was a distinguished civilian at a time when, as Maitland has shown, the civil law was pressing the common law hard. The civil law was practised, as Sir Thomas Smith explained for the benefit of budding lawyers, in the Court of Arches, the episcopal courts, the Court of Admiralty; bishops, chancellors, and commissaries were recruited from men who had "civilis et pontificii iuris professionem." The procedure of the Court of Requests, of which Wilson had been a Master for nine years when he wrote his Discourse upon Usurye, was in the words of another Master, Sir Julius Caesar, "altogether according to the process of summary causes in the civil law." What attitude towards economic matters would such an experience develope.... The civilian, brought up on an imperial code, and ready to believe that it might with advantage be introduced into England, had as little respect for the prejudice of common lawyers in

¹¹⁶ Raymond De Roover, Gresham on Foreign Exchange (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1949), pp. 97, 106.

favour of the right of every man to carry on his trade as he pleased as for their barbarous pedantries.¹¹⁷

And we might add that as an individual trained according to the precepts of courtly humanism, which stipulate that the true citizen will apply his understanding of religion and moral statecraft, combining the Bible and Cicero, there could be no other choice but to denounce the free marketeers who appeared principle-less and operated according to greed and anything but the laws of an ecclesiastical polity. Tawney says the other reason is that Wilson was out of step with the times. He cites Mair as claiming that Wilson was not a gay Elizabethan but rather a grave Henrician. Yet we need not accept this ad hominem. Wilson desired wealth for himself and his country, and he was frightened of interest rates and merchants exercising control over the court. The usurers could exert too much influence on the court through their lending to the crown. Wilson was repelled not only by the thought of the unlearned like the petty lawyer and the uneducated merchant in his discourses having some role to play in government's decisions, but also by the prospect of a poorer court. He had benefited

¹¹⁷Tawney, p. 11.

in several ways by Elizabeth's treasury and wanted to continue doing so. However, the argument against usury was realistically ended, though, in 1571 when a 10 per cent interest was approved by Parliament.¹¹⁸ His last two books achieved their purpose. After his wife died in June of 1574, he prepared himself in autumn of that year to go abroad. He left London for the Netherlands on the seventh of November with complete instructions and, according to Pollard, sailed home from Dunkirk on 27 March 1575. Yet a papal news letter dated 24 December 1575 claims that the "ambassador here is negotiating the peace, as does also the other ambassador of the said Queen who is with the Prince of Orange."

¹¹⁹ The latter ambassador is Wilson who in a subsequent letter is said to have departed "the 26th...with good assurance as to the peace with these rebels."¹²⁰ So perhaps he stayed later than Pollard

¹¹⁸ Arthur B. Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham: Duke U.P., 1965), p. 313. See also Russell H. Wagner, "Thomas Wilson's Speech Against Usury," QJS, 38 (1952), 13-22.

¹¹⁹ Pollard, DNB, p. 605. Calender of State Papers, Rome, 1572-1578, ed. J.M. Rigg (London: Stationary Office, 1926), p. 243.

¹²⁰ Cal. State Papers, Rome, p. 1243.

indicates. It was an important moment in Dutch relations but not frighteningly so, for Alva had left the Netherlands after a great deal of pressure from Elizabeth, and lack of support from Philip. His successor, Luis de Requesens y Zuniga, was desirous of peace and willing to negotiate the peace with William of Orange and the rebels.¹²¹ Philip was still in fear of Guise concentration, since Elizabeth and Henry II had signed the Treaty of Blois and her courtship with Francis the new Duke of Alencon was lively.¹²²

Wilson was sent to Antwerp to negotiate four points: the freeing of the Scheldt for English merchants (they had been barred from using this waterway), the deportation of Catholic refugees, the settling of grievances against protestant traders, and the allowance of freedom of worship in the "English House" at Antwerp. Tawney cites Wilson's letters to Cecil claiming that he was successful in these issues.¹²³ And indeed de Requesens was amicable to English desires in general except he would not grant religious autonomy to the Netherlands.¹²⁴

¹²¹Crowson, pp. 123, 220.

¹²²Crowson, p. 183.

¹²³Tawney, p. 8.

¹²⁴Crowson, p. 220.

Wilson returned having accomplished his mission without incident except that the emigres threatened him with death, and the "Spanish agent Guaras even accused him of conspiring with William the Silent to kidnap the Spaniard Don John."¹²⁵ If we accept that he came back to England in December 1575, then he had a short stay before he left again on 22 October 1576 for the Netherlands. In the interim he was a member of a committee, business not known, in Parliament on 28 February 1576; then March 8th he was a member of a committee to confer with the House of Lords concerning the matter of private bills. He was also named to the renewed commission for ecclesiastical cases on 23 April 1576.¹²⁶

In March of 1576 the Spanish governor of Antwerp de Requesens died and Don John was appointed his successor, yet the Spanish troops were getting unruly. Their restlessness would result in the sack of Antwerp or Spanish Fury of November.¹²⁷ So the need for a new mission was imminent, and Wilson was sent with instructions: he was "to move the states to fall to accord

¹²⁵Schmidt, "Tudor Scholar," p. 211.

¹²⁶Tawney, p. 7; Pollard, DNB, p. 605.

¹²⁷Crowson, p. 220.

notwithstanding the insolence of the Spaniards; to treat with the duke of Aerschot upon the imprisonment of the councillors; and of the siege of the castle of Ghent; and also with Jerome de Roda."¹²⁸ So he was supposed to negotiate some peace between Don John and the rebels. Perhaps having seen the horrors of the sack of Antwerp and being no lover of Catholics, Wilson found his job difficult. He never felt that he could trust John. His letters to Walsingham in February express his frustration and advocate an alliance with William of Orange.¹²⁹ In fact in a letter to Leicester dated May 18, 1577, shortly after the edict was signed, he expressed his doubts of Elizabeth's policy. Echoing his Demosthenes, he tells Dudley that he fears the Spanish invasion and says, "if wee have been the cause of this trouble abroad, and feede the factions (as the worlde geveth it out), the policie is not good because it is not perpetuale but temporarie and for a season, an in the end the harme wil whollie faule upon us that are the suspected maynteyners covertlie and underhand of all these foregne broyles and trobbles."¹³⁰ Furthermore, undermining Wilson's

¹²⁸Cooper, p. 435.

¹²⁹Froude, X, 413-14.

¹³⁰Cited in Tawney, p. 9.

disgust with the falling of events, the Nuncio in Flanders wrote of his meeting with Wilson wherein Wilson protested that France, Spain, and Rome were inclined against the Queen when she only desired peace. Tired of these negotiations he returned to England on 13 July 1577, formally ending his career as ambassador with his return.

Although he had been named to a commission on 23 April of that year for settling some undisclosed disputes pertaining to Oxford University,¹³¹ he never seems to have acted upon this request. Rather Wilson got pulled in closer to the circle of power around Elizabeth. Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state along with Walsingham, died August 1577 and Leicester wrote to the Spanish ambassador in September that he was bringing his allies to the council. Thus Wilson was formally named to the Privy Council and on the 12th of November was sworn in as secretary of state. He was a diligent, active statesman in these latter years. Wilson was overshadowed by Walsingham almost totally, because he was no great individualist; he was diplomatic as his constant and effective friendships with Dudley and Cecil reveal. The anonymous writer for Gentleman's Magazine sums up his talent as follows:

¹³¹Cooper, p. 435.

His peculiar knack was, a politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes; and keeping men in suspense is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontent; it being observed by this statesman to be a certain sign of a wise government, and proceedings, to hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction, and when it can handle things in such a manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the easier done, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to boast what they believe not.¹³²

He has further been written of as a secretary with three great traits (1) quick dispatch and industry (2) constant diligence (3) large and strong memory. The conclusion would appear that he was an excellent bureaucrat.¹²⁸ He was efficient enough to be appointed by Elizabeth to be "Clerk of the Papers" in 1578. The position requested "a fit man chosen for registering and keeping them [papers] in order, who should be tied by oath of the secrecy and safe keeping thereof."¹³³

Wilson remained active after returning to England. During this year July and August he also wrote letters to Walsingham in their roles as commissioners regarding the Anjou marriage, complaining about the Queen's vacillations over the marriage--"the more favors offered, the greater

¹³² Gentleman's Magazine, p. 473.

¹³³ Schmidt, "Tudor scholar," p. 212.

our negligence"--and over her lack of military support for the Low Countries against Spain.¹³⁴ He capped off this position as an experienced diplomat in his "Discourse touching this kingdom's perils with their remedies" dated April 2 and not published until this century. In this tract he advocates the Alencon marriage by saying that if the marriage does not occur France will want revenge and join others against England. They will join with the Pope, Spain, Mary Stuart, and the House of Guise under the pretext of "The mayntena'ce of the Catholik Romane religion"; he also urges the crown to appoint James VI as successor for fear he might "bee forced to seeke relef of some myghtie Pry'ce."¹³⁵ His peroration argues that all subjects must upon pain of punishment be brought round to the right religion and worship of God and Sovereign and that the Queen should make alliance with protestant leaders abroad, such as the King of Navarre, Prince of Condyne, the General States, the Prince of Orange, and Duke Casimire. Furthermore, he requests that James be assured of his succession, and at the end of the oration he weakly

¹³⁴Froude, X, 456, 464.

¹³⁵"A Treatise on England's Perils, 1578," ed. A.J. Schmidt, Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, 46 (1955), 247.

requests for more poor relief.

In the last two and a half years of his life Wilson managed to remain active. With the queen's good graces he was appointed Dean of Durham on 5 February, 1580, to replace William of Whittingham who had just died. He was appointed for "perilous duties abroad."¹³⁶ In 1580 Wilson was returned an M.P. for the city of Lincoln, and on January 21, 1581 he advocated public fasts and daily preaching; on February 4, 1581, he reported on the Privy Council's interrogation of one Mr. Hall and his book attacking parliament; February 9, 1581, he was on a commission concerned with paving streets; February 27, he was back against a group called the Family of Love, and on March 15, he was concerned with Mr. Hall again.¹³⁷

His health was beginning to fail him when he returned from his last mission to the Low Countries. On 3 May 1581 he realized his constitution was simply not up to

¹³⁶ Although Ralph Lever complained that the appointment was unjust because Wilson was not an officer in the church and expressed no intention of even living near the Durham, Wilson was not the first lay dean, for in 1547 Henry VIII gave Sir John Mason the profitable deanship of Winchester. Kitchen, p. 89.

¹³⁷ Tawney, p. 7.

continuing public work, so he met with council for the last time and resigned as secretary. And on 20 May of that year he died. He was buried, "without charge or pomp" at St. Katherine's by the tower, survived by his three children.¹³⁸

Wilson's life was expansive. He managed to move in nearly every important circle of his period, and a study of his life not only reveals how the Arte of Rhetorique fits into the overall pattern of his life but also helps us to understand the content since it must have been influenced by the weight of the past and the pull of the future. All of his publications show us points in his life where he was taking advantage of the historical

¹³⁸ Nicholas maintained Lincolnshire connections, and he lived in the estate Wilson purchased at Edmonton, Middlesex. In 1582 he went to France and in 1587 he returned to Sheepwash at Lincolnshire and married Anne Henneage. His oldest daughter, Mary, married Robert Burdett who died in 1603 and then Sir Christopher Lowther. The other daughter, Lucrece, married Sir George Belgrave. The estate was managed by Walsingham and Sir William Winter who were bequeathed 1/3rd of Wilson's Lincolnshire holdings for carrying out the will, with Nicholas getting the rest of the lands. Schmidt, "Some Notes," pp. 20-21.

moment by articulating high points of his past in such a way as to express where his experiences had taken him and where he wanted to go next. Although Wilson wanted to prosper, he also had the interests of the kingdom at heart and sincerely felt that he was fulfilling God's wish and protecting his livelihood while securing the potential bounty for all his fellow countrymen.

Critical

It is customary to begin an introduction to Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique,¹³⁹ by discussing its importance during its time and its far-reaching effects. Most interesting are those arguments which isolate traces of Wilson's rhetoric in Shakespeare or Spenser.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹The earliest complete introduction is G.H. Mair's to his 1909 edition. Mair argues that Wilson's text is important for modern scholars because of Wilson's political position and because it was read by many important men. R.H. Wagner published several articles on Wilson's work, but his earliest introduction is to his unpublished dissertation in 1928. This work was revised for his critical edition which he didn't finish before his death in 1952. The introduction to the text was published posthumously in Speech Monographs, 27 (1960), 1-32. This essay set the standard for introductions. It explains several of the fundamental conceptions of Wilson's text through historical interpretation. W.S. Howell in Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700 situates The Arte of Rhetorique in the tradition of vernacular Ciceronian rhetorics. Thomas Derrick's introduction in his 1982 edition, following the plan Wagner established, emphasizes the tension in Wilson's work caused by his articulation of both classical, secular literature and divine, pious

Although the 1553 edition probably did not get much circulation because in 1553-58 it was too dangerously Protestant to own, the Elizabethan editions of 1560, 1562, 1563, and 1567 attest to a substantial readership and circulation. No other rhetoric during this period went through as many editions. The absence of any publication

works. Wilson's work is mentioned in nearly every major work on Renaissance prose or critical theory.

¹⁴⁰The best first source for this argument is Hardin Craig's "Shakespeare and Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, An Inquiry into the Criteria for Determining Sources," SP, 28 (1931), 618-630. Craig includes in his argument the allusion mentioned in Mair's introduction (pp. xxxiii-xxxiv) and denied by Baldwin's Small Latin and Lesse Greeke (p. 104) The derivatons are: the character of Dogberry from the officious mayor Wilson creates to exemplify foolish diction, the character of Timon from one line on him in Wilson, Holofernes' and Don Armado's flamboyant rhetoric as parody of Wilson on eloquence, Ulysses' speech on order from Wilson's panegyric on the same, the importance of a good name stated by Iago and Cassius from Wilson's praise of a good reputation as the most valuable property a man could own. Craig finds difficulty with all these arguments and states his findings: "I do not mean even to assert that Shakespeare did not know Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique but merely that there is no unmistakable evidence that he did so" (p. 630). Two more recent articles on Wilson's influence of on the sonnets are Winifred Nowotny's "Some Features of Shakespeare's Poetic Language Considered in the Light Quintilian and Thomas Wilson," Hebrew University Studies in Literature, 5 (1954), 125-137. For a more sophisticated approach to Wilson's influence on Spenser see Ian Sowton's "Hidden Persuaders as a Means of Literary Grace: Sixteenth-Centry Poetics and Rhetoric in England," University of Toronto Quarterly, 32 (1962), 55-69.

in the 70's is explained by the popularity of Ramistic texts, but the resurgence of the 1580, 1584, and 1585 editions imply its enduring quality before its language and world view became simply too antiquated. The book's popularity has also been linked to Wilson's public career; that is, since Wilson was such an important man, especially from 1575-81, his books, perhaps containing for the prospective buyer the secrets to the inner workings of the ideology of power, would have been popular selections on the stalls. One cannot dismiss the claim entirely, but his popularity (if indeed he was popular outside the inner circle of Elizabeth) did not help his work on usury or Demosthenes, more obviously political texts. Rather it seems most likely that it was the substance of the text--the Logique was also popular--that must have been the cause of such popularity, and it is this substance that we must evaluate--the traditional and innovative aspects of its content.

Beginning an introduction to what this text contains, we turn to the earliest assessment in Warton's History where he affirms that the Arte can "be justly considered as the first book or system of criticism in our language" because the text is "liberal [and] discursive, ...illustrating the arts of eloquence by example, and

examining and ascertaining the beauties of composition."¹⁴¹ Russell H. Wagner, whose work still represents some of the best scholarship on Wilson, disclaims or refutes the statement by arguing that the book is not a system of criticism but rather a manual for the speaker.¹⁴² We begin at this point to play Kantian amphibolies of reasoning. The text is systematic and it is a work of criticism, even embodying the sense of crisis that is now such a popular refrain for all critical assessments because it addresses itself rather systematically to the crisis of the vernacular, reformed religion, emerging statehood, and the popular humanist philosophy of man; he is thus speaking to the courtier, the lawyer, the preacher, and the emerging educated middle class.

We must first evaluate the tradition from which Wilson derives his system. The system that Wilson puts together is eclectic, not strictly Aristotelian, nor Ciceronian, nor Erasmian. It is decidedly English, Tudor,

¹⁴¹Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (1774; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprints, 1968), III, 331.

¹⁴²"Thomas Wilson's Contribution to Rhetoric," Readings in Rhetoric, eds. Lionel Crocker and Paul A. Carmack (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1965), p. 257.

protestant, humanistic. Yet it appropriates, of course, much from the tradition of classical rhetoric. The basic spirit of the work is Isocratean. Isocrates in his Epistles of Niccholes, Against the Sophists, and Antidosis argues cogently that the pursuit of ideas in and of themselves is a waste for educating the young leaders of the state. The founding of civilization is predicated upon the ability to move ideas in society; that is, man's gift of eloquence separates him from the beasts and the totalitarian impulses of the natural world and creates civilization. Therefore, young politicians should be trained in eloquence, its proper uses, and its contingent morality in order to preserve and improve upon the blessings that the Greek world then enjoyed. His method consisted, in part, of taking students with a natural facility in language and thought, of making them practice diligently, and of impressing upon them the seriousness of rhetoric as a discipline. He forced the students to come to him and to stay for their education rather than his following them about as many of the other sophists did. He also believed in writing his speeches, fixing them in a text rather than centering the discipline in memory or spontaneity.

These ideals permeate much of the Arte and much of what we like to call Renaissance humanism. Wilson adopts

the threefold requirement of Isocrates in claiming that a rhetor, one who employs rhetoric, needs natural ability (facility in language), diligent study of the art (the technique), and practice.] Though Wilson's book, a product of the moveable press, can like the sophists go to the student instead of following Isocrates' requirement, he still argues throughout text for the seriousness of the discipline. His three major audiences--lawyers, preachers, and courtiers--he implies, can profit from using the book along with their other disciplined studies. Wilson reiterates in the preface the traditional raison d'etre of eloquence as the operative agent moving men in society and out of the barbarity of nature. Discursive ability as the major distinction between man and beast is only the very obvious beginning of Isocrates' more embracing theory of rhetoric. This idea, especially stated in the Panegyricus, is that rhetoric creates and preserves a political stability within which freedom, for those who gain the power of rhetoric, can grow. As Jaeger claims, "The superiority of rhetoric, as Isocrates conceives it, is that it is [sic] entirely political culture."¹⁴³ Isocrates states his disgust of the

¹⁴³Werner Jaeger, "The Rhetoric of Isocrates and its Cultural Ideal," The Province of Rhetoric, eds. Joseph Schwartz and John A. Rycenga (New York: Ronald, 1965), p. 107.

older rhetoricians who existed primarily through judging day-to-day decisions and espouses a belief that "he could inspire the political life of his nation with a higher moral creed."¹⁴⁴ In the Antidosis he argues against the charge that he is a teacher of forensic oratory, of cleverness, of making the false appear true, by setting up a contrast between the false rhetor and his student, the student of true oratory, the student of deliberative rhetoric:

Many desire to take lessons in it [Isocratean oratory], believing that those who excel in this field are wiser and better and of more use to the world than men who speak well in court. For they know their expertness in forensic debate, the former have drawn from their pursuit of wisdom the eloquence which I have described, that while those who are thought to be adept in court procedure are tolerated only for the day when they are engaged in the trial, the devotees of philosophy are honoured and held in high esteem in every society and at all times.¹⁴⁵

And it is through the effort of just this kind of oratory in the Panhellenic councils that Isocrates sees the possibility of a renewed Greece in the wake of the Peloponnesian wars. Thus Isocrates has a colonizing principle built into his theory of rhetoric which Wilson

¹⁴⁴Jaeger, p. 108.

¹⁴⁵Trans. George Norlin, II (Cambridge: Loeb, 1968), p. 213.

takes over as he argues for the Protestant world against the oppressions of the Catholic empire, one colonial impulse rising up against the other. This is of course an ideological colonization which leads to actual colonialism in Wilson is noted in his advocacy of hanging heretic bishops in England and in the Demosthenes translations where he advocates wars of intervention in order to expand and solidify what might be considered the incipient Protestant empire.

In order to understand better the political nature of the Isocratean tradition of rhetoric, we need to analyze its origins in the myths of Corax and Tisias of Sicily. The legend holds that a tyrant took control of Syracuse, and in order to maintain his tyranny outlawed all forms of communication, imposing a silence upon the nation. Corax responded to this crisis by developing a system of gestures whereby the people could communicate and subvert the totalitarian and demand of silence. The connection to the idea of the beast as silent under dominion of nature is clear. Corax's rhetoric arises out of a crisis of articulation and develops a form of political writing through dance that "exploits the spatial and temporal articulations of difference characteristic of signification in general to designate a certain unspeakable something vital to the secular order of the

polis."¹⁴⁶

Farenga claims that the origins of rhetoric are associated with the trope of periphrasis, because the origin must have been an unspeakable event. The name of the desire for rhetoric could not be articulated before the possibilities of articulation. Farenga likens this event to Girards' unspeakable religious event of the sacrifice arising in religious crisis.¹⁴⁷ Isocrates appears to accept this "origin" of rhetoric and understands that the discipline will always be rewriting itself in the manner of supplementing and recentering, for every system of liberation may well become a system of oppression. Corax was rejected by the populace because of their fear of the power he had appropriated in the advent of rhetoric. Hence, Isocrates accepts the political nature of rhetoric and makes doxa rather than aleitheia as the grounding of his system. Thus while Isocrates argues for expanding the empire through the system of rhetoric he does so in a manner that accepts the fact that the truth of every assertion is always a concept under question, always fleeting; hence, Isocrates demands that the

¹⁴⁶Vincent Farenga, "Periphrasis on the Origin of Rhetoric," MLN, 94 (1979), 15.

¹⁴⁷Farenga, pp. 1033-1036.

rhetorician have an intense awareness of history and political reality places the Isocratean method to weave in a shuttle between noeisis, the mental realm of pure ideas, and doxa, the public realm of common opinion.

This tradition of rhetoric which is central to understanding Wilson's project met its classical antithesis in Plato. Plato was an extremely important figure for Renaissance thinkers, but in Wilson, he only appears twice. However, in both instances he is criticizing an oration: one for praising injustice, the other for being overlong. Plato argues for the Greek ideal in much the same way as Isocrates but with a violent denunciation of doxa. This point is most clearly asserted in the Gorgias wherein Polus and Gorgias are verbally destroyed by Socrates for practising an art which is like cookery, an art of pandering or conning. As cookery appeases the appetites, neglects health, and may destroy the body, so rhetoric appeases the common opinion, neglects truth, and may destroy the body politic. It appears as though Plato established a goal-centered philosophy of absolute truth whereas Isocrates maintains a process-centered (or decentered) philosophy. Kennedy explains the difference as follows:

The disagreement between Plato and the sophists over rhetoric was not simply an historical

contingency, but reflects a fundamental cleavage between two irreconcilable ways of viewing the world. There have always been those, especially among philosophers and religious thinkers, who have emphasized goals and absolute standards and have talked much about truth, while there have been as many others to whom these concepts seem shadowy or imaginary and who find the only certain reality in the process of life and the present movement. In general, rhetoricians and orators, with certain distinguished exceptions, have held the latter view, which is the logical, if unconscious, basis of their common view of art as a response to a rhetorical challenge unconstrained by external principles.¹⁴⁸

I am forced to add that the dichotomy is presented again in this century in Richard Rorty's summations of Derrida's work as a philosophy of writing rather than problem solving, and thus the division seems central to the classical debate between philosophy and rhetoric.¹⁴⁹

Plato's problem is centered on political oratory in that while he may be satisfied with the notion that truth must be sought out in the dialectic, unencumbered by the dross of the body as well as of the body politic, he had nothing

¹⁴⁸George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1963), p. 15.

¹⁴⁹"Philosophy as a Kind of Writing: An Essay on Derrida," NLH, 10 (1978), 141-160. See also Samuel Ijsseling, Rhetoric and Philosophy in Conflict (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976) and Jerrold E. Seigel, Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1968).

to tell his pupils about the applicability of knowledge. "Plato's dialectic guides the young student step by step towards the Ideas; but that still leaves it to him to employ them in his life and conduct, and the way in which he employs them cannot be rationally explained."¹⁵⁰

Though Plato grounds the historical moment of being in the world in dialectical exchange, he attempts to repress that historicity in order to denounce rhetoric, particularly of the school of Gorgias.

Plato and Isocrates were rivals, but they come close to a rapprochement in Plato's Phaedrus and the convergence through Plato's interrogating the problem of applicable knowledge. Though in The Republic and The Laws, Plato sets up a relationship between truth and society in terms nearly as austere as he does in the Gorgias, in the Phaedrus he circles around the concept of love, and there, as in the Symposium, he offers a different view by associating rhetoric and love. Socrates, in his second speech on love, redefines the concept of love as involving divine inspiration or madness that is of the highest order of knowledge and as the kind that motivates the prophet, the poet, and the lover. In his discussion of the usefulness of true love he marries rhetoric to dialectic

¹⁵⁰Jaeger, p. 105.

and asserts surprisingly that true rhetoric, tied to Plato's dialectical methods, is like true love, one of the noblest vocations because it moves truth in men and makes the search for truth a politically relevant activity in the creation of a just society. Richard Weaver sums up the sentiment as it relates to education which Plato has described as directing the necessary motion of the soul:

The soul's perception of goodness, justice, and divinity will depend upon its proper tendency while at the same time contacts with these in discourse confirm and direct that tendency. The education of the soul is not a process of bringing it in correspondance with the physical structure like the external world, but rather a process of rightly affecting its motion. By this conception, a soul which is rightly affected calls that good which is good; but a soul which is wrongly turned calls that good which is evil. What Plato has prepared us to see is that the virtuous rhetorician, who is a lover of truth, has a soul of such movement that its dialectical perceptions are consonant with those of a divine mind.¹⁵¹

Thus Plato and Isocrates agree on the notion that logic and rhetoric in the hands of good people function to recreate society along the lines of the ideal, which is the most fundamental premise in Wilson's work.

It is, of course, Aristotle who provides the fullest treatment of this complex notion in his Organon,

¹⁵¹Richard M. Weaver, "The Phaedrus and the Nature of Rhetoric," Province of Rhetoric, p. 322.

Rhetoric, Ethics, and Politics. But since the Middle Ages overemphasized the logic, his rhetoric, perhaps as a result, did not directly influence the Renaissance humanists in England as much as it should. [Rather it is the appropriation of Aristotle's notions by Cicero and Quintilian that provides the major sources for Wilson's rhetoric.] Here we will treat the general lines of this Roman influence, the specifics being better enumerated in the commentary notes to this text.

From two Roman sources of the first century B.C., Wilson borrows more detail than he does from any other sources; these are Cicero's De Oratore and the Rhetorica ad Herennium, which Wilson refers to as Cicero's work as did most educated people at the time. De Inventione was considered Cicero's first book, and the ad Herennium was referred to as the rhetorica secunda or rhetorica nova. While Wilson most obviously knew and used the De Inventione, it was from the ad Herennium that he took the broad outline of his work because, although similar to the De Inventione, it is more inclusive, particularly on lists of tropes and on memory. In general, the great contribution of Roman rhetoric is its attention to technique and practical application (e.g. the corpus of

Ciceronian orations).¹⁵² This was, of course, a necessary stage. Though these texts are not as interesting to read as the Greek philosophical rhetorics, there is a philosophical element in these texts which influenced Wilson both directly and indirectly.

The ad Herennium provides Wilson with many of his technical outline. From it he adopts the three basic types of oratory (epidictic, judicial, and deliberative), the five parts of rhetoric (invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery), a repetition of the three-part pedagogical imperative (ability, study, and practice), the six parts of speech (introduction, narration, division, confirmation, refutation, and conclusion--to which Wilson adds a seventh: proposition or thesis sentence), the four kinds of causes or matter (honourable, dishonourable, doubtful, and trivial), the kinds of introduction (plain and subtle), and the discussion of common and special topics intrinsic to the types of oratory and the parts of speech. All the above are to be found in De Inventione; it is from ad Herennium alone that Wilson picks up the notion that division should have three parts; Cicero never

¹⁵²George Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 86-107.

makes this claim. Also, from ad Herennium Wilson follows the discussion of judicial rhetoric which includes the three kinds of issues (conjectural, legal, judicial) and the formulaic dialogues to be used as models for discovering these issues. Wilson also adopts much of the figures of speech and repeats nearly verbatim the exposition of memory in ad Herennium. Thus, ad Herennium may safely be claimed to be the basis of Wilson's understanding of rhetoric.

From Cicero's De Oratore Wilson adopts the more sophisticated and philosophical components of Roman oratory. Cicero, it is generally agreed, wrote the later text as a more mature assessment of his theory of rhetoric than that found in De Inventione, articulating some of the finer points of oratory which are presented only in skeletal form in De Inventione. So while the influence of the ad Herennium is felt most strongly in Books I and III wherein he discusses the general parts of rhetoric, style, and delivery, it is in Book II that De Oratore informs the discussion of emotions and amplification as it borrows from Cicero's examples and explanations of moving the emotions, particularly laughter. Cicero really does not present a discussion of pathos that moves beyond what Aristotle had already worked out, but it seems that Aristotle's Rhetoric was just not considered to be a

central text, and thus it was to Cicero that Wilson turned. De Oratore also provides the all embracing definition of rhetoric that informs Wilson's endeavor: the "essential concern of the orator...[is] a style that is dignified and graceful and in conformity with the general modes of thought and judgement."¹⁵³ [In other words, rhetoric is the art of discourse for all potential situations, and not, as in Aristotle, the art of discovering the means of persuading only in the individual case. Wilson adopts this definition while emphasizing the practical, really judicial, side of rhetoric as well. He explains:

Rhetorique is an art to set forth by utteraunce of words, matter at large or (as Cicero doeth saie) it is a learned, or rather artificiall declaration of the mynde, in the handelyng of any cause, called in contencion, that maie through reason largely be discussed. (p. 013)

Wilson also adopts the programmatic approach which grounds the theory of discourse according to the demands of a particular time and place. The ad Herennium argues for using personal examples rather than borrowed ones to illustrate the precepts of rhetoric in words that are effective in the particular instance of time and place.

¹⁵³ Cicero, De Oratore, trans., E.W. Sutton (Cambridge: Loeb, 1959), I, 41.

The theory is that while the basic structure of discourse will remain pretty much the same, the particulars of language would necessarily change in time. [The Ciceronian tradition accepts that ancient examples may become irrelevant and that words may decay, as Horace will state later for potential poets, but the particulars of discourse must be governed by the rules of propriety and decorum as discovered by the art of rhetoric. These ideas mesh with Wilson's ambition to honor the vernacular and to use not only translated examples but personal examples taken from English history and his life in Lincolnshire and Cambridge.] Furthermore, as Isocrates' theory informs Wilson's notion of the courtier or political leader as appropriate student of rhetoric, so the Ciceronian tradition provides him the form and enunciates the importance of judicial rhetoric and its practical relevance for the students at the Inns of Court.

Quintilian's monumental six volume Institutes Oratoria is the transitional text between the Roman tradition and the medieval tradition, or what Kennedy calls the Judeo-Christian tradition of oratory. And it is Quintilian again who functions as an indicator of the change from medieval to renaissance rhetoric. Murphy claims that the end of the medieval tradition of rhetoric can be marked at the point when Poggio Bracchiolini

discovered the complete manuscript of the Institutes at St. Gall in September 1416.¹⁵⁴ But Quintilian does not play a direct role in Wilson's Rhetorique. There are certain borrowings that seem to come from only Quintilian such as the anecdote about Demosthenes' answering "delivery" again and again when asked what is first in importance in rhetoric. This story is hinted at in De Oratore and restated in Udall's Apothegmata, but the words in Wilson most clearly follow the version in Quintilian, and the detail of the questioner's finally leaving is only in Quintilian. However, most of his borrowings from Quintilian are also in Udall, Cox, Sherry, or most especially Erasmus. Furthermore, what is obviously missing from The Arte of Rhetorique is any hint of all the discussion of the proper and difficult role that education has in shaping the orator.⁷ Quintilian begins by discussing the importance of selecting the proper nurse for the child and works his way through discussions of the subsequent levels of education up to maturity. Perhaps Wilson felt Elyot had done enough with that theme and simply avoided it; but it would seem that this theme, considered to be Quintilian's most important contribution

¹⁵⁴James J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), pp. 357-58.

to Roman rhetoric, would play some role in Wilson's text if he had studied the Institutes.

The Institutes were nearly totally lost in the medieval tradition of rhetoric; the manuscripts lost, mutilated, misunderstood, it had little influence. So in some ways the medieval attitude toward Quintilian is echoed by Wilson. Wilson also follows the medieval tradition of justifying the transmission of the classical tradition to a contemporary audience. Augustine in De Doctrina Christiana outlines his apologia for the use of pagan thought in the work of the preacher in order to counter the sentiment expressed by Tertullian: "Where is there any likeness between the Christians and philosophers? What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" or St. Jerome's claim that Christians "do not wish for the field of rhetorical eloquence, nor the snares of dialecticians, nor...the subtleties of Aristotle, but the very words of scripture must be set down."¹⁵⁵ Augustine argues that denying the importance of the science of eloquence is committing what Murphy calls the Platonic rhetorical heresy; that is, one cannot assume that simply because one knows the truth he can teach and move others by that fact alone. So what Augustine does is

¹⁵⁵ Murphy, pp. 275-76.

to reappropriate Ciceronian rhetoric by claiming its usefulness not simply for persuasion or for gaining power for its own sake, but rather for moving men to Christian truth. He develops, then, the ideological colonialism that is intrinsic to the Isocratean project, which is also at the heart of Ciceronian rhetorical theory.

There were two other influences on Wilson from the medieval tradition: the ars dictaminis and the ars praedicandi. The development of the medieval tradition of the ars praedicandi is the more detailed and formalized manifestation of joining Christianity and rhetoric. Murphy cites three major movements in the history: the example of Christ's teachings, the philosophical groundwork of Augustine and his epigones, and the thematic preaching movement of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁶ The main precepts of this school are evident in an exemplary text of ars praedicandi by Robert of Basevorn (1322) translated in Murphy's Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts. In general rhetoric in this movement combines the use of Scripture as proof with Aristotelian logic and Ciceronian rhetoric. Basevorn's encyclopaedic text attempts to explain what preaching is, who should do it, what forms have existed and currently exist, and how the Bible is to be used, how

¹⁵⁶Murphy, pp. 275-76.

to gather matter, how to arrange it, how to win the audience by eloquence and delivery. He seems pragmatic about winning the audience, almost extremely so. For example in his discussion of emotional persuasion he offers this wisdom:

Another way [to win an audience] is to frighten them by some terrifying tale or example, in the way that Jacques de Vitry talks about some one who never willingly wanted to hear the word of God; finally when he died and was brought to the church, and the priest in the presence of the parish began the eulogy which is wont to be spoken over the body of the dead, the image of Christ standing between the choir and the church tore away and pulled His hands from the nails piercing them and from the wood to which they were fixed, and plugged His ears, as if to intimate that He did not wish to hear the prayer for him who once spurned¹⁵⁷ to listen to Him in his preachers.

This kind of pragmatic advice is carried over by Wilson because he stipulates preachers as major parts of his audience. That is, the ars praedicandi informs Wilson's claim, implied throughout his text, that the preacher may well employ the rhetorical techniques of politicians and lawyers to persuade his audience. And this level of pragmatism is evident in the early part of Book I where Wilson explains that the preacher must often play the part

¹⁵⁷ Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), pp. 146-47.

of the fool in order to win his audience, for the fickle ears of the congregation will not tarry long for a "sour checking sermon"(p. 016).

The second major movement of the medieval rhetorical tradition is the ars dictaminis. As with the ars praedicandi, it is difficult to say what texts Wilson read; in fact, most of Wilson's ideas of epistolary rhetoric probably came from Erasmus' De conscribendis epistolis, and Despautier's Ars Epistolis. Yet we should attempt to understand the sources and intellectual spirit of this movement rather than the particular texts that Wilson may have encountered. The dictaminis tradition is very important. P.O. Kristeller has been misunderstood as arguing that it is the necessary and sufficient cause for the development of Renaissance humanism, and while he certainly would never advance such a claim, he does support the notion that the dictatores of Italy were probably the most significant shaping force of what came to be considered the studia humanitatis--the academic foundation of Renaissance humanism.¹⁵⁸

Murphy traces the movement back to the fourth

¹⁵⁸P.O. Kristeller, "Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture," Renaissance Eloquence, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1983), pp. 7-9.

century, where he finds a discussion of epistola in the texts of C. Julius Victor, a Roman rhetorician.¹⁵⁹

The art does not truly begin to take shape until the 12th century with Alberic of Monte Cassino, who in his

Dictaminus radii (also called Flowers of Rhetoric)

established the first principles. Alberic states the commonplace that one should use the principles of rhetoric in writing as well as speaking, but he takes a new step by redirecting the Ciceronian parts of an oration to describe the parts of a letter. Flourishing in Bologna and

Florence until the fourteenth century, the ars dictaminis developed two strains, one emphasizing inventio and one reproductio. In the tradition of the latter, Hugh of

Bologna's Rationes dictandi prosaice intends his examples not to be studied but to be imitated directly. This line is developed by Lawrence of Aguillegia's Practiva sive usus dictammis (1300) which makes letter writing an easy skill for anyone who can follow his headings and copy the alphabet.¹⁶⁰ Yet the tradition of inventio turned out to be the strain keeping Ciceronian rhetoric alive. Aside from changing the part of the letter, the ars dictaminis

¹⁵⁹ Murphy, Rhetoric, p. 195.

¹⁶⁰ Murphy, Rhetoric, p. 225.

shifted the locus of matter or subject to the legal and social demands of the day, whence it developed in the first place.

The Renaissance accepted a rhetorical tradition which had been altered by the church. It had preserved Cicero but it also had arranged his theory in such a way that its flexibility was immediately apparent. The study of rhetoric began to expand particularly in Italy in the thirteenth century. The demand for public orations was growing and the development of ars arengandi (the art of haranging) reveals an interest in judicial rhetoric.¹⁶¹ One of the early humanists, Brunetto Latini, wrote Tresor a study of the liberal arts and translated De Inventione into Italian. Thus, Latini, Dante's teacher, emphasizes the study of oratory in the vernacular.¹⁶² The development of the studia humanitatis further flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the care of men of letters like Petrarch, Salutati, Bruno, Varro, Cassiodorus, Poggio, and especially Lorenzo Valla. The development not only created a discipline "based on the reading of Latin (and

¹⁶¹Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric, p. 187.

¹⁶²Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric, p. 187.

some Greek) authors of works on grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy and excluding such other contemporary university studies as logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and law,"¹⁶³ but also a code of behavior based upon the Ciceronian notion of political man in action. The goal, then, for the true humanists was an eloquence that would combine wisdom with rhetorical skill so as to produce virtuous action in both speaker and audience."¹⁶⁴

Rhetoric, then, takes a major position among the humanists because it is realized necessarily in human action.¹⁶⁵

Renaissance rhetoric departs from medieval rhetoric in a general sense as it follows a movement from spiritual to social concerns. In particular it begins to displace philosophy of the scholastic variety as the central

¹⁶³Thomas A. Hannen, "Humanism of Sir Thomas Wyatt," The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry, eds. Thomas O. Sloan and Raymond B. Waddington (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), p. 39.

¹⁶⁴Hannen, p. 41.

¹⁶⁵Richard J. Schoeck, "Lawyers and Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century England," Renaissance Eloquence, p. 274.

concern of the universities, as it embraces many of the major concerns of political institutions of the time, and as it treats its basic corpus of texts. The number of classical texts grows immensely during this time.¹⁶⁶ The basic forms were kept alive in the medieval period, but in the Renaissance they were expanded to include the full treatment of eloquence as set forth by Quintilian and the later works of Cicero. This shift, the humanistic movement, was occurring all over Europe. And it, along with the protestant reformation, influenced the development of Wilson's Arte more than anything else.

As mentioned above, the humanism growing in Italy was studied by the early English humanists Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre and transplanted to Oxford and to St. Paul's. It was brought into a polished state by Erasmus, who added the appropriate philosophical, philological, and theological structures necessary to shape citizens according to the protestant, nationalistic ideology in force. This movement flourished in Cambridge while Wilson was there under the guidance of Cheke, Smith, Ascham, Haddon, and others. Since we have listed what texts

¹⁶⁶Kristeller, pp. 3-6. See also Lee A. Sonnino, A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), pp. 2-5.

Wilson studied in the biographical sketch above, we shall examine what the texts represent as documents of this period of English intellectual history. These texts adapt systematic rhetoric (technical rhetoric) to a work of social criticism, and since society is text producing, they provide an early form of literary criticism as well. The Arte of Rhetorique is a guide book to creating utopia and thus contains a set of rules that if followed would produce a society that Wilson considers the best one. The text should then be viewed for its several conceptions of language.

Wilson's work is the first English exposition of the full-fledged Ciceronian tradition of rhetoric. That is, he relies heavily on De Inventione and the ad Herennium, treating the five arts of invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery, in that order. Two other English rhetorics existed before Wilson's work: Leonard Cox's The Arte or Crafte of Rhetorike (1531) and Richard Sherry's A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes (1550). Yet these were incomplete, for Cox treats only invention and disposition; Sherry, only style. As Wagner terms it, "Wilson was the first to re-assemble, in English, the lost, strayed, or stolen doctrines of rhetoric.... He added to this task another, that of making rhetoric useful to men in his time by writing it in their native language and by adapting it

to their needs."¹⁶⁷ Wilson follows the Isocratean project of unifying the discipline of rhetoric in order that Englishmen could best fulfill goals that would benefit the country. He wants to use the past to bring England to fruition; also, his decision to present a complete rhetoric is characteristic of the Renaissance goal of unifying and presenting a harmonious picture of knowledge. So the first step is to present all the precepts for all the possibilities of discourse, political or ceremonial, oral or written, prepared or extemporaneous. The second is to present them in English for all "such as are studious of eloquence." The third is that eloquence is for use, not just study, for stimulating actions that promote the welfare of England.

Wilson's ideas about how to police political actions as well as how to use language may at first seem somewhat contradictory because they urge both conservative and liberal attitudes. Wilson's attitude toward language is rather traditional on the one hand because he claims that after the Fall the world and society regressed into darkness and bestiality. The condition of society was such that "None remembered the true observation of wedlocke, none tendered the education of their chyldren,

¹⁶⁷Wagner, p. 236.

lawes were not regarded, true dealinge was not once used. For vertue, vyce bare place, for right and equitie, might used authoritie. And therefore where as man through reason might have used order, man throughe follye fell into erreure"(pp. 9-10). He goes on in the next paragraph of the preface to sketch how God brought utterance in the world so that mankind would be brought out of its error into society and the study of God's laws. Thus through language we participate in God's understanding: "I thinke him most worthye fame, and emongest menne to be taken for halfe a God, that therin dothe chiefelye, and above all other, excell menne, wherin men do excell beastes"(p.11). He does not think of language as a static entity, but rather as a growing and changing process, a changing dialogue, for when he turns to the current state of language he does not at all tolerate language that is out of use. In his famous attack on "ink horne termes" Wilson claims that the best language is that which communicates best, which is plain and apt. Violating these principles, "Some seke so farre for outlandish Englishe, that thei forget altogether their mothers language.... Some farre jorneid jentlemen at their returne home, like as thei love to go in foreign apparell, so thei will poulder ther talke with oversea language"(p. 183). Thus he advocates the ethic that words are good when they are used and

understood by the audience, and these good words must be aptly used. They are apt when they "properly agree unto that thyng, whiche thei signifie, and plainly expresse the nature of the same"(p. 187). Certain foreign words he allows because they are in use, such as letters patents, and he advocates the study of languages for the intellectual discipline as well as understanding how words are derived. "Thus we see," he comments, "that poore simple men are muche troubled, and talke oftentimes, thei know not what, for lack of wit and want of Latine and Frenche, where of many of our straunge woordes full often are derived"(p. 186). His notion is liberal in that he does not feel that people need to adopt the earliest ✓ dialect known, yet he wants to conserve the state of language as it is and allow little change. Recognizing the necessary decay of language, he hopes to maintain a reasonable amount of stability.

Embodied also within Wilson's idea of language is the dualism of matter as discrete from words. Matter is to be ✓ invented or discovered and dressed in utterance so as to please, teach, and move men to desired goals in a particular time and place. Yet it is never clear exactly what matter is except ideas somehow discrete from language. These ideas should be discovered through the operations of logic by the use of the loci or places of

matter, or by the commonplaces (which are already-written strips of discourse), such as proverbs (matter dressed for use). The method of invention that he stresses in Book I is dialectical inquiry appropriate for the type of oration under consideration.

Adopting the classical three-fold division of oratory (epideictic, deliberative, and judicial), he gives examples of each type and the manner of obtaining matter by asking questions for each occasion. In the opening section on epideictic oratory, which he calls demonstrative, he gives examples of praise (and by implication dispraise) of people, deeds, and ideas, by offering short examples of the two Suffolk brothers he tutored, David's killing Goliath, and justice--examples for the statesman, preacher, and lawyer. In his deliberative section, generally considered political oratory, he uses two letters as examples, one to a young man who refuses to marry, and one to Katherine Brandon who refuses to cease mourning the death of her two sons. Here he brings in the use of ars epistolis, taken from Erasmus, in order to expand the relevance of rhetoric from the public forum to personal life. His section on judicial oratory is taken from the ad Herennium in which he sets up the discussion of stases or issues: conjectural, legal, judicial. In all cases he tries to show by searching the

places, logical categories of ideas, that one arrives at matter for use. For example, in praising a man, one asks three types of questions: those relating to associations before his life (such as family), during his life (such as school and career), and after his life (such as the state of his funeral). Yet he never clearly explains how matter is discrete from language.

He does state that matter is of four types: honest, false, trivial, and filthy, all of which are determined by how the general audience would perceive them. The general audience would consider an oration on a flea to be trivial, but biologists might have a different understanding. He also distinguishes matter relevant to logic as that which is true or false regardless of time or place, necessary knowledge, and matter relevant to the vicissitudes of time and place (probable knowledge). These distinctions do not get us very far; it is his understanding of disposition that pushes us closer to an understanding of matter. All matter discovered by searching the places is not relevant; some, in fact, could be damning. One would overlook or greatly alter an unsavory detail about a man that one praises. Thus, it is a contradictory matter to praise the early death of children as a gift from God when trying to console a duchess and then to praise the immortalizing power of children in

trying to persuade a man to marry. The overriding theory of matter then is simply that matter is appropriately used when it works to achieve the speaker's goals in utterance. Matter is potential utterance, not discrete from language but from action. One finds matter in language in Heywood's proverbs, but it becomes utterance when it moves into discourse and thus into action. Thus while utterance is marked by audience perception, matter is not. The essence of matter found in logical investigations is unaltered by utterance. So for Wilson matter is discovered everywhere by a searching the text of the book of nature, the text producing society, and the archival texts of antiquity.

Matter is therefore limitless, but utterance is bound by action and regulated, according to Wilson, by its effectiveness. The old Ciceronian problem of claiming that a good orator must be a good man, a point Aristotle never directly asserts, is handled in a rather circular manner. A good rhetor will use effective utterance; effective utterance is sanctioned by God for the purpose of rebuilding towards Eden; hence, the rhetor who effectively identifies with his audience is working within the spirit of God by creating unity and harmony in society. Yet all discursive harmony can not be effective because people are easily fooled. Wilson tells us again

and again how the mass of men would rather hear a tale of Robin Hood or of the man in the moon than matters of great weight. Therefore, while Godly discourse is that which is effective, Wilson also shows how to use less than godly rhetoric in order to be effective. For example, in his advice on persuading a young man to study law, he advocates stimulating the man's greed. Wilson's attempt to seek God's approval through the natural condition of language is circular. Effective discourse is finally that which works to achieve what Wilson considers to be theologically and politically correct. God is appropriated to enforce the precepts of Tudor Protestantism as inscribed in effective discourse. The final governing idea of Wilson's rhetoric is totally political and nationalistic. The rhetor should make fun of catholicism, of pedantry, of obfuscated language; he should praise the individual spirit against the Catholic church, as David against Goliath; he should praise bravery, justice, laws, order, fertility, all because they contribute to the wealth of England. He should dispraise laziness and idleness since they empty the purse of the kingdom.

Amid all of these rules for good citizenship, however, there is a sense of play and extravagance. This comes across most clearly in his sections on amplification

and on style or figures of speech. In fact, Krapp claims that much of this section of the book influenced the euphuistic prose style of John Lyly; other critics claim that his desire to fix language and rid the tongue of ink horn terms influenced the conservative, utilitarian prose style of Bacon and the Royal Society.¹⁶⁸ Yet the art of discourse that Wilson articulates is not based on mere gamesmanship as Richard Lanham posits in Motives of Eloquence, his book on the sense of play in Renaissance rhetoric.¹⁶⁹ Wilson's utopia is not that of Castiglione's court of Urbino where accepted style is the first principle of an appropriate life. Nor is purpose the only foundation of society as in More's Utopia where nothing is done only for pleasure's sake. Wilson sets up a series of principles and guides to behavior which are to be followed in spirit (not necessarily to the letter) which might be called principles of stylized purpose. Utterances have to be made in the right style for them to be effective, amplified in order to touch the emotional chords of the audience. Yet the principles of English

¹⁶⁸George P. Krapp, The Rise of English Literary Prose (London: Oxford UP, 1976), p. 302.

¹⁶⁹Richard A. Lanham, The Motives of Eloquence (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), chaps. 1,7.

Protestantism are necessary in order to have future causes which give the potential style the purpose it needs, to direct it, govern it, and intend its object.

The modus operandi of Wilson's self-fashioning is translation, the translation of matter into utterance according to the needs of time and place and the purpose of the state. This translation is metaphorical. Wilson defines metaphor as a translation of one signified to another, and since allegory is extended metaphor then it follows that language is inherently allegorical. Language is story, as Kenneth Burke says, but the story must have a plot, an order. Wilson's love of order is evident everywhere in the text. He ranks nationalities (English over French), cities (London over Lincoln) sexes (men over women), religions (Protestant over Catholic), and he follows the orders of Galenistic psychology in explaining the physical nature of the brain. While Wilson's rhetoric has a centripetal quality, it cannot escape many of the obstacles to thought characteristic of his age. For example, his incorporation of pagan literature is liberalizing in that it expresses the Christian willingness to listen to other world views and perhaps even find truth there, but he always reduces the literature by expounding a moral. His use of the myths of Europa and Danae are illustrative. He uses them because

they delight the audience and teach the universal principles of the nature of woman. This habit of requiring a thematic purpose in myths is carried over in his discussion of general literature. It is also evident in his criticism of behavior in society. His method is eclectic but systematic; the categories in his system are not airtight but the effect is exhaustive. There is no possible speech-act that can escape his political criticism. Discourse simply does not exist without political effect. Troping for trope's sake he would consider self-indulgent, idle, and politically destructive.

A final word on the nature of rhetoric as expounded by Wilson needs to be said concerning what many critics have seen as a glaring gap, the absence of any treatment of the three modes of persuasion first articulated by Aristotle: ethos, logos, and pathos. Yet Wilson does cover these modes indirectly. Book I considers invention, sets forth the system of places, and refers the reader to logic for further discussion. Thus persuasion by logical appeal is embodied in the discussion of invention. Book II is supposed to be devoted to disposition, but since so much of it is covered in Book I, Wilson gives only a cursory survey of disposition and the parts of speech. The majority of this section, however, is dedicated to

disussing amplification as a means of expanding a speech in ways that move the emotions. Thus he spends many paragraphs on humor and pity, showing the potential speaker/writer how to get the audience's good will through emotional appeal (pathos). Finally in Book III he discusses style (tropes and schemes) and gesture in order to develop the rhetor's credibility through effective manipulation of words. The ethical appeal is taught by way of teaching the proper selection of words and gestures.

The system of criticism in the Arte is quite expansive in its attempt to bring the entire rhetorical tradition to bear on dictating the manner in which England should prosper. It moves far beyond the medieval tradition by insisting on using the vernacular language and literature and by absorbing various elements of contemporary culture into its corpus of examples. However, it is Wilson's use of the colonizing principle, the political theme he inherited from Isocrates, that most clearly characterizes the text. Wilson desires to build the country around the principles of the Protestant English culture dominant in the Tudor Renaissance.

Textual

The Arte of Rhetorique was a successful and popular work and as such went through many editions. The first edition was put together between the summer of 1553 when Wilson wrote it while vacationing with Dymoke at his country estate in Lincolnshire and January 1553-54 when Grafton published it in London. Having also published Wilson's previous work, The Rule of Reason, and his collaboration with Walter Haddon the, Vita et obitus, both in 1551, Grafton was at this point still in the good graces of the court as the King's Printer (with Edward Whitchurch). He was, therefore, a good comrade in the protestant cause that Wilson had joined along with the Brandons, Dudleys, and the Greys. Grafton expressed his political views most clearly when he "foolishly printed a proclamation of the accession of Lady Jane Grey, in which he signed himself 'Printer to the Queen.'" ¹⁷⁰ When Mary came to power and Northumberland fell, Wilson's alliance with Grafton temporarily fell away and Wilson left Cambridge and then the country.

Grafton's shop in London must have been able to produce texts both rapidly and accurately since he was

¹⁷⁰ Colin Clair, A History of European Printing (New York: Academic, 1976), p. 257.

capable of printing enough service books to satisfy Henry VIII's and Edward VI's court to the degree that he got the patent for service books in 1543 and was appointed King's Printer in 1547.¹⁷¹ Yet we do not know enough about the way his shop was run to determine how he would have managed the production of Wilson's text. He must have satisfied Wilson, for after having printed his two earlier texts, Wilson supplied Grafton with updated and consequently more marketable editions of the Rule. Grafton could have anticipated an equal demand for this second instruction book, the rhetoric, printing perhaps 1500 copies of each book.¹⁷² If Wilson wrote this in the summer of 1553, then Grafton would have produced his book rather quickly by January 1553-54. It is possible that Wilson wrote it in the summer of 1552 and after going back to Cambridge gave Grafton over a year to produce the new rhetoric and the latest logic. The longer period seems more appropriate considering how well the first edition was printed. After collating all the texts, I conclude that the first edition was not only well done,

¹⁷¹E. Gordon Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade (London: The Bibliographical Society), p. 59.

¹⁷²Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1972), p. 161.

but also that it is the best edition in terms of both substantives and accidentals. Wagner argued this point in 1928 by claiming that the substantive errors of the 1909 edition could be cleared up by reference to the first edition. For example, Wagner cites from 1553 "Confession of the fault is when the accused persone graunteth his crime" compared to the 1909's "Confessing of the fault is when the excuseth persone graunteth his crime."¹⁷³

There are many more examples in the Historical Collation revealing a cascade of errors flowing through each edition with incrementally increased intensity. But we must also take note that the 1553 accidentals are also far superior to those of the later editions. The spelling is better (or just more modern), the pointing clearer, and the paragraphing more logical. The 1553 text was press corrected in quire D, furthermore, for the Yale and Berkeley copies show one substantive and several accidental differences (listed in the Print Variants) to indicate that the work was being supervised and corrected.

Upon the breaking up of Grafton's monopoly John Cawood became Queen's Printer, but some of Grafton's contracts were given to others. John Kingston, an

¹⁷³Russell Wagner, "The Text and Editions of Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique. " MLN, 44 (1929), 425.

acquaintance of Grafton, picked up Wilson's two books upon Wilson's return to England in 1560. It is impossible to determine if Kyngston initiated the discussion on the second edition of the Arte, but we generally understand the printers to have had control over the text and thus Kyngston would have approached Wilson and not the other way around. Wilson claims as much in the prologue when he says that he was approached and asked to revise and correct the first edition. After having been under such torture in Italy, Wilson says he refused to have anything more to do with the text and rather asks that the book amend him first. Yet it is hard to take him seriously, for he did add a four page prologue, ten humorous anecdotes, and three sentences. So we must assess Wilson's statement in the prologue accordingly. When he said he would not emend the book, he could have meant that he would not change any matter offensive to Catholics (that is, he would not censor himself) or that he would not change what he had already written, while allowing for additions.

The changes that Wilson made are all by way of addition. Wagner speculates, and Derrick accepts this hypothesis, that "Wilson simply handed them to the printer along with this Prologue and that the printer inserted

them in what he thought to be proper places."¹⁷⁴ The additions, moreover, were placed in the text somewhat awkwardly. One story is expanded yet the old short one is incorrectly retained and thus duplicated; however, this mistake is caught and recorded in the "fautes escaped" list at the end of the text. The errata list was probably done totally by the printers, as Wagner and Derrick believe, and not completely by Wilson as Church argues; yet Wilson could easily have proofread parts of it quickly to point out some of the errors. Many other errors that crept into the 1560 edition that were not in 1553. Wagner claims that these errors prove that Wilson did not proof or even reread his text before it was published. If this was true none of the changes in the 1560 should be considered authorial, yet we need not accept this position. Wilson obviously examined the text in order to indicate where the additions should be placed. He could have very easily made changes then for Kingston to include. If we imagine Wilson not only offering corrections but attending to the proofing as well, we can still accept that he simply overlooked those new errors. While the 1553 edition is the copy text of this critical edition, the 1560 prologue and additions are included;

¹⁷⁴Wagner, p. 424.

also, the substantive and accidental variants in 1560 are weighed more than the others since some authorial change in the text is highly probable.

Kingston, like Grafton, was not extremely active in the Stationer's Company, so there is little mention of the printing history of Wilson's text in the register. We know from the title pages that Kingston published the Rhetorique again in 1562, 1563, 1567, 1580, and 1584. The last early edition was published in 1585 by George Robinson. The Stationer's register lists only one relevant entry. Within the period from 22 July 1562 to 22 July 1563, the register has recorded:¹⁷⁵

John KYNGE STON	Recevyd of JOHN KYNGESTON for his license for printinge of a boke intituled <u>the boke of</u> <u>Rhetoryke</u> viij d
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This entry may refer to Wilson's text, though misnamed, but most likely it refers to Rainold's The Booke Called the Foundation of Rhetorik which Kingston published in 1563. In the same period the register lists him as one who lived by bookselling and by being free of other companies and as having two presses.¹⁷⁶ He has a few

¹⁷⁵ A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationer's of London; 1554-1640, ed. Edward Arber (London: 1875), p. 87b.

¹⁷⁶ Stationer's Register, pp. 40, 108b.

entries throughout, being mostly texts for personal improvement, both secular and religious. After Kingston died in 1584, his widow kept the rights to the business and passed them on to her next husband George Robinson.¹⁷⁷ Robinson joined the company from the grocers company on 1 March 1584-1585, and first registered a publication on 4 Oct 1586. He is listed as having three presses in July 1586.¹⁷⁸ Robinson has no entries concerning Wilson though he published his text in 1585. The only other entry concerning the Rhetorique is in the record of Thomas Orin's taking over Robinson's business. After Robinson died, Orin became the widow Kingston's third husband and thus took charge over all of Kingston's and Robinson's books. His relevant entries are as follows:¹⁷⁹

13 Aril - 7 May] 1593

Thomas Orwin	7 Maij Entred for his copies by assent of A Court holden this Day these bookes folowinge whiche were first Kingstons and after George Robinsons whose widow the said
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¹⁷⁷Stationer's Register, p. xxix, n.v.

¹⁷⁸Stationer's Register, p. lii, n.v.

¹⁷⁹Stationer's Register, p. 108b.

Orwin hath married
 Vs Viiij d

 Master WILSONS Retorik and
logik

Orwin never produced another edition of Wilson because the demand for his work died out.

The genealogy of the texts is predictable and generally simple to establish. Each edition was set from the preceding edition, 1553-1585 seriatum. However, an analysis of the 1567 and 1580 editions provides conflicting conclusions. They appear to be set from more than one edition. Church claims that 1567 and 1580 were both set from 1562. That is, 1563, 1567, and 1580 were all composed following a copy of 1562. Derrick and I arrived at different conclusions. 1567 and 1580 were set from composite texts, editions made up of pages from more than one edition. Therefore, the transmission of the texts might be charted as follows:

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1553--1560--1562--1563
                   1563(62)--1567
                           1567(63)
                           1567(62)(63)--1580--1584--1585
  
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A general description of the genealogy will follow, the specifics of the variants between texts being listed in the Historical Collation which records all variations among editions except for nonsubstantive spelling changes.

1560 follows 1553 very closely except for the additions and several accidental changes.

1562 follows 1560 almost exactly, picking up the additions and many of the punctuation changes. However, it does carry a variant from 1553. On signature o.4.v, 1562 prints "he woulde either foget" (p. 467:3), repeating the error in 1553, but all other editions print "he woulde either forget." We may also find on signature g.8.v, 1562 printing "the knowlege of thynges" (p.254:16) following the correct form of 1553, but the subsequent two editions print "the knowleges of thynges." There are also serveral accidental variants linking 1562 and 1553. For example, on signature d.2., 1562 prints "will examine matters , (not accordinge" (p. 129:12) correctly as does 1553; all other editions incorrectly print "will examine matters) not accordinge" thus inverting the parenthesis or leaving it out altogether; also, on signature d.2., "in Goddes doctrine:" (p. 130:5) 1562 follows 1553, whereas all other editions print "in Goddes doctrine,".

1563 is another matter entirely. It generally follows 1562 except that the extant copies of this edition contain sheets from 1562. A check of the Bodleian copies of 1562 and 1563 reveals that 1563 contains the following sections from 1562: gathering e, sheet 2; gathering h, sheet 1; gathering k, both sheets; gathering l; sheet 2;

gathering m, sheet 2; gathering n, sheet 2. Derrick records this collation and that of three other copies of 1563, two from private collections, and one from the Folger Library. Each of his 1563 editions reveals a different mixture of sheets, yet they always involve gatherings a-e, and g. The actual 1563 material follows 1562 closely in paragraphing and accidentals. It also carries many variants new to 1562. For example, new to both 1562 and 1563 are "perswade, or dissuage" (p. 242:9) on signature b.7 and "as men that did deserved," (p. 274:14) on signature c.6.v with the earlier editions printing "diswade" and "had deserved."

This composite text is interesting and opens up all sorts of difficulties for establishing the textual lineage. There is no pure 1563 edition extant; every copy contains some 1562 material. Yet this fact does not prove that a complete 1563 was never printed, as Derrick implies. The fact that the Bodleian copy has a 1563 gathering h and the Folger copy does not implies that for every missing section from 1563 there might have been one printed. Thus, the situation could have been that a new 1563 was set, but each sheet must have been printed off in different quantities allowing Kingston to assemble his 1563 copies in such a way as to use up any leftover sheets from 1562. Perhaps he overproduced certain gatherings of

1562 due to a miscalculation in casting off or simply due to some misunderstanding in the shop.

1567 is even more complicated. The Cambridge copy of 1567 contains the following sheets from 1563: gathering a, both sheets; gathering b, both sheets; gathering c, sheet 2; gathering d, sheet 2; gathering e, sheet 1; gathering o, sheet 2. Derrick records a collation of the Folger's 1567 and 1563 and finds 1567 containing the following 1563 sheets: gathering a, sheet 2; gathering b, both sheets; gathering e, sheet 1. These sheets from 1563 are not, furthermore, those made of 1562 sheets.

Although 1567 is made up of 1563 sheets it shows affiliation with 1562 also. That is, it picks up variants from 1562 not in 1563.

Variants:	1562 and 1567	1563
160:14	to find	find
199:16	there in	herein
294:23	doeth	doth
356:12	man	men
364:4	Ye	I
366:13	thereof	therefore

These correspondences can be explained in two ways. We know from the "half/never" variant in 1562 that Kingston had his text checked over before printing. So these variants could have been picked up by checking a 1562 edition or by following a composite 1563, which is most likely. Since we have no way of knowing how extensively

1562 sheets were mingled in 1563 or how extensively the copies to be printed were checked over, we can only assume that those sheets of 1567 which seem closest to 1562 could well have been set from 1562 sheets contained in a 1563 edition.

1580 is complicated even further, of course, because it suffers from the confusion caused by and contained within the earlier editions. There is no composite 1580 extant, yet due to the difficulties of the preceding two editions it will seem to follow all of them. The British Library copy of 1580 at first follows 1567 in certain sections, most noticeably the preliminary material, gathering A. Yet 1567 follows 1562 in many other instances. For example, 1580 follows 1562 by printing a redundant line which had been correctly dropped in 1563 and 1567. Some other examples are the following:

Variants:	1562 and 1580	1563
381:1	to	unto
381:5	from	for
381:13	of our	of
386:4	excuseth	accused
410:2	be it	if it be

And there are plenty of instances of variants in 1567 which are not picked up in 1580, revealing that parts of 1580 were not set from 1567.

Variants:	1567	1580
205:5	As	Is
215:20	the	this
220:19	of Juda	Juda
222:13	~	one
277:16	heretore	heretofore
279:1	take	taken
279:2	~	to
281:5	he	it
282:10	the	a
285:5	were	was
311:16	~	mooste

In general then 1580 was set in one of the three following ways: (1) from a copy of 1567, containing some sheets from 1563, which had been corrected by comparing it against earlier copies, accounting for one correction that it picks up from 1553 (p. 47:1) (2) from a copy of 1567 containing 1563 and 1562 sheets as Derrick concludes (from 1567: gathering A; gathering E, sheet 2; gathering M, sheet 1; from 1562: gatherings B,C,D; gathering E, sheet 1; gatherings F,G,H,I,L; gathering M, sheet 2; gatherings N,O,Q; from 1563: gatherings K,P) (3) from pieces of copies of the three editions perhaps used earlier.

Since we know that 1563 and 1567 are actual composites, then 1580 was most certainly set from a composite, but should we accept that a composite 1567 could have contained sheets from 1562? If Kingston had that many sheets left over, enough to last him until 1567, then he would not have set an entire 1563 edition as we have concluded. Therefore, unless the edition was set

from pieces, old copies that had been filed away in 1567, we have to conclude that 1580 was set from a 1567(63) composite that had been corrected against earlier editions. I should like to think that there was special care put into this edition, the last one to appear before Wilson's death. There are many new variants in 1580 that follow no earlier text, implying that someone went to some trouble making changes. For someone going to that much trouble to edit, it would not seem outrageous to look at the earlier texts.

1584 was set from 1580, and 1585 was set from 1584. There is no difficulty establishing this fact which the Historical Collation clearly indicates.

The Arte of Rhetorique appeared in many different forms, mostly in single, thin, leather bound volumes, but it was also bound with other texts: with The Rule of Reason (Cambridge 1560; Glasgow 1562 and 1567; Edinburgh 1584 and 1585) with Hoby's Courtier (Bodleian 1562), with Richard Rainold's A book called the Foundacion of Rhetoric (Peterborough 1563).

The editions are as follows:

1553:

Title page: [Within a compartment, Mckerrow, type # 63] The
Arte | of Rhetorique, for the | use of all suche as are
stu= | dious of Eloquence, sette | forthe in English, by |
 THOMAS | Wilson. | [*] | Anno Domini. [Swash A,D] | M.D.
LIII. [rule] | Mense Ianuarij.

Head title: a.1r what is Rhetorique.

Collation: Quarto, []2, A4, a-z4, 2a-2h4 [130 leaves] []2,
 A4, a-z4, Aa-Hh4 [\$3 (-g.3, Gg.3; A4, GKNR4; misprinting A4
 as 'A3'].

Colophon: on page Hh4v] Richardus Graftonus, typogra-| phus
 Regius excudebat.| cum priuilegio, ad imprimendum solum.

Fol: 130 leaves, ff. [6], 1-119, [5], italic type, arabic
 misprinting 54 as 57, 56 as 55, 69 as 99, 90 as 810, 117 as
 119; 119 as 117).

Contents: []1r title, []1v dedicatory poem--GVALTERVS HAD=|
 DONVS D. IVRIS CIVILIS, ET OXO=| neisis Collegn
 Magdalenensis Praeses. [16 lines of Latin], []2r dedicatory

poems, titled NICOLAI VDALLI IN OPERIS COM=| mendaronem
 Tetrastiction. [four lines, Latin]: ROBERTI HILERMII
 [Swash R]| IN RHETORICEM THO= [swash r]| mae Vuilsoni,
 Epigramma. [18 lines, Latin]; []2v [12 lines of the
 previous Latin poem carried over, another poem THOMAAS
 VVILSONVS IN| Anglicam Rhetoricem. [20 lines, Latin];
 A.1.r To the right ho=| norable Lorde, John Dudley, Lorde|
 Lisle, Earle of Warwike, and maister| of the horse to the
 kynges maiestie: your| assured to commaund Thomas| Wilson
 [dedicatory epistle], A.3r [a preface] Eloquence first |
 geuen by God, after lost by man, | and laste repayed by
 God | agayne,; a.1r, what is Rhetorique. [beginning the
 first of three books].., o.3.r. The seconde Booke.; y.1.r,
 The Third boke.; Gg.3.r. Faultes escaped in then
 printing., Gg. 4. 4 A Table to fynde out suche matter as
 is | conteined in this Booke, first by the Leaste, and |
 nexte by the page, or syde of the lease; Hh. 4. colophon.

Running Titles:

The Epiftle. A.1.v, A.2., A.2.v.

The Preface, A.3.v; A.4.; A.4V

The arte of Rhetorique. a.1.--Gg.3.

Variants:

d.1. Of Rhetorique

d.1.v. The Arte

d.2. Of Rhetorique.

d.2.v The Arte

d.3. Of Rhetorique

d.3.v The Arte

d.4. of Rethorique

d.4.v The Arte

G.3. The Arte of Rhetorique [and on G.4. k.3. k.4.

n.4. n.3. k.3. k.4 v.3 v.4 z.3 z.4 Cc.3 Cc.4 Ff.3
Ff.4]

The Table Gg.4v; Hh1-Hh.4.v

Catch word variants:

A.1 which] whiche

A.2V whych] whiche

c.4.v The] Places

d.1.r An] para sign An

d.4.r It is] {Lawful

d.4.v pardie] pardy

e.2.v Bargainyng] BArgainyng

e.3.r Stoutuesse] Stoutnesse

f.1.v country] countrie

g.3.r thinke] thincke

h.1.r child] that

i.3.r trie.] trie,

k.3.r Envyel envy
 l.2.v staunce] stance
 l.4.r rall] ral
 m.3.r Of] para sign of
 n.1.v Will] i. Will,
 n.2.r The] i. The
 n.2.v our] oure
 o.1.v Tullie] TULLie
 o.3.r hym] him
 o.4.v and] &
 p.2.r abide] abyde
 p.2.v our] matter
 g.2.v Of] para sign of
 g.3.r and] &
 g.3.v pertees] perties
 R.4.v (missing R.3): Conduite] conduite
 s.4.v If] IF
 y.1.r The] para sign The
 y.2.r matian] macian
 z.3.r bityngel biting
 Aa.1.r Trans=] para sign Transumption.
 Aa.2.r This] THis
 Aa.4.r whitty] para sign whittie
 Cc.4.r (co)vetous] covetoufe
 Dd.4.r Equal] para sign Equal

Ee.1.r Regres=] para sign Regression.

Ee.3.r Order] ORder

Ee.4.r thynges] thinges

Ff.2.r perfitely] perfitelye

Hh.2.v Necessary] Necessarie

Type faces: Dedicatory poems italic, with some roman; dedicatory epistle, preface, text black letter (largely textura), some roman and italic mixed in text and side notes for proper names, rhymes, and foreign words.

Typography: 9 (10.7) x 16.2 mm (M.4., Newberry)

3.2 mm per twenty; gothic and running titles in italic

38 ll (M.4. r): 152 (162) x 90 (with side notes 107) mm:

text gothic (and some italic) 80 mm for 20 ll.

1560:

Title page: [within a compartment, Mckerrow's # 38]

The Arte of | Rhetorique, [swash R] for the use of |
all soche as are studi= | ous of Eloquence, set |
forthe in Englishe, by | THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. |
And now newlie sette forthe | again, with a Prologue |
to the Reader. | Anno Domini. | M.D.L.X. [rule] |
Imprinted at London, by | Ihon Kingston. [swash k]

Collation: quarto: A8, a-p8 [\$5 -A1, e5]

Colophon: p. 7. r: [para sign] Imprinted at | London, by
Ihon Kingston. [swash L,K] | Anno Donini. [swash A,D]
 1560. | The .x. of December. | and | [para sign] These
 bookes are to be solde | at his shop, at the weste | doore
 of Poules.

Head title: a.1. The art of Rhetorique. [swash R]

Contents: [A.1.r] title page; Aii-Aiiiv [dedicatory
 epistle to Dudley]; Aiii-[Avi] A Porlogue to the Reader;
 [Aviv-Aviii] The Preface; [AviiiV] two poems; a.1-p.1
 text; p.1v [faultes escaped]; p.ii-pviii index; p.vii
 colophon.

Running titles:

A2v The Epistle.

A.3. Dedicatorie.

A3v The Epistle Dedicatorie.

A.4. A Porlogue to the | Reader [swash A,P]

A.4.2-A6 A Prologue to the reader. [swash A,P]

A.6r Eloquence firste | given by GOD, and after loste by |
 manne, and laste repai= | red by GOD again.

A7-A8 The Preface [swash P]

a.1-p.1 The arte of Rhetorique. [swash R]

Variants:

a.4.2. The arte of Rhatorique. [swash R]; and a.4.v

Catch word variants:

A.iiii talke] talke,
 A.4v wherfore] whereof
 a.1.v yong] young
 b.4.v labour] labour,
 b.8.v unto] would
 c.5 holie] holy
 c.5.v first] firste
 c.6 recompence] recompence,
 c.6.v countrie.] Countrie.
 c.7.v saufegarde] saufegarde
 c.8.v thei] they
 d.1. holy] holie
 d.1.v ginacion] gination,
 d.2 folke] folke.
 d.8 ping] pinge
 e.7.v ly] dye,
 f.2 misfor=] misfortunate
 f.3 cial] ciall
 f.8.v crea=]creatures

g.1.v. wrong=] wrongfullie
 g.4.v purposes,] poses,
 h.1. imme=] immediately
 h.2. souldiour] souldiour.
 h.2.v Again] Again,
 H.5 Likerishe] Likeryshe
 i.2.v Again] Againe,
 k.2.v myng] ming
 k.4 Nasica)] Nasica.)
 l.2.v rator] ratour
 l.5 pover=] povertie
 l.7.v The] Th
 l.8.v divinitie] Divinitie
 m.4 Propo=] Proposition
 m.7.v husbands] husbandes
 m.8 tyme] times
 n.2. thank=] thankfulnessse
 n.3. thankfull] thankfull:
 n.5 well] wel
 n.5.v will] will,
 n.7.v shoulde] should
 o.2. Circum=] Circumscription,
 o.4.v They] Thei
 p.5.v questions] Questions
 p.6.v wishyng] wishyng,

Type faces: black letter (largely textura), with italic and roman for some titles, rhymes, proper names, and foreign words

Typography: 40 lines 156 (174) x 91 (A.5.v Bodleian); 110 with side notes.

Copies located: British Museum; Bodleian, Peterborough, Cambridge, National library at Edinburgh, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, and the Huntington library.

Foliation: 128 leaves [8], 1-113, [7], misprinting 6 as 5; 19 as 12; 70 as 07; 104 as 100.

1562:

Title page: [inside a compartment, Mckerrow # 38] The
Arte of | Rhetorique, for the use of all | soche
as are studious | of Eloquence, set forth | in
Englishe, by | THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. | And
now newlie sette forthe | agaïne, with a Prologue |
to the Reader. | Anno D'm. | 1562. | Imprinted at
London, | by Ihon Kingston. [swash K]

No colophon, quarto

Collation: A8,a-p8,(\$ -A1; p7, p8 missing)

Foliation: [1-8], 1-113,[1-5] 126 leaves, unnumbered.

Contents: (A.1) title page; (A,1v) blank; (A,2) To the
right ho= | nourable Lorde, Ihon Dudley, Lorde | Lisle,
Erle of Warwicke, and | Maister of the horse to the kyn- |
ges Maiestie: your assured | to commaunde, Tho= | mas
Wilson.;(A.4) A Prologue to the [swash A] | reader [swash
R]; (A.6v) Eloquence first | GIVEN BY GOD, AND | after
lost by manne, and | laste repaired by | GOD
again.;(A.8r) two poems; (a1-p.1) text; (p.1v) A Table
to finde out soche matter as is conteined in | this Booke,
firste by the Leafe, and nexte by the | Page, or syde of
the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v,A3	The Epistle dedicatorie.
A.4v,A.5,	A Prologue to the reader.
A.5v,A.6	
A.7,A.7v,A.8	The Preface.
a.1-p.1	The arte of Rhetorique. [swash R]
a.2	The Arte of Rhetorike.
a.2v	The arte of Rhetorike.

Selected catch words:

A.2 then a.1 Now b.1 The c.1 when
 d.1 more e.1 of f.1 his g.1 scripture
 h.1 posiciones j.1 the k.1 that k.1 that
 l.1 whose m.1 for n.1 none o.1 had

1563:

Title page: [within a compartment, Mckerrow # 117] The
Arte | of Rhetorike, for the use of [swash R] | all
suche as are studious of | Eloquence, sette forth |
in Englishe, by | THOMAS | Wilson | 1553. | And
now newlie sette foorth | again, with a Prologue |
to the Reader. | Imprinted at London, | by Ihon
Kingston. [swash K] | Anno Dmi. | 1563.

No colophon; telos is spelled in Greek script at the end
 of the text; quarto

Collation: A8, a-p8 [\$5 (-A1; p7,p8 missing)]

Foliation: [1-8], 1-113, [1-5] 126 leaves, unnumbered.

Contents: title; blank; To the right ho= | nourable
Lorde, Ihon Dudley, Lorde | Lisle Erle of Warwike, and

| Maister of the horse to the kyn= | ges Maiestie: your
 assur= | red to commaunde, | THOMAS | Wilson.; A
Prologue to the [swash A] | Reader [swash R]; Eloquence
 first | GIVEN BY GOD, AND | after loste by manne, and
 | laste repaired by | God againe.; A Table to finde
out soche matter as is conteined in [swash A] | this
 Booke, firste by the Leafe, and nexte by the | Page, or
 syde of the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v, The Epistle dedicatorie.
 A.3,A.4v,A.5, A Prologue to the reader.
 A.5v,A.6
 A.7,A.7v,A.8 The Preface.
 a.1-p.1 The arte of Rhetorique. [swash R]
 a.2 The Arte of Rhetorike.
 a.2v The arte of Rhetorike.

Selected catch words:

A.2 then a.1 question b.1 The c.1 when d.1
 more
 e.1 his f.1 his g.1 them h.1 posiciones i.1
 the
 k.1 that l.1 Whose m.1 of n.1 none

1567:

Title page: [within a compartment, Mckerrow # 117] The
Arte | of Rhetorike, for the use of all [swash R] |
suche as are studious of | Eloquence, sette forthe |
in Englishe, by | THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. |
And now newlie sette foorth | again, with a Prologue
| to the Reader. | Imprinted at London, | by Ihon
Kingston. [swash K] | Anno Dmi. | 1563.

No collophon; finis is printed at the end of the text;
quarto

Collation: A8, a-p8 [\$5 (-A1,p.2,p.3,p.4; p5-p8 missing)]

Foliation: [1-8], 1-113, [1-3] 124 leaves, unnumbered.

Contents: title; printer's device; To the right ho=
nourable Lorde, Ihon Dudley, Lorde Lisle | Erle of
Warwicke, and Master | of the horse to the Kynges Maie-
| stie: your assured to com= | maunde, Thomas |
Wilson.; A Prologue to the [swash A] | Reader. [swash
R]; Eloquence first | GIVEN BY GOD, AND | after loste
by manne, and | laste repaired by | God againe.; A
Table to finde out soche matter as is conteined in [swash
A] | this Booke, firste by the Leafe, and nexte by the

| Page, or syde of the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v, The Epistle dedicatorie.
 A.3,A.4v,A.5, A Prologue to the reader.
 A.5v,A.6
 A.7,A.7v,A.8 The Preface.
 a.1-p.1 The arte of Rhetorique. [swash R]
 a.2 The Arte of Rhetorike.
 a.2v The arte of Rhetorike.

Selected catch words:

A.2 then A.4 will A.5 this A.7 meanes
 a.1 question b.1 The c.1 rebuke, d.1 ham
 e.1 his f.1 dren, g.1 ther h.1 and

1580:

Title page:[in a compartment, Mckerrow #117] THE ARTE |
 of Rhetorike, for the | use of all sutchē as are studi-
 | ous of Eloquence, sette | foorthē in Englishe, by
 | THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. | And now newly set
forthe [swash A] | againē, with a Prologue | to the
Reader [swash R] | 1567. | Imprinted at London, | by
 Jhon Kyngston. | 1580.

No colophon; but FINIS. is printed on the last page;quarto

Collation: A-Q8 [\$5 (-A1, -Q4, -Q5, -Q6)]

Foliation: [1-16], 1-225, 1-11; 252 pages

Contents: title page; blank; TO THE RIGHT HO- | nourable
 Lorde Ihon Dudley, | Lorde Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, and
 | maister of the horse to the kin= | ges Maiestie:
your assured to | commaund Thomas | Wilson.; The
 Epistle; A Prologue to the | Reader [swash R]; A
Prologue to the Reader. [swash A,R]; ELOQUENCE FIRST |
 given by God, and after loste | by manne, and laste
repaired | by GOD againe. ; The Preface. ; two poems;
 blank; text; A Table to finde out suche matter as | is
contained in this Booke, first by the Leafe, | and
 nexte by the Page, or side of the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v-A.3v: The Epistle

A.4v-A.6: A Prologue to the Reader. [swash A]

A.7-A.7v: The Preface.

B.1-Q.1: The Arte of Rhetorique

Selected catch words:

A.2	neus	A.3	ters	A.4	to	A.6	of
A.7	For	B.1	the	C.1	the	D.1	needie,
E.1	lie	F.1	father	G.1	losyng	H.1	reason,

1584:

Title page:[in a compartment, Mckerrow #117] THE ARTE |
of Rhetorike, for the | use of all sutchē as are studi-
| ous of Eloquence, sette | foorthē in Englishe, by
| THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. | And now newly set
forthe [swash A] | againē, with a Prologue | to the
Reader [swash R] | 1567. | Imprinted at London, | by
Jhon Kyngston. | 1584.

No colophon; but FINIS. is printed on the last
page;quarto

Collation: A-Q8 [\$5 (-A1,-Q4,-Q5,-Q6) lacking Q7,Q8]

Foliation: [1-16], 1-225, 1-11; 252 pages

Contents: title page; blank; TO THE RIGHT HO- | nourable
Lorde Ihon Dudley, | Lorde Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, and
| Maister of the horse to the kin= | ges Maiestie:
your assured to | commaund Thomas | Wilson.; The

Epistle; A Prologue to the | Reader [swash R]; A
Prologue to the Reader. [swash A]; ELOQUENCE FIRST |
 given by God, and after loste | by manne, and laste
repaired | by GOD againe. ; The Preface. ; two poems;
 blank; text; A Table to finde out suche matter as | is
conteined in this Booke, firste by the Leafe, | and
 nexte by the Page, or side of the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v-A.3v: The Epistle

A.4v-A.6: A Prologue to the Reader. [swash A]

A.7-A.7v: The Preface.

B.1-Q.1: The Arte of Rhetorique

Selected catch words:

A.2 the	A.3 J	A.4 so	A.5 weare
A.7 for	B.1 the	C.1 The	D.1 When
E.1 lie	F.1 and	G.1 losyng	H.1 son

1585:

Title page:[in a compartment, Mckerrow #117] THE ARTE |
 of Rhetorike, for the | use of all sutche as are studi-
 | ous of Eloquence, sette | foorth in Englishe, by
 | THOMAS | Wilson. | 1553. | And now newly set

forthe [swash A] | again, with a Prologue | to the
Reader [swash R] | 1567. | Imprinted at London, | by
 Jhon Kyngston. | 1585.

No colophon; but FINIS. is printed on the last
 page;quarto

Collation: A-Q8 [\$5 (-A1, -Q4, -Q5) lacking Q7,Q8]

Foliation: [1-16], 1-225, 1-11; 252 pages

Contents: title page; printer's device;[border at top, ivy
 with repeating spades] TO THE RIGHT HO- | nourable Lorde
 Ihon Dudley, | Lorde Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, and |
 Maister of the Horse to the Kinges | Maiestie: your
assured to | commaund, Tho- | mas Wilson. ; The
 Epistle; A Prologue to the | Reader [swash R]; A
Prologue to the Reader. [swash A,R]; ELOQUENCE FIRST |
 given by God, and after loste | by manne, and laste
repaired | by GOD againe. ; The Preface. ; two poems;
 blank; text; A Table to finde out suche matter as is |
conteined in this Booke, firste by the Leafe, | and
 next by the Page, or side of the Leafe.

Running titles:

A.2v-A.3v: The Epistle

A.4v-A.6: A Prologue to the Reader. [swash A]

A.7-A.7v: The Preface.

B.1-Q.1: The Arte of Rhetorique

Selected catch words:

A.2	com-	A.3	of	A.4	my	A.5	a car-
A.7	self	B.1	the	C.1	The	D.1	needie,
E.1	ham	F.1	father	G.1	dren	H.1	reason.

Since Wilson's text is nearly all fully justified, black letter prose and since Grafton did such a good job with the text, it is quite difficult to determine much about its printing from internal analysis. However running title analysis tells us something. If we exclude the preliminary material and concluding index which were probably printed last, we can make out through analysis of slight imperfections in the running titles that the book was printed by formes with four skeletons and, I believe, by at least two compositors.

It is quite difficult to ascertain how many presses or compositors were used in the printing of the text. If there was no rush to get the book out, then perhaps one compositor with one skeleton composed and saw through all of quires a,b, and c before a second skeleton was used. Of the four sets of running titles, II and III were by the

same compositor using the same type. His broken running titles, "The Arte" on one page and "of Rhetorique" on the other, were used for one quire; then they were changed. He combined the four half titles of skeleton II to form two complete titles and then reset two more complete titles to make the four running titles of skeleton III. Of course, a compositor who was not permanently concerned with the book's production, might have composed II; then after the quire was printed his work was corrected by the other compositor working with the book. Grafton could have used even more compositors. It seems that Grafton was using concurrent printing in his house in order to allow for the delays indicated by the printing order. It was a busy enough shop to allow for it. Perhaps the work on the text was hastened and as a result three compositors were set to work using skeletons I, III, IV. Or we might imagine, which is my guess, that a second compositor was set to work on the text after the first three quires were completed by a journeyman who started the work and most likely saw it through, using skeletons I and IV (indeed the texts produced by these two skeletons are very much alike). The older compositor could have composed and sent to the press the inner forme of one quire before beginning work on the inner forme of another. By the time he had finished the inner forme of the second quire, his first

one would have returned from the press ready for him to rework it to set the outer forme of that same quire. Another compositor who was perhaps an apprentice used skeleton II for his first quire and III for others. He used skeleton II only once because he incorrectly composed the running titles. Corrected by the journeyman, he set III and used it to complete his work at half the rate of production of the other. He kept the capital letters in the running titles which the other formes did not have. The second compositor differs from the first. He often uses periods where commas should be, uses fewer commas, tends to spell then as than more often, uses the symbol for "quoth" more often; it is also on his formes that the most substantial print variant, "half minded/never minded," appears. Overall, a higher percentage of errors occur in his formes.

Running title analysis:

skeleton	gatherings
I	a,b,c,e,h,l,o,q,t,y,Bb,Ee
II	d
III	f,i,m,p,s,x,Aa,Dd,Gg,Hh
IV	G,k,n,r,u,z,Cc,Ff

All of the formes follow this pattern:

RT's	outer	inner
I	1a	2a
II	2b	1b
III	3a	4a
IV	4b	3b

Quire Hh is the exception following this pattern:

RT's	outer	inner
I	1a	1b
II	2b	2a
III	3a	3b
IV	4b	4a

PRINTING ORDER:

SKELETON:	I	I	I	I	I	I
FORME:	ai	ao	bi	bo	ci	co
	II	II	I	I	III	III
	di	do	ei	eo	fi	fo
	IV	IV	I	I	III	III
	gi	go	hi	ho	ii	io
	IV	IV	I	I	III	III
	ki	ko	li	lo	mi	mo
	IV	IV	I	I	III	III
	ni	no	oi	oo	pi	po
	I	I	IV	IV	III	III
	qi	qo	ri	ro	si	so
	I	I	IV	IV	III	III
	ti	to	ui	uo	xi	xo
	I	I	IV	IV	III	III
	yi	yo	zi	zo	Aai	Aao
	I	I	IV	IV	III	III
	Bbi	Bbo	Cci	Cco	Ddi	DDo
	I	I	IV	IV	III	III
	Eei	Eeo	Ffi	Ffo	Ggi	Ggo

III	III
Hhi	Hho

Early Modern Editions

As mentioned before, Mair's 1909 edition for the Oxford press has been shown by Wagner to be completely deficient, a conclusion supported by Church, Derrick, and my evidence. It was useful in its time as a readable, available old-spelling text, but he never collated a copy of the first edition, convinced that the later the edition was the better and that 1553 was incomplete due to the 1560 additions. What Mair did was to reprint 1585 and some changes from 1560 and 1567. He does not explain how carefully he collated those texts. He does say that he collated them using 1560 as his editio princeps, and he prints a list of the substantive errors at the end of the text.¹⁸⁰

The Present Edition

This edition uses the 1553 as the copy text, with the Newberry copy as the control. This copy has been collated with all extant copies that I could discover of the first editions and the few variants are listed in Appendix A.

¹⁸⁰Mair, p. xxxv.

Of course, the 1560 additions have been added in and they are noted in the footnotes of the pages on which they appear. These additions have also been collated with all other extant copies of the 1560, and Appendix A records those print variants. This constructed copy-text was then collated with one copy of each of the succeeding editions, and the differences are listed in the Historical Collation where I have listed all changes in punctuation, paragraphing, and substantives. Spelling changes I have not recorded except where a possible difference in meaning could be construed in sixteenth century terms. Changes made in punctuation and paragraphing are listed in the Emendation of Accidentals. The text was printed with copious side-notes and a corresponding index in all of the editions. The side-notes are printed at the foot of the page with the line number indicating where they occurred on the copy-text. An asterisk after the note indicates that it was not indexed in the early editions.

Emendations

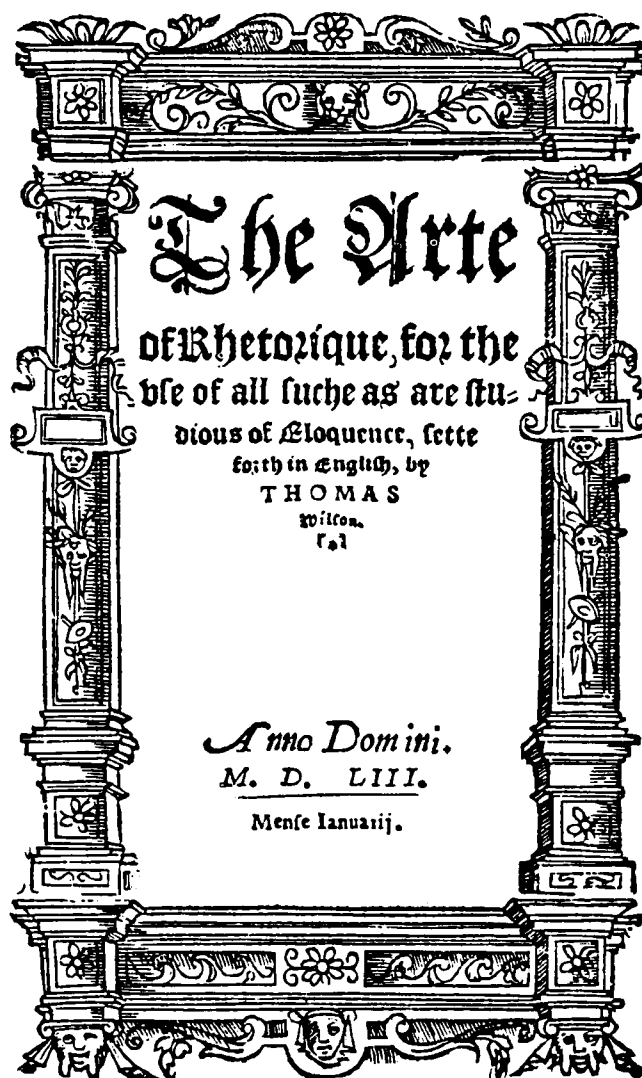
There are several silent emendations. The u:v:w variations have been regularized except for transcription as well as the i:j and long s variation. I have expanded all nunation marks, ampersands, ye and yt, and quoth symbols. All paragraph symbols and other pointing devices

that were in the various old texts have not been indicated anywhere in this edition. All emendations are listed in the Commentary and in abbreviated form at the bottom of the page.

Commentary

A commentary of Wilson's borrowings from the various traditional texts has been worked out extensively first by Wagner in 1928 and then expanded by Church in 1978 and by Derrick in 1982; therefore, rather than simply reproduce all of those notes, I have listed in the Commentary a reference to the most likely source of Wilson's information such that if the reader is interested in how closely Wilson followed his sources he may look those references up for comparison. In nearly every case where Wilson used classical sources for his rhetoric, he picks up the general idea but the phrasing and detail are entirely his own.

II. CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF
THE ARTE OF RHETORIQUE



Title page of the 1553 edition.

A Prologue to the Reader.

Greate maie their boldenesse bee thought, that
 seke without feare to set forthe their knowlege: and
 suffer their doynges to be seen, thei care not of
 whom. For not onelie thereby dooe thei bryng men to 5
 thinke, that thei stande moche in their owne conceipt,
 but also thei seme to assure them selves, that all men
 will like, whatsoever thei write. Wherein thei commit
 twoo greate faultes: the one is, that thei are proude:
 the other is, that thei are fonde. For, what greater 10
 pride can there be, then for any man, to thinke
 himself to be wiser then all men living? or what
 greater folie can be imagined, then for one to thinke,
 that all men will like whatsoever he writeth? Soche
 are thei for the moste parte by all likelihode, that 15
 doee sette forthe bookes. Wherein thei dooe bothe
 betraie theim selves, and also give greate occasion to
 the worlde, to talke largelie of theim. But all those
 that doe write, are not suche as I saie, nor meane not
 as I thinke, as the whiche are wise and learned men, 20
 writyng onely under the correccion of others, to
 edifie their neighbour, and not sekyng in any wise
 their owne glorie. Neither all that be readers, will

talke their pleasures, but rather staie their
 judgementes, and waie thinges with reason. Some
 perhappes maie like the writer, if his wrytnges be
 good, but the moste parte undoubtedlie, must of force
 bee offended, as the whiche are corrupte of judgement, 5
 bicause thei are naught. Then soche as seeke the
 greatestesse praise, for writing of bookes, should dooe
 beste in my simple minde, to write foolishe toies, for
 then the moste part, would beste esteme them. And
 herein perhappes maie I got some aduauntage, that 10
 in my young yeres, have been bolde to sette forthe
 my simple fansies. For in folie I dare compare with the
 proudest, and in pride I dare match with him, that is
 most folishe: not doubting but to finde soche felowes,
 that not onelie will seeke to bee equall unto me, and 15
 perhappes excell me, but also soche as will therein
 right well esteme me. Cicero in his seconde booke de
Oratore, bringeth in one Lucilius, a pleasaunt and
 merie conceited manne, who saieth, that he would not
 have soche thinges as he wrote to bee redde, either of 20
 those that were excellentlie learned, or of theim that
 were altogether ignoraunt. For that the one would
 thinke more of his doynges, and have a farther meanyng
 with him, then ever the aucthour self thought: thother
 taking the booke in his hand, would understande 25

nothing at all, beyng as meete to reade aucthours, as
 an Asse to plaie on the Organnes. This man in thus
 sayng had some reason. But I being somewhat
 acquainted with the worlde, have founde out an other
 sorte of man, whom of all others, I would be lothe 5
 should reade any of my dooynges: especiallie soche
 thinges as either touched Christ, or any good
 doctrine. And those are soche malicious folke, that
 love to finde faultes in other mennes matters, and
 seven yeres together will kepe them in store, to the 10
 utter undoyng of their christian brother: not minding
 to reade for their better learning, but seking to
 deprave whatsoever thei finde, and watching their
 time, will take best advauntage, to undoe their
 neighbour. Soche menne I saie of all others, would I 15
 bee lothe to have the sight, of any mine earnest
 dooynges, if I could tell how to forbid them, or how
 to hinder them of their purpose.

Twoo yeres past, at my being in Italie, I was
 charged in Roome toune, to my greate daunger and utter 20
 undoyng (if Gods goodnes had not been the greater) to
 have written this booke of Rhetorique, and the Logike
 also, for the which I was coumpted an heretike,
 notwithstanding the absolucion, graunted to all the
 realme, by Pope Julie the thirde, for all former 25

offences or practises, devised against the holie
 mother Church, as thei call it. A straunge matter,
 that thinges doen in Englande seven yeres before, and
 the same universallie forgiven, should afterwardes be
 laied to a mannes charge in Roome. But what can not 5
 malice doe? Or what will not the willfull devise, to
 satisfie their mindes, for undoyng of others? God be
 my Judge, I had then as little feare (although death
 was presente, and the tormentes at hande whereof I
 felte some samrte) as ever I had in all my life 10
 before. For when I sawe those that did seke my death,
 to be so maliciouslie sette, to make soche poore
 shiftes, for my rediar dispatche, and to burden me
 with those backe reckoninges: I tooke soche courage,
 and was so bolde, that the Judges then did moche 15
 mervaile at my stoutnesse, and thinkyng to bring doune
 my greate harte, tolde me plainlie, that I was in
 farther perille, then whereof I was aware, and sought
 thereupon to take advauntage of my woordes, and to
 bring me in daunger by all meanes possible. And after 20
 long debatying with me, thei willed me at any hand, to
 submit my self to the holie Father, and the devoute
 Colledge of Carinalles. For otherwise there was no
 remedie. With that being fully purposed, not to yelde
 to any submission, as one that little trusted their 25

colourable deceit: I was as ware as I could be, not
 to utter any thing for myne owne harme, for feare I
 should come in their daunger. For then either should
 I have died, or els have denied, bothe openlie and
 shamefullie, the knowen truthe of Christ and his 5
 Gospell. In the ende by Gods grace, I was
 wonderfullie delivered, through plain force of the
 worthie Romaines (an enterprise heretofore in that
 sorte never attempted) being then without hope of
 life, and moche lesse of libertie. And now that I am 10
 come home, this boke is shewed me, and I desired to
 loke upon it, to amende it, where I thought meete.
 Amende it quoth I? Naie, let the booke firste amende
 it selfe, and make me amendes. For surely I have no
 cause, to acknowlege it for my boke, bicause I have so 15
 smarted for it. For, where I have been evill
 handeled, I have moche a doe, to shewe my self
 frendlie. If the soonne were the occasion, of the
 fathers imprisonmente, would not the Father bee
 offended with him thinke you? Or at the leaste, would 20
 he not take heede, how hereafter he had to dooe with
 him? If others never get more by bookes, then I have
 doen: it were better be a Carter, then a Scholer, for
 worldly profite. A burnt childe feareth the fire,
 and a beaten Dogge, escheweth the whippe. Nowe 25

therefore, I will none of this booke from henceforthe,
 I will none of him I saie: take him that liste, and
 weare him that will. And by that tyme thei have have
 paied for him so dearelie as I have dooen, thei will
 bee as wearie of him, as I have been. Who that 5
 toucheth pitche shall be filed with it, and he that
 goeth in the Sonne, shalbe Sonne burnt, although he
 thinke not of it. So thei that wil reade this, or
 soche like Bookes, shall in the ende, bee as the
 Bookes are. What goodnesse is in this treatise, I can 10
 not without vaine glorie reporte, neither will I medle
 with it, either hotte or colde. As it was, so it is,
 and so be it still hereafter for me: so that I heare
 no more of it, and that it be not yet ones againe
 caste in my dishe. But this I saie to others, as I am 15
 assured thei shall laughe, that will reade it: so if
 the worlde should tourne (as God forbid) thei were
 moste like to wepe, that in all poinctes would folowe
 it. I would be lothe that any man should hurte
 hymself, for my dooynges. And therefore to avoide the 20
 worste for all partes, the beste were never ones to
 looke on it: for then I am assured, no manne shall
 take harme by it. But I thinke some will reade it,
 before whom I doe washe my handes, if any harme should
 come to them hereafter, and let theim not saie, but 25

that thei are warned. I never harde a manne yet
 troubled for ignoraunce in religion. And yet me
 thinkes, it is as greate an heresie, not to knowe God
 thorow wilful ignorance, as to erre by simplicitie in
 the knowledge of God. But some, perhappes maie saie 5
 unto me: Sir, you ar moche to be blamed, that are so
 fearefull, and doe caste soche perils before hande, to
 discourage menne from well dooyng, I answerd: My
 minde is not to discourage any man, but onely to
 shewe, how I have been tried for this Bookes sake, 10
tanq per ignem. For in deede the prison was one fire,
 when I cam out of it, and whereas. I feared fire
 moste (as who is he that doeth not feare it?) I was
 delivered by fire and sworde together. And yet now
 thus fearfull am I, that having been thus swinged, and 15
 restrained of libertie: I would first rather hasarde
 my life presentlie hereafter, to dye uppon a Turke:
 then to abide again without hope of libertie, soche
 painfull imprisionmente forever. So that I have now
 gotte courage with sufferyng damage, and made myself 20
 as you see, verie willyng from henseforthe to dye:
 beyng then brought onely but in feare of death. Thei
 that love sorowe upon sorowe: God sende it theim. I
 for my parte, had rather be without sense of grief,
 then for ever to live in grief. And I thinke the 25

troubles before death, beeyng longe suffered, and
 without hope continued, are worse a greate deale, then
 present death it self can be: especially to him that
 maketh little accoumppte of this life, and is well
 armed with a constaunte minde to Godwarde. Thus I 5
 have talked of my self, more then I needed, some will
 saie, and yet not more (maie I well saie) then I have
 needed in deede. For I was without all helpe, and
 without all hope, not onlie of libertie, but also of
 life, and therefore what thinge needed I notte? Or 10
 with what woordes sufficientlie, could I sette forthe
 my neede? GOD be praised, and thankes be given to him
 onely, that not onelyie hath delivered me, out of the
 Lions mouth: but also hath bought Englande, my deare
 Countrie, out of greate thraldome, and forein bondage. 15

And GOD save the Quenes Maiestie, the Realme, and
 the scatered flocke of Christ, and graunte, O
 mercifull God, an universall quietnes of minde, perhte
 agrement in doctrine, and amendemente of our lives,
 that we maie be all one Sheepefold, and have one 20
 Pastour Jesus, to whom with the Father, and the holie
 Ghost, be honour and glorie, world without ende.

Amen. This seveth of December. Anno Domini.
 1560.

GVALTERVS HADDONVS D. IVRIS CIVILIS, ET OXO
NIENSIS COLLEGN MAGDALENSIS PRAESES.

Rhetoriken, logike soror, est affata sororem:
Quem didicit nuper, sermo Britannus erat.
Rhetorike tacuit, magno perculsa dolore: 5
Nam nondum nostro noverat ore loqui.
Audijs haec, logicine, Vuilsonus forte, magister
Qui fuerat, nostros addideratq; sonos:
Rhetoriken mutam, uerbis solatus amicis
Se iocat, & rogitat num esse Britanna uelit. 10
Deijciens oculos respondit uelle libenter,
Sed se, qua possit, non reperire, uia.
Ipse uias (inquit) tradam, legesq; loquendi:
Quomodo perfecte uerba Britanna loces.
Liberat ille fidem, nostro sermone politur 15
Rhetoriken, nostra est utraque facta soror.
Anglia, nobilium si charus sermo sororum.
Est ibit, sermonis charus & author erit.

NICOLAI VDALLI IN OPERIS COMMENDAUNMEM TETRASTICHON.

VT Logice, lingua nos est affata Britanna 20
Sic modo Rhetorice uerba Britanna sonat.

Vtraq; nempe soror, patrem cognoscit eundem
Anglia iam natis mater, utramq; fovet.

ROBERTI HILERMII
IN RHETORICEM THOMAE VUILSONI, EPIGRAMMA.

Anglia serva diu, & quondam uexata Tyrannis, 5
Libera nunc regnat, Rege potita pio:
Et cui iura dedit roma imperiosa tot annos,
Ligibus ipsa suis uiuit, & imperijs.
Libertas igitur, regniq; antiqua potestas
Reddita nunc Anglis, quos rigat Oceanus. 10
Quod licet egregium, & decus immortale parenti
Conciliet magno: Rexq; Edoarde tibi:
Gloria priscea tamen gentis, uel nomen auitum
Hoc est: nam fuerant libera sceptra tuis.
At quod barbaries uestris nunc exulat oris, 15
Pulsaq; rusticitas his dominata prius:
Hoc opus, hoc uestrum est, uobis per secula famam
Quod dabit, & uestrum nomen ad astra feret.
Barbara gens siquidem, gemino sub Principe tai
Artibus enituit nobilitata bonis: 20
Moribus & conpta est laudandis arte magistra:
Aeditaq; ingenij sunt documenta uirum.

Viuida testantior uigilem monimenta laborem,
 Scriptaq; tot, nulla quae moritura die.
 Exemplum mihi sit de tot Scriptoritus, unus
 (Namq; omnes celebres nemo referra queat,)
 Vuilsonus, patrio sub quo sermone magistro,
 Pierides Musae perdidicere loqui. 5
 Cui tamen haud satis est, quod cum ratione loquantur,
 Ni quoq; concinne, non putat esse satis.
 Atq; ob id addubitans, ne operi pars ulla deesset,
 Hisce dedit Musis, hanc modo Rhetoricem.
 O Quanta his Scriptis, linquae, regniq; futura est 10
 Maiestas, & honos: si favor adfuerit.

THOMAS WILSONUS IN ANGLICAM RHETORICEN.

Anglia si doceat, quod Graecia docta: quid obstat
 Quo rinus ex Anglis Anglia, uera sciat.
 Non (quia Graeca potes, uel calles verba Latina) 15
 Doctus es, aut sapiens; sed quia uera uides.
 Aurea secreto tegiture sapientia sensu.
 Abdita sensa teres Anglus? es ergo sciens.
 Sed mea Rheorticen nequeat cum lingua polire:
 Cui uacat, hoc unum quod valet, oro uelit. 20

To the right honorable Lorde, John Dudley, Lorde
 Lisle, Earle of Warwike, and maister
 of the horse to the kynges maiestie: your
 assured to commaund Thomas
 Wilson.

5

When Pyrrhus Kynge of the Epirotes made battayle
 agaynste the Romaines, and could neither by force of
 armes, nor yet by anye Policye wyne certayne stronge
 holdes: he used communely to send one Cineas (a noble
 Oratour, and sometimes scholer to Demosthenes) to 10
 perswade with the Capitaynes and people that were in
 them, that they shoulde yelde up the sayde holde or
 townes without fyght or resistaunce. And so it came
 to passe, that through the pithye eloquence of this
 noble Oratoure, divers stronge Castels and Fortresses 15
 were peaceablye geven up into the handes of Pirrhus,
 whyche he shoulde have founde verye harde and tedious
 to wyne by the sworde. And this thinge was not
 Pirrhus himselfe ashamed in his commune talke to the
 prayse of the sayde Oratoure, openlye to confesse: 20
 allegynge that Cineas throughe the eloquence of his
 tongue, wanne moe Cityes unto him, then ever him selfe
 shoulde els have bene able by force to subdue. Good

was that Oratour whiche coulde do so muche: and wise
 was that king which woulde use suche a meane. For if
 the worthines of eloquence may move us, what worthier
 thing can there be, then with a word to winne cities
 and whole countries? If profite may perswade, what 5
 greater gayne can we have, then withoute bloudshed
 to achive a conquest? If pleasure may provoke us, what
 greater delite do we know, then to se a whole
 multitude with the onely talke of a man ravished and
 drawen whiche waye him liketh best to have them? 10
 Boldly then may I adventure and without feare steppe
 forthe to offer that unto your Lordeshyppe, whiche for
 the dignitie is so excellent, and for the use so
 necessarye: that no man oughte to be withoute it,
 whiche either shall beare rule over manye, or muste 15
 have to do wyth matters of a Realme. Consideringe
 therefore your Lordshyps hyghe estate, and worthy
 callyng, I knowe nothyng more fittyng wyth your
 honoure, then to the gyfte of good reason and
 understandyng, wherwith we see you notably endued, so 20
 joyne the perfection of Eloquente utteraunce. And
 because that aswell by your Lordeshyppes moste tender
 imbracyng of all suche as be learned, as also by your
 right studious excercises, you do evidently declare,
 not onely what estimation you have of all learnyng 25

and excellent qualities in generall, but also what a
 speciall desyre and affection you beare to eloquence:
 I therefore commende to youre Lordeshyppes tuition and
 patronage, thys traictise of Rhethorique, to the ende
 that both ye maye get some furtheraunce by the same, 5
 and I also be discharged of my faithfull promyse this
 laste yere made unto you.

For where as it pleased you emonge other talke of
 learnynge, earnestlye to wyshe that ye myghte one daye
 see the Preceptes of Rhetorique sette forthe by me in 10
 Englyshe, as I hadde erste done the Rules of Logique:
 havynge in my Countrey thys laste Somer a quiet time
 of vacation wyth the ryghte worshypfull sir Edward
 Dymmoke Knyghte: I traveled so muche as my leasure
 myghte serve therunto, not onelye to declare my good 15
 harte to the satiffiynge of youre requeste in that
 behalfe, but also throughe that your mocion to helpe
 the towardnes of some other, not so well furnished as
 your Lordeshyppe is. For as touchinge your selfe, by
 the tyme that perfect experience of manifolde and 20
 weyghtye matters of the commune weale, shall have
 encreased the eloquence, whyche alreadye dothe
 naurallye flowe in you: I doubt nothing but that you
 wil so farre be better then this my boke, that I shal
 not onelye blowshe to chalenge you for a Scholer, in 25

the Arte of Rhetorique, by me rudelye sette forth:
but also be driven to sette this simple Traictise to
your Lordshyppe to Schole, that it may learne
Rhetorique of youre daylye talke, fyndynge you suche
an Oratoure in your speach, as great Clarckes do 5
declare what an Oratoure shoulde be.

In the meane season I shall ryghte humblye
beseche your good Lordshippe so to be a Patrone and
defendoure of these my Laboures to you dedicated: as I
shal be a continuall petitioner unto almyghtye God for 10
your preservation, and longe continuaunce.

Eloquence first geuen by God, after loste by man,
and last repayred by God agayne.

Man (in whom is poured the breathe of lyfe) was
made at hys firste beinge an everlivynge Creature,
unto the likenes of God, endued with reason, and 5
appoynted Lorde over all other thinges living. But
after the fall of our firste father, Sinne so crepte
in, that our knowledge was much darkned, and by
corruption of this oure fleshe, mans reason and
entendement were bothe overwhelmed. At what time God 10
beinge sore greved with the folye of one man, pitied
of his mere goodnesse, the whole state and posteritie
of mankinde. And therefore (wher as throughe the
wicked suggestion of our ghostelye enemye, the joyful
fruition of Goddes glorye was altogether loste:) it 15
pleased our heavenly father to repayre mankynde of hys
free mercye, and to graunte an everlivynge
enheritaunce unto all suche as woulde by constante
fayth seeke earnestlye thereafter. Longe it was ere
that man knewe himselfe, being destitute of Gods 20
grace, so that al thinges waxed savage, the earth
untilled, societie neglected, Goddes will not known,
man againste manne, one agaynste another, and all

agaynste order. Some lived by spoyle, some like brute
 Beastes grased upon the ground, some wente naked, some
 romed lyke woodoses, none did anye thing by reason, but
 most did what they could, by manhode. None almoste
 considered the everlivyng God, but all lived moste 5
 communely after their owne luste. By death they
 thoughte that all thinges ended, by life they loked
 for none other livyng. None remmbred the true
 observation of wedlocke, none tendered the educaton of
 their chyldren, lawes were not regarded, true dealinge 10
 was not once used. For vertue, vyce bare place, for
 right and equitie, might used auctoritie. And
 therfore where as man through reason might have used
 order, manne throughe follye fell into erreure. And
 thus for lacke of skill, and for wante of grace, evyll 15
 so prevayled, that the Devyll was mooste esteemed, and
 GOD either almost unknowen emonge theim all, or elles
 nothinge feared emonge so manye. Therefore even now
 when man was thus paste all hope of amendemente, God
 still tendering his owne workemanship, stirred up his 20
 faythfull and elect, to perswade with reason, all men
 to societie. And gave his appoynted ministers
 knowledge bothe to se the natures of men, and also
 graunted them the gift of utteraunce, that they mighte
 with ease wyne folke at their will, and frame them 25

by reason to all good order.

And therefore, where as Menne lyved Brutyshlye in
open felde, having neither house to shroude them in,
nor attyre to clothe their backes, nor yet anye
regarde to seeke their best avayle: these appoynted of 5
God called them together by utteraunce of speache,
and perswaded with them what was good, what was badde,
and what was gainefull for mankynde. And althoughe at
firste, the rude coulde hardelie learne, and either
for straungenes of the thing, would not gladlye 10
receyve the offer, or els for lacke of knoweledge
could not perceyve the goodnes: yet being somewhat
drawen and delighted with the pleasauntnes of reason,
and the swetenes of utteraunce: after a certaine
space, thei became through nurture and good 15
advisement, of wilde, sover: of cruel, gentle: of
foles, wise: and of beastes, men. Suche force hath
the tongue, and such is the power of eloquence and
reason, that most men are forced even to yelde in
that, whiche most standeth againste their will. And 20
therfore the Poetes do feyne that Hercules being a man
of greate wisdom, had all men lincked together by
the eares in a chaine, to draw them and leade them
even as he lusted. For his witte was so greate, his
tongue so eloquente, and his experience suche, that no 25

one man was able to withstand his reason, but everye
 one was rather driven to do that whiche he woulde, and
 to wil that whych he did, agreing to his advise both
 in word and worke, in all that ever they were able.

Neither can I see that menne could have bene 5
 brought by anye other meanes to lyve together in
 felowshyppe of life, to mayntayne Cities, to deale
 trulye, and willyngelye to obeye one another, if menne
 at the firste hadde not by Art and eloquence perswaded
 that, which they ful oft found out by reason. For 10
 what manne I praye you beinge better able to maintayne
 him selfe by valeante courage, then by living in base
 subjection: would not rather loke to rule loke a lord,
 then to lyve lyke an underlynge: if by reason he were
 not perswaded that it behouveth everye man to lyve in 15
 his owne vocation, and not to seke anye hygher rowme,
 then whereunto he was at the first appoynted? Who
 woulde digge and delve from morne till evening? Who
 woulde travaile and toyle with the sweate of his
 browes? Yes, who woulde for his kynges pleasure 20
 adventure and hasarde his life, if witte hadde not so
 wonne men, that they thought nothing more nedefull in
 this world, nor anye thing whereunto they were more
 bounden: then here to live in their duty, and to
 traine their whole lyfe accordynge to their callynge.

Therefore where as menne are in manye thynges weake by Nature, and subjecte to much infirmitye: I thinke in this one point they passe all other Creatures livynge, that they have the gift of speache and reason.

And emonge all other, I thinke him most worthy 5
fame, and emongest menne to be taken for halfe a God, that therin dothe chiefelye, and above all other, excell menne, wherin men do excell beastes. For he that is emonge the reasonable, of all moste reasonable, and emonge the wittye, of all moste 10
wittye, and emonge the eloquente, of all mooste eloquente: him thincke I emonge all mennne, not onelye to be taken for a singuler manner, but rather to be counted for halfe a God. For in sekyng the excellencye hereof, the soner he draweth to 15
perfection, the nygher he commeth to GOD who is the chief wisdom, and therefore called God, because he is most wise, or rather wisdom it selfe.

Nowe then seinge that God geveth his heavenly grace unto all suche as call unto him with stretched 20
handes, and humble harte, never wantynge to those, that wante not to them selves: I purpose by his grace and especial assistance, to set forthe preceptes of eloquence, and to shewe what observation the wise have used in handling of their matters, that the unlearned 25

by seinge the practise of other, may have some
knowledge them selves, and learne by their neyghbours
devise, what is necessarye for them selves in their
owne case.

What is Rhetorique.

Rhetorique is an art to set furthe by utteraunce
 of wordes, matter at large, or (as Cicero doeth saie)
 it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaration
 of the mynde, in the handelyng of any cause, called in 5
 contencion, that maie through reason largely be
 discussed.

The matter whereupon an Oratour must speake.

An Orator muste be able to speake fully of all
 those questions, whiche by lawe and mannes ordinaunce 10
 are enacted, and appoynted for the use and profite of
 man, suche as are thought apte for the tongue to set
 forward. Now Astronomie is rather learned by
 demonstracion, then taught by any greate utteraunce.
 Arithmetique smally nedeth the use of eloquence, 15
 seeyng it maie be had wholly by nombryng onely.
 Geometrie rather asketh a good square, then a cleane
 flowyng tongue, to set out the arte. Therefore an

10. In margin: Rhetorique occupied aboute all lawes,
 concernyng man.

Orators profession, is to speake onely, of all suche matters as maie largely be expounded, for mannes behove, and maie with much grace be set out, for all men to heare them.

Of Questions.

5

Every question, or demaunde in thynges, is of two sortes. Either it is an infinite question, and without ende, or els it is definite, and comprehended within some ende.

Those questions are called infinite, whiche 10
generally are propounded, withoute the comprehension of tyme, place, and person, or any suche like: that is to saie, when no certain thyng is named, but onely woordes are generally spoken. As thus, whether it be best to marie, or to live single. Whiche is better, a 15
courtiers life, or a scholers life.

Those questions are called definite, whiche set furthe a matter, with the appoyntment, and namyng of

7.In margin: Questions of two sortes

10.In margin: Questions infinite.

17.In margin: Questions definite.

place, time, and persone. As thus. Whether now it be
 best here in Englande, for a Prieste to Marie, or to
 live single. Whether it were mete for the kynges
 maiestie, that now is, to marie with a straunger, or
 to mary with one of his awn subjectes. Now the 5
 definite question (as the whiche concerneth some one
 persone) is moste agreying to the purpose of an Orator
 consideryng particuler matters in the Lawe, are ever
 debated betwixte certain persones, the one affirmyng
 for his parte, and the other denyng, as fast again 10
 for his parte.

Thynges generally spoken without al
 circumstaunces, are more proper unto the Logician, who
 talketh of thynges universally, without respect of
 persone, time, or place. And yet notwithstandyng, 15
 Tullie doeth saie, that whosoever will talke of a
 particuler matter, must remember that within the same
 also, is comprehended a generall. As for example. If
 I shall aske this question, whether it be lawfull for
 Willyam Conqueroure to invade Englande, and wyne it 20
 by force of armour, I must also consider this, whether

6. In margin: Questions definite, belong properly
 to an Orator.

13. In margin: Questions infinite, proper unto Logicians.

it be lawfull for any man, to usurpe power, or it be
 not lawfull. That if the greater cannot be borne
 withall, the lesse cannot be neither. And in this
 respecte, a generall question agreeth well to an
 Orators profession, and ought well to be knowen, for 5
 the better furtheraunce of his matter, notwithstanding
 the particuler question, is ever called in
 controversie, and the generall onely thereupon
 considered, to comprehende and compasse the same, as
 the whiche is more generall. 10

The ende of Rethorique.

Three thynges are required of an Orator.

To teache.

To delight

And to perswade. 15

First therefore an Orator muste labour to tell
 his tale, that the hearers maie well knowe what he
 meaneth, and understande him wholly, the whiche he

13. In margin: Orators bound to perfoarme thre thynges.

shall with ease do, if he utter his mind in plain
wordes, suche as are usually received, and tell it
orderly, without goyng aboute the busshe. That if he
doe not this, he shall never do the other. For what
manne can be delited or yet be perswaded, with the 5
onely hearyng of those thynges, which he knoweth not
what thei meane. The tongue is ordeined to expresse
the mynde, that one mighte understande anothers
meanynge: Nowe what availeth to speake, when none can
tell, what the speaker meaneth? Therefore Phauorinus 10
the Philosophier (as Gellius telleth the tale) did hit
a yong man over the thumbes, very handsomely for usyng
over olde, and over straunge woordes. Sirha (quoth
he) when our old great auncesters and graundsires wer
alive their spake plainly in their mothers tongue, and 15
used old language, suche as was spoken then at the
buildyng of Rome. But you talke me such Latin, as
though you spake with them even now, that were two or
thre thousande yeres ago, and onely because you would
have no man, to understand what you saie. Now wer it 20
not better for thee a thousand fold (thou foolishe

3. In margin: Plain wordes proper unto an Oratour.

15. In margin: A Philosophers wittie saiyng to a yong manne,
that soughte to speake darke language.

fellowe) in sekynge to have thy desire, to holde thy
 peace, and speak nothyng at all? For then by that
 meanes, few should knowe what were thy meanyng. But
 thou saiest, the olde antiquitee doeth like thee best,
 because it is good, sobre, and modest. Ah, live man 5
 as thei did before thee, and speake thy mynde now, as
 menne do at this daie. And remember that, whiche
 Cesar saith, beware as long as thou livest, of
 straunge woordes, as thou wouldest take hede and
 eschewe greate rockes in the Sea. 10

The next parte that he hath to plaie, is to chere
 his gestes, and to make then take pleasure, with
 hearyng of thynges wittely devised, and pleasauntly
 set furthe. Therefore every Orator should earnestly
 laboure to file his tongue, that his woordes maie 15
 slide with ease, and that in his deliveraunce, he maie
 have suche grace, as the sound of a lute, or any suche
 instrument doeth geve. Then his sentences must be
 well framed, and his wordes aptly used, throughout the
 whole discourse of his Oracion. 20

Thirdly, suche quicknesse of witte must be
 shewed, and suche pleasaunt sawes so well applied,

13. In margin: Orators muste use delightful woordes,
 and saiynges.

that the eares maie finde muche delite, wherof I will
 speake largely, when I shall entreate of movyng
 laughter. And assuredly nothyng is more nedefull,
 then to quicken these heavie loden wittes of ours, and
 muche to cherishe these our lompishe and unweldie 5
 natures, for except menne finde delight, thei will not
 long abide: delight theim, and wyne theim: werie
 theim, and you lose theim for ever. And that is the
 reason, that menne commonly tary the ende of a merie
 plaie, and cannot abide the halfe hearyng of a sower 10
 checkyng Sermon. Therefore, even these auncient
 preachers, must now and then plaie the fooles in the
 pulpite, to serve the tickle eares of their fleetyng
 audience, or els thei are like some tymes to preache
 to the bare walles, for though the spirite bee apte, 15
 and our will prone, yet our fleshe is so heavie, and
 humours so overwhelme us, that wee cannot without
 refreshyng, long abide to heare any one thyng. Thus
 we se, that to delight is nedefull, without the
 whiche, weightier matters will not be heard at all, 20

9. In margin: Preachers not so diligently heard, as common plaiers.

13. In margin: Prechers must sometymes be merie, when thei speake to the people.

and therefore hym cunne I thanke, that bothe can and
will ever, myngle swete, among the sower, be he
Preacher, Lawyer, yea, or Cooke either hardely, when
he dresseth a good dishe of meate: now I nede not tell
that scurrilitie, or Alehouse jestyng, would bee 5
thought odious, or grosse mirthe would be deamed
madnesse: consideryng that even the meane witted doe
knowe that already, and as for other, that have no
witte, thei will never learne it, therefore God spede
them. Now when these twoo are dooen, he muste 10
perswade, and move the affecciions of his hearers in
suche wise, that thei shalbe forced to yelde unto his
saiyng, wherof (because the matter is large, and maie
more aptly bee declared, when I shall speake of
Amplificacion) I wil surcease to speake any thyng 15
thereof at this tyme.

By what meanes Eloquence is attained.

First nedefull it is that he, whiche desireth to

3.In margin: Delityng nedefull.

5.In margin: Scurrilitie odious.

12.In margin: Affecciions must be moved.

excell in this gift of Oratorie, and longeth to prove
 an eloquent man, must naturally have a wit, and an
 aptnesse thereunto: then must he to his boke, and
 learne to be well stored with knowelege, that he maie
 be able to minister matter, for all causes 5
 necessarie. The which when he hath gotte plentifully,
 he muste use muche exercise, bothe in writyng, and
 also in speakyng. For though he have a wit and
 learnyng together, yet shal thei bothe litle availe
 without much practise. What maketh the lawyer to have 10
 suche utteraunce? Practise. What maketh the Preacher
 to speake so roundly? Practise. Yea, what maketh
 women go so fast awaie with their wordes? Marie,
 practise I warraunt you. Therefore in all faculties,
 diligent practise, and earnest exercise, are the onely 15
 thynges, that make men prove excellent. Many men
 knowe the arte very well, and be in all poyntes
 thoroughly grounded, and acquainted with the preceptes,
 and yet it is not their hap to prove eloquent. And
 the reason is, that eloquence it self, came not up 20
 first by the arte, but the arte rather was gathered

10. In margin: Practise maketh all thynges perfect.

20. In margin: Rhetorique first made by wise men,
 and not wise men first made by Rhetorique.

upon eloquence. For wise menne seyng by muche
 observacion; and diligent practise, the compasse of
 diverse causes, compiled thereupon preceptes and
 lessons, worthie to bee knowen and learned of all men.
 Therefore before arte was invented, eloquence was 5
 used, and through practise made perfecte, the whiche
 in all thynges is a soveraigne meane, most highly to
 excell.

Now before we use either to write, or speake
 eloquently we must dedicate our myndes wholly, to 10
 folowe the moste wise and learned menne, and seke to
 fashion, aswel their speache and gesturyng, as their
 wit or endityng. The whiche when we earnestly mynde
 to do, we cannot but in time appere somewhat like
 theim. For if thei that walke much in the sone, and 15
 thinke not of it, are yet for the most part sonne
 burnt, it cannot be but that thei, whiche wittyngly
 and willyngly travaile to counterfecte other, muste
 nedes take some colour of theim, and be like unto
 theim, in some one thyng or other, accordyng to the 20
 Proverbe, by companyng with the wise, a man shall
 learne wisdom.

11. In margin: Imitacion or folowyng the waies of
 wise men, is nedefull.

To what purpose this arte is set furthe.

To this purpose and for this use, is the arte
 compiled together, by the learned and wise men, that
 those whiche are ignorant, might judge of the lerned;
 and labour (when tyme should require) to folow their 5
 workes accordyngly. Again, the art helpeth well to
 dispose and order matters of our awne invencion, the
 whiche we may folowe, aswell in speakyng, as in
 writyng for though many by nature without art, have
 proved worthie menne, yet is arte a surer guide, then 10
 nature, consideryng we se as lively by the art, what
 we do, as though we red a thyng in writtyng, whereas
 natures doynges are not so open to all men. Again,
 those that have good wittes, by nature, shall better
 encrease them by arte, and the blunte also shalbe 15
 whetted though art, that want nature to help them
 forward.

3.In margin: Rhetorique, to what purpose it serveth.

11.In margin: Arte, surer guide, then nature.

Five thynges to be considered in an Oratour.

Any one that will largely handle any matter, muste fasten his mynde, first of all upon these five especial poyntes that folowe, and learne theim every one.

5

- i. Invencion of matter.
- ii. Disposicion of the same.
- iii. Elocucion.
- iiii. Memorie.
- v. Utteraunce.

10

The findyng out of apte matter, called otherwise Invention, is a searchyng out of thynges true, or thynges likely, the whiche maie reasonably sette furth a matter, and make it appere probable. The places of Logique, geve good occasion to finde out plentifull matter. And therefore thei that will prove any cause and seke onely to teache thereby the truthe, 15 must searche out the places of Logique, and no doubt

5. In margin: Orators must have five thinges to make them perfect.

11. In margin: Invencion, what it is.

much treasure and apte matter, if man cannot apply it
 to his purpose. Therefore in the seconde place is
 mencioned, the settelyng or orderyng of thynges
 invented for this purpose, called in Latine,
Dispositio, the whiche is nothyng else, but an apt 5
 bestowyng, and orderly placyng of thynges, declaryng
 where every argument shalbe sette, and in what maner
 every reason shalbe applied, for confirmacion of the
 purpose.

But yet what helpeth it though we can finde good 10
 reasons, and knowe howe to place theim, if we have not
 apte wordes, and picked sentences, to commende the
 whole matter. Therefore this poynt must nedes
 folowe, to beautifie the cause, the which beyng called
 Elocucion, is an applyng of apte wordes and sentences 15
 to the matter, founde out to confirme the cause. When
 all these are had together, it availeth litle, if
 manne have no Memorie to contein theim. The Memorie
 therefore must be cherished, the whiche is a fast
 holdyng, bothe of matter and woordes couched together, 20

5. In margin: Disposicion, what it is.

15. In margin: Elocucion, what it is.

19. In margin: Memorie what it is.

to confirme any cause.

Be it now that one have all these .iiii, yet if
 he want the fift, all the other dooe litle profite.
 For though a manne can finde out good matter, and good
 woordes, though he canne handsomely set them together, 5
 and cary them very well awaie in his mynde, yet it is
 to no purpose, if he have no utteraunce, when he
 should speake his minde, and shewe men what he hath to
 saie. Utteraunce therefore is a framynge of the voyce,
 countenaunce, and gesture, after a comely maner. 10

Thus we se that every one of these must go
 together, to make a perfecte Oratoure, and that the
 lacke of one, is an hynderaunce of the whole, and that
 aswell all maie be wantyng, as one, if we loke to have
 an absolute Oratour. 15

There are .vii. partes in every Oracion.

- i. The Enteraunce or beginnyng.
- ii. The Narracion. 20
- iii. The Proposition.

9. In margin: Pronunciation, what it is.

19. In margin: Orations in generall, consist
 upon seven partes.

- iiii. The Division or severall partyng of thynges.
- v. The Confirmacion.
- vi. The Confutacion.
- vii. The Conclusion.

The Enteraunce or beginnyng, is the former part 5
 of the Oracion, whereby the wil of the standers by, or
 of the Judge is sought for, and required to heare the
 matter.

The Narracion, is a plain and manifest poynctyng
 of the matter, and an evident setting furthe of all 10
 thynges, that belong unto the same, with a brief
 rehersall, grounded upon some reason.

The Proposicion, is a pithie sentence,
 comprehendyng in a smale roume, the some of the whole
 matter. 15

The Division, is an openyng of thynges, wherin we
 agree and rest upon, and wherein we sticke, and stande

5. In margin: Enteraunce, what it is.

10. In margin: Narration.

14. In margin: Proposicion.

17. In margin: Division.

in traverse shewyng what we have to saie, in our awne behalfe.

The Confirmacion, is a declaracion of our awne reasons with assured and constaunt profes.

The Confutacion, is a dissoluyng or wipying awaie, 5
of all suche reasons as make against us.

The Conclusion, is a clarkely gatheryng of the matter, spoken before, and a lappyng up of it altogether.

Now because in every one of these, greate hede 10
ought to be had, and mucche arte must be used, to content and like all parties: I purpose in the second booke to set furthe at large every one of these, that bothe we maie knowe in all partes, what to folowe, and what to eschewe. And first when tyme shalbe to talke 15
of any matter, I would advise every man, to consider the nature of the cause self, that the rather he might frame his whole frame his whole Oracion thereafter.

4.In margin: Confirmacion.

6.In margin: Confutacion.

8.In margin: Conclusion.

Every matter is conteined in one of these .iiii.

Either it is an honest thyng, whereof we speake,
or els it is filthy and vile, or els betwixte bothe,
and doubtfull what to bee called, or els it is some
triflyng matter, that is of small weight. 5

i. That is called an honest matter, when either
wee take in hande suche a cause, that all menne would
maintein, or els gainsaie suche a cause, that no man
can well like.

ii. Then do we hold and defende a filthy matter, 10
when either wee speake against our conscience in an
evill matter, or els withstande an upright truthe.

iii. The cause then is doubtfull, when the
matter is half honest, and halfe dishonest.

iiii. Suche are triflyng causes, when there is no 15
weight in them, as if one should phantasy, to praise a

2.In margin: Matters in general, stand in .iiii. poyntes.

6.In margin: Matters, honest.

10.In margin: Matters, filthie.

13.In margin: Matters, doubtfull.

15.In margin: Matters, trifelyng.

Gose, before any other beast livyng (as I knowe who
 did) or of fruict to commende nuttes chefly, as Ovid
 did, or the fever quartaine, as Phavorinus did, or the
 Gnatte, as Virgill did, or the battail of Frogges as
 Homere did, or dispraise beardes, or commende shaven 5
 heddes.

Good hede to bee taken at the first, upon the handelyng of
 any matter in Judgement.

Not onely it is necessarie to knowe, what maner
 of cause wee have taken in hande, when wee firste 10
 enter upon any matter, but also it is wisdomes to
 consider the tyme, the place, the man for whom wespeake,
 the man against whom we speake, the matter
 whereof we speake, and the judges before whom we
 speake, the reasons that best serve to further our 15
 cause, and those reasons also, that maie seme some
 what to hynder our cause, and in no wise to use any
 suche at all, or els warely to mitigate by
 protestacion, the evil that is in theim, and alwaies
 to use whatsoever can bee saied, to wyne the chief 20

12. In margin: Circumstaunces necessary in al causes
 to bee noted.

hearers good willes, and perswade theim to our
 purpose. If the cause go by favour, and that reason
 cannot so muche availe, as good will shalbe able to
 do: or els if movyng affeccions can do more good, then
 bryngyng in of good reasons, it is meete alwaies to 5
 use that waie, whereby we maie by good helpe, get the
 over hand. That if mine adversaries reasons, by me
 beyng confuted, serve better to help forward my cause,
 then mine awn reasons confirmed, can be able to doe
 good: I should wholly bestowe my time, and travaill to 10
 weaken and make slender, all that ever he bringeth
 with hym. But if I can with more ease, prove myne
 awne saiynges, either with witnesses, or with wordes,
 then be able to confute his with reason, I must labour
 to withdrawe mennes myndes, from myne adversaries 15
 foundation, and require then wholly to herken unto that
 whiche I have to saie, beyng of it self so just and so
 reasonable, than none can rightly speake against it,
 and shewe theim that greate pitie it were, for lacke

2.In margin: Favoure wynnyng, and affeccions
 movyng, when thei are moste necessarie.

8.In margin: Adversaries reasons, when thei
 should best be confuted.

15.In margin: Arguments when thei should chiefly
 be used.

of the only hearyng, that a true matter, should want
 true dealyng. Over and besides all these, there
 remain two lessons, the whiche wisemenne have alwaies
 observed, and therefore ought of all men, assuredly to
 be learned, The one is, that if any matter be laied 5
 against us, whiche by reason can hardely bee avoyded,
 or the whiche is so open, that none almoste can deny,
 it were wisdom in confutyng all the other reasons,
 to passe over this one, as though we sawe it not, and
 therefore speake never a worde of it. Or els if 10
 necessitie shall force a man to saie some what, he may
 make an outward bragge, as though there wer no matter
 in it, ever so speakyng of it, as though he would
 stande to the triall, makyng men to beleve, he would
 fight in the cause, when better it were (if necessitie 15
 so required) to run clene awaie. And herein though a
 man do flie and geve place, evermore the gladder, the
 lesse ravyng there is or stirryng in this matter: yet
 he flieth wisely, and for this ende, that beyng fensed
 otherwise, and strongly appoynced, he maie take his 20
 adversary at the best advauntage, or at the least,

5. In margin: Matters, hard to avoid, shuld
 alwaies bee past over, as though we saw them not at al.

12. In margin: Good to bee bolde in moaste daunger,
 if other wise wee cannot escape.

adversary at the best advauntage, or at the least,
 werie hym with muche linyng, and make hym with oft
 suche fliying, to forsake his chief defence.

The other lesson is, that whereas we purpose
 alwaies to have the victorie, wee should so speake, 5
 that we maie labour rather not to hynder, or hurt our
 cause, then to seke meanes to further it. And yet I
 speake not this, but that bothe these are right
 necessarie, and every one that will doo good, muste
 take peines in theim bothe, but yet notwithstanding, 10
 it is a fouler faulte a greate deale, for an Orator to
 be founde hurting his awne cause, then it should turne
 to his rebuke, if he had not furthered his whole
 entent. Therefore not onely is it wisdom, to speake
 so muche as is nedefull, but also it is good reason, 15
 to leave unspoken so muche as is nedeless, the whiche
 although the wisest can do, and nede no teachyng, yet
 these common wittes offende muche nowe and then, in
 this behalfe. Some man beyng stirred, shall hurt more
 our cause then twentie other. Tauntyng wordes before 20

7.In margin: Better not to hurte a good matter
 by evil speach, then to further it by good talke.

15.In margin: Warenesse in speakyng, and forbearyng
 to speake.

20.In margin: The person before whom we speake, must
 be well marked.

some menne, will not be borne at all. Sharpe rebukying
 of our adversary or frumpes geven before some
 persones: cannot be suffered at all. Yea, sometymes a
 man must not speake all that he knoweth, for if he
 doo, he is like to finde small favour, although he 5
 have juste cause to speake, and maie with reason
 declare his mynde at large. And albeit that witlesse
 folke, can soner rebuke that, whiche is fondly spoken,
 then redely praise that whiche is wisely kept close,
 yet the necessitie of the matter, must rather be 10
 marked, then the fonde judgement of the people
 esteemed. What a sore saiyng were this? When a lawyer
 should take in hande a matter, concernyng life and
 death, and another should aske how he hath sped, to
 heare tel that the lawyer, hath not onely cast awaie 15
 his client, but undoen hymself also, in speakyng
 thynges inconsideratly, as no doubt it often
 happeneth, that wise men, and those also that bee none
 evill men neither, maie unwares speake thynges, which
 afterward thei sore repent, and would cal backe again 20
 with losse of a greate somme. Now what a folly it is,
 not to remember the tyme and the men. Or who will
 speake that whiche he knoweth will not be liked, if he

purpose to finde favour at their handes, before whom
 he speaketh, what man of reason will praise that
 before the Judges, (before whom he knoweth the
 determinacion of his cause resteth) whiche the Judges
 self cannot abide to heare spoken at all? Or doeth 5
 not he much hinder his awne matter, that without al
 curtesie or preface made, will largely speake evil of
 those men, whom the hearers of his cause, tenderly doo
 favour? Or be it that there be some notable faulte in
 thyne adversary, with whiche the Judges also are 10
 infected, were it not foly for thee, to charge thyne
 adversary with the same. Consideryng the Judges
 thereby maie thynke, thou speakest against theim also,
 and so thou maiest perhappes, lose their favour in
 sekyng suche defence, made without all discrecion. 15
 And in framing reasons, to confirme the purpose, if
 any be spoken plainly false, or els contrary to that,
 which was spoken before, dooeth it not muche hynder a
 good matter? Therefore in all causes, this good hede
 ought to bee had, that alwaies we labour to do some 20
 good, in furtheryng of our cause, or it we cannot so
 do, at the least that we doo no harme at all.

There are three kyndes of causes, or Oracions, whiche
serve for every matter.

Nothing can be handled by this arte, but the same
is conteined, within one of these .iii. causes.
Either the matter consisteth in praise, or dispraise 5
of a thyng, or els in consultyng, whether the cause be
profitable, or unprofitable, or lastly, whether the
matter be right, or wrong. And yet this one thyng is
to be learned that in every one of these three causes,
these three severall endes, maie every of them be 10
conteined, in any one of them. And therefore he that
shall have cause, to praise any one body, shall have
juste cause to speake of justice, to entreate of
profite, and joyntly to talke of one thyng with
another. But because these three causes, are commonly 15
and for the most part, severally parted, I will speake
of them, one after another, as thei are sette furthe
by wise mennes judgements, and particularly declare
their properties, all in order.

The Oracion deonstrative, standeth either in 20

2.In margin: Orations, or causes of three kyndes.

7.three] 63; foure 53

19.In margin: Oracion Demonstrative.

praise, or dispraise of some one man, or of some one
thyng, or of some one deede doen.

The kynde Demonstrative, wherin chiefly it is
occupied.

There are diverse thynges, whiche are praised, 5
and dispraised, as Menne, Countries, Citees, Places,
Beastes, Hilles, Rivers, Houses, Castles, Dedes doen
by worthy menne, and Pollicies invented by greate
warriers, but moste commonly men are praised, for
diverse respectes, before any of the other thynges are 10
taken in hande.

Nowe in praisyng a noble personage, and in
settyng furthe at large his worthiness, Quintilian
geveth warnyng, to use this threfolded order.

	Before his life.	15
To observe thynges.	In his life.	
	After his death.	

Before a mannes life, are considered these places.

The Realme.

11. In margin: Noble personages, howe thei should
be praised.

The Shire.

The Toune.

The Parentes.

The Auncestours.

In a mannes life, praise must be parted 5
threfolde. That is to saie, into the giftes of good
thynges of the mynde, the body, and of fortune. Now
the giftes of the body, and of fortune, are not praise
worthy, of their awne nature: but even as thei are
used, either to, or fro, so thei are either praised, 10
or dispraised. Giftes of the mynde, deserve the whole
trumpe and sound commendacion above all other, wherein
wee maie use the rehersall of vertues, as thei are in
order, and beginnyng at his infancie, tell all his
doynge, till his last age. 15

The places whereof, are these.

The birthe, and infancie	Whether the person be a man or a woman.
--------------------------	--

The childhode.	The bryngyng up, the nurturyng, and behaviour 20 of his life.
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The stripelyng age, or spryng tide.	To what study he taketh hymself unto, what course he useth, how he liveth.
--	---

Wherunto are referred these.

5

The manes state.	Prowesses doen, either abrode, or at home.
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The olde age.	His pollicies and wittie devices in behove of the publique wele
---------------	---

10

The tyme of his departure or deth.	Thynges that have happened aboute his death.
---------------------------------------	--

Now to open al these places more largely, as well
those that are before a mannes life, as suche as are 15
in his life, and after his death, that the reader maie
further se the profite, I will do the best I can.

The house wherof a noble personage came,
declares the state and nature of his auncesters, his

19. In margin: The house or auncestrie wherof a noble
personage cometh.

alliaunce, and his kynfolke. So that suche worthy
 feactes, as thei have heretofore doen, and al suche
 honors as thei have had, for suche their good service,
 redowndes wholly to the encrease and amplifiyng of his
 honour, that is now livyng.

5

The Realme, declares the nature of the people.
 So that some Countrey brengeth more honor with it,
 then another doth. To be a Frenche manne, descendyng
 there of a noble house, is more honor then to be an
 Irishe manne: to bee an Englishe manne borne, is muche 10
 more honour, then to be a Scotte, because that by
 these men, worthy prowesses have been dooen, and
 greater affaires by theim attempted, then have been
 doen by any other.

The Shire or Toune helpeth somewhat, towards the 15
 encrease of honour: As it is muche better, to be borne
 in Paris, then in Picardie, in London, then in
 Lincolne. For that bothe the aire is better, the
 people more civill, and the wealth much greater, and
 the menne for the moste parte more wise.

20

To bee borne a manchilde, declares a courage,
 gravitie, and constancie. To be borne a woman,

7.In margin: ii. The realme.

15.In margin: iii. The Shire or Toune.

21.In margin: iii. The sere or kynde.

declares weakenes of spirite, neshenes of body, and
fikelness of mynde.

Now for the bringing up of a noble personage, his
nurse must be considered, his plaie felowes observed,
his teacher and other his servauntes, called in 5
remembraunce. Howe every one of these lived then,
with whom thei have lived afterwardes, and how thei
live now.

By knowyng what he taketh hymself unto, and
wherin he most deliteth, I maie commende hym for his 10
learnynge, for his skill in the Frenche, or in the
Italian, for his knowlege in Cosmographie: for his
skill in the lawes, in the histories of all countreis,
and for his gift of endityng. Again, I maie commende
hym for plaiyng at weapons, for runnyng upon a greate 15
horse, for chargyng his staffe at the Tylte, for
vautyng, for plaiyng upon instrumentes, yea, and for
paintyng, or drawyng of a platte, as in old tyme noble
princes, mucche delited therein.

5. In margin: v. Educacion.

11. In margin: vi. Inclination of nature.

Prowesses doen, declare his service to the Kyng,
and his countrey, either in withstanding the outwarde
enemie, or els in aswagyng the rage of his awne
countreyemen at home.

His wise counsaill, and good advise geven, settes 5
furthe the goodnesse of his witte.

At the tyme of his departyng, his sufferance of
all sicknesse, may muche commende his worthinesse. As
his strong harte, and cherefull pacience even to the
ende, cannot want greate praise. The love of all men 10
towards hym, and the lamentyng generally for his
lacke, helpe well moste highly to set furthe his
honour.

After a mannes death, are considered his tombe,
his cote armour set up, and all suche honours, as are 15
used in funeralles. If any one liste to put these
preceptes in practise, he maie doo, as hym liketh

1.Prowesses] Prowesse 53

2.In margin: vii. Attemptes worthy.

6.In margin: viii. Wise counsaill

8.In margin: ix. Tyme of departing this worlde.

15.In margin: After departure.

best. And surely I do thynke, that nothyng so muche
 furthereth knowlege, as daiely exercise, and enuryng
 our selves to do that in dede, whiche we know in
 woorde. And because examples geve greate lighte,
 after these preceptes are set furthe, I will commende 5
 two noble gentlemen, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and his
 brother lorde Chares Duke with hym.

An example of commmending a noble personage.

Better or more wisely can none do, then thei
 which never bestowe praise, but upon those that best 10
 deserve praise, rather myndyng discretly, what thei
 ought to dooe, then vainly devisyng what thei best can
 doo, sekyng rather to praise menne, suche as are
 founde worthy, then curiously findyng meanes to praise
 matters, such as never wer in any. For thei which 15
 speake otherwise then truthe is, mynd not the
 commendacion of the persone, but the setting furthe of
 their awne learnyng. As Gorgias in Plato, praisyng
 unrighteousnes, Heliogabalus Oratours, commendyng

6. In margin: Duke of Suffolke, and lord Charles.

18. In margin: Gorgias.

19. In margin: Heliogabalus.

whoredome, Phavorinus the Philosophier, extolling the
 fever Quartaine, thought not to speake as the cause
 required, but would so much saie as their wit would
 geve, not weighyng the state of the cause, but myndyng
 the vaunte of their brain, lookyng how much could be 5
 said, not passyng how litle should be saied. But I
 bothe knowyng the might of Gods hand, for suche as
 love fables, and the shame that in yearth redoundeth
 to evil reporters, will not commende that or those,
 which neede no good praise, but will commende them, 10
 that no man justly can dispraise, nor yet any open is
 well able worthely to praise. Their towardnes was
 suche, and their giftes so great, that I know none
 whiche love learnyng, but hath sorowed the lacke of
 their beeyng, and I knowe that the onely namyng of 15
 them, will stirre honest hartes, to speake well of
 them. I will speake of two brethren, that lately
 departed, the one Henry Duke of Suffolke, and the
 other Lorde Charles his brother, whom God thinkyng
 meter for heaven, then to live here upon yearth, toke 20
 from us in his anger, for the betteryng of our

1. In margin: Phavorinus.

19. In margin: Henry duke of Suffolke, and lorde Charles his brother.

doynge, and amendement of our evill livyng. These
 twoo gentlemen were borne in noble England, bothe by
 father and mother, of an high parentage. The father
 called Duke Charles, by marriage beyng brother, to the
 worthy kyng of famous memorie, Henry theight, was in 5
 such favour, and did such service, that all Englande
 at this houre, doeth finde his lacke, and Fraunce yet
 doth fele, that suche a duke there was, whom in his
 life tyme, the godly, loved: the evil, feared: the
 wise men, honored for his wit, and the simple, used 10
 alwaies for their counsaill. Their mother, of birthe
 noble, and witte great, of nature gentle, and
 mercifull to the poore, and to the godly, and
 especially to the learned, an earnest good patronesse,
 and moste helpyng Lady above all other. In their 15
 youthe their father died, the eldest of them beyng not
 past .ix. yeres of age. After whose death, their
 mother knowyng, that welth with out wit, is like a
 sworde in a naked mannes hand, and assuredly certain,
 that knowledge would confirme judgement, provided so 20
 for their bringyng up, in al vertue and learnyng, that
 ii. like were not to be had, within this realme again.
 When thei began bothe, to waxe somewhat in yeres,
 beyng in their primetide, and spring of their age,
 thelder waityng of the kynges majestie that now is, 25

was generally well esteemed, and suche hope was
 conceived of his towardnes, both for learnyng, and al
 other thinges, that fewe wer like unto hym in al the
 courte. The other kepyng his boke, emong the Cambrige
 men, profited (as thei all well knowe) bothe in vertue 5
 and learnyng, to their greate admiracion. For the
 Greke, the Latine, and the Italian, I knowe he could
 dooe more, than would be thought true by my report. I
 leave to speke of his skill in pleasaunt instrumentes,
 neither will I utter his aptness in Musike, and his 10
 toward nature, to all exercises of the body. But his
 elder brother in this tyme (besides his other giftes
 of the mynde, whiche passed all other, and were
 almoste incredible) folowyng his fathers nature was so
 delited with ridyng, and runnyng in armour upon 15
 horsebacke, and was so comely for that feacte, and
 could do so well in chargyng his staffe, beyng but
 .xiiii. yeres of age, that menne of warre even at this
 houre, mone mucche the want of suche a worthy
 gentleman. Yea, the French men that first wondered at 20
 his learnyng, when he was here emong theim, and made a
 notable Oracion in Latine: were much more astoined
 when thei saw his comely ridyng, and litle thought to
 finde these twoo ornaments, joyned bothe in one, his
 yeres especally beyng so tender, and his practise of 25

so small tyme. Afterward commyng from the courte, as
 one that was desierous to be emong the learned, he
 laie in Cambrige together with his brother, where thei
 bothe so profited, and so gently used themselves, that
 all Cambrige did reverence, bothe hym and his brother 5
 as two jewelles sent from God, Thelders nature was
 suche, that he thought hymself best, when he was emong
 the wisest, and yet contempned none, but thankfully
 used all, gentle in behavior without childishenes,
 stoute of stomake without al pride, bold with all 10
 wareness, and frendly with good advisement. The yonger
 beeyng not so ripe in yeres, was not so grave in
 looke, rather chereful, than sad: rather quicke, then
 auncient: but yet if his brother were sette a side,
 not one that went beyonde hym. A childe that by his 15
 awne inclinacion, so much yelded to his ruler, as few
 by chastement have doen the like, pleasaunt of speech,
 prompte of witte, stiryng by nature, hault without
 hate, kynde without crafte, liberall of harte, gentle
 in behaviour, forward in all thynges, gredy of 20
 learnyng, and lothe to take a foyle, in any open
 assembly. Thei both in al attemptes, sought to have
 the victory, and in exercise of witte, not onely the
 one with the other, did ofte stande in contencion, but
 also thei bothe would matche with the best, and 25

thought themselves most happie, when thei might have
 any just occasion, to put their wittes in triall. And
 now when this grene fruicte began to waxe ripe, and al
 menne longed to have tast, of suche their greate
 forwardnesse: God preventyng mannes expectacion, toke 5
 theim bothe aboute one houre, and in so shorte tyme,
 that first thei wer knownen to be dedde, or any abroad
 could tell thei were sicke, I neede not to reherse,
 what bothe thei spake, before their departure
 (consideryng, I have serverally written, bothe in 10
 Latine and in Englishe, of the same matter) neither
 wil I heape here so muche together as I can, because I
 should rather renewe greate sorowe to many, then do
 moste men any great good, who loved them so well
 generally, that fewe for a greate space after, spake 15
 of these twoo gentle menne, but thei shewed teares,
 with the onely utteraunce of their wordes, and some
 through over muche sorowyng, wer fain to forbeare
 speakyng. God graunt us al so to live, that the good
 men of this world, may be alwaies lothe to forsake us, 20
 and God maie still be glad to have us, as no doubt
 these twoo children so died, as all men should wishe
 to live, and so thei lived both, as al should wishe to
 die. Seyng therfore these two wer suche, bothe or
 birthe, nature, and all other giftes of grace, that 25

the like are hardely founde behynde theim: let us so
 speake of them, that our good report maie warne us,
 to folow their godly natures, and that lastly, wee
 maie enjoye that enheritunce, whereunto God hath
 prepared them and us (that feare him) from the
 beginnyng. Amen.

5

The partes of an Oracion, made
 in praise of a manne.

The Enteraunce.

The Narracion.

Sometymes

the confutacion. 10

The Conclusion.

If any one shall have just cause, to dispraise an
 evill man, he shall sone do it, if he can praise a
 good man. For (as Aristotle doeth saie) of
 contraries, there is one and the same doctrine, and
 therefore he that can do the one, shall sone be able
 to do the other.

15

Of an Oracion demonstrative, for some deede doen.

The kynd demonstrative of some thyng doen is
 this, when a man is commended or dispraised, for any

acte committed in his life.

The places to confirme this cause, when any one is
commended, are sixe in number.

	i.	It is honest.	
	ii.	It is possible.	5
The places of Confirmacion.	iii.	Easie to be doen.	
	iiii.	Hard to be doen.	
	v.	Possible to be doen.	10
	vi.	Impossible to be doen.	

Seven circumstaunces, whiche are to bee considered in
diverse matters.

	i.	Who did the deede.	15
	ii.	What was doen.	
The circumstaunces.	iii.	Where it was doen.	
	iiii.	What helpe had he to it.	
	v.	Wherefore he did it.	20
	vi.	How he did it.	

vii. At what tyme he
did it.

The circumstaunces in meter.

Who, what, and where, by what helpe, and by whose:

Why, how, and when, do many thynges disclose. 5

These places helpe wonderfully, to set out any
matter, and to amplifie it to the uttermoste, not
onely in praisyng, or dispraisyng, but also in all
other causes where any advisement is to bee used. Yet
this one thyng is to bee learned, that is shall not 10
bee necessarie, to use theim altogether, even as thei
stande in order: but rather as tyme and place shall
best require, thei maie bee used in any parte of the
Oracion, even as it shall please hym that hath the
usyng of them. 15

Again, if any manne bee disposed, to rebuke any
offence, he maie use the places contrary unto theim
that are above rehersed, and apply these
circumstaunces even as thei are, to the profe of his
purpose. 20

An example of commendynge kyng David, for killyng
greate Goliah, gathered and made by observacion of
circumstaunces.

God beyng the aucthor of mankynde, powryng into
hym the breath of life, and framyng hym of claie in 5
suche a comely wife, as we al now se, hath from the
beginnyng, been so carefull over his electe and
chosen, that in al daungers, he is ever redy to assist
his people, kepyng theim harmelesse, when thei were
often paste all mannes hope. And emong all other his 10
fatherly goodnesse, it pleased hym to shewe his power,
in his chosen servaut David, that all mighte learne to
knowe his mighte, and reken with themselves, that
though man geve the stroke, yet God it is that geveth
the overhande. For whereas David was of small 15
stature, weake of body, poore of birthe, and base in
the sight of the wordlynges, God called hym firste to
matche with an houghe monster, a litle body, against a
mightie Gyaunt, an abjecte Israelite, against a most
valiaunct Philistine, with whom no Israelite durst 20
encounter. These Philistines mynded the murder and

5. In margin: David commended for killing Goliah.

11. In margin: Who? David against Goliah.

overthrowe, of all the Israelites, trustyng in their
 awne strength so muche, that thei feared no perill,
 but made an accompte, that all was theirs before
 hande. Now when bothe these armies were in sight, the
 Philistines upon an hill of the one side, and the 5
 Israelites upon an hill, of the other side, a vale
 beyng betwixe them bothe, there marched out of the
 Campe, a base borne Philistine, called Goliah of Geth,
 a manne of sixe cubites high. This souldiour, when
 through the bignes and stature of his body, and also 10
 with greate bragges, and terrible threatenynge, he
 had wonderfully abashed the whole armie of the
 Israelites, so that no man durst adventure upon hym,
 God to the ende he mighte deliver Israell, and shew
 that mannes helpe, with all his armour, litle availe 15
 to get victory, without his especiall grace: and
 again, to the ende he might set up David, and make hym
 honourable emong the Israelites, did then call out
 David, the sonne of Ephrates, of Bethleem Juda, whose
 name was Isai, who beeyng but a child in yeres, did 20
 kill out of hande, by Goddes might and power, Goliah
 the most terrible enemye of all other, that bare hate
 against the children of Israell. When this mightie

21. In margin: What? David killed Goliah.

felowe was slain, aboute the vale of Terebinthus,
 betwixt both tharmies, the Israelites rejoyced, that
 before quaked, and wondered at hym then, whom thei
 would scant know before, and no doubt this dede was
 not onely wonderfull, but also right godly. For in
 battail to kill an enemie, is thoughte right worthy,
 or to adventure upon rebell, (though the succeſſe
 folowe not) is generally commended: yea, to put one to
 the worse, or to make hym flie the ground, is called
 manly, but what shall we ſaie of David, that not onely
 had the better hande, not onely bette his enemie, but
 killed ſtreight his enemie, yea, and not an enemy, of
 the common ſtature of men, but a mightie Gyaunt, not a
 man, but a monster, yea, a devill in hart, and a beast
 in body? Can any be compted more honest, then ſuche
 as ſeke to ſave their countrey, by haſardynge their
 carcasses, and ſhedyng of their bloude? Can love
 ſhewe it ſelf greater, then by yeldyng of life, for
 the health of an armie? It had been muche, if half a

1. In margin: Where? About the vale of Terebithus.

15. In margin: Davids enterpriſe, honest and godly.

19. In margin: By what help and by whoſe? Alone, and
 without the help of any manne livyng.

dosen had dispatched, suche a terrible Gyaunte, but
 now, when David without helpe, beyng not yet a manne,
 but a boye in yeres, slew hym hande to hande, what
 juste praise dooeth he deserve? If we praise other,
 that have slain evill men, and compte them haulte, 5
 that have killed their matches, what shall we saie of
 David, that beyng wonderfully overmatched, made his
 partie good, and gotte the gole of a monster? Lette
 other praise Hercules, that thinke best of hym: let
 Cesar, Alexander, and Hanniball, bee bruted for 10
 warriors: David in my judgement, bothe did more manly,
 then all the other were able, and served his countrey
 in greater daunger, then ever any one of theim did.
 And shall wee not call suche a noble capitain, a good
 man of warre? Deserveth not his manhooe and stoute 15
 attempte, wonderfull praise? If vertue could speake,
 would she not sone confesse that David had her in full
 possession? And therfore if well doynge, by right
 maie challenge worthy brute, David wil be knowen, and
 never can want due praise, for suche an honest 20
 deede. And what man wil not saie, but that David did

7.In margin: Davids enterprise, praise worthy.

21.In margin: Why? For the saufegarde of his countrey.

mynde nothyng els herein, but the saufegarde of his
 countrey, thinkyng it better for himself to die, and
 his countrey to live, then hymself to live, and his
 countrey to die. What gain got David, by the death of
 Goliah, or what could he hope, by the death of such a 5
 monster, but onely that the love whiche he bare to the
 Israelites, forced hym to hasard his awne life:
 Thinkyng that if the Philistines should prevail the
 Iraelites wer like to perishe, every mothers sonne of
 them? Therefore he hassardying this attempe, 10
 considered with hymself, the saufegard of the
 Iraelites, the mainteinaunce of justice, his dueite
 towards God, his obedience to his prince, and his
 love to his countrey. And no doubte, God made this
 enterprise appere full easie, before David could have 15
 the harte, to matche hymself with suche a one. For
 though his harte might quake, beeyng voyde of Gods
 helpe, yet assuredly he wanted no stomacke, when God
 did set hym on. Let tirauntes rage, let hell stand
 open, let Sathan shewe his mighte, if God bee with us, 20
 who can bee against us? Though this Goliah appered so

8. In margin: Davides enterprise, profitable to hymself and his countrey.

14. In margin: Davides enter prise, appered easy to himself.

strong, that .x. Davides were not able, to stande in
his hande: yet .x. Goliaths were all over weake from
David alone. Man cannot judge, neither can reason
comprehende, the mightie power of God. When Pharoa
with all his armie, thoughte fully to destroye the 5
children of Israell, in the redde sea, did not God
preserve Moses, and destroye Pharao? What is man and
all his power that he can make, in the handes of God,
unto whom all creatures, bothe in heaven and in
yearth, are subiect at his commaundement? Therefore 10
it was no mastery for David, beyng assisted with God,
aswel to matche with the whole army, as to overthrowe
this one man. But what did the Israelites, when thei
sawe David take upon hym, suche a bolde enterprise?
Some saied he was rashe, other mocked hym to scorne, 15
and his brethren called hym foole. For thought thei,
what a madde felowe is he, beeyng but a lad in yeres,
to matche with suche a monster in body? How can it be
possible otherwise, but that he shalbe torne in peces,
even at his firste commyng? For if the Philistine 20
maie ones hit hym, he is goen though he had tenne
mennes lifes. Now what should he meane, so unegally

14. In margin: Davides enterprise, accompted of his frendes,
harde and impossible.

to matche himself except he were, wery of his life, or
 els were not well in his wittes? Yea, and to geve his
 enemies, all the advauntage that could bee, he came
 unarmed, and whereas the Philistine, had very strong
 armour, bothe to defende hymself, and a stronge 5
 weapon to fight withall, David came with a slyng
 onely, as though he would kill crowes, whereat, not
 onely the Philistine laughed, and disdained his folie,
 but also bothe the armies thought he was but a dedde
 man, before he gave one stroke. And in deede, by all 10
 reason and devise of manne there was none other waie,
 but deathe with hym, out of hande. David
 notwithstanding, beeyng kyndeled in harte with Gods
 might, was strong enough for him, in his awne opinion,
 and forced nothyng, though all other were muche 15
 against hym. And therefore made no more a dooe, but
 beyng redy to revenge in Goddes name, suche greate
 blasphemie, as the Philistine then did utter, marched
 towardes his enemye, and with castyng a stone out of a
 slyng, he overthrewe the Philistine at the first. The 20
 whiche when he had dooen, out with his sworde, and
 chopt of his hedde, caryng it with his armoure, to
 the Campe of the Israelites: whereat the Philistines

20. In margin: How? With a slyng.

wer greatly astonied, and the Israelites much praised
 God, that had geuen suche grace, to suche a one, to
 compasse suche a deede. And the rather this manly
 acte, is highly to be praised, because he subdued this
 houe enemye, when Saul firste reigned kyng over 5
 Israell, and was sore assaied with the greate armie of
 the Philistines. Lette us therefore that be now
 livyng, when this acte or suche life, come into our
 myndes: remember what God is, of how infinite power he
 is, and let us praise God in them, by whom he hath 10
 wrought suche wonders, to the strengthenyng of our
 faithe, and constaunt keepyng of our profession, made
 to hym, by every one of us, in our Baptisme.

Examinyng of the circumstaunces.

i. Who did the deede? 15

David beeyng an Israelite, did this deede, beeyng
 the sonne of Isai, of the Tribe of Juda, a boye in
 yeres, This circumstaunce was used, not onely in the
 narracion, but also when I spake of the honestie and
 godlinesse, whiche David used, when he slewe Goliah. 20

ii. What was doen?

He slewe Goliah, the strongest Giaunt among the Philistines. This circumstaunce I used also, when I spake of the honestie, in killyng Goliah.

iii. Where was it doen?

5

Aboute the vale of Terebinthus.

iiii. What helpe had he to it?

He had no help of any man, but went himself alone. And wheras Saul offred him harnes, he cast it away, and trusting onely in God, toke him to his sling, with .iiii. or .v. smal stones in his hand, the whiche wer thought nothyng in mannes sight, able either to do little good, or els nothing at al. This circumstaunce I used, when I spake of the easenesse and possibilite, that was in David, to kill Goliah, by Goddes help.

v. Wherefore did he it?

He adventured his life, for the love of his countrey, for the maintenaunce of justice, for

thadvauncement of Gods true glory, and for the
 quietnesse of all Israell, neither seekyng fame, nor
 yet lokyng for any gain. I used this circumstaunce,
 when I shewed what profite he sought, in adventuryng
 this deede.

5

vi. How did he it?

Marie he put a stone in his slyng, and when he
 had cast it at the Philistine, Goliah fel doune
 straight. I used this circumstaunce, when I spake of
 the impossibilite of the thing.

10

vii. What tyme did he it?

This deede was doen, when Saul reigned, first
 kyng over the Israelites, at what tymne the
 Philistines, came against the Israelites. Thus by the
 circumstaunces of thynges, a right worthy cause, maie
 be plentifully enlarged.

15

Of the Oracion demonstrative, where thynges are sette
 furthe, and matters commended.

The kynde demonstrative of thynges, is a meane
 wherby we do praise, or dispraise thynges, as vertue,

20

vice, tounes, cities, castles, woodes, waters, hilles,
and mountaines.

Places to confirme thynges are.iii.

	i.	Thynges honest.	
Places of confirmacion.	ii.	Profitable.	5
	iii.	Easie to be doen.	
	iiii.	Hard to be doen.	

Many learned, will have recourse to the places of
Logique in stede of these .iiii. places, when they
take in hand to commende any suche matter. The whiche 10
places if they make them serve rather to commende the
matter, then onely to teache men the truth of it, it
were wel done and Oratourlike. For seyng a man wholly
bestoweth his wit to plaie the Oratour, he shoulde
chefely seke to compasse that whiche he entendeth, and 15
not do that onely which he but half mynded. For by
plaine teachyng, the Logician shewes hymselfe, by
large amplification and beautifyng of his cause, the
Rhetorician is alwaies knowne.

The places of Logique are these

Definition.

Causes.

Partes.

Effectes. 5

Thynges adioynyng.

Contraries.

I do not se otherwise but that these places of Logique are confounded with thother .iiii. of confirmacion, or rather I thinke these of Logique must 10 first be mynded ere thother can well be had. For what is he that can call a thyng honest and by reason prove it, except he first knowe what the thyng is, the whiche he can not better doe, then by defynyng the nature of the thyng. Againe how shal I know whether 15 myne attempte be easie, or hard, if I know not the efficient cause, or be assured how it maie be doen. In affirmyng it to be possible, I shall not better knowe it, then by searchyng thende, and learnyng by Logique what is the final cause of every thyng. 20

11. In margin: Logique must be learned for confirmacion of causes.

An example in commendacion of Justice, or true
dealyng.

So many as loke to live in peaceable quietnesse,
beyng mynded rather to folowe reason, than to be led
by wilfull affection: desire justice in al thynges 5
without the which no countrie is able long to
continue. Then may I be bolde to commende that,
whiche all men wishe and fewe can have, whiche all men
love, and none can want: not doubtyng but as I am
occupied in a good thyng, so al good men wil heare me 10
with a good wil. But woulde God I were so wel able to
perswade all men to Justice, as al men know the
necessarie use therof: and then undoubtedly I woulde
be muche boulder, and force some by violence, whiche
by faire wordes can not be entreated. And yet what 15
nedes any perswasion for that thyng, whiche by nature
is so nedeful, and by experience so profitable, that
looke what we want, without justice we get not, loke
what we have, without justice we kepe not. God graunt
his grace so to worke in the hartes of al men, that 20
they may aswel practise well doying in their owne lyfe,

as they would that other should folowe justice in
 their lyfe: I for my part wil bestow some labor to set
 forth the goodnes of upright dealing that al other men
 the rather may do therafter. That if through my
 wordes, God shal worke with any man, than may I thynke 5
 my self in happy case, and rejoyce much in the
 travaile of my wit. And how can it be otherwyse, but
 that al men shalbe forced inwardly to allowe that,
 whiche in outwarde acte many do not folowe: seyng God
 poured first this law of nature into mans hart, and 10
 graunted it as a meane wherby we might know his wil,
 and (as I might saie) talke with him, groundyng stil
 his doinges upon this poinct, that man should do as he
 would be done unto, the whiche is nothyng elles, but
 to lyve uprightly, without any wil to hurte his 15
 neighbour. And therfore havyng this light of Goddes
 wil opened unto us thorowe his mere goodnesse, we
 ought evermore to referre all our actions unto this
 ende, both in gevyng judgement, and devisyng lawes
 necessarie for mans lyfe. And here upon it is that 20
 when men desire the lawe for trial of a matter, they
 meane nothyng elles but to have justice, the whiche

10. In margin: Justice naturally in every one of us.

justice is a vertue that yeldeth to every man, his
 owne: to the ever livyng God, love above al thynges:
 to the Kyng, obedience: to the inferiour, good
 counsel: to the poore man, mercie: to the hateful and
 wicked, sufferaunce: to it self, truthe: and to al 5
 men, perfite peace, and charitie. Now what can be
 more said in praise of this vertue, or what thyng can
 be like praised? Are not al thynges in good case,
 when al men have their owne? And what other thyng
 doeth justice, but seketh meanes to contente al 10
 parties? Then how greatly are they to be praised,
 that meane truely in al their doynges, and not onely,
 do no harme of any, but seke meanes to helpe al. The
 sunne is not so wonderful to the world (saith
 Aristotel) as the just dealyng of a governour is 15
 merveilous to al men. No the yearth yeldeth not more
 gaine to al creatures, than doth the justice of a
 Magistrate to his whole Realme. For, by a lawe, we
 live, and take the fruites of the yearth, but where no
 law is, nor justice used: there, nothyng can be had, 20
 though al thynges be at hande: For, in havyng the

1. In margin: Justice what it is, and howe largely it extendeth.

15. In margin: Aristotel.

thyng, we shall lacke the use, and livyng in great
 plentie, we shal stande in great nede. The meane
 therefore that maketh men to enjoye their owne, is
 justice, the whiche beyng ones taken away, all other
 thynges are lost with it, neither can any one save 5
 that he hath, nor yet get that he wanteth. Therefore
 if wrong doyng shoulde be borne withal, and not rather
 punished by death, what man coulde lyve in reste?
 Who coulde be suer either of his lyfe, or of his
 livyng one whole day together? Now because every man 10
 desiereth the preservation of hym selfe, every man
 should in lyke case desire the savegarde of his
 neighbour. For if I shoulde wholly mynde myne own
 case, and folowe gaine without respecct to the
 hinderaunce of myne even Christian: why should not 15
 other use the same libertie, and so every man for
 hymselfe, and the devil for us al, catche that catche
 may? The which custome if all men folowed, the earth
 woulde soone be voide for want of men, one shoulde be
 so gredie to eate up an other. For in sekyng to lyve, 20
 we shoulde lose our lyves, and in gapyng after goodes,
 we shoulde soone go naked. Therefore to repress this
 rage, and with holsome devises to traine men in an

8. In margin: Wrong dealyng deserveth death.

order, God hath lightened man with knowledge, that in
 al thynges he may se what is right, and what is wrong,
 and upon good advisement deale justly with al men.
 God hath created al thynges for mans use, and ordeined
 man for mannes sake, that one man might helpe another. 5
 For thoughe some one have giftes more plentifully
 then the commune sorte, yet no man can live alone
 without helpe of other. Therefore we shoulde strive
 one to helpe another by juste dealyng, some this way,
 and some that way, as every one shal have nede, and as 10
 we shalbe alwaies best able, wherein the lawe of
 nature is fulfilled, and Goddes commaundement folowed.
 We love them here in yearth that geve us faire wordes,
 and we can be content to speak wel of them, that
 speake wel of us: and shall we not love them, and take 15
 them also for honest men, whiche are contented from
 tyme to tyme to yelde every man his owne, and rather
 woulde dye then consent to evill doying? If one be
 jentle in outwarde behaviour, we lyke hym wel, and
 shal we not esteme hym that is upright in his outward 20
 livyng? and like as we desire that other should be to

6.In margin: Justice necessarie for al men.

16.In margin: From the lesse to the greater.

us, ought not we to bee likewyse affected towardes
 them? Even emong brute beastes nature hath
 appoincted a law, and shal we men lyve without a
 lawe? The Storke beyng not able to feede her selfe for
 age, is fedde of her youngones, wherin is declared a 5
 natural love, and shal we so lyve, that one shal not
 love one another? Man shoulde be unto man as a God,
 and shal man be unto man as a Devil? Hath God created
 us, and made us to his owne likenesse, endewyng us
 with al the riches of the yearth, that we might be 10
 obedient to his wil, and shal we neither love him, nor
 like his? How can we say that we love God, if there
 be no charitie in us? Do I love hym, whose mynde I
 wil not folowe, although it be right honest? If you
 love me (saith Christe) folow my commaundementes. 15
 Christes will is suche that we shoulde love God above
 al thinges, and our neighbour as our self. Then if we
 do not justice (wherin love doeth consist) we do

3.In margin: Young Storkes.

6.not] 60; hot 53

8.In margin: Unnaturalnes in man towardes God.

15.In margin: Jhon .xiiii. Matth. xix.
 Marc. x.

neither love man, nor yet love God. The Wyse man
 saith: The begynnyng of a good lyfe, is to do
 justice. Yea, the blessing of the Lorde is upon the
 heade of the juste. Heaven is theirs (saith David)
 that do justly from tyme to tyme. What els then shal 5
 we do that have any hope of the general resurrection,
 but do the will of God, and lyve justly all the daies
 of our life? Let every man, but consider with hymself
 what ease he shal finde therby, and I doubt not but
 every one depely waiyng the same, wil in hart confesse 10
 that justice maketh plentie, and that not one man
 coulde long hold his owne, if lawes were not made to
 restraine mans will. We travaile now, Wynter and
 Sommer, we watche, and take thought for maintenaunce
 of wife and children, assuredly purposyng (that though 15
 God shal take us immediatly) to leave honestly for
 our familie. Now to what ende were all our gatheryng

2.In margin: Proverb .xvi.

3.In margin: Prover .iiii.

5.In margin: Psal .xxvi.

9.In margin: Profite of justice.

17.In margin: Savegarde had by justice.

together, if just dealyng were set a side, if lawes
 bare no rule, if what the wicked list, that they may,
 and what they may, that they can, and what they can,
 that they dare, and what they dare, the same they do,
 and whatsoever they do, no man of power is agreved 5
 therwith? What maketh wicked men (which els woulde
 not) acknowlege the Kyng as their sovereigne lorde,
 but the power of a lawe, and the practise of justice
 for evil doers? Could a Prynce mainteine his state
 royal, if law and right had not provided that every 10
 man should have his owne? Would servauntes obey their
 masters, the sonne his father, the tenaunt his
 landlorde, the citezen his maiour, or Shirife: if
 orders were not set and just dealyng appoincted for al
 states of men? Therefore the true meanyng folke in all 15
 ages geve them selves some to this occupacion, and
 some to that, sekyng therin nothing els, but to
 mainteine a poore life, and to keep them selves true
 men both to God and the worlde. What maketh men to
 performe their bargaines, to stand to their promises, 20
 and yelde their debtes, but an order of a lawe

3. In margin: Gradation.

4. In margin: The necessitie of justice.

21. In margin: Where justice is executed,
 vice is exiled.

grounded upon justice? Where right beareth rule, there
craft is coumpted vice. The lyar is mucche hated,
where truth is wel estemed. The wicked theves are
hanged, where good men are regarded. None can holde
up their heads, or dare show their faces in a wel 5
ruled commune weale, that are not thought honest, or
at the least have some honest way to lyve. The
Egiptians therfore havynge a worthy and a wel governed
publike weale, provided that one shoulde lyve idlye,
but that every one monethly should geve an accompte 10
how he spente his tyme, and had his name regestrede in
a Booke for the same purpose. But Lorde, if this lawe
were used in England, how many would come behynde
hande with their reckenynge at the audite daie. I
feare me there doynge would be suche, that it would 15
be long ere they gotte there quietus est. Therfore
the wourse is our state, the lesse that this evil is
loked unto. And suerly, if in other thynges we
shoulde be as negligent, ths Realme could not long
stand. But thanks be to God, we hang theim a pace 20
that offende a lawe, and therfore we put it to their
choise, whether they wil be idle and so fal to

9. In margin: Aegiptians what order they used
to banishe ydelnesse.

stealyng, or no: they knowe their rewarde, go to it,
 when they will. But if therewithall some good order
 were taken for education of youthe, and setting
 loiterers on worke (as thanks be to God the Citie is
 most Godly bent that way) al would soone be wel 5
 without al doubt. The wyse and descrete persons in al
 ages sought all meanes possible to have an order in al
 thynges, and loved by justice to directe al their
 doyns wherby appereth both an apt wil in suche men,
 and a natural stirryng by Godes power to make al men 10
 good. Therefore, if we doe not wel, we must blame
 ourselves, that lacke a wil, and do not cal to God for
 grace. For though it appere hard to do wel, because
 no man can get perfection without continuaunce: yet
 assuedly to an humble mynde that calleth to God, and 15
 to a wilyng harte that faine woulde do his best,
 nothing can be hard. God hath set al thinges to sale
 for labour, and kepeth open shop, come who will.
 Therefore in al ages whereas we see the fewest good,
 we must wel think, the most did lacke good wil to 20
 aske, or seke for the same. Lorde, what love had that
 worthie Prince Seleucus to maintein justice, and to

9. In margin: Justice easy to be observed, if
 wil be not wantyng.

have good laws kept, of whome suche a wondreful thyng
 is written. For whereas he established moste holosome
 lawes for savegarde of the Locrensiens, and his owne
 sonne thereupon taken in adultrie should lose bothe
 his iyes accordyng to the lawe then made, and yet 5
 notwithstanding, the whole Citie thought to remitte
 the necessitie of his punishment for the honour of
 his father, Seleucus woulde none of that in any wyse.
 Yet at last through importunitie beyng overcome, he
 caused first one of his owne iyes to be pluckte out, 10
 and next after, one of his sonnes iyes, leavyng onely
 the use of sight to hymselfe and his sonne. Thus
 through equitie of the lawe, he used the dew meane of
 chastisement, showyng hymself by a wonderful
 temperature both a merciful father, and a just lawe 15
 maker. Nowe happy are thei that thus observe a law,
 thinking losse of body, lesse hurt to the man, then
 sparyng of punishment, mete for the soule. For God
 wil not faile them that have suche a desire to folowe
 his wil, but for his promise sake, he wil rewarde them 20
 for ever. And now, seeyng that justice naturally is
 geven to al men without the whiche we could not live,
 beyng warned also by God alwaies to doe uprightly,

perceavyng againe the commodities that redounde unto
 us by livyng under a lawe, and the savegard wherin we
 stand havyng justice to assiste us: I trust that not
 onely all men wil commende justice in worde, but also
 wil live justly in dede, the which that we may do, God 5
 graunt us of his grace, Amen.

An Oration deliberative.

An Oration deliberative, is a meane, wherby we do
 perswade, or disswade, entreate, or rebuke, exhortē,
 or dehorte, commende, or comforte any man. In this 10
 kynd of Oration we doe not purpose wholly to praise
 any body, nor yet to determine any matter in
 controversie, but the whole compasse of this cause is
 either to advise our neighbour to that thyng, which we
 thynke most nedeful for hym or els to cal him backe 15
 from that folie, which hindereth muche his estimacion.
 As for example, if I would counseil my frende to
 travaile beyond the Seas for knowlege of the tongues,
 and experience in forein countries: I might resorte to
 this kinde of Oration, and finde matter to confirme my 20
 cause plentifully. And the reasons which are commonly

8. In margin: Oration deliberative.

used to enlarge suche matters, are these that folowe.

The thyng is honest.	Safe
Profitable.	Easie.
Pleasaunt.	Harde.

Lawful and meete.	5
Praise worthie.	
Necessarie.	

Now in speakyng of honestie, I may by devision of
the vertues make a large walke. Againe loke what
lawes, what customes, what worthie dedes, or saynynges 10
have bene used heretofore, all these might serve wel
for the confirmacion of this matter, lastly where
honestie is called in, to establish a cause: there is
nature and God hym selfe present from whome commeth al
goodnesse. In the seconde place where I spake of 15
profite, this is to be learned, that under the same is
comprehended the gettyng of gaine, and the eschewyng

8.In margin: Honestie comprehendeth al vertues.

15.In margin: Profite howe largely it extendeth.

of harme. Againe, concernyng profite (which also
 beareth the name of goodnesse) it partely pertaineth
 to the bodie, as beautie, strength, and healthe,
 partely to the mynde, as the encrease of witte, the
 getting of experience, and heaping together of muche 5
 learnyng: and partely to fortune (as Philosophers take
 it) wherby bothe wealth, honor, and frendes are
 gotten. Thus he that divideth profite, can not want
 matter. Thirdely in declaryng it is pleasaunt, I
 might heape together the varietie of pleasures, whiche 10
 comme by travaile, firste the swetnesse of the tongue,
 the holsomnesse of the ayer in other countries, the
 goodly wittes of the gentlemen, the straunge and
 auncient buildynges, the wonderful monumentes, the
 great learned Clerckes in al faculties, with diverse 15
 other like, and almose infinite pleasures.

The easines of travaile may thus be perswaded, if
 we shew that free passage is by wholsom lawes
 appointed, for al straungers, and waie fairers. And

1. In margin: Profite beareth the name of
 goodnes, whiche is threfolded.

9. In margin: Pleasures, largely sette out.

16. In margin: Easinesse of travaile.

seyng this life is none other thyng but a travaile,
 and we as pilgrymes wander from place to place, muche
 fondenesse it were to thinke that hard, which nature
 hath made easie, yea and pleasaunt also. None are
 more healthful, none more lusty, none more mery, none 5
 more strong of body, then suche as have travailed
 countries. Mary unto them that had rather sleape al
 day, then wake one houre, chosyng for honest labour
 sleuthful ydlenesse: thinking this life to be none
 other thyng but a continual restyng place, unto suche 10
 pardie, it shall seme painfull to abide any labour.
 To learne Logique, to learne the Lawe, to some it
 semeth so harde, that nothyng can enter into their
 heddes, and the reason is, that thei want a will, and
 an earnest mynde to do their endeavour. For unto a 15
 willyng harte, nothyng can bee harde, laie lode on
 suche a mannes backe, and his good harte maie soner
 make his backe to ake, then his good will, can graunt
 to yelde and refuse the weighte. And now where the
 sweete hath his sower joyned with hym, it shalbee 20
 wisdom to speake some what of it, to mitigate the

8. In margin: Travaile unto whome it is harde.

17. In margin: Good wil makes great burdenes
light.

sowernesse thereof, as muche as maie be possible.

That is lawfull and praise worthy, whiche lawes
dooe graunt, good men do allowe, experience
commendeth, and men in all ages have moste used.

A thyng is necessary twoo maner of waies. First, 5
when either we must do some one thyng, or els do
worse. As if one should threaten a woman, to kill
her, if she would not lie with him, wherin appereth a
forcible necessitie. As touchyng travaile we might
saie, either a man must be ignoraunt of many good 10
thinges, and want greate experience, or els he must
travaill. Now to be ignoraunt, is a greate shame,
therefore to travaill is most nedefull, if we will
avoyde shame. The other kynde ef necessitie is, when
we perswade men to beare those crosses patiently, 15
whiche God doeth sende us, consideryng will we, or
nill we, nedes must we abide them.

To advise one, to study the lawes of Englande.

Again, when we se our frende, enclined to any

3. In margin: Lawfull.

6. In margin: Necessary two waies taken.

kynde of learnyng, wee muste counsaill hym to take
that waie still, and by reason perswade hym, that it
wer the metest waie for hym, to dooe his countrey
moste good. As if he geve his mynde, to the Lawes of
the realme, and finde an aptnes thereunto, we maie 5
advise hym, to continue in his good entent, and by
reason perswade hym, that is were moste mete for him
so to do. And first we might shew hym, that the study
is honest and godly, consideryng it onely foloweth
Justice, and is grounded wholly upon naturall reason. 10
Wherein we mighte take a large scope, if we would
fully speake of all thynges, that are comprehended
under honestie. For he that will knowe what honestie
is, muste have an understandyng, of all the vertues
together. And because the knowlege of theim is moste 15
necessary, I will brifely set them furth. There are
foure especial and chief vertues, under whom all
other are comprehended.

Prudence, or wisdom.

Justice. 20

5. In margin: Lawes of Englande.

17. In margin: Vertues especiall and chief foure
in number.

Manhode.

Temperaunce.

Prudence or wisdom (for I will here take them
bothe for one) is a vertue that is occupied evermore,
in searchyng out the truthe. Nowe wee all love 5
knowlege, and have a desire to passe other therin, and
thinke it shame to be ignoraunt: and by studyng the
lawe, the truth is gotten out, by knowyng the truth,
wisdom is attained. Wherefore, in perswadyng one to
studie the Lawe, you maie shewe hym that he shall get 10
wisdom thereby. Under this vertue are comprehended.

Memorie.

Understandyng.

Foresight. 15

The memorie calleth to accompte those tynges, 15
that wer doen heretofore, and by a former
remembraunce, getteth an after witte, and learneth to
avoyde deceipt.

4.In margin: Prudence what it is?

13.In margin: Partes of Prudence.

Understandyng seeth thynges presently dooen, and
perceiveth what is in them, waiyng and debatyng them,
untill his mynde be fully contented.

Foresight, is a gatheryng by conjectures, what
shall happen, and an evident perceivyng of thynges to 5
come, before thei do come.

Justice.

Justice is a vertue, fathered by long space,
gevyng every one his awne, mindyng in all thynges,
the common profite of our countrey, whereunto man is 10
moste bounde, and oweth his full obedience.

Now, nature first taught manne, to take this
waie, and would every one so to do unto another, as he
would be doen unto hymself. For whereas Rain watereth
all in like, the Sonne shineth indifferently over all, 15
the fruict of the yerth encreaseth egually, God
warneth us to bestowe our good wil after the same
sort, doyng as duetie byndeth us, and as necessitie
shall best require. Yea, God graunteth his geftes
diversly emong men, because he would man should knowe, 20
and fele, that man is borne for man, and that one hath

9. In margin: Justice, what it is.

nede of another. And therefore, though nature hath
 not stirred some, yet through the experience that man
 hath, concernyng his commoditie: many have turned the
 lawe of nature, into an ordinary custome, and folowed
 the same, as though thei were bounde to it by a Lawe. 5
 Afterwarde, the wisdom of Princes, and the feare of
 Goddes threate, whiche was uttered by his woorde,
 forced men by a lawe, bothe to allowe thinges
 confirmed by nature, and to beare with old custome or
 els thei should not onely suffer in the body, temporal 10
 punishment, but also lose their soules for ever.
 Nature is a righte, that phantasie hath not framed,
 but God hath graffed, and geven man power therunto,
 wherof these are derived.

Religion and acknowledgyng of God. 15

Naturall love to our children, and other.

Thankfulnesse to all men.

Stoutnesse bothe to withstande and
 revenge.

Reverence to the superiour. 20

Assured and constaunt truthe in thynges.

12. In margin: Nature, what it is.

Religion is an humble worshipping of God,
 acknowlegyng hym to be the creatour of creatures, and
 the onely geuer of al good thynges.

Naturall love is an inward good will, that we
 beare to our parentes, wife, children, or any other 5
 that bee nighe of kynne unto us, stirred thereunto not
 onely by our fleshe, thinkyng that like as we wold
 love our selves, so we shuld love theim but also by a
 likenesse of mynde: and therefore generally we love
 all, because all bee like unto us, but yet we love 10
 them moste, that bothe in body and mynd, be moste like
 unto us. And hereby it cometh that often we are
 liberal, and bestowe our goodes upon the nedy,
 remembryng that thei are all one fleshe with us, and
 should not wante, when we have it, without our greate 15
 rebuke, and token of our moste unkynde dealyng.

Thankefulnesse is a requityng of love, for love,
 and wil, for wil, shewyng to our frendes, the like
 goodnesse that we finde in them, yea, strivyng to
 passe theim in kyndenesse, losyng neither tyme nor 20

2.In margin: Religion.

5.In margin: Naturall love.

18.In margin: Thankfulnes.

tide, to do them good.

Stoutnes to withstand and revenge evil, is then
used when either we are like to have harme, and do
withstand it, or els when we have suffred evill for
the truthsake, and therupon do revenge it, or rather 5
punishe the evill, whiche is in the man.

Reverence, is an humblenesse in outward behavior,
when we do our dutie to them, that are our betters, or
unto suche as are called to serve the kyng, in some
greate vocacion. 10

Assured and constant truthe is, when we doo
beleve that those thynges, whiche are or have been, or
hereafter are aboute to be, cannot otherwise be, by
any meanes possible.

That is right by custome, whiche long tyme hath 15
confirmed, beyng partly grounded upon nature, and
partly upon reason, as where we are taught by nature,
to knowe the ever livyng God, and to worship him in

3.In margin: Stoutenesse.

8.In margin: Reverence.

12.In margin: Assured and constant truth.

16.In margin: Custome without natures groundes, ungodly.

spirite, we turnyng natures light, into blynde
 custome, without Goddes will, have used at lengthe to
 beleve, that he was really with us here in yearthe,
 and worshipped hym not in spirite, but in Copes, in
 Candlestickes, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers, 5
 in Crosses, in Banners, in shaven Crounes and long
 Gounes, and many good morowes els, devised onely by
 the phantasie of manne, without the expresse will of
 God. The whiche childishe toyes, tyme hath so long
 confirmed, that the truthe is scant able to trie them 10
 out, our hartes bee so harde, and our wittes be so
 farre to seke.

Again wher we se by nature, that every one should
 deale truely, custome encreaseth natures will, and
 maketh by auncient demeane, thynges to bee justly 15
 observed, whiche nature hath appoynced.

Bargainyng.

As Commons, or equalitiee.

Judgement geven.

Bargainyng is, when twoo have agreed, for the 20
 sale of some one thyng, the one will make his felowe
 to stande to the bargain, though it be to his
 neighbors undoyng, restyng upon this poyncete, that a

bargain is a bargain, and must stand without all
 excepcion, although nature requireth to have thynges
 dooen by conscience, and would that bargainyng should
 bee builded upon Justice, whereby an upright dealyng,
 and a charitable love is uttered emongest all men. 5

Communes or equalitiee, is when the people by
 long time have a ground, or any suche thyng emong
 theim, the whiche some of them will kepe still, for
 custome sake, and not suffer it to be fensed, and so
 turned to pasture, though thei mighte gain ten tymes 10
 the value: but suche stubbornesse in kepyng of Commons
 for custome sake, is not standyng with Justice,
 because it is holden against all right.

Judgement geven, is when a matter is confirmed by
 a Parlamente, or a Lawe, determined by a Judge, unto 15
 the whiche many hed strong men, wil stande to dye for
 it, without sufferaunce of any alteracion, not
 remembryng the circumstaunce of thynges, and that tyme
 altereth good actes.

That is righte by a Lawe, when the truthe is 20
 uttered in writyng, and commaunded to bee kepte, even
 as it is sette furthe unto them.

7. In margin: Commons.

15. In margin: Judgement geven.

21. In margin: Right by Lawe.

Fortitude or manhode.

Fortitude is a considerate hassardying upon
 daunger, and a willyng harte to take paines in behalfe
 of the right. Now when can stoutnes be better used,
 then in just maintenaunce of the lawe, and constaunt 5
 tryng of the truthe? Of this vertue there are foure
 braunches.

Honourablenesse.

Stoutenesse.

Sufferaunce. 10

Continuaunce.

Honorablenesse, is a noble orderying of weigtie
 matters, with a lustie harte, and a liberall usyng of
 his wealthe, to the encrease of honour.

Stoutnesse is an assured trust in hymself, when 15
 he myndeth the compasse of moste weightie matters, and
 a couragious defendyng of his cause.

4. In margin: Manhode.

14. In margin: Honorablenes.

17. In margin: Stoutenesse.

Sufferaunce is a willyng and a long bearyng of trouble and takyng of paines, for the mainteinaunce of vertue, and the wealthe of his countrey.

Continuaunce is a stedfast and constant abidyng, in a purposed and well advised matter, not yeldyng to any manne in querell of the right. 5

Temperaunce.

Temperaunce is a measuryng of affeccions, accordyng to the will of reason, and a subduyng of luste unto the Square of honestie. Yea, and what one thyng doth soner mitigate the immoderate passions of our nature, then the perfect knowlege of right and wrong and the juste execucion appoynced by a lawe, for asswagyng the wilfull? Of this vertue there are three partes. 10 15

Sobrietie.

3. In margin: Sufferaunce.

6. In margin: Continuaunce.

10. In margin: Temperaunce.

Jentlenesse.

Modestie.

Sobrietie is a bridelyng by discrecion the wilfulnesse of desire.

Jentlenesse is a caulmyng of heate, when wee 5
begin to rage, and a lowly behaviour in all our body.

Modestie is an honest shamefastnesse, whereby we kepe a constant loke, and appere sober in all our outward doynges. Now even as we should desire the use of all these vertues, so should we eschewe not onely 10
the contraries herunto, but also avoyde all suche evilles, as by any meanes dooe withdrawe us from well doying.

It is profitable.

After we have perswaded our frend, that the lawe 15
is honest, drawyng our argumentes from the heape of vertues, we must go further with hym, and bryng hym in

4.In margin: Sobrietie.

6.In margin: Jentlenesse.

8.In margin: Modestie.

good beleve, that it is very gainfull. For many one
 seke not the knowlege of learnyng for the goodnesse
 sake, but rather take paines for the gain, which thei
 se doth arise by it. Take awaie the hope of lucre,
 and you shall se fewe take any paines: No, not in the 5
 vineyard of the lorde. For although none should
 folowe any trade of life, for the gain sake, but even
 as he seeth it is moste necessary, for thadvauncement
 of Gods glory, and not passe in what estimacion
 thinges are had in this worlde: yet because we are all 10
 so weake of wit, in our tender yeres, that we cannot
 weigh with our selves what is best, and our body so
 neshe, that it loketh ever to bee cherished, wee take
 that, whiche is moste gainfull for us, and forsake
 that altogether, whiche we oughte moste to folowe. So 15
 that for lacke of honest meanes, and for want of good
 order, the best waie is not used, neither is Goddes
 honor in our first yeres remembred. I had rather
 (saide one) make my child a cobbler then a preacher, a
 tankerd bearer, then a scholer. For what shall my 20
 sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall ever gette
 therby any livyng? Set my sonne to that, whereby he
 maie get somewhat? Do ye not se how every one

3. In margin: Hope of rewarde maketh men take paines.

catcheth and pulleth from the churche what thei can?
 I feare me one day thei will plucke doune churche and
 all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seke onely
 to provide for their belies, and care not a grote
 though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a 5
 benefice wil have a poore yngrame soule, to beare the
 name of a persone for .xx. marke, or .x.li: and the
 patrone hymself, wil take up for his snapshare, as
 good as an .c. marke. Thus God is robbed, learnyng
 decaied, England dishonored, and honestie not 10
 regarded. Thold Romaines not yet knowyng Christ, and
 yet beyng led by a reverent feare towards God, made
 this lawe. Sacrum sacroue commendatum qui clepserit,
rapseritue, parricida est. He that shall closely
 steale, or forcibly take awaie that thyng, whiche is 15
 holy, or geven to the holy place: is a murderer of his
 countrey. But what have I said? I have a greater
 matter in hand, then wherof I was a ware, my penne
 hath run over farre, when my leasure serveth not, nor
 yet my witte is able to talke this case in suche wise, 20
 as it should bee, and as the largenesse therof
 requireth. Therefore to my lawyer again, whom I doubte
 not to perswade, but that he shall have the devill and

11. In margin: The Romaines lawes for Churche dignitees.

all, if he learne a pase, and dooe as some have doen
 before hym. Therefore I will shewe howe largely this
 profite extendeth, that I may have him the soner, to
 take this matter in hand. The lawe therefore not only
 bryngeth muche gain with it, but also avaunceth men 5
 bothe to worshippe, renoume, and honour. All men
 shall seke his favour, for his lernyng sake: the best
 shall like his company, for his callyng: and his welth
 with his skill shalbe suche, that none shalbe able to
 woorke hym any wrong. Some consider profite, by these 10
 circumstaunces, folowyng.

To whom.

When.

Where.

Wherefore.

15

Neither can I use a better order, then these
 circumstaunces minister unto me. To whom therefore is
 the Lawe profitable? Marie to them that bee best
 learned, that have redy wittes, and will take paines.

4. In margin: Lawe, profitable to the purse.

17. In margin: Circumstaunces, in observyng profite.

When is the lawe profitable? Assuredly both now and
 evermore, but especially in this age, where all men go
 together by the eares for this matter, and that
 matter. Suche alteracion hath been heretofore, that
 hereafter nedes muste ensue muche altercacion. And 5
 where is all this a do? Even in litle Englande, or in
 Westminister hall, where never yet wanted busines, nor
 yet ever shall. Wherefore is the lawe profitable?
 Undoubtedly because no manne could hold his awne, if
 there were not an order to staie us, and a Lawe to 10
 restrain us. And I praie you who getteth the money?
 The lawyers no doubt. And were not lande sometymes
 cheaper bought, then got by the triall of a lawe? Do
 not men commonly for trifles fall out? Some for
 loppyng of a tree, spendes al that ever thei have, 15
 another for a Gose, that graseth upon his ground,
 tries the lawe so hard, that he proves him self a
 Gander. Now when men bee so mad, is it not easie to
 gette money emong theim. Undoubtedly the lawyer never
 dieth a begger. And no marvaill. For an .C. begges 20
 for hym, and makes awaie all that thei have, to get

14. In margin: Foly in many that go to the lawe.

19. In margin: Lawyers, never dy beggers.

that of hym, the whiche the oftener he bestoweth, the
 more still he getteth. So that he gaineth alwaies,
 aswell by encrease of lernyng as by storyng his purse
 with money, wheras the other get a warme sonne often
 tymes, and a flapppe with a foxe taile for al that 5
 ever thei have spent. And why woulde they? Tushe, if
 it were to do againe, thei would do it: therfore the
 lawyer can never want a livyng, til the yearth want
 men, and al be voyde.

The lawe easie to many, and harde to some. 10

I doubt not, but my lawyer is perswaded that the
 law is profitable: now must I beare him in hand that
 it is an easie matter to become a lawier, the whiche
 if I shalbe able to prove, I doubt not, but he will
 prove a good lawier, and that right shortly, the law 15
 is grounded upon reason. And what hardenesse is it
 for a man by reason to fynde out reason. That can not
 be straung unto him, the grounde wherof, is grassed in
 his brest. What, though the lawe be in a straunge
 tongue, the wordes may be gotte with out any paine, 20
 when the matter selfe is compast with ease. Tushe, a
 litle lawe will make a greate showe, and therfore
 though it be mucche to becommme excellent, yet it is

easie, to get a taist. And surely for getting of
 money, a litle wil do asmuche good oftentimes, as a
 greate deale. There is not a word in the law, but it
 is a grote in the lawiers purse. I have knowne
 diverse that by familiar talkyng, and mountyng 5
 together have comne to right good learning without any
 great booke skil, or much beating of their braine by
 any close studie, or secrete musyng in their chamber.
 But where some say the lawe is very harde, and
 discourage young men from the studie therof, it is to 10
 be understande of suche as wil take no paines at al,
 nor yet mynde the knowlege therof. For what is not
 hard to man, when he wanteth wil to do his best. As
 good slepe, and saie it is harde: as wake, and take no
 paines. 15

Godly.

The lawe.

Juste.

Necessarie.

Pleasaunt.

What nedeth me to prove the lawe to be Godly, 20
 just, or necessarie, seeyng it is grounded upon Goddes
 wil, and all lawes are made for the maintenaunce of
 justice. If we will not beleve that it is necessarie,

let us have rebelles againe to disturbe the Realme.
 Our nature is so fonde that we knowe not the
 necessitie of a thyng, til wee fynde some lacke of the
 same. Bowes are not estemed as they have bene emong
 us Englishmen, but if we were ones well beaten by our 5
 enemies wee shoulde soone knowe the wante, and with
 feelyng the smarte lament muche our folie. Take awaie
 the lawe, and take awaie our lifes, for nothyng
 mainteineth our wealthe, our health, and the savegard
 of our bodies, but the lawe of a Realme, wherby the 10
 wicked are condempned, and the godly are defended.

An Epistle to perswade a young ientleman to Mariage,
 devised by Erasmus in the behalfe of his frende.

Albeit you are wyse enough of your selfe throughe
 that singulare wisdom of yours (most lovyng Cosyn) 15
 and litle needes the advise of other, yet either for
 that olde fryndshippe whiche hath bene betwixt us, and
 continued with our age even from our cradles, or for
 suche your greate good turnes showed at all tymes
 towards me, or elles for that faste kynred and 20
 alliaunce whiche is betwixt us: I thought my selfe

8. In margin: Lawes mainteine lyfe.

thus muche to owe unto you, if I woulde be suche a one
 in deede, as you ever have taken me, that is to saie a
 man bothe frendly and thankful, to tell you freely
 (whatsoever I judged to apperteine either to the
 savegarde, or worshippe of you, or any of yours) and 5
 willyngly to warne you of the same. We are better
 seen oftentymes in other mens matters, than we are in
 our owne. I have felte often your advise in myne owne
 affaires, and I have founde it to be as fortunate unto
 me, as it was frendly. Nowe if you wil likewyse in 10
 your awne matters folowe my counsail, I truste it shal
 so come to passe that neither I shal repent me for
 that I have geven you counsail, nor yet you shal
 forthynke your self, that you have obeyed, and folowed
 myne advise. There was at supper with me the twelwe 15
 daie of Aprill when I laie in the countrie, Antonius
 Baldus, a man (as you knowe) that most earnestly
 tendreth your welfare, and one that hath bene alwaies
 of great acquaintaunce and familiarite with your sonne
 in lawe: A heavie feast we had, and ful of muche 20
 mournyng. He tolde me greatly to bothe our
 heavinesse, that your mother, that moste godly woman,
 was departed this lyfe, and your sister beyng overcome
 with sorow and heavinesse, had made her selfe a Nunne, 25
 so that in you onely remaineth the hope of issue and 25

maintenaunce of your stocke. Whereupon your frendes
 with one consent have offerde you in Mariage a
 ientlewoman of a good house, and mucche wealthe, fayre
 of bodie, very well brought up, and suche a one as
 loveth you with all her harte. But you (either for 5
 your late sorowes whiche you have in freshe
 remembraunce or elles for Religion sake) have so
 purposed to lyve a syngle lyfe, that neither can you
 for love of your stocke, neither for desier of issue,
 nor yet for any entreatie that your frendes can make, 10
 either by prayeng, or by wepyng: be brought to chaunge
 your mynde.

And yet notwithstanding all this (if you wil
 folowe my counsaill) you shalbe of an other mynde, and
 leavyng to lyve syngle whiche bothe is barren, and 15
 smally agreeyng with the state of mannes nature, you
 shall geve your selfe wholly to moste holy wedlocke.
 And for this parte I will neither wishe that the love
 of your fryndes, (whiche elles ought to overcome your
 nature) nor yet myne aucthoritie that I have over you, 20
 shoulde doe me any good at all to compasse this my
 requeste, if I shall not prove unto you by moste
 plaine reasons, that it will be bothe mucche more
 honest, more profitable, and also more pleasaunt for
 you, to marie, than to lyve otherwyse. Yea, what will 25

you saie, if I prove it also to be necessarie for you
 at this tyme to Marie. And firste of all, if honestie
 maie move you in this matter (the whiche emong all
 good men ought to bee of much weighte) what is more
 honest when Matrimonie, the whiche CHRISTE hym selfe 5
 did make honest, when not onely he, vouchesaufed to
 bee at a Mariage with his Mother, but also did
 consecrate the Mariage feast with the first miracle
 that ever he did upon yearth? What is more holie then
 Matrimonie which the creatour of all thynges did 10
 institute, did fasten, and make holie, and nature it
 selfe did establishe? What is more praise worthie
 than that thyng, the whiche whosoever shall dispraise,
 is condempned streight for an Heretique? Matrimonie is
 even as honourable, as the name of an Heretique, is 15
 thought shamefull. What is more right, or meete, than
 to geve that unto the posteritie, the whiche we have
 received of our auncesters? What is more
 inconsiderate than under the desire of holinesse to
 escew that as unholie, which God hym selfe the 20
 fountaine and father of al holinesse, would have to

11. In margin: Praise worthie to marie.

16. In margin: Right and mete to marie.

be counted as moste holie? What is more unmanly than
 that man shoulde go against the lawes of mankynde?
 What is more unthankfull than to deny that unto
 youngelynges, the whiche (if thou haddest not receyved
 of thine elders) thou couldest not have bene the man 5
 livyng, able to have denied it unto theim. That if
 you woulde knowe who was the first founder of Mariage,
 you shal understande that it came up not by Licurgus,
 not yet by Moses, nor yet by Solon, but it was first
 ordeined, and instituted by the chief founder of all 10
 thynges, commended by the same, made honourable and
 made holie by the same. For at the first when he made
 man of the yearthe, he did perceyve that his lyfe
 shoulde be miserable and unsaverie, excepte he joyned
 Eve as mate unto hym. Wherupon he did not make the 15
 wyse upon the same claie wherof he made man, but he
 made her of Adams ribbes, to the ende we might
 plainely understande that nothyng ought to be more
 deare unto us then our wyfe, nothyng more nigh unto
 us, nothyng surer joyned, and (as a man woulde saie) 20
 faster glewed together. The selfe same GOD after the

11.In margin: Mariage first made by God.

15.In margin: After man was made, the woman was
 joyned unto hym.

generall floude, beyng reconciled to mankynde is
 saied to proclaime this lawe first of all, not that
 men shoulde lyve single, but that they shoulde
 encrease, be multiplied, and fill the yearth. But
 howe I praie you could this thyng be, savyng by 5
 mariage and lawful comyng together? And first least
 we shoulde allege here either the libertie of Moyses
 lawe, or els the necessitie of that tyme: What other
 meanyng els hath that commune and commendable reporte
 of Christe in the Gospell, for this cause (saieth he) 10
 shall man leave father and mother and cleave to his
 wyfe. And what is more holie than the reverence and
 love due unto parentes? And yet the truthe promised
 in Matrimonie is preferred before it. And by whose
 meanes? Mary by GOD hymn self. at what time? Forsouth 15
 not only emong the Jues, but also emong the
 Christians. Men forsake father and mother and takes
 themselves wholie to their wyfes. The sonne beyng
 past one and twentie yeres, is free and at his
 libertie. Yea the sonne beyng abdicated, becommeth no 20
 sonne. But it is death onely that parteth married

1. In margin: Matrimonie renewed after the floude.

10. In margin: Natures worke allowed by Goddes worde.

folke, if yet death doe part them. Now if the other
 Sacramentes (wherunto the Church of Christe chiefly
 leaneth) bee reverently used, who doeth not see that
 this Sacramente shoulde have the most reverence of al,
 the whiche was instituted of God, and that firste and 5
 before all other. As for the other they were
 instituted upon yearthe, this was ordeined in
 Paradise: the other were geven for a remedie, this was
 appoincted for the felowshippe of felecitie: the other
 were applied to mannes nature after the fall, this 10
 onely was geven when man was in moste perfite state.
 If we counte those lawes good that mortall men have
 enacted, shall not the lawe of Matrimonie be moste
 holie, which wee have receyved of him, by whome we
 have received lyfe, the whiche lawe was then together 15
 enacted when man was first created? And lastly to
 strengthen this lawe with an example and deede doen,
 Christe beyng an young man (as the Storie reporteth)
 was called to a Mariage, and came thither willyngly
 with his mother, and not onely was he there present, 20
 but also he did honest the feaste with a wonderfull
 mervaile begynnyng first in none other place to worke
 his wounders, and to doe his miracles. Why then I

20. In margin: Mariage beautified by a miracle.

praie you (will one saie) howe happeneth it that
 Christ forbare Mariage? as though good Seir there are
 not many thynges in Christe at the whiche we ought
 rather to mervaile, then seeke to folowe: he was borne
 and had no father, he came into this worlde without 5
 his mothers painefull travaile, he came out of the
 grave when it was closed up, what is not in hym above
 nature? Let these thynges be propre unto hym. Let us
 that lyve within the boundes of nature, reverence
 those thynges that are above nature, and folowe suche 10
 thynges as are within our reach suche as we are able
 to compasse. But yet (you saie) he woulde bee borne
 of a Virgine: Of a Virgine (I graunt) but yet of a
 married Virgine. A Virgyne beyng a mother did moste
 become GOD, and beyng married she did showe what was 15
 beste for us to doe. Virginitie did become her, who
 beyng undefiled, brought hym forthe by heavenly
 inspiration that was undefiled. And yet Joseph beyng
 her housbande dothe commende unto us the lawe of
 chaiste wedlocke. Yea, howe coulde he better sette 20
 out the societie in wedlocke, than that willyng to
 declare the secrete societie of his divine nature with
 the bodie and soul of man, whiche is wonderfull even
 to the heavenly Aungelles, and to showe his
 unspeakable and ever abidyng love towarde his Church: 25

he doeth call hym selfe the Brydegrome, and her the
 Bryde. Greate is the Sacrament of Matrimonie (saith
 Paule) betwixte Christe and his Church. If there had
 bene under heaven any holier yoke, if there had bene
 any more religiouse covenaut than is Matrimonie, 5
 without doubte the example thereof had bene used. But
 what lyke thyng doe you reade in all Scripture of the
 syngle lyfe? The Apostle S. Paul in the thirteen
 Chapi. of his Epistle to the Hebrues calleth
 Matrimonie honourable emong all men, and a hedde 10
 undefiled, and yet the syngle lyfe is not so muche as
 ones named in the same place. Nay they are not bore
 withall that lyve syngle, except they make some
 recompence with doyng some greater thyng. For elles,
 if a man folowyng the lawe of nature, doe labour to 15
 gette children, he is ever to be prefered before hym
 that lyveth still unmarried, for none other ende, but
 because he woulde bee out of trouble, and lyve more
 free. Wee doe reade that suche as are in very deede
 chaiste of their body, and lyve a Virgines lyfe, have 20
 bene praised, but the syngle lyfe was never praised of
 if selfe. Nowe againe the lawe of Moses accurseth the
 barrenesse of married folke, and wee doe reade that

8. In margin: Mariage honorable.

some were excommunicated for the same purpose, and
 banished from the aultar. And wherefore I praie you?
 Marie Sir because that they like unprofitable
 persones, and livyng onely to theim selves, did not
 encrease the worlde with any issue. In Deuteronomie 5
 it was the chiefest token of Goddes blessing unto
 the Israelites that none shoulde be barren among them,
 neither man, nor yet woman. And Lya is thought to
 bee out of Goddes favour, because she coulde not bryng
 furth children. Yea, and in the Psalme of David an 10
 hundreth twentie and eight, it is counted one of the
 chiefest partes of blesse to bee a frutefull woman.
 Thy wyfe (sayeth the Psalme) shalbe plentifull lyke a
 vine, and thy children lyke the braunches of Olyves,
 rounde about thy table. Then if the lawe do 15
 condempne, and utterly dissalow barren Matrimonie, it
 hath alwaies muche more condempned the syngle lyfe of
 Bacchelaures. Yf the fault of nature hath not escaped
 blame, the will of man can never wante rebuke. Yf
 they are accursed that woulde have children, and can 20
 gette none, what deserve they whiche never travaile to
 escape barreinesse?

5. In margin: Deut .vi.

9. In margin: Lia.

The Hebrues had suche a reverence to married
 folke; that he whiche had married a wyfe, the same
 yeare shoulde not be forced to go on warrefaire. A
 Citie is lyke to fall in ruine, excepte there be
 watchemen to defende it with armour. But assured 5
 destruction muste here needes folowe excepte men
 throughe the benefite of Mariage supplie issue, the
 whiche through mortalitie doe from tyme to tyme
 decaie.

Over and besides this the Romaines did laie a 10
 penaltie upon their backe that lived a syngle lyfe,
 yea they would not suffer them to beare any office in
 the commune weale. But thei that had encreased the
 world with issue, had a reward by commune assent, as
 men that had deserved well of their countrie. The 15
 olde foren lawes did apoincte penalties for suche as
 lived syngle, the whiche although they were qualified
 by Constantius the Emperour in the favor of Christes
 religion, yet these lawes do declare howe litle it is
 for the commune weales advauncement, that either a 20

3. In margin: Hebrues lawe for married folke.

14. In margin: Plutarchus in the lyfe of Cato.

Citie should be lessened for love of sole life, or els
 that the countrie shoulde be filled ful of bastardes.
 And besides this, the Emperour Augustus being a sore
 punisher of evil behaviour, examined a souldior
 because he did not marie his wife accordyng to the 5
 lawes, the whiche souldiour had hardely escaped
 judgement, if he had not gotte .iii. children by her.
 And in this point doe the lawes of al Emperours seeme
 favourable to married folke, that they abrogate suche
 vowes as were proclaimed to be kept and brought in by 10
 Miscella, and woulde that after the penalite were
 remitted, suche covenantes, beyng made against al
 right and conscience, shoulde also be taken of none
 effect, and as voide in the lawe. Over and besides
 this, Olpianus doth declare that the matter of 15
 Dowries was evermore and in al places the chiefest
 above al other, the whiche should never have bene so,
 excepte there came to the commune weale some especial
 profite by mariage. Mariage hath ever bene
 reverenced, but frutefulnesse of body hath bene muche 20

2.In margin: Augustus Cesar.

10.In margin: Miscella.

15.In margin: Olpianus.

more, for so soe as one gotte the name of a father,
 there discended not only unto him enheirtaunce of
 lande, but al bequestes, and gooddes of suche his
 frendes as dyed intestate. The whiche thyng appereth
 plaine by the Satyre Poete.

5

Through me thou art made, an heire to have lande,
 Thou hast al bequestes one with another,
 All gooddes and cattel are come to thy hande
 Yea gooddes intestate, thou shalt have suer.

Now he that had .iii. children, was more 10
 favoured, for he was exempted from al outward
 ambassages. Againe he that had fyve children was
 discharged and free from all personal office, as to
 have the governaunce, or patronage of younge
 ientlemen, the whiche in those daies was a great 15
 charge and ful of paines without any profit at al. He
 that had .xiii. children was free by the Emperour
 Julianus law, not onely from beyng a man at Armes, or
 Captaine over horsemen: but also from al other offices
 in the commune weale. And the wise founders of all 20
 lawes geve good reason why suche favor was shewed to

5. In margin: Juvenal.

married folke. For what is more blesseful than to live ever? Now where as nature hath denied this, Matrimony doth geve it by a certaine sleight, so much as maye be. Who dothe not desire to be bruted, and live through fame among men hereafter? Now there is no buildinge of pillers, no erectinge of Arches, no blasinge of Armes, that dothe more sette forthe a mannes name, then doth the encrease of children. Albinus obtained his purpose of the Emperour Adrian for none other desert of his, but that he had begote an housefull of children. And therefore the Emperoure (to the hinderance of his treasure) suffred the children to enter wholye upon their fathers possession, forasmuche as he knewe well that his realme was more strengthened with encrease of children, then with store of money. Againe, all other lawes are neither agreynge for all Countrys, nor yet used at all times. Licurgus made a lawe, that they whiche married not, shoulde be kepte in Somer from the sighte of stage playes, and other wonderfull shewes, and in winter they shoulde go naked aboute the market place, and accursinge them selves, they shoulde confesse openly that they hadde justly deserved suche

20. In margin: Licurgus law against unmarried folke.

punishment, because they did not live accordinge to
 the lawes. And without any more a doe, will ye knowe
 how much our olde Auncesters heretofore esteemed
 Matrimonie? Waye well, and consider the punishment
 for breaking of wedlocke. The Grekes heretofore 5
 thought it mete to punishe the breach of Matrimonie
 with battaile that continued ten yeres. Yea, moreover
 not onely by the Romaine lawe, but also by the
 Hewbrues and straungers, aduouterous persons were
 punished with death. If a thiefe payde .iiii. times 10
 the value of that whiche he toke awaye, he was
 delivered, but an aduouterers offence, was punished
 with the sworde. Emonge the Hebrues, the people
 stoned the aduouterers to death, with their owne
 handes, because they had broken that, without which 15
 the worlde could not continue. And yet they thought
 not this sore law sufficient inoughe, but graunted
 further to runne him thorowe withoute lawe, that was

3.In margin: Punishmentes appoynted for breaking wedlocke.

6.In margin: The Grecians revengment for aduoutrye.

11.In margin: The Hebrues stoned Aduouterers.

18.In margin: Lawful for the married man among the Hebrues to kyll the aduouterer.

taken in aduoutrye, as who should saye, they graunted
 that to the grieve of married folke, the whiche they
 woulde hardlye graunte to hym that stode in his owne
 defence for safegarde of his life, as though he
 offended more haynously that toke a mans wife, then he 5
 did that toke away a mannes lyfe. Assuredly wedlocke
 muste neades seme to be a mooste holye thinge,
 consideringe that beinge once broken, it muste neades
 be purged with mannes bloude, the revenger wherof is
 not forced to abide either lawe or judge, the whiche 10
 libertie is not graunted anye to use upon him that
 hath killed either his father or his mother. But
 what do we with these Lawes written? This is the lawe
 of Nature, not written in the Tables of Brasse, but
 firmlye prynted in oure myndes, the whiche Lawe, 15
 whosoever dothe not obeye, he is not worthy to be
 called a manne, muche lesse shall he be counted a
 Citezen. For if to live well (as the Stoikes wittelye
 do dispute) is to folowe the course of Nature, what
 thinge is so agreynge with Nature as Matrimonye? For 20
 there is nothinge so naturall not onely unto mankinde,
 but also unto all other livinge creatures, as it is
 for everye one of theim to kepe their owne kinde from

20. In margin: Matrimonie natural.

decaye, and throughe encrease of issue, to make the
 whole kinde immortall. The whiche thinge (all menne
 knowe) can never be dooen, withoute wedlocke and
 carnall copulation. It were a fowle thinge, that
 brute beastes shoulde obeye the lawe of Nature, and 5
 menne like Gyauntes shoulde fighte againste Nature.
 Whose worcke if we woulde narrowly loke upon, we shall
 perceyve that in all thinges here upon earthe, she
 woulde there shoulde be a certaine spice of mariage.
 I wil not speake nowe of Trees, wherin (as Plinie 10
 mooste certainlye writeth) there is founde Mariage
 with some manifeste difference of bothe kyndes, that
 excepte the housbande Tree do leane with his boughes
 even as thoughe he shoulde desire copulation upon the
 womenne Trees growynge rounde aboute him: they woulde 15
 elles altogether waxe barraine. The same Plinie also
 dothe report that certaine aucthoures do thincke there
 is bothe male and female in all thinges that the
 Earthe yeldeth. I will not speake of precious stones,
 wherein the same aucthoure affirmeth, and yet not he 20
 onelye neither, that there is bothe male and female
 emonge them. And I praye you hath not GOD so knitte

11. In margin: Mariage emonge trees.

18. In margin: Mariage among precious stones.

all thinges together with certaine lynckes, that one
ever semeth to have neade of another? What saye you
of the skye or firmamente, that is ever stirrynge
with continuall movinge? Dothe it not playe the parte
of a husbände, while it puffeth up the Earthe, the 5
mother of all thinges, and maketh it fruitefull with
castinge seede (as manne woulde saye) upon it. But I
thincke it over tedious to runne over all thinges.
And to what ende are thinges spoken? Marye sir,
because we might understande that throughe Mariage, 10
all thinges are, and do styll continue, and withoute
the same all thinges do decaye, and come to noughte.
The olde auncient and moste wise Poetes do feyne (who
hadde ever a desire under the coloure of fables to
set forthe preceptes of Philosophie) that the Giaunts 15
whiche had snakes fete, and were borne of thearth,
builed greate hilles that mounted up to heaven,
minding thereby to be at utter defiaunce with God and
al his aungelles. And what meaneth this fable? Marye
it sheweth unto us, that certain fierce and savage 20
menne, suche as were unknowen, coulde not abide

4.In margin: Mariage betwene the firmament and the earth.

15.In margin: The fable of Giauntes that fought
against Nature.

wedlocke for anye worldes good, and therefore they
 were stricken downe headelonge with lighteninge, that
 is to saye: they were utterlye destroyed, when they
 soughte to eschue that, whereby the weale and
 saulfe garde of al mankinde onelye dothe consiste. 5

Nowe againe, the same Poetes do declare that Orpheus
 the musitian and minstrell, did styre and make soft
 with his pleasaunte melodye the mooste harde rockes
 and stones. And what is their meaninge herein?
 Assuredlye nothings else, but that a wife and well 10
 spoken manne, did call backe harde harted menne, suche
 as lived abroad like Beastes, from open whoredome,
 and brought them to lyve after the mooste holye lawes
 of Matrimonye. Thus we se plainelye, that such a one
 as hathe no minde of Mariage, semeth to be no manne, 15
 but rather a Stone, an enemye to Nature, a rebel to
 God him selfe, seking through his owne folye, his last
 ende and destruction.

Well, let us go on still (seyng we are fallen
 into fables that are not fables altogether) when the 20
 same Orpheus in the middes of Hell, forced Pluto him
 selfe and all the devilles there, to graunte him leave
 to carye awaye his wife Euridice, what other thinge do

7. In margin: Orpheus.

we thinke that the Poets meant, but only to set forthe
unto us the love in wedlocke the whiche even amonge
the Devilles was compted good and Godlye.

And this also makes wel for the purpose, that in
olde time they made Jupiter Gamelius, the God of 5
mariage, and Juno Lucina ladye midwife, to helpe suche
women as laboured in child bedde, beyng fondlye
deceived, and supersticiouslie erring in naming of the
Gods, and yet not missinge the trueth, in declaring
that Matrimonie is an holy thinge, and mete for the 10
worthines therof, that the Goddes in heaven shoulde
have care over it. Emonge divers countries, and
divers menne, there have bene divers lawes and
customes used. Yet was there never anye countrey so
savage, none so farre from all humanitie, where the 15
name of wedlocke was not counted holye, and hadde in
great reverence. This the Thracian, this the
Sarmate, this the Indian, this the Grecian, this the
Latine, yea, this the Britain that dwelleth in the
furthesteste parte of all the worlde, or if there be anye 20

4.In margin: The most wicked can not chose
but alow mariage.

18.In margin: All nacions ever esteemed mariage.

that dwell beyonde them have ever counted to be moste
 holye. And why so? Marye because that thinge must
 neades be commune to all, whiche the commune mother
 neades be commune to all, whiche the commune mother
 unto all, hath graffed in us all, and hath so 5
 thorowlye graffed the same in us, that not onely
 stockedoves and Pigions, but also the most wilde
 beastes have a natural felinge of this thinge. For
 the Lyons are gentle against the Lionesse. The Tygers
 fight for safegard of their yong whelpes. The Asse 10
 runnes through the hote fyre (which is made to kepe
 her awaie) for safegarde of her issue. And this they
 call the lawe of Nature, the whiche as it is of most
 strengthe and force, so it spreadeth abroad most
 largely. Therefore as he is counted no good gardener, 15
 that being content with thinges present, doth
 diligently proyne his old trees, and hath no regard
 either to ympe or graffe yong settes: because the
 selfe same Orcharde (thoughe it be never so well
 trimmed) muste nedes decaye in time, and all the trees 20
 dye within fewe yeres: So he is not to be counted
 halfe a diligent citizen, that beinge contente with
 the present multitude, hathe no regarde to encrease
 the number. Therefore there is no one man that ever
 hath bene counted a worthy Citezen, who hath not 25

laboured to get children, and sought to bring them up
in Godlines.

Emonge the Hebrues and the Persians he was most
commended, that had most wives, as thoughe the
countrey were most beholding to him, that encreased 5
the same with the greatest number of children. Do you
seke to be compted more holie then Abraham him selfe?
Well, he should never have bene compted the father of
manye Nacions, and that through Gods furtheraunce, if
he had forborne the companie of his wife. Do you loke 10
to be reckened more devoute then Jacob? He doubteth
nothings to raunsome Rachel from her greate bondage.
Will you be taken for wiser then Salomon? And yet I
praye you what a number of wives kept he in one
house? Will you be compted more chaste then Socrates, 15
who is reported to beare at home with Zantippe that

3.In margin: The Hebrues and Persians had a
number of wives.

8.In margin: Abraham.

20

11.In margin: Jacob.

14.In margin: Salomon.

16.In margin: Socrates.

verye shrewe, and yet not so muche therefore (as he is
 wonte to jeste accordinge to his olde maner) because
 he might learne pacience at home, but also because he
 mighte not seme to come behinde with his dutye in
 doying the wil of nature. For he beyng a manne, suche 5
 a one (as Appollo judged him by his Oracle to be wise)
 did well perceyve that he was gote for this cause,
 borne for this cause, and therfore bounde to yelde so
 muche unto nature. For if the olde auncient
 Philosophers have saide wel, if our divines have 10
 proved the thinge not without reason, if it be used
 everye where for a commune proverbe, and almost in
 everye mans mouthe, that neither God nor yet Nature,
 did ever make any thinge in vayne: Why did he geve us
 such membres, how happeneth we have suche luste, and 15
 suche power to get issue, if the single lyfe and none
 other be altogether prayse worthy? If one shoulde
 bestowe upon you a verye good thinge, as a bowe, a
 coate, or a sworde, al men would thincke you were not
 worthy to have the thinge, if either you coulde not, 20
 or you woulde not use it, and occupie it. And where
 as all other thinges are ordeyned upon suche greate
 considerations, it is not like that Nature slepte or
 forgave her selfe when she made this one thinge. And
 nowe here will some saye, that this fowle and filthye 25

desire, and styringe unto luste, came never in by
 Nature, but through Sinne: for whose wordes I passe
 not a strawe, seinge their saiynges are as false, as
 God is true. For I pray you was not Matrimonye
 instituted (whose worke can not be done withoute these 5
 membres) before there was anye Synne. And againe,
 whence have all other brute beastes their
 provocations? of Nature, or of Sinne? A man woulde
 thinke they hadde theim of Nature. But shall I tell
 you at a worde, wee make that filthye by oure owne 10
 Imagination, whiche of the owne nature is good and
 Godlye. Or elles if we will examine matters (not
 accordinge to the opinion of menne, but weye them as
 they are of their owne Nature), howe chaunceth it that
 we thincke it lesse filthye, to eate, to chewe, to 15
 digest, to emptye the bodye, and to slepe, then it is
 to use carnall copulaton, such as is lawfull, and
 permitted. Naye sir (you will saye,) we muste folowe
 vertue, rather then Nature. A gentle dishe. As
 thoughe anye thinge can be called vertue that is 20
 contrary unto Nature. Assuredly there is nothinge
 that can be perfectly gote, either throughe laboure,
 or throughe learning, if man grounde not his doynge
 altogether upon Nature. 25

But you will live an Apostles life, suche as some 25

of them did that lived single, and exhorted other to
 the same kinde of life. Tushe, let them folowe the
 Apostles that are Apostles in deede, whose office
 seyng it is bothe to teach and bringe up the people
 in Goddes doctrine, they are not able to discharge 5
 their dutyes bothe to their stocke, and to their wife
 and familye. Althoughe it is well knowen that some of
 the Apostles had wives. But be it that Bishoppes live
 single, or graunt we them to have no wives. Why do
 you folowe the profession of the Apostles, beyng one 10
 that is farthest in life from their Vocation, beinge
 bothe a temporall manne, and one that liveth of youre
 owne? They hadde this Pardon graunted them to be
 cleane voyde from Mariage, to the ende they mighte be
 at leasure to get unto Christe a more plentifull 15
 number of his children. Let this be the order of
 Priestes and Monkes, who belike have entred into the
 Religion and rule of the Essens, (suche as amonge the
 Jewes lothed Mariage) but youre callinge is an other
 waye. Naye, but (you will saye) Christe him selfe 20
 hath compted them blessed, whiche have gelded them
 selves for the Kingdome of GOD. Sir, I am contente to
 admitte the auctoritie, but thus I expounde the
 meaning. First, I thincke that this doctrine of
 Christe did chieflye belonge unto that time, when it 25

behouved them chieflye to be voyde of all cares and
 busines of this Worlde. They were fayne to travayle
 into all places, for the persecutoures were ever
 readye to laye handes on them. But nowe the worlde
 is so, that a manne can finde in no place the 5
 uprightnes of behavioure lesse stayned, then emounge
 married folke. Let the swarmes of Monkes and Nunnes
 sette forthe their order never so muche, let them
 boaste and bragge their bealies full, of their
 Ceremonies and church service, wherin they chieflye 10
 passe all other: yet is wedlocke (beeynge well and
 trulye kepte) a mooste holye kinde of life. Againe,
 would to God they were gelded in very dede, whatsoever
 they be, that coloure their noughtye livinge wyth such
 a jolye name of geldinge, living in muche more filthye 15
 luste under the cloke and pretence of chastitie.
 Neither can I reporte for verye shame, into howe
 filthye offences they do often fall, that will not use
 that remedye whiche Nature hath graunted unto manne.
 And last of all, where do you reade that ever Christe 20
 commaunded anye manne to live single, and yet he dothe
 openlye forbidde divorcement. Then he dothe not
 worste of all (in my Judgemente) for the commune weale
 of Mankinde, that graunteth libertye unto Priestes:
 yea, and Monkes also (if neade be) to mary, and to 25

take them to their wives, namely seing there is such
 an unreasonable number everye where, emonge whom I
 praye you how many be there that live chaste. How
 mucche better were it to turne their concubines into
 wyves, that where as they have them now to their 5
 greate shame wyth an unquiet conscience, they mighte
 have the other openly with good report, and get
 children, and also bringe them up godlye, of whom they
 them selves not onelye mighte not be ashamed, but also
 might be counted honest men for them. 10

And I thinke the bishoppes officers woulde have
 procured this matter longe agoe, if they had not
 founde greater gaines by priestes lemmans, then they
 were like to have by priestes wives. But virginitie
 forsothe is an heavenlye thing, it is an Aungels life. 15
 I aunswer, wedlocke is a manly thinge, suche as is
 mete for man. And I talke now as man unto man. I
 graunte you, that virginitie is a thinge prayse
 worthy, but so farre I am content to speake in praise
 of it, if it be not so praised, as though the just 20
 should altogether folow it, for if men commenly should
 begin to like it, what thing could be invented more
 perilous to a commune weale then virginitie. Nowe be

14. In margin: Virginitie.

it that other deserve greate prayse for their
 maydenheade, you notwithstandinge can not wante great
 rebuke, seynge it lieth in your handes to kepe that
 house from decaye wherof you lineallye descended, and
 to continue still the name of your ancestors, who 5
 deserve moste worthely to be knowen for ever. And
 last of all, he deserveth as muche prayse, as they
 whiche kepe their maydenhode: that kepes him selfe
 true to his wife, and marieth rather for encrease of
 children, then to satisfy his luste. For if a brother 10
 be commaunded to stirre up fede to his brother that
 dieth without issue, will you suffer the hope of all
 youre stocke to decaye, namely seinge there is none
 other of your name and stocke, but your selfe alone,
 to continue the posteritie. I know wel inoughe, that 15
 the auncient fathers have set forthe in greate
 volumes, the prayse of virginitie, emonge whom,
 Hierome dothe so take on, and prayseth it so much
 above the starres, that he fell in maner to deprave
 Matrimonie, and therfore was required of Godly 20
 Bishoppes to cal backe his wordes that he had spoken.
 But let us beare with suche heate for that tyme sake,
 I would wishe now, that thei, whiche exhort yong

18. In margin: Hieroms praise upon Virginitie.

folke every where, and without respect (suche as yet
 knowe not themselves) to live a single life, and to
 professe virginittie: that thei would bestowe the same
 laboure, in setting furth the descripcion of chaste and
 pure wedlocke. And yet those bodies that are in suche 5
 great love with virginittie, are wel contented that
 menne should fight against the Turkes, whiche in number
 are infinitely greater then wee are. And now if these
 menne thinke right in this behalfe, it must nedes be
 thought right good and godly, to labour earnestly for 10
 children getting, and to substitute youthe from tyme
 to tyme, for the maintenaunce of warre. Except
 peradventure thei thinke that Gunnes, Billes, Pikes,
 and Navies, should be provided for battaill, and that
 men stand in no stede at all with them. Thei also 15
 allowe it well, that we should kill miscreant and
 Heathen parentes, that the rather their children not
 knowyng of it, might bee Baptized and made Christians.
 Nowe if this bee righte and lawfull, how much more
 gentlenesse were it to have children Baptized, beyng 20
 borne in lawfull mariage. There is no nacion so
 savage, nor yet so hard harted, within the whole
 worlde, but the same abhorreth murderynge of infauntes,
 and newe borne babes. Kynges also and hedde rulers,
 dooe likewise punishe moste streightly, all suche as 25

seke meanes to be delivered before their tyme, or use
 Phisicke to waxe barren, and never to beare children.
 What is the reason? Marie thei compt small difference
 betwixt hym, that killeth the child, so sone as it
 beginneth to quicken: and thother, that seketh all 5
 meanes possible, never to have any child at all. The
 self same thyng that either withereth and drieth awaie
 in thy body, or els putrifieth within thee, and so
 hurteth greatly thy healthe, yea, that self same,
 whiche falleth from thee in thy slepe, would have been 10
 a manne, if thou thy self haddest been a man. The
 Hebrues abhore that man, and wishe him Goddes cursse,
 that (beyng commaunded to marie with the wife of his
 dedde brother) did cast his seede upon the grounde
 least any issue should bee had, and he was ever 15
 thought unworthy to live here upon yerth, that would
 no suffer that child to live, whiche was quicke in the
 mothers wombe. But I praie you how litle do thei
 swarve from this offence whiche bynd themselves to
 live barren, all the daies of their life? Doo thei 20
 not seme to kill as many men, as were like to have
 been borne, if thei had bestowed their endevors to
 have got children? Now I praie you, if a man had

12. In margin: Hebrues.

lande that wer very fatte and fertile, and suffered
 the same for lacke of maneryng, for ever to waxe
 barren, should he not, or wer he not worthy to be
 punished by the lawes, consideryng it is for the
 common weales behove, that every man should wel and 5
 truly husbande his awne? If that man be punished, who
 litle hedeth the maintenaunce of his Tillage, the
 whiche although it be never so wel manered, yet it
 yeldeth nothyng els but wheat, barley, beanes, and
 peason: what punishment is he worthy to suffer, that 10
 refuseth to Plough that lande, whiche beyng tilled,
 yeldeth children. And for ploughyng land, it is
 nothyng els, but painful toylyng from tyme to tyme,
 but in gettyng children, there is pleasure, whiche
 beyng ordeined, as a redy reward for paines takyng, 15
 asketh a short travaill for al the tillage. Therefore
 if the workyng of nature, if honestie, if vertue, if
 inwarde zeale, if Godlinesse, if duetie maie move you,
 why can you not abide that, whiche God hath ordeined,
 nature hath established, reason doeth counsaill, Gods 20
 worde and mannes worde do commende, all lawes do
 commaunde, the consent of al nacions doeth allowe,
 whereunto also the example of all good men, doth
 exhort you. That if every honest man should desire
 many thyngs, that are moste painful for none other 25

cause, but onely for that thei are honest, no doubt
 but matrimonie ought above all other, moste of all to
 be desired, as the whiche wee maie doubte, whether it
 have more honestie in it, or bryng more delite and
 pleasure with it. For what can bee more pleasaunt, 5
 than to live with her, with whom not onely you shalbe
 joyned, in felowship of faithfulness, and moste hartie
 good will, but also you shalbe coupled together moste
 assuredly, with the company of bothe your bodies? If
 we compt that great pleasure, whiche we receive of the 10
 good will of our frendes acquaintaunce, how pleasaunt
 a thyng is it above all other, to have one, with whom
 you maie breake the botom of your harte, with whom ye
 maie talke as frely, as with your self, into whose
 truste, you maie saufly commit your self, suche a one 15
 as thinketh al your goodes to be her charge? Now what
 an heavnly blisse (trow you) is the companie of man
 and wife together, seyng that in all the worlde, there
 can nothyng be found, either of greater weight and
 worthinesse, or els of more strengthe and assuraunce. 20
 For with frendes, we joyne onely with them in good
 will, and faithfulness of mynde, but with a wife, we
 are matched together, both in harte and mynde, in body
 and soule, sealed together with the bonde and league
 of an holy Sacrament, and partyng al the goodes we 25

have, indifferently betwixt us. Again when other are
 matched together in frendship, do we not see what
 dissemblyng thei use, what falshode thei practise, and
 what deceiptfull partes thei plaie? Yea, even those
 whom we thinke to be our most assured frendes, as 5
 swallowes flie awaie when sommer is past, so thei hide
 their heddes, when fortune gynnes to faile. And oft
 tymes when we get a newe frend, we streight forsake
 our old. We heare tel of very fewe, that have
 continued frendes, even till their last ende. 10
 Whereas the faithfulnessse of a wife, is not stained
 with deceipte, nor dused with any dissemblyng, nor
 yet parted with any chaunge of the world but
 dissevered at last by death onely, no not by death
 neither. She forsakes and setteth lighte by father and 15
 mother, sister and brother for your sake, and for your
 love onely. She only passeth upon you, she putteth her
 trust in you, and leaneth wholly upon you, yea, she
 desires to die with you. Have you any worldly
 substaunce? You have one that will maintain it, you 20
 have one that will encrease it. Have you none? You
 have a wife that will get it. If you live in
 prosperitee, your joye is doubled: if the worlde go
 not with you, you have a wife to put you in good
 comfort, to be at your commaundement, and redy to 25

serve your desire, and to wishe that suche evill as
 hath happened unto you, might chaunce unto her self.
 And do you thinke that any pleasure in al the world,
 is able to be compared with suche a goodly felowship
 and familier livyng together? If you kepe home, your 5
 wife is at hand to kepe your company, the rather that
 you might fele no werines of living al alone, if you
 ride furthe, you have a wife to bid you fare well with
 a kisse, longyng muchoe for you, beyng from home, and
 glad to bidde you well come at your next returne. A 10
 swete mate in your youthe, a thankfull comforte in
 your age. Every societie or companieng together, is
 delitefull and wished for by nature of all menne,
 forasmuchoe as nature hath ordeined us to be, sociable,
 frendly, and lovyng together. Nowe howe can this 15
 felowship of manne and wife, be otherwise then moste
 pleasant, where all thynges are common together
 betwixt them bothe. Now I thinke he is moste worthy,
 to bee despised above all other, that is borne, as a
 man would saie for hymself, that liveth to hymself, 20
 that seketh for himself, that spareth for himself,
 maketh cost onely upon himself, that loveth no man,
 and no man loveth hym. Would not a manne thinke that
 suche a monster, were mete to be caste out of all

24. In margin: Timon a deadly hater of al companie.

mennes companie (with Tymon that careth for no manne)
 into the middest of the sea? Neither do I here utter
 unto you those pleasures of the body, the which,
 wheras nature hath made to be moste pleasaunt unto
 man, yet these greate witted men, rather hide them, 5
 and dissemble them (I cannot tel how) then utterly
 contempne them. And yet what is he that is so sower
 of witte, and so drowpyng of braine (I will not saie)
 blockhedded, or insensate, that is not moved with
 suche pleasure, namely if he maie have his desire, 10
 without offence either of God or man, and without
 hynderaunce of his estimacion. Truely I would take
 suche a one, not to be a man, but rather to bee a very
 stone. Although this pleasure of the body, is the
 least parte of all these good thynges, that are in 15
 wedlocke. But bee it that you passe not upon this
 pleasure, and thinke it unworthy for man to use it,
 although in deede we deserve not the name of manne
 without it, but compte it emong the least and
 uttermoste profites, that wedlocke hath: Now I praie 20
 you, what can be more hartely desired, then chaste
 love, what can bee more holy, what can bee more
 honest? And emong all these pleasures, you get unto
 you a joly sort of kinsfolke, in whom you maie take
 much delite. You have other parentes, other brethren, 25

sisterne, and nephewes. Nature in deede can geve you
 but one father, and one mother: By mariage you get
 unto you another father, and another mother, who
 cannot chuse, but love you with all their hartes, as
 the whiche have put into your handes, their awne 5
 fleshe and bloud. Now again, what a joye shal this be
 unto you, when your moste faire wife, shall make you a
 father, in bringyng furthe a faire childe unto you,
 where you shall have a pretie litle boye, runnyng up
 and doune youre house, suche a one as shall expresse 10
 your looke, and your wives looke, suche a one as shall
 call you dad, with his swete lispyng wordes. Now last
 of all, when you are thus lynked in love, the same
 shalbee so fastened and bounde together, as though it
 were with the Adamant stone, that death it self can 15
 never be able to undo it. Thrise happie are thei
 (quoth Horace) yea, more then thrise happie are thei,
 whom these sure bandes dooe holde, neither though thei
 are by evill reporters, full ofte sette a sonder,
 shall love be unlosed betwixt theim two, till death 20
 them bothe depart. You have them that shal comforte
 you, in your latter daies, that shall close up your
 iyes, when God shal call you, that shall bury you, and
 fulfil all thynges belongyng to your Funerall, by whom
 you shall seme, to bee newe borne. For so long as 25

thei shall live, you shall nede never bee thought ded
 your self. The goodes and landes that you have gotte,
 go not to other heires, then to your awne. So that
 unto suche as have fulfilled all thynges, that belong
 unto manes life, death it self cannot seme bitter. 5
 Old age cometh upon us al, will we, or nill we, and
 this waie nature provided for us, that we should waxe
 yong again in our children, and nephewes. For, what
 man can be greved, that he is old, when he seeth his
 awne countenaunce whiche he had beyng a childe, to 10
 appere lively in his sonne? Death is ordeined for all
 mankynd, and yet by this meanes onely, nature by her
 providence, myndeth unto us a certain immortalitie,
 while she encreaseth one thyng upon another even as a
 yong grasse buddeth out, when the old tree is cut 15
 doune. Neither can he seme to dye, that, when God
 calleth hym, leaveth a yong child behinde hym. But I
 knowe well enough, what you saie to your self, al this
 while of my long talke. Mariage is an happie thyng,
 if al thynges hap well, what and if one have a curse 20
 wife? What if she be lighte? What if his children
 bee ungracious? Thus I see you will remember all
 suche men, as by mariage have been undoen. Well, go
 to it, tell as many as you can, and spare not: you
 shall finde all these were the faults of the persones, 25

and not the faultes of Mariage. For beleve me, none
 have evil wives, but suche as are evil men. And as
 for you sir, you may chuse a good wife, if ye list.
 But what if she be croked, and marde altogether, for
 lacke of good orderyng. A good honest wife, maie be 5
 made an evill woman, by a naughtie husbnde, and an
 evill wife, hath been made a good woman, by an honest
 man. We crie out of wives untruly, and accuse them
 without cause. There is no man (if you wil beleve me)
 that ever had an evil wife, but through his awne 10
 default. Now again an honest father, bryngeth furthe
 honest children, like unto hymself. Although even
 these children, how so ever thei are born, commonly
 become suche men, as their educacion and bringyng up
 is. And as for jelousy you shal not nede to feare 15
 that fault at all. For none be troubled with suche a
 disease, but those onely that are foolishe lovers.
 Chaste, godly, and lawfull love, never knew what
 jelousie ment. What meane you to call to your mynde,
 and remember suche sore tragedies and doulefull 20
 dealynges, as have been betwixt mane and wife. Suche

1. In margin: Evil wives happen to evil men onely.

14. In margin: Jelousie unknownen to wise men.

a woman beyng naughte of her body, hath caused her
 husbände to lose his hedde, another hath poysoned her
 goodman, the third with her churlishe dealyng (whiche
 her husbände could not beare) hath been his outer
 undoyng, and brought hym to his end. But I praie you 5
 sir, why doo you not rather think upon Cornelia, wife
 unto Tiberius Gracchus? Why do ye not mynd that most
 worthy wife, of that most unworthy man Alcestes? Why
 remembre ye not Julia Pompeyes wife, or Porcia Brutus
 wife? And why not Artemisia, a woman moste worthie, 10
 ever to bee remembred? Why not Hipsicratea, wife
 unto Mithridates kyng of Pontus? Why do ye not call
 to remembraunce the jentle nature of Tertia Aemilia?
 Why do ye not consider the faithfulnessse of Turia?

6.In margin: Cornelia.

8.In margin: Alcestes wife.

9.In margin: Julia.

9.In margin: Portia.

10.In margin: Artemisia.

11.In margin: Hipsicratea.

13.In margin: Tertia Aemilia.

14.In margin: Turia.

Why cometh not Lucretia and Lentula to your
 remembraunce? and why not Aria? why not thousands
 other whose chastite of life, and faithfulness towards
 their husbandes could not bee chaunged, no not by
 death. A good woman (you will saie) is a rare birde, 5
 and hard to be founde in all the worlde. Well then
 sir, imagine your self worthy to have a rare wife,
 suche as fewe men have. A good woman (saith the
 wiseman) is a good porcion. Be you bold to hope for
 such a one, as is worthy your maners. The chifest 10
 poynt standeth in this, what maner of woman you
 chuse, how you use her, and how you order your self
 towards her. But libertee (you will saie) is muche
 more pleasaunt: for, who soever is married, wereth
 fetters upon his legges, or rather carieth a clogge, 15
 the whiche he can never shake of, till death part
 their yoke. To this I answere, I can not see what
 pleasure a man shall have to live alone. For if

1.In margin: Lucretia.

1.In margin: Lentula.

2.In margin: Arria.

9.In margin: Prover .x.

libertie be delitefull, I would thinke you should get
 a mate unto you, with whom you should parte stakes,
 and make her privey of all your joyes. Neither can I
 see any thyng more free, then is the servitude of
 these twoo, where the one is so mucche beholdyng and 5
 bounde to thother, that neither of them bothe wold be
 louse, though thei might. You are bound unto him,
 whom you receive into your frendship: But in mariage
 neither partie findeth fault, that their libertie is
 taken awaie from them. Yet ones again you are sore 10
 afraied, least when your children are taken awaie by
 death, you fal to mourning for want of issue. Well
 sir, if you feare lacke of issue, you must marie a
 wife for the self same purpose, the which onely shal
 be a meane, that you shall not want issue. But what 15
 do you serche so diligently, naie so carefully, al the
 incommodities of matrimonie, as though single life had
 never any incommoditie joyned with it at al. As
 though there wer any kinde of life in al the world,
 that is not subject to al evils that may happen. He 20
 must nedes go out of this world, that lokes to live
 without felyng of any grief. And in comparison of
 that life which the sainctes of god that have in
 heaven, this life of man is to be compted a deth, and
 not a life. But if you consider thinges within the 25

compasse of mankynde, there is nothyng either more
 saufe, more quiet, more pleasaunt, more to be desired,
 or more happy, then is the married manes life. How
 many do you se, that having ones felt the swetnesse of
 wedlocke, doeth not a desire eftsones to enter into 5
 the same? My frende Mauricius, whom you knowe to be a
 very wise man, did not he, the nexte monethe after his
 wife died (whom he loved derely) get hym streight a
 newe wife? Not that he was impacient of his luste,
 and could not forbear any longer, but he said 10
 plainly, it was no life for hym, to bee without a
 wife, whiche should bee with hym as his yoke felowe,
 and companion in all thynges. And is not this the
 fourthe wife, that our frende Jovius hath married? And
 yet he so loved the other, when thei wer on live that 15
 none was able to comforte hym in his heavinesse: and
 now he hastened so muche (when one was ded) to fill up
 and supply the voyde rume of his chamber, as though
 he had loved the other very litle. But what do we
 talke so muche of the honestie and pleasure herein, 20
 seyng that not onely profite doeth advise us, but also
 nede doeth earnestly force us, to seke mariage. Let
 it bee forbidden, that man and woman shall not come

23. In margin: Necessitee enfoceth mariage.

together, and within fewe yeres, all mankynde must
 nedes decaye for ever. When Zerxes kyng of the
 Persians, behelde from an high place, that greate
 armie of his, suche as almost was incredible, some
 said he could not forbear wepyng, consideryng of so 5
 many thousandes, there was not one like to be a live,
 within seventie yeres after. Now why should not we
 consider the same of all mankynd, whiche he meant
 onely of his armie? Take awaie mariage, and howe many
 shall remain after a hundreth yeres, of so many 10
 realmes, countrees, kyngdomes, citees, and all other
 assemblies that be of men, throughout the whole world?
 On now, praise we a gods name the single life above
 the noche, the whiche is like for ever to undooe all
 mankynde. What plague, what infeccion can either 15
 heaven or hell, sende more harmeful unto mankynde?
 What greater evill is to be feared by any floud? What
 could be loked for, more sorowfull, although the flame
 of Phaeton should set the world on fire again? And
 yet by such sore tempestes, many thynges have been 20
 saved harmelesse, but by the single life of man, there
 can be nothyng left at all. We se what a sorte of
 diseases, what diversitee of missehappes doo night and

2. In margin: Zerres.

daie lye in waite to lessen the smal number of
 mankynde. Howe many doeth the plague destroie, how
 many do the Seas swallowe, how many doeth battaile
 snatche up? For I will not speake of the daily dyeng
 that is in al places. Deathe taketh her flight every 5
 where rounde about, she runneth over theim, she
 catcheth theim up, she hasteneth as muche as she can
 possible to destroie al mankynde, and now do we so
 highly commend syngle lyfe and eschewe Mariage?
 Except happely we like the profession of the Essens 10
 (of whom Josephus speaketh that they wil neither have
 wyfe, nor servauntes) or the Dulopolitans, called
 otherwise the Rascalles and Slaves of Cities, the
 whiche companie of theim is alwaie encreased and
 continued by a sorte of vagabounde peasauntes that 15
 continue, and be from time to time stil together. Or
 do we loke that some Juppiter shoulde geve us that
 same gifte, the whiche he is reported to have geven
 unto Bees, that wee shoulde have issue without
 procreacion, and gather with our mouthes out of 20
 flowers, the seede of our posteritie? Or elles do we

11. In margin: Essens hated Mariage.

13. In margin: Josephus .xviii. cap. lib. ii.

desier, that lyke as the Poetes feyne Minerva to be
 borne out of Juppiters head: in lyke sorte there
 should children leape out of our heades? Or last of
 al doe we looke accordyng as the old fables have been,
 that men shoulde be borne out of the yerth, out of 5
 rockes, out of stockes, stones, and olde trees? Many
 thynges breede out of the yearth without mans labour
 at all. Young shrubbes growe and shoute up under the
 shadowe of their graundsyre trees. But nature woulde
 have man to use this one waie of encreasyng issue, 10
 that through labour of bothe the housband and wyfe,
 mankynd might stil be kept from destruction. But I
 promise you, if al men tooke after you, and still
 forbare to marie: I can not see but that these thynges
 whiche you wonder at, and esteme so muche, could not 15
 have been at al. Do you yet esteme this syngle lyfe so
 greatly? Do you praise so muche virginities above al
 other? Why man, there will be neither syngle men, nor
 virgines a lyve, if men leave to marie, and mynde not
 procreation. Why do you then preferre virginities so 20
 muche? Why set it you so hye, if it be the undoyng of
 all the whole worlde? It hath been muche commended,
 but it was for that tyme, and in a fewe. God woulde
 have men to see as though it were a paterne, or rather
 a picture of that heavenly habitacion, where neither 25

any shalbe married, nor yet any shall geve theirs to
 Mariage. But when thynges be geven for an example, a
 fewe may suffise, a nomber were to no purpose. For
 even as al groundes though they be very frutefull, are
 not therefore turned into tillage for mans use and 5
 commoditie, but parte lyeth fallowe, and is never
 mannered, parte is kepte and cherised to lyke the iye
 and for mans pleasure: and yet in al this plentie of
 thynges, where so great store of lande is, nature
 suffereth very litle to waxe barren: But nowe if none 10
 should be tilled, and plowe men went to plaie, who
 seeth not but that wee shoulde al sterve, and bee
 faine shortely to eate acornes: Even so, it is praise
 worthie if a fewe live syngle, but if al should seke
 to lyve syngle, so many as be in this worlde, it were 15
 to greate an inconvenience. Now again be it that
 other deserve worthie praise that seke to live a
 virgines life, yet it must nedes be a great faulte in
 you. Other shalbe thought to seke a purenesse of
 lyfe, you shalbe coumpted a parricide, or a murtherer 20
 of your stocke: that whereas you may by honest mariage
 encrease your posteritie: you suffer it to decaie for
 ever, through your wilful single lyfe. A man may
 havynge a house ful of children, commende one to God to
 lyve a virgine al his lyfe. The plowe man offereth to 25

God the tenthes of his owne, and not his whole croppe
 al together: But you Sir, muste remember that there
 is none lefte alive of al your stocke, but your self
 alone. And nowe it mattereth nothyng whether you
 kill, or refuse to save that creature, which you onely 5
 might save and that with ease. But you wil folow the
 example of your sister, and lyve syngle as she doth.
 And yet me thynketh you shoulde chefely even for this
 selfe same cause, be afraied to lyve single. For
 whereas there was hope of issue heretofore in you 10
 bothe, nowe ye see there is no hope left but in you
 onely. Be it that your sister may be borne withal,
 because she is a woman, and because of her yeares, for
 she beyng but a girle and overcome with sorow for
 losse of her mother toke the wrong way, she cast her 15
 selfe doune headlong, and became a Nunne at the
 earnest sute either of folishe women, or elles of
 doultishe Munkes: but you beyng muche elder, must
 evermore remember that you are a man. She woulde
 nedes dye together with her auncesters, you muste 20
 labour that your auncesters shal not dye at all.
 Your sister woulde not doe her dutie, but shranke
 away: thynke you nowe with your selfe that you have
 .iii. offices to discharge. The daughters of Lothe
 never stuck at the matter to have a doe with their 25

dronken father, thinkyng it better with wicked
whoredome and incese to provide for their posteritie,
than to suffer their stocke to die or ever. And wil
not you with honest, Godly, and chaist Mariage (whiche
shalbe without trouble and turne to your greate 5
pleasure) have a regarde to your posterite most like
elles for ever to decaie? Therfore, let them on
Goddes name folow the purpose of chaist Hippolitus,
let them lyve a syngle life, that either can bee
married men, and yet can gette no children, or els 10
suche, whose stocke may be continued by meanes of
other their kynsfolke or at the least whose kyndred is
suche that it were better for the commune weale, they
were all deade, than that any of that name shoulde be
a lyve, or elles suche men, as the everlivyng God of 15
his moste especiall goodnes hath chosen out of the
whole worlde to execute some heavenly office, wherof
there is a marveilouse smal nomber. But whereas you
accordyng to the reporte of a Phisicion that neither
is unlearned, nor yet is any lyar, are lyke to have 20
many children hereafter, seeyng also you are a man of
greate landes, and revenues by your auncesters, the
house whereof you came, beyng bothe right honourable

20. In margin: The conclusion.

and right auncient, so that you coulde not suffer it
 to perishe without youre great offence, and greate
 harme to the commune weale: againe seeyng you are of
 lustie yeares, and very comely for your personage, and
 may have a maide to your wyfe suche a one as none of 5
 your countrie hath knowen any to bee more absolute for
 all thynges, commyng of as noble a house as any of
 theim, a chaiste one, a sobre one, a Godlie one, an
 excellent fayre one, havynge with her a wonderfull
 Dowrie: seeyng also youre frendes desyre you, your 10
 kynsfolke wepe to wyne you, your Cosyns and aliaunce
 are earnest in hande with you, your countrie calles
 and cries upon you: the ashes of your auncesters from
 their graves make hartly sute unto you, do you yet
 holde backe, do you stil mynde to lyve a synge lyfe? 15
 Yf a thyng were asked you that were not halfe honest,
 or the whiche you could not wel compasse, yet at the
 instaunce of your frendes, or for the love of your
 kynsfolke, you woulde be overcome, and yelde to their
 requestes: Then howe much more reasonable were it that 20
 the wepyng teares of your frendes, the hartie good wil
 of your countrie, the deare love of your elders might
 wyne that thyng at your handes, unto the whiche bothe
 the lawe of God and man doth exhorte you, nature
 pricketh you forward, reason leadeth you, honestie 25

allureth you, so many commodities cal you, and last of all, necessitie it selfe doeth constraine you. But here an ende of al reasonyng. For I trust you have now and a good while ago chaunged your mynde thorowe myne advise, and taken your selfe to better counsell.

5

Of Exhortation.

The places of exhortyng and dehortyng, are the same whiche wee use in perswadyng and dissuadyng, savyng that he whiche useth perswasion, seeketh by argumentes to compasse his devise: he that laboures to exhorte, doeth stirre affections.

Erasmus sheweth these to be the most especiall places that do pertaine unto exhortation.

Praise, or Commendacion.

Expectation of al men.

15

Hope of victorie.

Hope of renownme.

Feare of shame.

Greatnesse of rewarde.

Rehersall of examples, in all ages,

20

and especially of thynges
lately doen.

Praisyng is either of the man, or of some deede
doen. We shall exhorte men to doe the thyng, if we
showe them that is a worthy attempte, a Godly 5
enterprise, and suche as fewe men hetherto have
adventured.

In praisyng a man, we shal exhorte hym to go
forwarde, consideryng it agreeth with his wounted
manhode, and that hetherto he hath not slacked to 10
hasarde boldely upon the best and worthiest deedes,
requiryng hym to make this ende aunswereable to his
mooste worthie begynnynges, that he maye ende with
honour, whiche hath so longe continued in such
renowme. For it were a foule shame to lose honour 15
through folie, whiche hath been gotte through virtue,
and to appere more slacke in kepyng it, than he semed
carefull at the first to atteine it.

Again whose name is renowned, his doynge from
time to tyme wil be thought more wonderfull, and 20

4. In margin: Praisyng a deede.

9. In margin: Praisyng a man, the rather to
encourage him.

greater promises wil men make unto them selves of
 suche mens adventures in any commune affaires, than of
 others, whose vertues are not yet knowne. A notable
 Master of fence is marveilouse to beholde, and men
 looke earnestly to see hym doe some wonder, howe muche 5
 more will they looke when they heare tel that a noble
 Captaine, and an adventurouse Prince shal take upon
 hym the defence, and savegarde of his countrie against
 the ragyng attemptes of his enemies? Therfore a noble
 man can not but go forwarde with most earnest wil, 10
 seyng al men have suche hope in hym, and count hym to
 bee their onely comforte, their fortresse, and
 defense. And the rather to encourage suche right
 worthie, we may put them in good hope to compasse
 their attempte, yf wee showe them that God is an 15
 assured guide unto all those, that in an honest
 quarell adventure them selves, and showe their manly
 stomake. Sathan hym selfe the greatest adversarie
 that man hath, yeldeth lyke a captive, when GOD dothe
 take our parte, muche sooner shal al other be subjecte 20
 unto hym, and crye Peccaui. For if God be with hym,

10. In margin: Expectacion of al men.

15. In margin: Hope of victorie.

what matereth who be against hym?

Nowe when victorie is got, what honour doeth
 ensewe? here openeth a large fielde to speake of
 renowme, fame, and endles honour. In all ages the
 worthiest men have alwaies adventured their carcasses 5
 for the savegarde of their countrie, thynkyng it
 better to dye with honor, than to live with shame.
 Againe the ruine of our Realme shoulde put us to more
 shame, than the losse of our bodies should turne us
 to smarte. For our honestie beyng stained, the paine 10
 is endles, but our bodies beyng gored, either the
 wounde maie sone be healed, or elles our paine beyng
 sone ended, the glory endureth for ever.

Lastely he that helpeth the nedelesse, defendeth
 his poore neighbours, and in the favour of his 15
 countrie, bestoweth his lyfe: wil not God besides al
 these, place hym where he shall lyve for ever,
 especially seeyng he hath doen all these enterprises
 in faith and for Christes sake?

4.In margin: Fame foloweth worthy feactes.

9.In margin: Shame foloweth fearfulnessse, when
 manhode is thought nedeful.

15.In margin: Heaven, the rewarde of hault Capiteines.

Nowe in al ages to reckon suche as have bene
 right soverayne, and victoriouse, what name gotte the
 worthie Scipio that withstood the rage of Annibal?
 what Brute hath Cesar for his most worthie conquestes?
 What triumphe of glory doth founde in al mennes eares 5
 upon the onely namyng of mightie Alexander, and his
 father Kyng Philippe? And now to come home, what head
 can expresse the renowned Henry the fifte Kyng of
 Englande of that name after the conquest? What witte
 can sette out the wonderful wysedom of Henry the 10
 seventh, and his greate foresight to espie mischiefe
 like to ensewe, and his politique devises to escape
 daungers, to subdewe rebelles, and mainteyne peace?

Of movyng pitie, and stirryng men to shewe mercie.

Likewise we may exhorte men to take pitie of the 15
 fatherlesse, the widowe, and the oppressed innocent,
 if we set before their iyes the lamentable
 afflictions, the tyrannouse wronges, and the miserable
 calamities, whiche these poore wretches do susteine.
 For if fleshe and bloude move us to love our children, 20
 our wyfes, and our kynsfolke: muche more shoulde the

16. In margin: Movyng of pitie.

spritie of God and Christes goodnes towardes man
 stirre us to love our neighbours most entirely. These
 exhortacions the preachers of God may most aptely use,
 when they open his Gospell to the people, and have
 just cause to speake of suche matters.

5

Of Commendying.

In commendying a man, wee use the reporte of his
 witte, honestie, faithfull service, painefull labour,
 and carefull nature to do his maisters will, or any
 suches lyke, as in the Epistles of Tullie there are
 examples infinite.

10

Of Comfortyng.

Now after al these, the weake would be comforted
 and the sorowfull woulde bee cherised that there grief
 might bee aswaged, and the passions of man brought
 under the obedience of reason. The use hereof is
 great, as well in private troubles, as in commune

15

8.In margin: The maner of commendying.

13.In margin: The maner of comfortyng.

miseries. As in losse of Gooddes, in lacke of
 frendes, in sicknes, in darthe, and in death. In all
 whiche losses, the wyse use so to comforte the weake,
 that they geve them not just cause even at the first
 to refuse all comforte. And therefore they use two 5
 waies of chereshyng the troubled mindes. The one is
 when wee shoue that in some cases and for some causes
 either they shoulde not lament at all, or elles bee
 sory very litle: the other is when we graunt that they
 have just cause to bee sadde, and therfore wee are sad 10
 also in their behalfe, and woulde remedie the matter,
 if it coulde be, and thus enter yng into felowshippe of
 sorowe, wee seeke by litle and litle to mitigate their
 grief. For all extreme heavynesse, and vehement
 sorowes, cannot abyde comforte, but rather seeke a 15
 mourner that woulde take parte with them.

Therefore mucche warenesse ought to be used, when
 wee happen upon suche excedyng sorowfull, least we
 rather purchace hatred, than aswage grief.

Those harmes shoulde bee moderatly borne, whiche 20
 muste needes happen to every one, that have chaunced
 to any one. As deathe, whiche spareth none, neither
 Kyng, nor Cayser, neither poore, nor riche. Therefore
 to bee impacient for the losse of our frendes, is to
 fall out with God, because he made us men, and not 25

Aungelles. But the Godly (I truste) will alwaies
 remitte thorder of thynges to the wil of God, and
 force their passions to obey necessitie. When God
 lately visited this Realme with the sweatynge disease,
 and received the two worthie ientlemen Henry Duke of 5
 Suffolke, and his brother Lorde Charles: I seeyng my
 Ladies grace their mother takyng their deathe most
 greavouslie could not otherwise for the duetie whiche
 I then did, and ever shall owe unto her, but comforte
 her in that her heavinesse, the whiche undoubtedly at 10
 that tyme muche weakended her bodie. And because it
 may serve for an example of comforte, I have been
 boulded to set it forthe as it foloweth hereafter.

An example of comforte.

Though myne enterprise maie be thought folishe, 15
 and my doynges very slender in busiying my braine to
 teache the expert, to gyve counsel to other when I
 lacke it my self, and wheras more neede were for me to
 be taught of other, to take upon me to teache my
 betters, and emong a nomber though I can doe leaste, 20
 yet dutie byndyng me to doe my beste, yet good will

6. In margin: Sweatynge disease.

setting me forth with the foremost: I cannot chouse
 but write what I am able, and speake what I can
 possible for the better comfortyng of your grace in
 this your greate heavines, and sore visitacion sent
 from GOD, as a warnyng to us all. The Phisician then 5
 deserveth most thanke, when he practiseth his knowlege
 in tyme of necessitie, and then traveileth moste
 painefullie, when he feeleth his paciente to be in
 moste daunger. The souldiour at that tyme, and at no
 tyme so muche is thought most trustie, when he showeth 10
 at a nede his faithfull harte, and in tyme of extreme
 daunger doeth use, and bestowe his moste earnest
 labour. In the wealthe of this worlde what valiaunt
 man can wante assistance? What mightie Prince can
 misse any helpe to compasse his desire? who lacketh 15
 men that lacketh no monie? But when God striketh the
 mightie with his strong hand, and displaceth those
 that were hyghelye placed, what one manne dothe once
 looke backe for the better easemente of his deare
 Brother, and Godlye comfortyng his even Christian, in 20
 the chiefe of al his sorowe. Al menne communely more
 rejoyce in the Sunne risynge, then they doe in the
 Sunne settinge. The hope of Lucre and expectation of
 private gayne, maketh manye one to bear oute a
 countenance of favoure, whose herte is inwardely 25

fretted wyth deadlye rancoure. But suche Friendes,
 even as prosperitie dothe gette theim, so adversitie
 dothe trye theim. God is the searcher of every mannes
 thought, unto whose judgemente I referre the
 assuraunce of my good wyll. 5

And thoughe I can do little, and therefore deserve
 as little thancke, as I loke for prayse (whyche is
 none at all) yet will I endeouvre earnestlye at all
 tymes, as well for mine owne discharge, to declare my
 duty, as at this present to say somewhat for the 10
 better easemente of youre grace, in thys your
 heavines. The passions of the mynde have divers
 effectes, and therefore worke straungelye, accordynge
 to theyr properties. For like as joye comforteth the
 harte, nourisheth bloude, and quickeneth the whole 15
 bodye: so heavinesse and care hinder digestion,
 engender evyll humoures, waste the principall partes,
 and wyth time consume the whole bodye. For the better
 knowledge hereof, and for a livelye syght of the same,
 wee neade not to seeke farre for anye example, but 20
 even to come strayghte unto youre grace, whose bodye
 as I understande crediblye, and partelye see my selfe,
 is soore appayred within shorte tyme, your mynde so

13. In margin: Passions worcke diverslye.

troubled, and youre harte so heavye, that you hate in
 a maner all lyght, you lyke not the sighte of anye
 thyng that myght be your comferte, but altogether
 stricken in a dumpe, you seke to be solitarie,
 detestinge all ioye, and delitynge in sorowe, wishynge 5
 wyth harte (if it were Goddes will) to make youre last
 ende. In whyche youre heavynesse, as I desire to be a
 comfortoure of youre grace, so I can not blame your
 naturall sorowe, if that nowe after declaration of the
 same, you woulde moderate all youre grief hereafter, 10
 and call backe your pensifenes, to the prescripte
 order of reason.

And firste, for the better remedye of everye
 disease, and troubled passion, it is best to knowe the
 principall cause, and chiefe occasion of the same. 15
 Youre grace hadde two sonnes, howe noble, howe wittye,
 howe learned, and how Godlye, manye thousandes better
 knowe it, then anye one is able well to tell it. God
 at his pleasure hath taken them bothe to his mercy,
 and placed them with him, which were surelye over good 20
 to tarye here with us. They bothe died as your grace
 knoweth verye younge, whiche by course of Nature, and
 by mannes estimation, mighte have lived muche longer.
 They bothe were together in one house, lodged in two
 severall chambers, and almoste at one time bothe 25

sickened, and both departed. They died bothe dukes,
 bothe well learned, bothe wise, and bothe right
 Godlye. They bothe before gave straunge tokens of
 death to come. The elder sittinge at Supper, and
 verye merye, saide soudainlye to that ryghte honeste 5
 Matrone, and Godly aged gentilwoman, that most
 faythful and longe assured servaunt of yours, whose
 life God graunte longe to continue: Oh Lorde, where
 shall we suppe to morowe at night, whereupon she
 beinge troubled, and yet saiynge comfortablie, I 10
 truste my lorde, either here, or elles where at some
 of your frendes houses: Naye (quod he) we shall never
 suppe together againe in this worlde, be you well
 assured, and with that seinge the gentilwoman
 discomforted, turned it unto mirthe, and passed the 15
 reste of his Supper with much joye, and the same night
 after .xii. of the clocke, beyng the .xiiii. of Julye
 sickened, and so was taken the nexte morning aboute
 .vii. of the clocke, to the mercye of God, in the
 yeare of our Lorde .M.D.Li. When the elder was gone, 20
 the younger woulde not tarye, but tolde before
 (havige no knowledge therof by anye bodye livinge) of
 his brothers Deathe, to the greate wonderinge of all
 that were there, declaringe what it was to lose so
 deare a frende, but comfortinge him selfe in that 25

passion, saide: well, my brother is gone, but it
 maketh no matter, for I will go straight after him,
 and so did within the space of halfe an houre, as your
 grace can best tell, whiche was there present. Nowe I
 renue these wordes to youre graces knowledge, that you 5
 might the more stedfastlie consider their time to be
 then appointed of GOD to forsake his evill worlde, and
 to live with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the
 Kingedome of heaven. But wherfore did God take two
 suche awaye, and at that time? Surelye to tell the 10
 principall cause, we maye by all likenes affirme,
 that they were taken awaye from us for our wretched
 sinnes, and mooste vile naughtines of life, that
 therby we beinge warned, might be as readie for God,
 as they nowe presentlie were, and amend our lives in 15
 time, whom God will call, what time we knowe not.
 Then as I can see, we have small cause to lament the
 lacke of them, whiche are in suche blessed state, but
 rather to amende our owne livinge, to forthinke us of
 oure offences, and to wishe of GOD to purge oure 20
 hartes, from all filthines and ungodlie dealinge, that
 we maie be (as they nowe be) blessed with God for

11. In margin: The cause why God raketh awai
 the mooste worthiest.

ever. Notwithstandinge the worckes of God are
 unsearcheable, without the compasse of mannes braine
 precisely to comprehende the verie cause, savinge that
 this perswasion oughte surelye to be grounded in us,
 evermore to thinke that God is offended with sinne, 5
 and that he punisheth offences to the thirde and
 fourthe generation of all them that breake his
 commaundementes, beinge juste in all his worckes, and
 doinge all thinges for the beste. And therfore when
 God plagueth in suche sorte, I would wish that our 10
 faithe might alwaies be staied upon the admiration of
 Goddes glorie, througheoute all his doinges, in whom
 is none evil, neither yet was there ever any guile
 found. And I doubt not but your grace is thus
 affected, and unfaynedlye confessinge your owne 15
 offences, taketh his scourge to come from God as a
 juste punishmente of Sinne, for the amendemente not
 onelye of your owne selfe, but also for the
 amendemente of all other in generall. The lamentable
 voyce of the pore (whiche in the mouthe of God) 20
 throughout the whole Realme declares full well the
 wickednes of this life, and showes plainelye that this
 evill is more generallye felte, then anye man is able
 by worde, or by writinge at full to set forthe. When
 God therfore that is Lord, not onelye of the riche but 25

also of the poore, seeth his groundes spoyled frome the
 holesome profite of manye, to the vayne pleasure of a
 fewe, and the earthe made private to suffise the luste
 of unsaciabie covetousnesse, and that those whiche be
 his true membres cannot live for the intollerable 5
 oppression, the soore enhaunsynge, and the mosst
 wicked grasing of those throughout the whole Realme,
 whiche otherwise myght well lyve with the onelye value
 and summe of their landes and yerelye revenues: he
 striketh in his anger the innocentes and tender 10
 yonglinges, to plague us with the lacke of them, whose
 innocencye and Godlines of life mighte have bene a
 juste example for us to amende our mooste evill
 doynges. In whiche wonderfull worcke of God, when he
 received these two mooste noble ympes, and his 15
 chyl dren elected to the everlastinge Kingedome, I can
 not but magnifye his mooste glorious name, from time
 to tyme, that hath so graciouslye preserved these two
 worthy gentilmenne from the daunger of further evil,
 and moost vile wretchednes, moost like righte 20
 shortelye to ensure, excepte wee all repente, and
 forthinke us of oure former evill livynge. And yet I
 speake not this, as thoughe I knewe anye cryme to be
 more in you, then in anye other: but I tell it to the
 shame of all those universall ye within this Realme, 25

that are gyltye of suche offences, whose inward
 consciences condempne their owne doinges, and their
 open deedes beare witnes against their evil nature.
 For it is not one house that shal feelee the fall of
 these two prynces, neither hath God taken them for one 5
 private personnes offence: but for the wickednes of
 the whole Realme, whyche is lyke to feelee the smarte,
 excepte God be merciful unto us. But now that they be
 gone, thoughe the fleshe be frayle, weake, and tender,
 and muste neades smart, being wounded or cut: yet I 10
 doubt not but your grace lackinge two suche porcions
 of your owne fleshe, and havinge theim (as a manne
 woulde saye) cutte awaye from youre owne bodye, will
 suffer the smarte wih a good stomake, and remembre
 that sorowe is but an evil remedye to heale a sore. 15
 For if your hande were detrenched, or youre bodie
 maimed with some soubdaine stroake, what profite were
 it for you to wepe upon your wounde, and when the
 harme is done, to lamente still the sore? seinge that
 with wepinge it will not be lesse, and maye yet 20
 throughe weping full sone be made more. For the sore
 is encreased, when sorowe is added, and the paine is

14. In margin: Wher necessitie ruleth, sorow
 is nedeles.

made double, whiche before was but single. A
 constante christian shoulde beare all miserie, and
 with pacience abide the force of necessitie, shewing
 with sufferaunce the strengthe of his faithe, and
 especiallie when the chaunge is from evyll to good, 5
 from woe to weale, what folye is it to sorowe that,
 for the whiche they joye that are departed? They have
 taken nowe their rest, that lived here in travaile:
 they have forsaken their bodies, wherin they were
 bounde, to receive the spirite, wherby they are free. 10
 They have chosen for sickenes, healthe: for earth,
 heaven: for life transitorie, life immortall: and for
 manne, God: then the whiche, what can they more? Or
 howe is it possible they can be better? Undoubtedly
 if ever they were happye, they are nowe moste happie: 15
 if ever they were well, they are nowe in beste case,
 beyng delivered frome this presente evyll worlde, and
 exempted from Sathan, to lyve for ever with Christe
 our Savioure.

Then what meane we that not onelye lamente the 20
 want of other, but also desire to tarye here oure
 selves, hopinge for a shorte, vayne, and therewith a
 paynefull pleasure, and refusynge to enjoye that
 continuall, perfecte, and heavenlye enheritaunce, the
 whiche so soone shal happen unto us, as Nature 25

dissolveth this Earthlye bodye. Truthe it is, wee are
 more fleshelye then spirituall, soner fealyng the
 ache of our bodye, then the grieve of oure Soule: more
 studious with care to be healthfull in carkasse, then
 sekyng with prayer to be pure in Spirite. And 5
 therefore if oure frendes be stayned with Synne, wee
 dooe not, or we wyll not espye their sore, we counte
 them faulteles, when they are mooste wicked: neither
 sekinge the redresse of their evyll doynge, nor yet
 once amendynge the faultes of oure owne lvyuge. 10

But when oure frende departeth this worlde, and
 then forsaketh us when Synne forsaketh him: wee
 begynne to shewe oure fleshelye natures, we wepe, and
 we wayle, and with longe sorowe withoute discretion
 declare our wante of Goddes grace, and all goodnes. 15
 For whereas we see that as some be borne, some do dye
 also, menne, women, and children, and not one houre
 certaine to us of all oure life, yet we never mourne,
 we never wepe, neither markynge the deathe of suche as
 we knowe, nor regardynge the evyll lyfe of those whom 20
 we love. But when suche departe as were either
 nigheste of oure kynred, or elles mooste oure frendes,

12. In margin: The folye of such as sorow the
 want of their frendes.

then wee lamente withoute all comforte, not the synnes
 of their Soules, but the chaunge of their bodyes,
 leavinge to doe that whiche we shoulde, and doynge
 that onelye whyche we shoulde not do at all. Wherin
 not onelye we declare mucche wante of faythe, but also 5
 we shewe greate lacke of wytte. For as the other are
 gone before, either to heaven or elles to hell: so
 shall oure frendes and kinsfolke folowe after. We are
 all made of one metall, and ordeyned to dye, so manye
 as live. Therfore what folye is it in us, or rather 10
 what fleshelye madnesse immoderatelye to wayle their
 death whom God hathe ordeyned to make their ende,
 excepte we lamente the lacke of oure owne livinge?
 For even as well we myghte at theyr firste byrthe
 bewayle theyr Nativitie, consideryng they must nedes 15
 dye, because they are borne to lyve. And whatsoever
 hath a beginnyng, the same hath also an endynge, and
 the ende is not at oure will whiche desire
 continuaunce of life, but at hys wyll whyche gave the
 begynnyng of lyfe. Nowe then, seyng God hath 20
 ordeyned all to dye, accordynge to his appointed wil,
 what meane they that woulde have theirs to lyve?
 Shall God alter his fyrst purpose for the onelye

9. In margin: Deathe commune to all.

satisfiynge of oure folyshe pleasure? And where God
 hathe mynded that the whole worlde shall decaye, shall
 anye man desyre that anye one house may stand? In my
 mynde, there can be no greater comferte to anye one
 livynge for the lacke of his frende, then to thinke 5
 that thys happened to him, whyche all other eyther
 have felte, or elles shall feelee hereafter: And that
 God the rather made Death commune to all, that the
 universall plague and egalnes to all, myght abate the
 fiercenes of deathe, and comferte us in the crueltie 10
 of the same, considerynge no one man hath an ende, but
 that all shall have the lyke, and dye we must everye
 mothers sonne of us, at one time or other. But you
 will saye: my chyl dren might have lived longer, they
 dyed younge. Sure it is by mannes estimation they 15
 myght have lived longer, but had it bene best for them
 thincke you to have continued styll in this wretched
 worlde, where Vyce beareth rule, and Vertue is
 subdued, where GOD is neglected, his lawes not
 oserved, his worde abused, and his Prophetes that 20
 preache the judgements of God almost every where
 contemned. If your children were alive, and by
 thadvice of some wicked person were brought to a

19. In margin: Evil, to live emonge the evil.

brothell house, where entisinge harlottes lived, and
 so were in daunger to commit that fowle sinne of
 whoredome, and so, ledde from one wickednes to
 another: I am assured your grace woulde call them
 backe with laboure, and would with exhortations induce 5
 theim to the feare of God, and utter detestation of al
 synne, as you have ful often heretofore done, rather
 fearing evil to come, then knowing any open faulte to
 be in either of them. Nowe then, seyng God hath done
 the same for you him selfe, that you woulde have done 10
 for them if they hadde lived, that is, in deliverynge
 them bothe from this present evil worlde, whiche I
 counte none other then a brothel house, and a life of
 al noughtines: you ought to thanke God highlye, that
 he hath taken awaye your two sonnes, even in their 15
 youthe, beyng innocentes bothe for their livynge, and
 of such expectation for their towardnes, that almoste
 it were not possible for them hereafter to satisfye
 the hope in their age, whyche all menne presently
 hadde conceyved of their youthe. It is thought, and 20
 in dede it is no lesse then a great poynct of happines
 to dye happely. Now when coulde youre two noble
 gentilmen have dyed better then when they were at the

17. In margin: To dye happelye is great happines.

best, mooste Godlye in manye thynges, offendinge in
fewe, beloved of the honeste, and hated of none, (if
ever they were hated) but of suche as hate the best.
As in deede, noble vertue never wanted cankarde envye
to folow her. And considering that this life is so 5
wretched, that the beste are ever most hated, and the
vilest alwayes most estemed, and your .iii. sonnes of
the other side beyng in that state of honestie, and
trained in that pathe of Godlines (as I am able to be
a lively witnes, none hath been like these many yeres, 10
or at the lest, none better brought up) what thinke
you of god, did he envye them, or els did he
providently forsee unto them bothe, when he toke them
bothe from us. Assuredly whom god loveth best, those
he taketh soneth, accordinge to the sayng of Salomon: 15
The righteous man (meaninge Enoch and other the
chosen of God) is sodainely taken away, to the entente
that wickednes shoulde not alter his understandinge,
and that hypocrisie should not begile his soul. For
the craftie bewitching of lies, make good thinges 20
darke, the unstedfastnes also and wickednes of
voluptuouse desire, turne aside the understanding of
the simple. And thoughe the righteous was sone gone,

16. In margin: Wisd. iiii

yet fulfilled he much time, for his soule pleased God,
 and therefore hasted he to take him away from amonge
 the wicked. Yea, the good men of god in al ages, have
 ever had an earnest desire to be dissolved. My soule
 (quod David) hath an earnest desire to enter into the 5
 courtes of the lord. Yea, like as the herte desireth
 the water brookes, so longeth my soule after thee O
 God. My soule is a thyrst for God: yea, even for the
 living God, when shall I come to appeare before the
 presence of God? Paule and al the Apostles wished and 10
 longed for the daye of the Lord, and thought every
 daye a thousand yere, till their soules were parted
 from their bodies. Then what should we waile them
 which are in that place where we al shuld wish to be,
 and seke so to live, that we might be ready when it 15
 shal please god of his goodnes to cal us to his mercy.
 Let us be sicke for our owne sinnes, that live here on
 earth, and rejoyce in their most happy passage that
 are gone to heaven. They have not left us, but gone
 before us to enherite with Christ, their kingdom 20
 prepared. And what shuld this greve your grace that

5.In margin: Psal .lxxxiiii.

6.In margin: Psal .xlii.

they are one before, considering our whole lyfe is
 nothing els but the righte waye to death. Shoulde it
 trouble any one that his frend is come to his journies
 end? Our life is nothing els, but a continuall
 travaill, and death obtaineth rest after all our 5
 laboure. Emong men that travaill by the high waie, he
 is best at ease (in my mynde) that sonest cometh to
 his journeis ende. Therfore, if your grace loved your
 children (as I am wel assured you did) you must
 rejoyce in their rest, and geve God hartie thanks, 10
 that thei are come so sone to their journeis ende.
 Marie, if it were so that man might escape daunger of
 death, and live ever, if were another matter: but
 because we must all dye, either first or last, and of
 nothyng so sure in this life, as we are all sure to 15
 dye at length, and nothyng more uncertain unto man
 then the certain tyme of every mannes latter tyme:
 what forceth when wee dye, either this daie, or
 tomorowe, either this yere, or the next, savyng that I
 thinke them moste happie that die soneth, and death 20
 frendely to none so muche, as to them whom she

1. In margin: Life, the right way to death.

5. In margin: Death purchaseth rest.

21. In margin: Death more frendly, the soner it cometh.

taketh sonest. At the tyme of an execucion doen for
 grevous offences, what mattereth who dye firste, when
 a dosen are condempned together, by a lawe,
 consideryng thei muste all dye one and other. I saie
 still, happie are thei, that are sonest ridde out of 5
 this worlde, and the soner goen, the soner blessed.
 The Thracians lament greatly at the birthe of their
 children, and rejoyce muche at the burial of their
 bodies, beyng well assured that this world is nothyng
 els but miserie, and the worlde to come, joye for 10
 ever. Now again, the child newe borne, partly
 declareth the state of this life, who beginneth his
 tyme with wailynge, and first sheweth teares, before he
 can judge the cause of his wo. If we beleve the
 promises of God, if we hope for the generall 15
 resurreccion, and constantly affirme, that God is just
 in all his woorkes: we cannot but joyfully saie, with
 the just man Job: The lorde gave them, the lorde hath
 taken them again, as it pleaseth God, so maie it be,
 and blessed be the name of the lorde, for now and 20

7. In margin: Thracians.

11. In margin: Children by wepyng, declare our woo.

18. In margin: Job.

ever. God dealeth wrongfully with no man, but
 extendeth his mercie moste plentifully, over al
 mankynde. God gave you twoo children, as the like I
 have not knowen, happie are you moste gracious ladie,
 that ever you bare then. God lent you them twoo for a 5
 tyme, and toke them twoo again at his tyme, you have
 no wrong doen you, that he hath taken them: but you
 have received a wonderull benefite, that ever you had
 them. He is very unjust that boroweth, and wil not
 pay again, but at his pleasure. He forgetteth muche 10
 his duetie, that boroweth a jewell of the kynges
 maiestie, and will not restore it with good will, when
 it shall please his grace, to call for it. He is
 unworthy hereafter to borowe, that will rather grudge,
 because he hath it no longer, then ones geve thankes, 15
 bicause he hath had the use of it so long. He is
 over coveteous, that compteth not gainfull, the tyme
 of his borowyng: but judgeth it his losse, to restore
 thynges again. He is unthankfull, that thynkes he
 hath wrong doen, when his pleasure is shortened, and 20
 takes the ende of his delite, to bee extreme evill.
 He loseth the greatest parte of his joye in this

9. In margin: Lent goodes, must be restored
 at the awners will.

worlde, that thynketh there is no pleasure, but of
 thynges present: that cannot comfort hymself with
 pleasure past, and judge them to be moste assured,
 consideryng the memorie of them ones had, can never
 decaye. His joyes be over straighte, that bee 5
 comprehended within the compasse of his sighte, and
 thynketh no thyng comfortable, but that whiche is ever
 before his iyes. All pleasure whiche man hath in this
 worlde, is very shorte, and sone goeth it awaie, the
 remembraunce lasteth ever, and is muche more assured, 10
 then is the presence or lively sight of any thyng.
 And thus your grace maie ever rejoyce, that you had
 twoo suche, whiche lived so vertuously, and died so
 Godly: and though their bodies bee absent from your
 sight, yet the remembraunce of their vertues, shall 15
 never decaye from your mynde. God lendeth life to al,
 and lendeth at his pleasure for a tyme. To this man
 he graunteth a long life, to this a shorte space, to
 some one, a daie, to some a yere, to some a moneth.
 Now when God taketh, what man should be offended, 20
 consideryng he that gave frely, maie boldely take his
 awne when he will, and dooe no manne wrong. The
 Kynges Maiestie geveth one .x. pounce, another fourtie
 pounce, another three skore pound, shal he be greved,
 that received but tenne pound, and not rather geve 25

thankes, that he received so much? Is that man
 happier, that dieth in the latter ende of the monethe,
 then he is that died in the beginnyng of the same
 Monethe? Doeth distaunce of tyme, and long taryng
 from God, make men more happie, when thei come to God? 5

By space of passage we differ much, and one
 liveth longer then another, but by death at the last,
 we all are matched, and none the happier, that liveth
 the longer, but rather moste happie is he, that died
 the soneth, and departed best in the faith of Christ. 10
 Thinke therefore your self most happie, that you had
 two such, and geve God hartie thankes, that it
 pleased him so sone, to take two such. Necessitie is
 lawles, and that whiche is by God appoynted, no man
 can alter. Rejoyce we, or wepe we, die we shall, how 15
 sone, no man can tell. Yea, we are all our life tyme
 warned before, that death is at hande, and that when
 we go to bedde we are not assured to rise the nexte
 daie in the mornynge, no, not to live one houre longer.
 And yet to se our folly, we would assigne God his tyme, 20
 accordyng to our societie, and not content our selves
 with his doynges, according to his appoyntment. And
 ever we saie, when any dye young, he might have lived
 longer, it was pitie he died so sone. As though
 forsothe he were not better with God, then he can bee 25

with manne. Therefore, whereas for a tyme your grace,
 muche bewailed their lacke, not onely absentyng your
 self from all company but also refusyng all kynde of
 comferte, almoste dedde with heavynesse, your body
 beyng so worne with sorowe, that the longe continuance 5
 of the same, is muche like to shorten your daies: I
 shall desire your grace for Goddes love, to referre
 youre will to Goddes will, and whereas hetherto nature
 hath taught you to wepe the lacke of your naturall
 children, lette reason teache you hereafter, to wipe 10
 awaie the teares, and lette not phantasie encrease
 that, whiche nature hath commaunded moderately to use.
 To bee sory for the lacke of oure dearest, wee are
 taughte by nature, to bee overcome with sorowe, it
 commeth of oure awne fonde opinion, and greate folie 15
 it is, with naturall sorowe, to encrease all sorowe,
 and with a litle ficklenesse, to purchase readie
 deathe. The sorowes of brute bestes are sharpe, and
 yet thei are but shorte. The Cowe lackyng her
 Caulfe, leaveth Loweyng within three or foure daies at 20
 the farthest. Birdes of the ayre perceivyng their
 youngones taken from their neast, chitter for a while
 in trees there aboute, and streigte after thei flie

19. In margin: The nature of brute bestes.

abrode, and make no more a dooe. The Doo lackyng her
 Faune, the Hynde her Caulfe, braie no long tyme after
 their losse, but seyng their lacke to be without
 remedy, thei ceasse their sorowe within short space.
 Man onely emong al other, ceaseth not to favour his 5
 sorowe, and lamenteth not onely so muche as nature
 willeth him, but also so muche as his awne affeccion
 moveth hym. And yet all folke do not so, but suche as
 are subject to passions, and furthest from fortitude
 of mynde, as women commonly, rather then men, rude 10
 people, rather then godly folke: the unlearned, soner
 then the learned: foolishe folke, soner then wise men:
 children, rather then yong men. Whereupon we maie
 well gather, that immoderate sorowe is not naturall,
 (for that whiche is naturall, is ever like in al) but 15
 through folie mainteined, encreased by weakenesse, and
 for lacke of reason, made altogether intollerable.
 Then I doubte not but your grace, will rather ende
 your sorowe, by reason: then that sorowe should ende
 you, through foly: And whereas by nature, you are a 20
 weake woman in body, you will shewe your self by
 reason, a strong man in harte: rather endyng your
 grief by godly advertisementes, and by the just

14. In margin: Immoderate sorow, not naturall.

consideracion of Gods wonderfull doynges: then that
 tyme and space, should weare awaie your sorowes,
 whiche in deed suffer none continually to abide in any
 one, but rather ridde them of life, or els ease them
 of grief. The foole, the ungodly, the weake harted 5
 have this remedy, your medecine must by more heavenly,
 if you do (as you professe) referre all to Goddes
 pleasure, and saie in your praier. Thy will bee doen
 in yearth, as it is in heaven. Those whom God
 loveth, those he chasteneth, and happie is that body, 10
 whom God scourgeth, for his amendement. The man that
 dieth in the faithe of Christ is blessed, and the
 chastened servaunt, if he doo repent and amende his
 life, shalbe blessed. We knowe not what we doe, when
 we bewaile the death of our dearest, for in death is 15
 altogether all happines, and before deathe, no one is
 happie. The miseries in this worlde declare, small

5.In margin: Tyme, a remedie for fooles, to take awaie their sorowe.

9.In margin: Math.vi.

11.In margin: Job.v.

17.In margin: The great miserie of his world, makes werines of life.

felicitee to be in the same. Therefore, many men
 beyng overwhelmed with much woe, and wretched
 wickednes: have wished and praied to God, for an ende
 of this life, and thought this worlde to be a let, to
 the heavenly perfeccion, the whiche blisse all thei 5
 shall attain hereafter that hope well here, and with a
 lively faith declare their assuraunce. Your graces
 two sonnes, in their life wer so godly, that their
 death was their advauntage: for, by death thei lived,
 because in life thei wer dedde. Thei died in faithe, 10
 not wearie of this worlde, nor wishyng for death; as
 overloden with synn: but paciently takyng the crosse,
 departed with joye. At whose dyng, your grace maie
 learne an example of pacience, and of thankes gevyng,
 that God of his goodnesse, hath so graciously taken 15
 these your two children, to his favourable mercy. God
 punisheth, partly to trie your constancie, wherein I
 wishe that your grace, maie nowe bee as well willyng
 to forsake theim, as ever you were willyng to have
 them. But suche is the infirmitie of our fleshe, that 20
 we hate good comforte in wordes, when the cause of our
 comforte in deede (as we take it) is gone. And me
 thinkes I heare you cry notwithstanding all my

23. In margin: Impacience without comforte.

wordes, alacke my children are gone. But what though
 thei are gone? God hath called, and nature hath
 obeyed. Yea, you crie still my children are dedde:
 Marie therefore thei lived, and blessed is their ende,
 whose life was so godly. Wo worthe, thei are dedde, 5
 thei are dedde. It is no new thyng, thei are neither
 the first that died, nor yet the last that shall die.
 Many went before, and all shall folowe after. Thei
 lived together, thei loved together, and now thei made
 their ende bothe together. Alas thei died, that wer 10
 the fruicte of myne awne body, leavyng me
 comfortlesse, unhappie woman that I am. You do well,
 to cal them the fruict of your body, and yet you
 nothyng the more unhappie neither. For, is the tree
 unhappy, from whiche the appelles fall? Or is the 15
 yearth accursed, that bringeth furthe grene Grasse,
 whiche hereafter notwithstanding doth wither. Death
 taketh no order of yeres, but when the tyme is
 appoynced, be it earely or late, daie or nighte,
 awaie we muste. But I praie you, what losse hath your 20
 grace? Thei died, that should have died, yea, thei
 died, that could live no longer. But you wished them

16. In margin: Trees, not accursed because
 Apples fall from them.

longer life. Yea, but God made you no such promise,
 and mete it wer not that he should be led by you, but
 you rather should be led by him. Your children died,
 and that right godly, what would you have more? All
 good mothers desire, that their children maie die 5
 Goddes servauntes, the whiche youre grace hath moste
 assuredly obtined. Now again mannes nature altereth,
 and hardely tarieth vertue long in one place, without
 muche circumspeccion, and youth maie sone be
 corrupted. But you will saie. These were good and 10
 godly broughte up, and therefore moste like to prove
 godly hereafter, if thei had lived still. Well,
 thoughe suche thynges perhappes had not chaunced, yet
 suche thynges mighte have chaunced, and although thei
 happen not to al, yet do thei happe to many, and 15
 though thei had not chaunced to your children, yet we
 knew not that before, and more wisdomed it had been,
 to feare the worst with good advisement, then ever to
 hope, and loke stil for the best, without all
 mistrustyng. For, suche is the nature of man, and his 20
 corrupt race, that evermore the one foloweth soner,
 then thother. Commodus was a verteous childe, and had
 good bringyng up, and yet he died a moste wicked man.

Nero wanted no good counsaill, and suche a master he
 had, as never any had the better, and yet what one
 alive, was worse then he? But now death hath assured
 your grace, that you maie warrant your self, of their
 godly ende, whereas if God had spared them life, 5
 thynges might have chaunced otherwise. In wishyng
 longer life, we wishe often tymes longer woe, longer
 trouble, longer folly in this world, and weye all
 thynges well, you shall perceiue wee have small joye
 to wishe longer life. This imaginacion of longer 10
 life, when the life standeth not by number of yeres,
 but by the appoynced will of God, maketh our folly so
 muche to appere, and our teares so continually to fall
 from our chekes. For if we thought (as we should dooe
 in deede) that every daie risyng, maie be the ende of 15
 every men livyng, and that there is no difference with
 God, betwixt one daie, and an hundreth yeres: we might
 beare all sorowes, a greate deale the better.
 Therefore it wer moste wisdom for us all, and a
 greate poynt of perfeccion to make every daie an even 20
 rekenyng of our life, and talke so with God every
 houre, that we maie bee of even borde with hym,
 through fulnes of faithe, and redy to go the nexte

1. In margin: Nero.

houre folowyng, at his commaundemente, and to take
 alwaies his sendyng in good part. The lorde is at
 hande. We knowe not when he will come (at mid night,
 at cocke crowe, or at noone daies) to take either us,
 or any of ours. Therefore, the rather that we maie be 5
 armed, let us folowe the examples of other godly men,
 and lay their doynges before our iyes. And emong all
 other, I knowe none so mete for your graces comfort,
 as the wife and Godly behaviour of good Kyng David.
 Who when he was enfourmed, that his sonne was sicke, 10
 praied to God hartly, for his amendement, wept,
 fasted, and with muche lamentacion, declared greate
 heavinesse. But when woorde came of his sonnes
 departure, he left his mournyng, he called for water,
 and willed meate to be set before hym, that he might 15
 eate. Wherupon, when his men marveiled why he did so,
 consideryng he toke it so greuously before, when his
 child was but sicke, and now beyng dedde, toke no
 thought at all, he made this answere unto theim: so
 long as my child lived, I fasted, and watered my 20
 plantes for my young boye, and I saied to my self, who

10. In margin: David.

11. In margin: ii. Regum .xiii.

can tell, but that God perhappes will geve me hym, and
 that my child shall live, but now seyng he is dedde,
 to what ende should I faste? Can I call hym again any
 more? Naye, I shall rather go unto hym, he shall
 never come againe unto me. And with that David 5
 comforted his wife Bethsabe, the whiche example, as I
 truste your grace hath redde, for your comfort, so I
 hope you will also folowe it for youre healthe, and
 bee as strong in pacience, as ever David was. The
 historie it self shall muche delighte youre grace, 10
 beeyng redde as it lieth in the Booke, better then my
 bare touching of it can dooe, a greate deale. The
 whiche I doubte not but your grace will often reade,
 and comforte other your self, as David did his
 sorowfull wife. 15

Job losyng his children, and all that he had,
 forgatte not to praise God in his extreme povertie.
 Tobias lakyng his iye sighte, in spirite prased GOD,
 and with open mouthe, confessed his holy name to bee
 magnified throughout the whole yearthe. Paule the 20
 Apostle of God, reproveth them as worthy blame, whiche

16. In margin: Job.

18. In margin: Tobias.

mourne and lament, the losse of their derest. I would
 not brethren (quoth he) that you should be ignorant,
 concernyng them whiche be fallen on slepe, that you
 sorowe not as other doo, whiche have no hope. If we
 beleve that Jesus died, and rose again, even so thei 5
 also, whiche slepe by Jesus, wil God bryng again with
 hym. Then your grace, either with leavyng sorowe,
 must shewe your self faithfull, or els with yeldyng to
 your wo, declare your self to be without hope. But I
 trust your grace, beyng planted in Christ, will shew 10
 with sufferance, the fruicte of your faithe, and
 comforte your self with the wordes of Chirst, I am the
 resurreccion and the life, he that beleveth on me,
 yea, though he wer dedde, yet should he live, and
 whosoever liveth, and beleveth in me, shal never die. 15
 We read of those that had no knowledge of God, and yet
 thei bare in good worth, the discease of their
 children. Anaxargoras hearyng tell, that his sonne
 was dedde, no marvail quoth he, I knowe well I begot a
 mortall body. Pericles chief ruler of Athens, 20

2.In margin: i. Thessa.iiii.

13.In margin: Jhon.xi.

18.In margin: Anaxagoras.

20.In margin: Pericles.

hearyng tell that his twoo sonnes, beyng of wonderfull
 towardnesse, within foure daies wer bothe ded, never
 greatly chaunged countenance for the matter, that
 any one could perceiue, nor yet forbare to go abrode,
 but accordyng to his wonted custome, did his duetie in 5
 the counsail house, in debatyng matters of weighte,
 concernyng the state of the common peoples weale. But
 because your grace is a woman, I will shewe you an
 example of a noble woman, in whom appered wonderfull
 pacience. Cornelia, a worthy ladie in Rome, beyng 10
 comforted for the losse of her twoo children,
 Tiberius, and Caius Gracchus, bothe valiaunt ientle
 men, although bothe not the moste honest menne, whiche
 died not in their beddes, but violently were slain in
 Civill battaill, their bodies liyng naked and 15
 unburied, when one emongest other saied: Oh unhappie
 woman, that ever thou shouldest se this daie. Naie
 quoth she, I wil never thinke my self otherwise, then
 moste happy, that ever I brought furthe these two
 Gracchions. If this noble lady, could thinke her self 20
 happie, beyng mother to these twoo valiaunt ientlemen,
 and yet both rebelles, and therefore justly slain:
 Howe muche more maye youre grace, thynke youre self

10. In margin: Cornelia.

moste happie, that ever you broughte furthe twoo suche
 Brandons, not onely by natural birth, but also by most
 godly education, in such sort that the lyke .ii. have
 not been for their towardnes universallie. Whose
 deathe the general voice of all men declares howe 5
 muche it was lamented. So that whereas you might ever
 have feared some daungerouse ende, you are nowe
 assured that they both made a most godly ende, the
 whiche thyng is the ful perfection of a Christian
 lyfe. I reade of one Bibulus, that hearyng of his 10
 two children to dye both in one daie, lamented the
 lacke of them bothe for that one daye, and mourned no
 more. And what coulde a man doe lesse than for two
 children to lament but one daie: and yet in my mynde
 he lamented enough and even so muche as was reason for 15
 hym to do, whose doynges if all Christians woulde
 folowe, in my judgement they shoulde not onely fulfill
 natures rule, but also please God highly. Horatius
 Puluillus beeyng highe Prieste at Rome when he was
 occupied about the dedicatyng of a Temple to their 20
 greate God Juppiter in the Capitoly, holdyng a post in

10.In margin: Bibulus.

19.In margin: Horatius Puluillus.

his hande, and hard as he was utteryng the solempne
wordes, that his sonne was dead, even at the same
present: he did neither plucke his hande from the
poste lest he shoulde trouble suche a solempnitie,
neither yet turned his countenance from that publique 5
religion to his private sorowe, least he should seeme
rather to doe the office of a father, then the dutie
of a highe minister. Paulus Emilius after his moste
noble victorie had of Kyng Perse, desired of God, that
if after suche a triumphe there were any harme lyke to 10
happen to the Romaines, the same mighte fal upon his
owne house. Whereupon when God had taken his two
children from hym immediatly after, he thancked God
for grauntyng him his bound. For in so doying he was a
meane that the people rather lamented Paulus Emilius 15
lacke, then that Paulus or any bewailed any misfortune
that the Romans had. Examples be innumerable of
those whiche used lyke moderation in subduyng their
affections, as Zenophon, Quintus Martius, Julius
Cesar, Tiberius Cesar, Emperours bothe of Rome. But 20
what seeke I for misfortunate men, (if any suche be

9. In margin: Paulus Emilius.

20. In margin: Quintus Martius. Julius Cesar.
Tyberius Cesar.

misfortunate) seyng it is an harder matter and a
 greater peece of worke to finde out happie men. Let
 us loke round about even at home, and we shal finde
 enowe subject to this misfortune, for who liveth that
 hath not lost? Therefore I woulde wishe your grace 5
 even now to come in againe with God, and although he
 be angry, yet show you your self most obedient to his
 wil, consideryng he is Lorde over Kynges, Emperours,
 and over al that be bothe in heaven and in yearth, and
 spareth noone whom he listeth to take, and no doubt he 10
 wil take all at the last. His dart goeth daily,
 neither is any darte cast in vaine whiche is sent
 amongst a whole armie standyng thicke together.
 Neither can you justly lament that they lyved no
 longer, for they lyved long enough, that have lived 15
 well enough. You muste measure your children by their
 vertues, not by their yeres. For (as the wise man
 saith) a mans wisdom is the grey heeres, and an
 undefiled life, is the old age. Happie is that mother
 that hath Godly children, and not she that hath had 20
 long lyvyng children. For if felicitie should stande
 by length of tyme, some tree were more happy then is

12.In margin: Cap.iiii.

21.In margin: Trees lyve longer then men.

any man, for it livieth longer, and so likewyse brute
 beastes, as the Stagge, who liveth (as Plinius dothe
 say) two hundreth yeares, and more. If we woulde but
 consider what man is, we shoude have small hope to
 lyve, and litle cause to put any great assuraunce in 5
 this lyfe. Let us se him what he is: Is his body any
 thyng els but a lumpe of earth made together in suche
 forme as we do see? A frail vessell, a weake carion,
 subject to miserie, cast doune with every light
 disease, a man to daie, to morowe none. A flower that 10
 this daie is freshe, to morowe withereth. Good Lorde
 do we not see that even those thynges whiche nourishe
 us, doe rotte and dye, as herbes, birdes, beastes,
 water, and al other without the whiche we cannot lyve.
 And how can we lyve ever, that are susteined by dead 15
 thinges? Therfore when any one doth dye, why do we
 not thynke, that this may chaunse to every one, whiche
 now hath chaunsed to any one. We be now as those that
 stande in battail raie. Not one man is suer of him
 selfe before an other, but al are in daunger in lyke 20
 maner to death. That your children died before other

2.In margin: The Stagge how long liveth.

6.In margin: Man, what he is, concernyng his body.

that were of riper yearer, we may judge that their
 ripenes for vertue and all other giftes of nature were
 brought even to perfection, wherby death the soner
 approched, for nothyng long lasteth that is sone
 excellent. God gave your grace two moste excellent 5
 children, God never geveth for any long tyme those
 that be right excellent. Their natures were
 heavenly, and therfore more meete for God then man.
 Emong frute we se some appels are sone ripe and fal
 from the tree in the middest of summer: other be stil 10
 greene, and tary til winter, and hereupon are commonly
 called wynter frute: Even so it is with men, some dye
 young, some dye old, and some die in their midle age.
 Your sunnes wer even .ii. suche already, as some
 hereafter may be with long continuance of tyme. Thei 15
 had that in their youth for the giftes of nature,
 whiche al men would require of then bothe scacelie in
 their age. Therfore beeyng both now ripe, they were
 now most ready for God. There was a childe in Rome of
 a mans quantite, for face, legges and other partes of 20
 his body, wherupon wise men judged he would not be
 long livyng. How could your grace thynke, that when
 you sawe auncient wisdom in the one, and most pregnant

6. In margin: Rype thyngs last not long.

wit in the other, mervailouse sobriete in the elder,
 and most laudable gentlines in the younger, them bothe
 most studious in learnyng, most forward in al feates
 as wel of the body, as of the mind, beyng two suche,
 and so excellent, that they were lyke long to continue 5
 with you? God never suffreth such excellent and rare
 jewels long to enherite therth. Whatsoever is nie
 perfection the same is most nigh falling. Vertue
 being ons absolute cannot long be seen with these our
 fleshly iyes, neither can that tary the latter end 10
 with other, that was ripe it self first of al and
 before other. Fier goth out the soner, the clearer
 that it burneth: and that light lasteth longest, that
 is made of most course matter. In greene wood we may
 see that where as the fuel is not most apt for 15
 burning, yet the fier lasteth longer, than if it were
 nourished with like quantitie of drie wood. Even so
 in the nature of man the mynde beeyng ripe, the body
 decaiyeth streight, and life goeth away beeyng ones
 brought to perfection. Neither can there be any 20
 greater token of shorte lyfe, than full ripenes of
 naturall witte: The whiche is to the bodie, as the
 heate of the Sunne is to thynges yearthly. Therefore
 judge right honourable ladie, that even now they both
 died, when they both wer most readie for God, neither 25

thinke that thei died over soone, because thei lived
 no longer. They died both Gods servauntes, and
 therefore they died wel and in good tyme. God hath set
 their tyme, and taken them at his tyme blessed
 children as they be, to reigne with hym in the kyngdom 5
 of his father prepared for them from the beginnyng.
 Unto whose wil, I wishe and I truste your grace doth
 wholly referre your wil, thankyng hym as hartely for
 that he hath taken them, as you ever thanked hym, for
 that he ever lent you them. I knowe the wicked wordes 10
 of some ungodly folke have muche disquieted your
 grace, notwithstanding God beyng judge of your
 naturall love towardes your children, and al your
 faithful frendes, and servauntes bearyng earnest
 witnes with your grace of the same: there ungodly 15
 talke the more lightly is to bee esteemed, the more
 ungodly that it is. Nay your grace may rejoyce
 rather, that whereas you have doen well, you heare
 evill, accordyng to the wordes of Christe: Blessed are
 you, when men speake al evil thynges against you. 20
 And again consider GOD is not ledde by the reporte of
 men to judge his creatures, but perswaded by the true
 knowlege of every mans conscience, to take them for

20. In margin: Math.v.

his servauntes, and furthermore the harme is theirs
 whiche speake so lewdlie, and the blesse theirs whiche
 beare it so paciently. For loke what measure thei use
 to other, with the same they shalbe measured againe.
 And as they judge so shal they be judged. Be your 5
 grace therefore strong in adversitie, and pray for them
 that speake amisse of you, rendryng Gode for evil,
 and with charitable dealyng showe your self long
 suffryng, so shal you heape cooles on their heades.
 The boisterouse Sea trieth the good mariner, and 10
 sharpe vexation declareth the true Christian. Where
 battaill hath not been before, there never was any
 victorie obtained. You then beyng thus assailed, show
 your self rather stowte to withstand, than weake, to
 geve over: rather cleavyng to good, than yeldyng to 15
 evil. For if God be with you, what forceth who bee
 against you. For when al frendes faile, GOD never
 faileth them that put their trust in him, and with an
 unfained hart cal to hym for grace. Thus doyng I
 assure your grace, God wilbe pleased, and the Godly 20
 wil mucche praise your wisdom, though the worlde ful
 wickedly saie their pleasure. I praie God your grace
 may please the Godlie, and with your vertuouse

8. In margin: Pacience praise worthie in adversitie.

behaviour in this your wydohode, winne there
 commendation to the glory of God, the rejoyсыng of
 your frendes, and the comfote of your soule. Amen.

Thus, the rather to make preceptes plaine, I have
 added examples at large both for counsel gevyng, and 5
 for comfortyng. And most nedeful it were in suche
 kynd of Oracions to be most occupied, considering the
 use hereof appereth full ofte in al partes of our
 life, and confusedly is used emong al other matters.
 For in praisyng a worthie man, we shal have just cause 10
 to speake of all his vertues, of thynges profitable in
 this lyfe, and of pleasures in generall. Lykewyse in
 traversyng a cause before a judge, we cannot wante
 the aide of persuasion, and good counsel, concernyng
 wealth, health, life and estimacion, the helpe wherof 15
 is partely borrowed of this place. But whereas I have
 sette forthe at large the places of confirmacion
 concernyng counsel in diverse causes: it is not
 thought that either they should al be used in numbre
 as they are, or in ordre as they stande: but that any 20
 one may use theim and ordre theim as he shall thynke
 best, accordyng as the tyme, place, and person, shal
 most of al require.

Of an Oracion judicial.

The whole burdeine of weightie matters, and the
earnest trial of al controuersies, rest onely upon
judgement. Therefore when matters concernyng lande,
gooddes, or life, or any suche thyng of lyke weight 5
are called in Question, we must ever have recourse to
this kynde of Oration, we must ever have recourse to
this kynde of Oration, and after just examinyng of our
causes by the places therof: loke for judgement
accordyng to the law. 10

Oracion Judicial what it is.

Oration Judiciall is, an earnest debatyng in open
assemblie of some weightie matter before a judge,
where the complainaunt commenseth his action, and the
defendaunt thereupon aunswereth at his peril to al 15
suche thynges as are laied to his charge.

Of the foundation, or rather principall pointe in
every debated matter, called of the Rhetoricians the
State, or constitucion of the Cause.

Not onely is it nedefull in causes of judgement 5
to considre the scope whereunto wee muste leavell our
reasons, and directe our invencion: but also we ought
in every cause to have a respect unto some one
especial pointe, and chief article: that the rather
the whole drift of our doynges may seeme to agree with 10
our firste devised purpose. For, by this meanes our
judgement shalbe framed to speake with discretion, and
the ignoraunt shall learne to perceiue with profite,
whatsoever is said for his enstruction. But they that
take upon theim to talke in open audience, and make 15
not their accompte before, what thei wil speake after:
shal neither be well liked for their invencion, nor
allowed for their witte, nor esteemed for their
learnynge. For, what other thyng do they, that boult
out their wordes in suche sorte, and without al 20
advisement utter out matter: but showe themselves to
plaie as young boyes, or scarre crowes do, whiche
showte in the open and plaine felde at all adventures
hittie missie. The learned therfore and suche as love
to be coumpted Clerkes of understandyng, and men of 25

21. In margin: Definition of a thyng must first be
knowne ere we speake our mynde at large.

good circumspection and judgement: doe warely scanne
 what they chefely mynd to speake, and by definition
 seke what that is whereunto they purpose to directe
 their whole doynges. For, by suche advised warenesse,
 and good iye castyng: they shall alwaies be able both 5
 to knowe what to say, and to speake what they ought.
 As for example if I shal have occasion to speake in
 open audience of the obedience due to our soveraigne
 kyng I ought first to learne what is obedience, and
 after knowelege attained, to direct my reasons to the 10
 onely prove of this purpose, and wholly to seke
 confirmacion of the same, and not turne my tale to
 talke of Robbyn Hoode, and to showe what a goodly
 archer was he, or to speake wounders of the man in
 the Mone, suche as are moste nedelesse and farthest 15
 from the purpose. For then, the hearer lookyng to be
 taught his obedience, and hearing in the meane season
 mad tales of archerie, and great mervailles of the man
 in the Mone: beyng half astonied at his so great
 straing wil perhappes say to himself: Now, whether the 20
 devill wilt thou, come in man againe for very shame,
 and tel me no bytailes, suche as are to no purpose but
 show me that whiche thou diddest promise both to

15. In margin: Rovyng with out reason.

teache and perswade at thy first entrie. Assuredly
 suche fonde felowes there have been, yea even emong
 Preachers, that talking of faith, thei have fetcht
 thei ful race from the .xii. signes in the Zodiake.
 An other talking of the general resurrection hath made 5
 a large matter of our blessed Lady, praisyng her to be
 so ientle, so courtise, and so kynd, that it were
 better a thousandfould to make sute to her alone then
 to Christ her sonne. And what needed (I pray you) any
 suche rehersal beyng both ungodly, and nothyng at al 10
 to the purpose? for, what maketh the praise of our
 lady to the confirmacion of the general dowme? Would
 not a man thinke him mad that havyng an earnest errand
 from London to Dover, would take it the next way to
 ride first into Northfolke, next into Essex, and last 15
 into Kent? And yet assuredly many an unlearned and
 wittelesse man hath straied in his talke much farther
 a great deale, yea truely as farre, as hence to Rome
 gates. Therefore wise are thei that folow Plinies
 advise, who would that al men both in writing and 20
 speakyng at large upon any matter, should ever have
 an iye to the chief title and principal ground of
 their whole entent, never swarving from their purpose,

20. In margin: Plinies counsel for handeling of causes.

but rather bringyng al thinges together to confirme
 their cause so much as they can possible. Yea, the
 wise and experte men wil aske of themselves, how
 hangeth this to the purpose? to what end do I speake
 it? What maketh this for confirmacion of my cause? 5
 and so by oft questionyng either chide their owne
 folie, if they speake amisse: or els be assured their
 speake to good purpose.

A State therfore generally is the chief grounde
 of a matter, and the pryncipal poincte whereunto both 10
 he that speaketh shoulde referre his whole wit, and
 thei that heare should chefely marke. A Preacher
 taketh in hande to showe what praier is, and how
 nedeful for man, to cal upon God: Now, he shoulde ever
 remembre this his matter, applieng his reasons wholly 15
 and fully to this end that the hearers may both knowe
 the nature of praier, and the nedefulnesse of praier.
 The whiche when he hath doen, his promise is
 fulfilled, his time wel bestowed, and the hearers wel
 instructed. 20

10. In margin: A State generally what it is.

A State, or constitution what it is in matters of
Judgement.

In al other causes the state is gathered without
contention, and severally handled upon good
advisement, as he shal thynke best that professeth to 5
speake. But in matters criminall, where judgement is
required: there are two persons at the least, whiche
must through contrarietie, stande and reste upon some
issue. As for example: A servyng man is apprehended
by a lawyer for felonie upon suspicion. The lawier 10
saith to the servyng man: Thou hast done this robbery.
Nay, (saith he) I have not doen it. Upon this
conflicte and matchyng together, ariseth this State,
whether this serving man hath done this robbery, or
no? Upon whiche poincte the lawyer must stande, and 15
seeke to prove it to the uttermost of his power.

A State therfore in matters of judgement is that
thyng, arise doeth arise upon the first demaunde and
denial made betwixt men, whereof the one part is the
accuser, and the other part the person, or persons 20
accused. It is called a State because we doe stande

15. In margin: State in Judgement what it is.

19. In margin: State, why it is so called.

wholly and onely be proved of the one side, and denied
of the other. I cannot better terme it in Englishe
than by the name of an issue, the whiche not onely
ariseth upon muche debatying and long traverse used,
whereupon all matters are said to come to an issue: 5
but also elsewhere an issue is said to be then and so
often as bothe parties stande upon one point, the
whiche doth aswel happen at the first begynnyng before
any probacions are used, as it doth at the latter
endyng after the matter hath at large been discussed. 10

The division of States, or issues.

Now that we knowe what an Issue is, it is next
most nedeful to showe how many thei are in numbre.
The wisest and best learned have agreed upon thre
onely, and no lesse, the whiche are these folowyng. 15

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| | i. Conjecturall. |
| The State. | ii. Legall. |
| | iii. Juridiciall. |

And for the more playne understandyng of these
darcke wordes, these three questions folowinge, 20
expounde their meaninge altogether.

- i. Whether the thinge bee, or no.
- ii. What it is.
- iii. What maner of thinge it is.

In the fyrst we consider upon rehersal of a
 matter whether anye suche thinge bee, or no. As if 5
 one shoulde be accused of Murther, good it were to
 knowe, whether anye murther were committed at all, or
 no, if it be not perfectlye knowne before: and after
 to go further, and examine whether suche a man that is
 accused, have done the dede or no. 10

In the seconde place, we doubte not upon the
 thinge done, but we stande in doubte what to call it.
 Sometimes a man is accused of felonye, and yet he
 proveth his offence to be but a trespase, wherupon he
 escapeth the daunger of deathe. An other beynge 15
 accused for killynge a man, confeseth his faulte to
 be manslaughter, and denieth it utterlye to be any
 murder, wherupon he maketh frendes to purchase his
 Pardon. Nowe the lawyers by their learninge muste
 judge the doubte of this debate, and tell what name he 20
 deserveth to have that hath thus offended.

In the thyrde place, not onely the dede is
 confessed, but the maner of doynge is defended. As if

one were accused for killynge a man, to confesse the
 deede, and also to stande in it that he myght justely
 so do, because he did it in his owne defence: wherupon
 ariseth this Question, whether his doing be ryghte or
 wrong. And to make these matters more plaine, I will 5
 adde an example for every state, severally.

Of the state Conjecturall.

The Assrtion.

Thou hast killed this manne.

The Aunswere. 10

I have not killed him.

The State or Issue.

Whether he hath killed this man or no. Thus we
 see upon the avouchinge and deniall, the matter
 standeth upon an issue. 15

Of the State Legall.

Assertion.

Thou hast committed treason in this facte.

Aunswere.

I denye it to be treason. 20

State or issue.

Whether his offence done maye be called treason

or no. Here is denied that any suche thinge is in the dede done, as is by word reported, and saide to bee.

Of the state Juridiciall.

Assertion.

Thou hast kyllled this manne.

5

Aunswere.

I graunte it, but I have doone it lawfullye, because I killed him in mine owne defence.

State or issue.

Whether a man may kill one in his owne defence, 10
or no, and whether this man did so, or no.

The Oration conjectural, what it is.

The Oration conjectural is, when matters be examined and tryed out by suspicions gathered, and some likelihode of thinge appearinge. A Souldiour is 15
accused for killinge a Farmar. The Souldioure denieth it utterly, and sayth he did not kyll him. Hereupon riseth the question, whether the Souldioure killed the Farmar or no, who is well knowne to be slayne. Nowe to prove this question, we muste have suche places of 20
confirmation, as hereafter do folowe.

Places of confirmation, to prove thinges by
conjecture.

i. Will, to do evill.

ii. Power, to do evil.

i. In the will muste be considered the qualitie 5
of the man, whether he were like to do suche a dede or
no, and what shoulde move him to attempte suche an
enterpyse, whether he did the murther upon anye
displeasure before conceyved, or of a sodayne anger,
or els for that he loked by his death to receyve some 10
commoditie, either lande, or office, money , or money
worth, or anye other gainefull thinge.

ii. Some are knowen to want no will to kill a
manne, because they have bene flesht heretofore,
passing as little upon the deathe of a man, as a 15
Bocher dothe passe for killinge of an Oxe, beynge
heretofore either accused before a Judge of
manslaughter, or els quitte by some general pardon.
Now, when the names of suche menne are knowen, they
make wise men ever after to have them in suspection. 20

iii. The countrey where the man was borne declares
sometime his natural inclination, as if he wer borne

or brought up among the Tindale, and Riddesdale menne,
he may the soner be suspected.

iiii. Of what trade he is, by what occupation he
liveth.

v. Whether he be a gamester, an alehouse 5
haunter, or a panion among Ruffians.

vi. Of what wealthe he is, and how he came by
that whiche he hath, if he have anye.

vii. What apparell he weareth, and whether he
loveth to go gaye, or no. 10

viii. Of what nature he is, whether he be hastye,
headye, or readye to pike quarels.

ix. What shiftes he hath made from time to tyme.

x. What moved him to do suche an haynous dede.

Places of Confirmation to prove whether he had power 15
to do suche a dede, or no.

i. The grounde where the man was slaine, whether
it was in the hygh waye, in a woode, or betwixt two
hylles, or els where, nighe to an hedge or secrete
place. 20

ii. The tyme, whether it was earlye in the
mornynge, or late at nyght.

iii. Whether he was there about that time or no.

iiii. Whether he ranne awaye after the deede done,
or had anye bloude aboute him, or trembled, or
stakerde, or was contrarie in tellyng of his tale, and
how he kept his countenance.

v. Hope to kepe his dede secrete, bi reason of 5
the place, time, and secrete maner of doynge.

vi. Witnesse examined of his beyng, either in
this or that place.

vii. By comparinge of the strengthe of the
murtherer wyth the other mans weakenes, armour with 10
nakednes, and stoutnes with simplicitie.

viii. His Confession.

An example of an Oration Judiciall, to prove by
Conjectures the knowledge of a notable and mooste
haynous offence, committed by a Souldiour. 15

As Nature hath ever abhored murder, and God in
all ages moste terriblye hath plagued bloudsheading:
so I truste your wisdomes (mooste worthy Judges)
will spedelye seke the execution of this mooste
hatefull synne. And where as God revealeth to the 20
syght of menne the knowledge of such offences by
divers likelihodes, and probable conjectures: I doubte

not but you beyng called of God to heare suche causes,
 wyll doe herein as reason shall require, and as this
 detestable offence shall move you upon rehearsall of
 the matter. The Manne that is well knowen to be
 slayne, was a worthy Farmar, a good housekeper, a 5
 welthye husbandemanne, one that traveyled muche in
 this worlde, meanyng uprightlye in all hys doinges,
 and therfore beloved emonge all men, and lamented of
 manye when his deathe was knowen. This Souldiour
 beyng desperate in his doynges, and livyng by spoyle 10
 all his lyfe tyme, came newlie from the warres, whose
 handes hath bene latelye bathed in bloude, and nowe he
 kepeth this countrey (where this farmar was slaine)
 and hath ben here for the space of one whole moneth
 together, and by all likelihodes he hath slaine this 15
 honest farmer. For, such menflesht vilaynes, make
 small accompte for kyllinge anye one, and do it they
 will withoute anye mercye, when they maye see their
 time. Yea, this wretch is bruted for his beastly
 demeanoure, and knowen of longe time to be a stronge 20
 thiefe. Nether had he escaped the daunger of the law,
 if he kinges free pardon had not prevented the
 execution. His name declares his noughtye nature, and
 his wycked livynge hath made him famous. For, who is
 he that hearynge of N. (the notable offenders name 25
 myght here by rehearsed) doth not thynke by and by,

that he were lyke to do suche a dede? Neither is he
 onely knowen universallye to be nought, but his soyle
 also (where he was borne) geveth him to be an evill
 man: consideringe he was bredde and brought up emong a
 denne of theves, emonge the men of Tindale and 5
 Ryddesdale, where pillage is good purchase, and
 murderynge is counted manhode. Occupation hath he
 none, nor yet any other honeste meanes, whereby to
 maintayne him selfe: and yet he liveth mooste
 sumptuouslye. No greater gamester in a whole 10
 countrey, no such riotour, a notable whoremonger, a
 lewde roister emong Ruffians, an unreasonable waister,
 to day ful of money within a sevensnight after not
 worth a grote. There is no man that seethe him, but
 will take him for his apparell to be a gentelman. He 15
 hath his chaunge of sutes, yea, he spareth not to go
 in his silkes and velvet. A greate quareller, and
 fraie maker, glad when he may be at defiaunce with one
 or other, he hath made such shyftes for money ere now,
 that I marvail how he hath lived till this daye. And 20
 now beyng at a low ebbe, and lothe to seme base in his
 estate, thought to adventure upon this farmar, and
 either to winne the saddle, or els to lose the horse.
 And thus beyng so farre forward, wantinge no will to
 attempte this wicked deede, he sought by al meanes 25

possible, convenient oportunitye to compasse his
 desire. And waytinge under a woode side, nighe unto
 the hyghe waye, aboute sixe of the clocke at night, he
 sette upon this farmer, at what time he was comming
 homewarde. For, it appeareth not onelye by his owne 5
 confession, that he was there aboute the selfe same
 time, where this man was slayne: but also there be men
 that saw him ride in greate haste aboute the selfe
 same time. And because GOD would have thys murder to
 be knowen, loke I praye you what bloude he carieth 10
 aboute hym, to beare witnesse agaynste hym of hys
 moost wicked deede. Againe, hys owne confession dothe
 playnelye goe againste hym, for he is in so manye
 tales, that he can not tell what to saye. And often
 his coloure chaungeth, his bodye shaketh, and hys 15
 tongue foultereth wythin hys mouthe. And suche men as
 he bryngeth in to beare witnesse wyth hym, that he was
 at suche a place at the selfe same houre, when the
 Farmar was slayne: they wyll not be sworne for the
 verye houre, but they saye, he was at suche a place, 20
 wythin two houres after. Now Lord, dothe not this
 matter seeme most playne unto al men, especially seing
 this dede was done such a time, and in suche a place,
 that if the devyl had not bene his good Lorde, thys
 matter hadde never come to lyghte. And who wyll not 25

saye that this Caytife hadde little cause to feare,
 but rather power inoughe to doe his wycked feacte,
 seyng he is so sturdye and so stronge, and the other
 so weake and unweldy: yea, seyng this vilaine was
 armed, and the other man naked. Doubte you not 5
 (worthye Judges) seyng such notes of his former lyfe
 to declare his inwarde nature, and perceiving suche
 conjectures lawfully gathered upon juste suspicion:
 but that this wretched Souldioure hath slayne thys
 worthye Farmar. And therfore I appeale for justice 10
 unto your wisdomes for the deathe of hys innocente
 man, whose bloude before God asketh juste avengement.
 I doubt not but you remember the wordes of Salomon,
 who saith. It is as greate a synne to forgeve the
 wicked, as it is evill to condempne the innocente: and 15
 as I call unfaynedlye or ryghtfull Judgemente, so I
 hope assuredlye for juste execucion.

The Person accused beyng innocente of the cryme
 that is layed to his charge, may use the selfe same
 places for his owne defence, the whyche hys accuser 20
 used to prove hym gyltye.

The interpretation of a lawe, otherwise called the
State legall.

In boultynge out the true meaninge of a lawe, we
muste use to search out the nature of the same, by
defining some one worde, or comparing one law wyth an 5
other, judging upon good triall, what is right, and
what is wronge.

The Partes

- i. Definition.
- ii. Contraye lawes. 10
- iii. Lawes made, and thende of the law maker.
- iiii. Ambiguitye, or doubtfulnes.
- v. Probation by thinges like.
- vi. Chalengynge or refusinge.

Definition what it is. 15

Then we use to define a matter, when wee can not
agree upon the nature of some word, the which we
learne to know by askyng the question what it is. As
for example. Where one is apprehended for killing a
man, we laye murder to his charge: wherupon the 20
accused person when he graunteth the killing, and yet

denieth it to be murder: we must straight after have recourse to the definition, and aske, what is murder, by defininge whereof, and comparing the nature of the word, with his dede done: we shall sone know whether he committed murder or manslaughter.

5

Contrarye lawes.

It often happeneth that lawes seme to have a certaine repugnancie, wherof emong many riseth much contencion, wher as if both the lawes wer wel weied and considered according to their circumstances, thei wold appeare nothing contrari in matter, though in wordes they seme to dissent. Christ geveth warning, and chargeth his disciples in the .x. of Math. that they preach not the glad tidinges of his comming into the world to the Gentils, but to the Jewes only, unto whom he was sent by his father. And yet after his resurrection we do read in the last of Mat. that he commaunded his disciples to go into all the whole world, and preach the glad tidinges of his passion, and raunsome, paied for al creatures living. Now though these .ii. lawes seme contrary, yet is is nothing so. For if the Jewes would have received Christ, and acknowledged him their savioure, undoubtedly they had bene the onely children of God,

10

15

20

unto whom the promise and covenant was made from the
beginninge. But because they refused their Saviour,
and crucified the Lord of glory: Christ made the lawe
generall, and called all men to life that woulde
repent, promisinge salvation to all suche as beleved 5
and were baptised. So that the particuler law, beyng
nowe abrogated, muste needs geve place to the
superioure.

Foure lessons to be observed, where contrarye lawes
are called in question. 10

- i. The inferioure law must geve place
to the superiour.
- ii. The lawe generall muste yelde
to the speciall.
- iii. Mans lawe, to Gods lawe. 15
- iiii. An olde lawe, to a newe lawe.

There be Lawes utterde by Christes owne mouthe,
the whiche if they be taken accordinge as they are
spoken, seme to conteyne great absurditie in them.
And therefore the mind of the lawe maker muste rather 20
be observed, then the bare wordes taken onely, as they
are spoken. Christ sayth in the .v. of Mathew. If

21. In margin: Math. v.

thy right eye be an offence unto thee, plucke him out,
 and caste him awaye from thee. If one geve thee a
 blowe of thy ryghte cheke, turne to him agayne thy
 lefte cheke. There be some Eunuches, that have
 gelded themselves for the kyngdome of heaven. Go, and 5
 sell all that thou hast, and geve it to the poore.
 He that doeth not take up his crosse and folowe me, is
 not worthy of me. In all whiche sentences there is no
 suche meanyng, as the bare wordes uttered seme to
 yelde. Pluckyng out of the iye, declares an avoydyng 10
 of all evill occasions: receivyng a blowe upon the
 left cheke, commendes unto us, modestie and pacience
 in adversitie. Geldyng, signifieth a subduyng of
 affeccions, and tamyng the foule luste of pleasure,
 unto the will of reason. Go and sell all: declares we 15
 should be liberal, and glad to part with our gooddes
 to the poore and neady. Bearyng the Crosse,
 betokeneth sufferance of all sorowes, and miseries in
 this worlde. Now to prove that the will of the lawe
 maker, is none other them I have saied: I maie use 20
 the testimonies of other places in the Scripture, and

4.In margin: Math. xix.

6.In margin: Math. xvi.

compare theim with these sentences, and so, judge by
juste examinacion, and diligent searche, the true
meanyng of the lawe maker.

Ambiguitee.

Sometymes a doubt is made, upon some woorde or 5
sentence, when it signifieth diverse thynges, or maie
diversly be taken, wherupon ful oft ariseth muche
contencion. The lawyers lacke no cases, to fil this
parte full of examples. For, rather then faile, thei
will make doubtes often tymes, where no doubt should 10
be at all. Is his Lease long enough (quoth one): yea
sir, it is very long, saied a poore husbande man.
Then (quoth he) let me alone with it, I wil finde a
hole in it. I warrant thee. In all this talke, I
excepte alwaies the good lawyers, and I maie well 15
spare them, for thei are but a fewe.

Probacion by thynges like.

When there is no certain lawe by expresse wordes
uttered for some heinous offender, we maie judge the

8. In margin: Lawyers.

offence worthy deathe, by rehersall of some other
 Lawe, that soundeth muche that waie. As thus. The
 civil lawe appoynteth that he shalbe put in a sacke,
 and cast in the Sea, that killeth his father: well,
 then he that killeth his mother, should by all reason, 5
 in like sort he ordered. It is lawfull to have a
 Magistrate, therefore it is lawfull to plead matters
 before an officer. And thus, though the last cannot
 be proved by expresse wordes, yet the same is founed
 lawfull, by rehersall of the first. 10

Chalengyng, or refusyng.

We use this order, when wee remove our sewtes,
 from one Courte to another, as if a manne should
 appele from the Common place, to the Chauncerie. Or
 if one should bee called by a wrong name, not to 15
 answeere unto it. Or if one should refuse to answer in
 the spirituall court, and appele to the lorde
 Chauncellor.

The Oracion of right or wrong, called otherwise the
 state Juridiciall. 20

After a deede is well knownen to be doen, by some

one persone, we go to the next, and searche whether it be right, or wrong. And that is, when the maner of doying is examined, and the matter tried through reasonyng, and mucche debatyng, whether it be wrongfully doen or otherwise.

5

The division.

This state of right or wrong, is twoo waies divided, wherof the one is, when the matter by the awne nature, is defended to bee righte, without any further sekyng, called of the Rhetoricians, the state absolute.

10

The other (usyng litle force, or strengthe to maintein the matter) is, when outward help is sought, and bywaies used to purchase favour, called otherwise the state assumptive.

15

Places of confirmacion for the first kynd, are seven.

- i. Nature it self.
- ii. Goddes lawe, and mannes lawe.
- iii. Custome.
- iiii. Aequitie.
- v. True dealyng.

20

vi. Auncient examples.

vii. Cvenauntes and deedes autentique.

Tullie in his moste worthy Oracion, made in
 behalfe of Milo, declareth that Milo slewe Clodius
 moste lawfully, whom Clodius sought to have slain 5
 moste wickedly. For (quoth Tullie) if nature have
 graffed this in man, if lawe have confirmed it, if
 necessitie have taught it, custome have kept it, if
 aequitie have mainteined it, if true dealyng hath
 allowed it, if all common weales have used it, if 10
 deedes auncient have sealed this up, that every
 creature livyng should fense itself, against outward
 violence: no man can thinke that Milo hath dooen
 wrong, in killyng of Clodius, except you thinke, that
 when menne mete with theves, either thei muste be 15
 slain of them, or els condempned of you.

Places of confirmacion for the seconde kynde, are
 foure.

Grauntynge of the faulte committed.

Blamyng evill companie for it. 20

Comparynge the fault, and declaryng that

either thei must have doen that, or

els have doen worse.

Shiftyng it from us, and shewyng that
wee did it upon commaundement.

Confessyng of the faulte, is when the accused
person graunteth his crime, and craveth pardon 5
thereupon, leavyng to aske justice, and leanyng wholly
unto mercie.

Confession of the faulte, used twoo maner of waies.

The first is, when one excuseth hymself, that he
did it not willyngly, but unwares, and by chaunce. 10

The second is, when he asketh pardone, for the
fault doen, consideryng his service to the common
weale, and his worthy deedes heretofore dooen,
promisyng amendement of his former evill deede: the
whiche wordes, would not be used before a Judge, but 15
before a kyng, or generall of an armie. For the
Judges muste geve sentence, accordyng to the Lawe: the
Kyng maie forgeve, as beyng aucthour of the lawe, and

4.In margin: Confessyng, what it is.

9.In margin: The division.

havyng power in his hande, maie do as he shall thinke best.

Blamyng other for the faulte doen, is when wee saie that the accused persone, would never have doen suche a deede, if other against whom also, this 5
accusacion is intended, had not been evill men, and geven just cause, or suche a wicked dede.

Comparyng the faulte is when we saie, that by slayng an evill man, we have doen a good dede, cuttyng awaie the corrupte and rotten member, for preservacion 10
of the whole body. Or thus: some sette a whole toun on fire, because their enemies should have none advauntage by it. The Saguntynes beeyng tributarie to the Romaines, flewe their awne children, burnt their goodes, and fired their bodies, because thei 15
would not be subjecte to that cruell Haniball, and lose their allegiaunce, due to the Romaines.

Shiftyng it from us, is when we saie, that if

3.In margin: Blamyng other, how it is saied.

8.In margin: Comparyng the faulte.

13.In margin: Saguntines.

18.In margin: Shiftyng the faulte from us.

other had not set us on, wee would never have
attempted suche an enterprise. As often tymes the
souldiour saieth, his Capitaines biddyng, was his
enforcement: the servaunt thynketh his Maisters
commaundemente, to bee a sufficient defence for his
discharge. 5

A CRITICAL OLD-SPELLING EDITION OF THOMAS WILSON'S
THE ARTE OF RHETORIQUE (1553)

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
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John Micheal Crafton

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VOLUME I I

The Seconde Booke.

Now that I have hetherto set furthe what
 Rhetorique is, whereunto every Orator is moste bounde,
 what the causes bee, bothe in their nature, and also
 by nomber, that comprehende every matter, and what 5
 places serve to confirme every cause: I thinke it is
 moste mete after the knowlege of all these, to frame
 an Oracion accordingly, and to shewe at large, the
 partes of every Oracion, (but specially suche as are
 used in judgement) that unto every cause, apte partes 10
 maie evermore bee added. For every matter hath a
 diverse beginnyng, neither al controversies, or
 matters of weight should alwaies after one sort be
 rehersed, nor like reasons used, nor one kynd of
 movyng affeccions, occupied before all men, and in 15
 every matter. And therfore, wheras I have briefly
 spoken of then before, I wil now largely declare them,
 and shewe the use of theim in every matter, that
 cometh in debate, and is nedeful, through reason to be
 discussed. 20

An enteraunce, two waies divided.

The first is called a plain beginnyng, when the

hearer is made apte, to geve good eare out of hande,
to that whiche shall folowe.

The second is a privey twinyng, or close creping
in, to win favor with mucche circumstaunce, called
insinuacion. 5

For in all matters that man taketh in hande, this
consideracion ought first to be had, that we first
diligently expend the cause, before wee go through
with it, that wee maye bee assured, whether it be
lawfull, or otherwise. And not onely this, but also 10
we must advisedly marke the menne, before whom wee
speake, the men against whom we speake, and all the
circumstaunces, whiche belong unto the matter. If the
matter bee honest, godly, and suche as of righte ought
to bee well liked, we maie use an open beginnyng, and 15
will the hearers to rejoyce, and so go through with
our parte. If the cause be lothsome, or suche as will
not be well borne withall, but nedeth mucche helpe, and
favour of the hearers: it shalbe the speakers parte,
prively to get favour, and by humble talke, to wyne 20
their good willes. Firste, requiryng theim to geve
hym the hearing, and next, not streightly to geve
judgement, but with mercie to mitigate, all rigor of

the Lawe. Or in a complaint made, whiche the counsail shall greuously stomach, to exaggerate it the more, if we se just cause to set it forward. And whereas many often tymes, are suspect to speake thynges of malice, or for hope of gain, or els for a set purpose, as who 5 should saie, this I can do: the wisest will evermore clere themselves, from all suche offences, and never geve any token so muche as in them lieth, of any light suspicion.

In accusyng any persone, it is best to heape all 10 his faultes together, and whereas any thyng semeth to make for hym, to extenuate the same to the outermoste. In defendyng any persone, it is wisdom to rehearse all his vertues first and foremost, and with asmuche arte as maie be, to wipe awaie suche faultes, as were 15 laied to his charge. And before all thynges, this would be wel marked, that, whensoever we shal largely talke of any matter, wee alwaies so invent, and finde out our first enteraunce in the cause, that the same be for ever taken, even from the nature and bowelles 20 therof, that al thynges, whiche shall first be spoken, maie seme to agree with the matter, and not made as a shippe mannes hose, to serve for every legge. Now whereas any long talke is used, the beginnyng thereof is either taken of the matter self, 25

or els of the persones, that are there present, or els
 of them, against whom the accion is entended. And
 because the winnyng of victorie, resteth in three
 poyntes: Firste, in apt teachyng the hearers, what
 the matter is, next in gettyng them to geve good eare, 5
 and thirdly in winnyng their favour: Wee hall make
 theim understande the matter easely, if firste of all
 we begin to expounde it plainly, and in brief woordes,
 setting out the meanyng, make them harken to our
 sayynges. And by no meanes better, shall the standers 10
 by, knowe what we saie, and cary awaie that, whiche
 thei heare, then if at the firste, wee couche together
 the whole course of our tale, in as smale rume as we
 can, either by definyng the nature and substaunce of
 our matter, or els by dividyng it in an apte order, so 15
 that neither the hearers bee troubled with confoundyng
 of matter, and heapyng one thyng in anothers necke,
 nor yet their memorie dulled with overthwarte
 rehearsall, and disorderly tellyng of our tale. Wee
 shall make the people attentive, and glad to heare 20

3.In margin: Thre thynges moste mete for every Orator.

7.In margin: To make the hearers to understande the matter.

20.In margin: To make hearers attentive.

us, if wee will promise them, to speake of weightie
 matters, of wholsome doctrine, suche as thei have
 heretofore wanted: yea, if we promise to tell them
 thynges, concernyng either their awne profite, or
 thadvancement of their countrey, no doubte wee shall 5
 have them diligent hearers. Or els if thei like not
 to heare weightie affaires, wee maie promise them
 straunge newes, and perswade them, we wil make them
 laugh, and thinke you not, that thei wil rather heare
 a foolishe tale then a wise and wholesome counsail? 10
 Demosthenes therefore seyng at a tyme, the fondnes of
 the people to be suche, that he could not obtain of
 them, to heare hym speake his mynde, in an earnest
 cause, concernyng the wealthe of his countrey:
 required them to tary, and he would tell them a tale 15
 of Robin Hode. Whereat thei all staied, and longed to
 knowe what that should be. He began streight to tel
 them, of one that had sold his Asse to another man,
 whereupon thei bothe went forthe to the next Market
 toune, havynge with them thesaied Asse. And the wether 20
 beyng somewhat hotte, the first awner, whiche had now
 sold his Asse, went of that side the Asse, whiche kept
 hym best from the heate. The other beyng now the

11. In margin: Demosthenes tale of the asses shadowe.

awner, and in full possession, would not suffer that,
 but required hym to geve place, and suffer him to take
 the best commoditie, of his awne Asse, that he could
 have, wherat the other answered and saied, naie by
 saincte Marie sir, you serve me not so, I sold you the 5
 Asse, but I solde you not the shadowe of the Asse, and
 therfore pike you hence. When the people hard this,
 thei laughed apace, and likte it very well. Whereupon
 Demosthenes havynge wonne theim together, by this merie
 toye, rebuked their folie, that were so slacke to 10
 heare good thinges, and so redy to heare a tale of a
 Tubbe, and thus havynge them attentive, perswaded with
 them to heare hym, in matters of great importance, the
 whiche otherwise he could never have doen, if he had
 not taken this waie with them. 15

We shall get the good willes of our hearers,
 foure maner of waies, either beginnyng to speake of
 our selves, or els of our adversaries, or els of the
 people, and company present, or last of all, if we
 begin of the matter it self, and so go thorowe with 20
 it. We shall get favour for our awne sakes, if we

15.them] hym 53

16.In margin: To gette the hearers good will.

shall modestly set furthe our bounden dueties, and
 declare our service doen, without all suspicion of
 vauntynge, either to the common weale, as in servyng
 either in the warres abroad, or els in hearyng some
 office at home, concernyng the tranquillitie of our 5
 countrey: or in helpyng our frendes, kynsfolkes, and
 poore neighbours, to declare our goodnes, doen
 heretofore towards them: and lastly, if wee shewe
 without all ostentacion, aswell our good willes
 towards the judges there, as also pleasures doen for 10
 them in tymes paste, to the outermoste of our power.
 And if any thyng seme to lette our cause, by any
 misreport, or evil behavior of our partes heretofore:
 best it were in moste humble wise to seke favour, and
 sleightly to advoyde all suche offences, laied to our 15
 charge.

We shall get favoure, by speakyng of our
 adversaires, if we shall make suche reporte of them,
 that the hearers shall either hate to heare of them,
 or outerly envy them, or els altogether despise them. 20
 We shall sone make our adversaries to be lothed, if we
 shewe and set furthe, some naughtie deede of theirs,
 and declare how cruelly, how vilie, and how
 maliciously thei have used other men heretofore.

We shall make them to be envied, if we reporte 25

unto the Judges, that thei beare theimselfes haulte,
 and stoute upon their wealthy frendes, and oppresse
 poore men by might, not regardyng their honestie, but
 sekyng alwaies by hooke and croke, to robbe poore men
 of their Fermes, Leases, and money. And by the waie 5
 declare some one thyng, that thei have doen, whiche
 honest eares woulde scant abide to heare.

We shall make theim to bee sette naught by, if we
 declare what luskes thei are, how unthrifely thei
 live, how thei do nothyng from daie to daie, but eate, 10
 drinke, and slepe, rather sekyng to live like beastes,
 then myndyng to live like men, either in profityng
 their countrey, or in tenderyng their awne commoditie,
 as by right thei ought to do.

We shall gette good will, by speakyng of the 15
 Judges and hearers: if we shall commende their worthy
 dooynges, and praise their just dealyng, and faithfull
 execucion of the law, and tel them in what estimacion
 the whole country hath them for their upright judgyng
 and determyng of matters, and therefore in this cause 20
 needes must it be that they must aunswere their former
 dooynges, and judge so of this matter, as all good men
 have opinion they wil do.

We shal finde favor by speakyng of the matter, if
 in handlyng our owne cause, we commende it 25

accordyngly, and dispraise the attempt of our
adversarie extenuatyng al his chief purposes, so muche
as shalbe necessarie.

Now resteth for me to speake of the other parte
of Enteraunce into an Oration, whiche is called a 5
close, or privie gettyng of favour when the cause is
daungerouse, and cannot easely be heared without
displeasure.

A privy begynnyng, or crepyng in, otherwyse
called Insinuation must then, and not els be used, 10
when the judge is greaved with us, and our cause hated
of the heares.

The cause selfe oftentymes is not lyked for thre
diverse causes: if either the matter selfe be
unhonest, and not meete to be utterd before an 15
audience, or els if the judge hymselfe by a former
tale be perswaded to take part against us, or last if
at that tyme we are forced to speake, when the judge
is weried with hearyng of other. For the judge
hymself beyng weried by hearyng, wil be muche more 20
greeved if any thyng be spoken either overmuch, or
els against his likyng. Yea, who seeth not that a
weried man will soone mislike a right good matter? Yf

4. In margin: Insinuacion.

the matter be so hainouse that it cannot be hearde
 without offence, (as if I shoulde take a mans parte,
 who were generally hated) wysedome were to lette hym
 go and take some other whom al men liked: or if the
 cause were thought not honest, to take some other in 5
 stede therof which were better lyked, til they were
 better prepared to heare the other: so that evermore
 nothyng shoulde bee spoken at the firste, but that
 whiche might please the judge, and not to be acknowen
 ones to thynke of that, whiche yet we minde most of al 10
 to perswade. Therefore when the hearers are somewhat
 calmed, we may entre by litle and litle into the
 matter, and saie that those thynges whiche our
 adversarie doth mislyke in the person accused, we also
 do mislyke the same. 15

And when the hearers are thus wonne, we may saie,
 that all, whiche was saied, nothyng toucheth us, and
 that wee mynde to speake nothyng at al against our
 adversaries, neither this waie, nor that waie.
 Neither were it wysedome openly to speake against 20
 theim, whiche are generally well estemed and taken for
 honest menne. And yet it were not amisse for the
 furthuraunce of our owne causes closely to speake our
 fantasie, and so, streighte to aulter their hartes.
 Yea and to tel the judges the like in a like matter, 25

that suche and suche judgement hath bene geven: And
 therefore at this time consydering the same case, and
 the same necessitie, lyke judgement is looked for.
 But if the adversarie have so tolde his tale that the
 judge is wholly bent to geve sentence with hym, and 5
 that it is well knowne unto what reasons the judge
 most leaned and was perswaded: we may first promise to
 weaken that, whiche the adversarie hath made moste
 strong for hym selfe, and confute that parte whiche
 the hearers didde moste esteme, and best of all lyke. 10
 Or elles we may take advauntage of some part of our
 adversaries tale, and talke of that firste, whiche he
 spake last: or elles begynne so, as though wee doubted
 what were best firste to speake, or to what parte it
 were moste reason firste of all to aunswere, 15
 wondering, and takyng GOD to wittnesse at the
 straungenesse of his reporte, and confirmacion of his
 cause. For when the standersby perceive that the
 aunswerer (whome the adversaries thought in their mind
 was wholly abashed) feareth so litle the objections of 20
 his adversaire, and is ready to aunswere Ad omnia
quare, with a bolde contenance: they wil thynke that
 they themselves rather gave rashe credite, and were
 overlit in belevyng the firste tale: than that the
 whiche nowe aunswereth in his owne cause, speaketh 25

without grounde, or presumeth upon a stomacke to
speake for hym selfe without just consideracion.

But if the tyme bee so spent, and the tale so
long in tellyng, that al menne be almost weried to
heare any more: than we must make promise at the first 5
to be very shorte, and to lappe up our matter in fewe
wordes.

And if tyme may so serve it were good when men
bee weried to make them somewhat merie, and to
beginne with some pleasaunt tale, or take an occasion 10
to jest wittely upon some thyng then presently doen.

Or if the tyme wil not serve for pleasaunt tales,
it were good to tell some straunge thyng, some
terrible wounder that they all may quake at the onely
hearyng of the same. For lyke as when a mannes 15
stomacke is full and can brooke no more meate, he may
stirre his appetite either by some Tarte sawce, or
elles quicken to somewhat by some sweate dishe: even
so when the audience is weried with weightie affaires,
some straunge wounders maye call up their spirites, or 20
elles some merie tale may cheare their heavie lookes.

8. In margin: Myrth makynge good at the begynning.

12. In margin: Straunge thinges some tyme nedeful
to be tolde at the first.

And assuredly it is no small connyng to move the hartes of menne either to mirth, or saddenness: for he that hath suche skill, shal not lightly faile of his purpose whatsoever matter he taketh in hande.

Thus have I taught what an Enteraunce is, and 5
howe it shoulde be used. Notwithstandyng I thynke it not amisse often to rehearse this one poincte, that evermore the begynning be not overmuch labourd, nor curiously made, but rather apte to the purpose, seemyng upon present occasion, evermore to take place, 10
and so to be devised, as though we speake all together without any great studie, framynge rather our tale to good reason, than our tounge to vaine paintyng of the matter.

In all whiche discourse, whereas I have framed 15
all the Lessons and every Enteraunce properly to serve for pleadyng at the Barre: yet assuredly many of them maye well helpe those that preache Goddes truthe, and exhorte men in open assemblies to upright dealyng.

And no doubte many of them have muche neede to 20
knowe this Arte, that the rather their tale maye hange together, where as oftentymes they begynne as muche from the matter, as it is betwixte Dover and Barwyke,

11. In margin: Enteraunces apt to the purpose.

wherat some take pitie, and many for werines can
 skante abide their begynnyng, it is so long or they
 speake any thyng to the purpose. Therefore the
 learned Clerkes of this our tyme, have thought it good
 that al Preachers shoulde take their beygnnyng upon 5
 the occasion of suche matter as is there written,
 declaryng why and wherfore and upon what consideracion
 suche wordes were in those daies so spoken, that the
 reason geuen of suche talke then utterde, might serve
 wel to begynne there Sermon. Or els to gather some 10
 several sentence at the firste, whiche brifely
 comprehendeth the whole matter folowyng, or elles to
 begynne with some apte similitude, example, or wittie
 saiying. Or lastely to declare what wente before, and
 so to shoue that whiche foloweth after. Yea sometimes 15
 to begynne lamentablie with an unfained bewailyng of
 sinne, and a terrible declaryng of Goddes threates:
 Sometymes to take occasion of matter newly done, or of
 the company there present, so that alwaies the
 begynnyng be aunswerable to the matter folowyng. 20

Of Narration.

After the preface and first Enteraunce, the
 matter must bee opened, and every thyng lyvely tolde,
 that the hearers may fully perceave what we go about.
 Now in reportyng an acte done, or utteryng the state 5
 of a controversie, we must use these lessons, whereof
 the first is to be shorte, the next to be plaine, and
 the third is, to speake likely, and with reason, that
 the hearers may remember, understande, and beleve the
 rather, suche thynges as shalbe said. 10

And first whereas we should be shorte in tellyng
 the matter as it lyeth, the best is to speake no more
 than needes we muste, not ravyng it from the botome,
 or tellyng bytales suche as rude people full ofte doe,
 nor yet touchyng every poinct, but tellyng the whole 15
 in a grosse summe. And whereas many matters shal
 neither harme us, nor yet do us good beyng bought in,
 and reported by us: it were well done not to medle
 with them at al, nor yet twyse to tell one thyng, or
 reporte that, whiche is odiousse to be tolde againe. 20
 Notwithstandyng this one thyng woulde bee wel
 considered, that in seekyng to be shorte, we be not

5. In margin: Narration. i. Brife. ii. Plaine.
 iii. Probable.

11. In margin: Brevitie howe it might be used.

obscure. And therefore to make out matter plaine, that
 all may understande it, the beste were first and
 formest to tell every thyng in order so muche as is
 nedeful, observyng bothe the tyme, the place, the
 maner of doyng, and the circumstaunces thereunto 5
 belongyng. Wherin good heede woulde bee had that
 nothyng bee doubtfullie spoken, whiche maie have a
 double meanyng, nor yet any thyng utterde that may
 make asmuche against us, as with us, but that al our
 woordes runne to confirme wholly our matter. And 10
 suerly if the matter be not so plainely told that al
 may understande it, we shall doe litle good in the
 reste of our report. For in other partes of the
 Oration if we be somewhat darke, it is the lesse
 harme, we may bee more plaine in an other place. But 15
 if the Narration, or substaunce of the tale bee not
 well perceyved, the whole Oration besydes is darckened
 altogether. For to what ende should we go about to
 prove that whiche the heareres know not what it is?
 Neither can we have any libertie to tel our tale 20
 again, after we have ones tolde it, but must streight
 go furthe and confirme that whiche we have said
 howsoever it is. Therefore the reportyng of our tale

may soone appere plaine, if we firste express our
 mynde in plaine wordes, and not seeke these rope rype
 termes, whiche betraie rather a foole, than commende a
 wyse man: and again if we orderly observe
 circumstaunces, and tell one thyng after another from 5
 tyme to tyme, not tumblyng one tale in an others necke
 tellyng halfe a tale, and so leavyng it rawe, hackyng
 and hemmyng as though our wittes and our senses were a
 woll gatheryng. Neither shoulde we suffer our tongue
 to runne before our witte, but with much warenesse 10
 sette forthe our matter, and speake our mynde evermore
 with judgement.

We shal make our saiynges appere lykely, and
 probable: Yf we speake directly as the cause
 requireth, if wee showe the very purpose of al the 15
 devise, and frame our invencion accordyng as we shal
 thynke them most willyng to allowe it, that have the
 hearyng of it.

The Narration reported in matters of judgement
 shall seeme to stande with reason, if wee make our 20
 talke to agree with the place, tyme, thyng, and

14.In margin: Probabilitie how it might be used.

20.In margin: Narration in iudgement.

persone, if we shall shoue that whatsoeuer we say, the
 same by al likelyhodes is true, if our conjectures,
 tokens, reasons, and argumentes be suche that neither
 in them there appere any fablyng, nor yet that any
 thyng was spoken whiche might of right otherwyse be 5
 taken, and that wee not onely speake this, but that
 divers other of good creditie will stande with us in
 defense of the same, all whiche reportyng may sone bee
 lyked, and the tale so tolde, may be thought very
 reasonable. Yea, we shall make our doynge seme 10
 reasonable, if we frame our worke to natures wil, and
 seke none other meanes, but suche onely, as the honest
 and wyse have ever used and allowed, bryngyng in, and
 blamyng the evil alwaies for suche faultes chiefly,
 wherunto thei most of al are like to be subject, as to 15
 accuse a spend al, of thefte: a whoremunger, of
 adulterie: a rash quareller, of manslaughter: and so
 of other. Sometimes it is good and profitable to be
 merie and pleasaunt in reportyng a matter, against
 some maner of man and in some cause. For neither 20
 against all men that offend, nor yet against all
 matters shoulde the wittie alwaies use jestyng. And
 nowe for those that shall tel ther mynde in the other
 kyndes of Oratorie, as in the kynde Demonstrative,
 Deliberative, in exhortyng or perswadyng: the learned 25

25. In margin: Narration in praisyng and counsel gevyng.

have thought meete, that they must also cal the whole
 summe of their matter to one especial poincte, that
 the rather the hearers may better perceive whereat
 they leavel al their reasons. As if a Clarke to take
 in hande to declare Goddes hest, he will after his 5
 Enteraunce, tell what thyng is chiefly purposed in
 that place, and nexte after, showe other thynges
 annexed thereunto whereby not onely the hearers may
 gette great learnyng, and take mucche profite of his
 doctrine, but he hym self may knowe the better what to 10
 say, what order to use, and when to make an ende.

Some do use after the literal sense to gather a
 mysticall understandyng, and to expounde the sayynges
 spiritually, makyng their Narration altogether of
 thynges heavenly. Some rehersing a texte particularly 15
 spoken, applie the same generally unto all states,
 enlargyng the Narration moste Godly by comparyng
 wordes long agoe spoken, with thynges and matters that
 are presently done. Notwithstandyng the auncient
 fathers because they did onely expounde the Scriptures 20
 for the moste parte, made no artificiall Narration:
 but used to folowe suche order as the plaine text gave
 them. So that if every sentence were plainely opened

to the hearers, they went not much farther, saving
 that when any worde gave them occasion to speake of
 some vice, they woulde largely saie their mynde in
 that behaulfe: As Christostome and Basile have done,
 with other.

5

The ware markyng and heedie observacion of tyme,
 place, and person may teache al menne (that be not
 past teachyng,) howe to frame their Narration in all
 Controversies that are called in Question, and
 therefore when presente occasion shall geve good
 instruction, what neede more lessons? And especially
 seeyng nature teacheth what is comely, and what is not
 comely, for all tymes.

10

Yea what tell I nowe of suche lessons, seeyng GOD
 hath raised suche worthie preachers in this our tyme,
 that their Godly, and learned dooynges, may be a moste
 juste example for al other to folowe: as well for
 their lyvyng, as for their learnyng. I feare me the
 preceptes are more in nomber, than wil be wel kepte or
 folowed this yeare.

20

Of Division.

After our tale is told, and the hearers have wel
 learned what wee meane, the next is to reporte wherein

the adversarie and wee, cannot agree, and what it is
 wherein we do agree. And then to part out suche
 principall poinctes wherof we purpose fully to debate,
 and laie theim out to be knowen: that the hearers may
 plainely see, what we wil say, and perceive at a 5
 worde, the substaunce of our meanyng. Now Tullie
 would not have a devision to be made, of, or above
 thre partes at the most, nor yet lesse than thre
 neither, if nede so require, for if we have thre chief
 groundes wherupon to rest, applyng al our argumentes 10
 therunto, we shal bothe have matter enough to speake
 of, the hearers shal with ease understand our meanyng,
 and the whole Oration shal sone be it at an end.
 Notwithstandyng this lesson must not so curiouslie be
 kepte, as though it were synne to make the division of 15
 fower, or fyve partes, but it was spoken for this ende
 that the division shoulde be made of as fewe as may be
 possible, that menne may the better carie it away and
 the reporter with more ease maie remember what he hath
 to saie. 20

Nowe in praisyng, or dispraisyng, in perswadyng,
 or disswadyng, divisions muste also be used. As if
 one woulde enveighe against those women that will not

10. In margin: Division of thre partes at the moste.

geve their owne children sucke, he might use this
 devision. Whereas omen commonly put their children
 furthe to nursyng, I will first prove that it is bothe
 against the lawe of nature and also against Goddes
 holie wil: Againe I wil shewe that it is harmefull 5
 bothe for the childe bodie, and also for his witte,
 lastly, I will prove that the mother selfe falleth into
 muche sicknesse thereby.

First, nature geveth milke to the woman for none
 other ende, but that she shoulde bestowe it upon her 10
 childe. And we see beastes feede there youngones, and
 why shoulde not women? GOD also commaundeth all women
 to bryng up their children.

Againe, the childrens bodies shalbe so affected,
 as the milke is whiche they receyve. Nowe, if the 15
 Nurse be of an evil complexion, or have some hidde
 disease, the childe suckyng of her brest muste needes
 take parte with her. And if that be true whiche the
 learned doe saie, that the temperature of the mynde
 folowes the constitucion of the bodie, needes must it 20
 be that if the Nurse be of a naughtie nature, the
 childe muste take thereafter. But be it, the Nurse be

2. In margin: Women rebuked that nurse not
 their owne children.

of a good complexion, of an honest behaviour (whereas contrary wyse Maydens that have made a scape are commonly called to bee Nurses) yet can it not bee but that the mothers mylke shoulde be muche more naturall for the childe, than the mylke of a straunger. 5

As by experience, let a man be long used to one kynde of drynke, if the same man chaunge his ayre, and his drynke, he is lyke to mislyke it. Lastely for the mothers, howe are they troubled with sore brestes besydes other diseases that happen through plentie of 10 mylke, the whiche Phisicians can tell, and women full ofte have felte.

Lykewyse in speakyng of fastyng, I might use this division. Firste, it is godly to fast, because the spirite is more free and apter for any good worke. 15 Again it is wholesome, because thereby evill humours are waisted, and many diseases either clerely put awaie, or muche abated of their tirannie. Lastly it is profitable, because men spende lesse money, the lesse bankequetyng that thei use. Therefore, if men 20 love either to be wise, godly, healthfull, or wealthy, let them use fastyng, and forbear excesse.

Now upon a division, there might also be made a subdivision, as where I saie, it is godly to fast, I might divide godlinesse, into the hearyng of Goddes 25

worde, into praiyng devoutly, and charitable dealyng
with all the worlde.

Again, speakyng of healthe, I mighte saie that
the whole body, is not onely more lustie with moderate
fastyng, but also more apte for al assaies. The 5
learned man studieth better when he fasteth, then when
he is full. The counsailor heareth causes with lesse
pain beyng emptie, then he shalbe able after a full
gorge.

Again, whereas the five senses, bryng us to the 10
knowlege of many thynges: the more apte that every one
is, the more pleasure thei bryng ever with them. The
iyes se more clerely, the eares heare more quickly,
the tongue rouleth more roundly, and tasteth thinges
better, and the nose smelleth evill favours the soner. 15

Philosophie is divided into the knowlege of
thynges naturall, thynges morall, and into that arte,
whiche by reason findeth out the truthe, commonly
called Logique. Nowe of these three partes of
Philosophie, I mighte make other thre subdivisions, and 20
largely set them out. But these maie suffice for this
tyme.

Of Propositions.

Quintilian willeth, that streight and immediatly
 after the Narracion, there should also be used suche
 sentences, as might bee full of pithe, and contein in
 them the substaunce of muche matter, the rather that 5
 the hearers maie be stirred upon the only report, of
 some sentencious saiyng, or weightie text in the law.
 As in speakyng largely against extorcion, one might
 after his reasons applied to the purpose, bryng in a
 pithie and sentencious proposicion as thus. Those 10
 handes are evill that scratche out the iyes: and what
 other dooe thei, that by force robbe their Christian
 brethren? Wo be to that realme, where might outgoeth
 right. Or thus, when rage doth rule, and reaaon doeth
 waite, what good man can hope to live long in rest. 15
 Also an act of a realme maie wel serve to make a
 proposicion. As thus. Ther lawe is plain: that man
 shall dye as an offendour, whatsoever he bee that
 breaketh up another mannes house, and seketh by spoyle
 to undo his neighbour. Now here is no man that 20
 doubteth, but that thou hast doen this deede,
 therfore, what nedes any more, but that thou muste
 suffer, accordyng to the lawe? In dividyng a matter,
 propositions are used, and orderly applied for the

better setting furth of the cause. As if I should
speke of thankfulnesse, I might first shewe, what is
thankfulnesse, next how nedefull it is, and last, how
commendable and profitable it is universally?

Thanfulnesse is a kynde of remembryng good will 5

shewed, and an earneth desire to requite the same.

Without thankfulnesse, no man would do for another.

The bruthe beastes have these properties, and

therefore man cannot want them, without his greate

rebuke. Some proposicions are plain spoken, without. 10

any cause, or reason added therunto. As thus. I have

charged this man with felony, as you have hard, but he

denieth it: therefore judge you it, I pray you.

Sometymes a cause is added, after the allegyng of a

proposicon. As thus, I have accused this man of 15

felonie, because he tooke my pursse by the high waie

side, and therefore I call for justce. Thus

proposicions might bee gathered, next and immediately

after the rehersall of any cause, and beautifie muche

the matter, beyng either alleged with the cause 20

annexed, or els beyng plainly spoken, without gevyng

5.In margin: Thankfulnes, what it is.

17.In margin: Division of proposicions.

any reason to it at all.

Of confirmacion in matters of judgement.

When we have declared the chief poyntes,
 whereunto wee purpose to referre all our reasons, wee
 muste heape matter and finde out argumentes, to 5
 confirme the same to the outermoste of our power,
 makyng firste the strongest reasons that wee can, and
 nexte after, gatheryng all probable causes together,
 that beeyng in one heape, thei maie seme strong, and
 of greate weighte. And whatsoever the adversaire hath 10
 saied against us, to answeere thereunto, as tyme and
 place beste maie serve. That if his reasons be light,
 and more good maie bee doen in confutyng his, then in
 confirmyng our awne: it were best of all to sette upon
 hym, and putte awaie by arte, all that he hath fondely 15
 saied without witte. For provyng the matter, and
 searchyng out the substaunce, or nature of the cause,
 the places of Logique muste helpe to sette it
 forward. But when the persone shalbe touched, and not
 the matter, we must seke els where, and gather these 20
 places together.

18. In margin: Causes of confirmacion two waies used.

- i. The name.
- ii. The maner of livyng.
- iii. Of what house he is, of what countre
and of what yeres.
- iiii. The wealthe of the man. 5
- v. His behaviour or daily enuryng with
thynges.
- vi. What nature he hath.
- vii. Whereunto he is moste geven.
- viii. What he purposeth from tyme to tyme. 10
- ix. What he hath doen heretofore.
- x. What hath befaulne unto hym
heretofore.
- xi. What he hath confessed, or what
he hath to saie for hymself. 15

In well examinyng of all these matters, much maie
be said, and greate likelihodes maie be gathered,
either to or fro, the whiche places I used heretofore,
when I spake of matters in judgement, against the
accused souldiour. Now in triying the truth, by 20
reasons gathered of the matter: we must first marke
what was doen at that time by the suspected persone,
when suche and suche offences wer committed. Yea,

what he did, before this acte was dooen. Again, the
 tyme muste bee marked, the place, the maner of doying,
 and what hart he bare hym. As thoportunitie of doying
 and the power he had to do this deede. The whiche all
 sette together, shal either acquitte him, or finde him 5
 giltee. These argumentes serve to confimre a matter
 in judgement, for any hainous offence. But in the
 other causes which are occupied, either in praisyng,
 or dispraisyng, in perswadyng, or diswadyng, the
 places of confirmacion, be suche as arte before 10
 rehersed, as when wee commende a thyng, to prove it
 thus.

Honest.

Profitable.

To be doen.

Easie.

15

Necessarie.

And so of other in like maner, or els to use in
 stede of these, the places of Logique. Therefore,
 when we go aboute to confirme any cause, wee maie
 gather these groundes above rehersed, and even as the 20
 case requireth, so frame our Reasones. In confutyng

of causes, the like maie be had, as we used to prove:
 if we take the contrarie of the same. For as thynges
 are alleged, so thei maie be wrested, and as houses
 are buylded, so thei maie bee overthrowen. What
 though many conjectures be gathered, and diverse 5
 matters framed, to overthrowe the defendaunt: yet
 witte maie finde out bywaies to escape, and suche
 shiftes maie be made either in avoydyng the daunger,
 by plain denial, or els by objections, and reboundyng
 again of reasons made, that small harme shall turne to 10
 the accused persone, though the presumptions of his
 offence be greate, and he thought by good reason to
 be faultie. The places of Logique, as I saied, cannot
 be spared, for the confirmacion of any cause. For,
 who is he, that in confirmyng a matter, wil not know 15
 the nature of it, the cause of it, the effect of it,
 what is agreyng therunto, what likenesse there is
 betwixt that, and other thinges, what examples maie
 bee used, what is contrary, and what can be saied
 against it. Therefore, I wishe that every manne should 20
 desire and seke to have his Logique perfect, before he
 looke to profite in Rhetorique, consideryng the
 groundes and confirmacion of causes, is for the moste

13. In margin: Places of Logique moste nedefull.

part gathered out of Logique.

Of conclusion.

A Conclusion is the handsome lappyng up together,
and brief heapyng of all that, whiche was saied
before, stirryng the hearers by large utteraunce, and 5
plentifull gatheryng of good matter, either the one
waie, or the other.

There are twoo partes of a conclusion, the one
resteth in gatheryng together briefly, all suche
argumentes as wer before rehersed, reportyng the some 10
of them, in as fewe wordes as can be, and yet after
suche a sorte, that muche varietie be used, bothe when
the rehersall is made, as also after the matter is
fully reported. For, if the repeticion should bee
naked, and onely set furthe in plain woordes, without 15
any chaunge of speache, or shift of Rhetorique:
neither should the hearers take pleasure, nor yet the
matter take effect. Therfore, when the Oratour shall
touche any place, whiche maie geve juste cause to make

3.In margin: Conclusion, what it is.

8.In margin: Conclusion, of twoo sortes.

an exclamacion, and stirre the hearers to be sory, to
 bee glad, or to be offended: it is necessary to use
 arte to the outermoste. Or when he shall come to the
 repeatyng of an heinous acte, and the maner thereof:
 he maie set the Judges on fire, and heate them 5
 earnestly against the wicked offendor. Thus in
 repeatyng, arte maie bee used, and next with the onely
 rehersall, matters maie bee handesomely gathered up
 together.

The other part of a conclusion resteth, either in 10
 augmentyng and vehemently enlargyng that, whiche
 before was in fewe wordes spoken, to set the Judge or
 hearers in a heate: or els to mitigate and asswage
 displeasure conceived, with much lamenteing of the
 matter, and movyng thiem thereby the rather to show 15
 mercie. Amplificacion is of twoo sortes, whereof I
 will speake more at large, in the next Chapter. The
 one resteth in wordes, the other in matter. Suche
 wordes muste bee used, as be of greate weight, wherein
 either is some Metaphore, or els some large 20
 understandyng is conteined. Yea, wordes that fill the
 mouthe, and have a sound with them, set furthe a
 matter very well. And sometymes wordes twice spoken,
 make the matter appere greater.

Again, when we firste speake our mynde in lowe 25

wordes, and after use weightier, the fault likewise
 semeth to be greater. As when one had killed a
 ientleman, thus might another amplifie his mynd. For
 one slave to strike another, wer worthy of
 punishment, but what deserveth that wretche, whiche 5
 not onely striketh a manne, but striketh a
 ientlemanne, and not onely striketh a ientleman, but
 cowardly killeth a ientlemanne, not gevyng hym one
 wounde, but gevyng hym twentie. To kill any manne in
 suche sorte, deserveth deathe, but what saie you to 10
 him, that not onely killeth hym so, but also hangeth
 hym moste spitefully upon a tree. And yet not content
 with that, but scourgeth hym, and mangeleth hym when
 he is dedde, and last of all, maketh a jest of his
 moste naughtie deede, leavyng a writyng there, aboute 15
 the deede mannes necke. Now then seyng his crueltie
 is suche, that thonly killyng, cannot content his
 devilishe deede, and most dedly malice: I aske it for
 Gods love, and in the waie of Justice, that this
 wicked Devill, maie suffer worthy death, and bee 20
 punished to the example of all other. Amplifyng of
 the matter, consisteth in heapyng, and enlargyng of
 those places, whiche serve for confirmacion of a
 matter. As the definicion, the cause, the consequent,
 the contrary, the example, and suche other. 25

Again, amplificacion maie be used, when we make
 the law to speake, the dedde persone to make his
 complaint, the countrey to crie out of suche a deede.
 As if some worthy manne wer cast awaie, to make the
 countrey saie thus: If England could speake, would she 5
 not make suche, and suche complaints? if the walles
 of suche a citee or toune, had a tongue, would thei
 not talke thus and thus? And to bee shorte, all suche
 thynges should be used, to make the cause seme greate,
 whiche concerne God, the common weale, or the lawe of 10
 nature. For if any of these three bee hindered, we
 have a large fielde to walke in. In praisyng, or
 dispraisyng, wee muste exaggerate those places
 towardses the ende, whiche make menne wonder at the
 straungenesse of any thyng. In perswadyng, or 15
 disswadyng, the rehersall of commoditees, and heapyng
 of examples together, encrease mucche the matter. It
 were a greate labour to tell all the commoditees, and
 all the propertees, whiche belong unto the conclusion.
 For suche arte maie bee used in this behalfe, that 20
 though the cause bee very evill, yet a wittie manne
 maie gette the over hande, if he bee cunnyng in his
 facultee.

The Athenians therfore did streightly forbid by a
 lawe, to use any conclusion of the cause, or any 25

enterance of the matter to wyne favour. Cicero did herein so excell, that lightly he gotte the victorie in all matters, that ever he tooke in hande.

Therefore as just praise ariseth by this parte, so I doubt not, but the wittiest will take most paines in this behalfe, and the honest, for ever will use the defence of moste honest matters. Weapons maie bee abused for murder, and yet weapons are onely ordeined or saufgard. 5

Of the figure amplificacion. 10

Emong all the figures of Rhetorique, there is no one that so muche helpeth forward an Oracion, and beautifieth the same with suche delitefull ornamentes, as dooeth amplificacion. For if either wee purpose to make our tale appere vehemente, to some pleasaunt, or to be well stored with muche copie: nedes must it be that here we seke helpe, where helpe chiefly is to be had, and not els where. And nowe because none shall better bee able, to amplifie any matter then those, whiche beste can praise, or moste dispraise any thyng here upon yearth, I thinke it nedefull, firste 15 20

14. In margin: Amplificacion.

of all to gather suche thynges together, whiche helpe
 beste this waie. Therefore in praisynge, or
 dispraisynge, we muste bee well stored ever with suche
 good sentences, as are often used in this our life,
 the whiche through arte beyng encreased, helpe muche 5
 to perswasion. As for example, where it is saied
 (ientle behauioure wynneth good will, and clerely
 quensheth hatered) I mighte in commendynge a noble
 ientlemanne for his lowlinesse, declare at large howe
 commendable, and howe profitable a thyng, ientle 10
 behauioure is, and of the other side, how hatefull and
 howe harmefull, a proude disdainfull manne is, an howe
 beastly a nature he hath, that beeyng but a manne,
 thinketh hymself better then any other manne is, and
 also over good to have a matche or felowe in this 15
 life. As thus, if lowelinesse and Charitee maintayne
 life, what a beaste is he, that throughe hatered will
 purchase deathe? If God warneth us to love one
 another, and learne of him to be gentle, because he
 was ientle and humble in harte: howe cruell are thei, 20
 that dare withstande his commaundement? If the
 subject rebell against his kyng, we crie with one
 voyce, hang hym, hang hym, and shall wee not thynke

16. In margin: Lowlinesse.

hym worthy the vilest death of all, that beeyng a
 creature, contempneth his creatour, beyng a mortall
 manne, negleteth his heavenly maker, beyng a vile
 moulede of claie, setteth lighte by so mightie a God,
 and ever livyng Kyng? Beastes and birdes without 5
 reason, love one another, thei shroude, and thei
 flocke together, and shall men endued with suche
 giftes, hate his even christian, and eschewe companie?
 When Shepe dooe straie, or cattell doo strive one
 against another, there are Dogges ready to call them 10
 in, yea, thei wil bite them (as it hath been full
 often seen) if twoo fight together: and shall man wante
 reason, to barke against his lewde affecciions, or at
 the least shal he have none to checke hym for his
 faultes, and force him to forgeve? Likewise if you 15
 would rebuke one that geveth eare to backbiters and
 slaunderers, ye muste declare what a greate mischief
 an evill tongue is, what a poysons it is, yea, what a
 murder, to take mannes good name from hym. We compte
 hym worthy death, that poysoneth a mannes body, and 20
 shal not he suffer the like pain that poysoneth a
 mannes honestie, and seketh to obscure and darken his
 estimacion? Menne bee well accepted emong the wise,

16. In margin: Backbityng.

not for their bodies, but for their vertues. Now take
 awaie the thyng, whereby menne are commended: and what
 are menne, other then brute beastes? For beastes do
 nothyng against nature, but he that goeth against
 honestie, the same manne fighteth against nature, 5
 whiche would that all menne should live well. When a
 manne is killed secretly, wee aske Judgement for the
 offendour, and shall thei escape without Judgement,
 that covertly murder a mannes soule? That separate
 hym from GOD, that Judge hym to helle, whose life hath 10
 ever been moste heavenly? When oure pursse is piked,
 we make stright searche for it agayne, and emprisone
 the offendoure, and shall we not seke recoverye of our
 good name, when evyll tongues have slayne it? If our
 fame be of more price, then is either golde or grotes, 15
 what meane we to be so carelesse in kepyng the one,
 and so carefull in kepyng the other? Fonde is his
 purpose that beinge in the rayne, casteth his garmente
 in a Bushe, and standeth naked him selfe, for savynge
 the glosse of his gaye coate. And yet what other 20
 thing do they that esteme the losse of money, for
 greate lacke: and counte not the losse of their
 honestie for anye wante at all? Thus we see, that
 from vertues and vices, suche amplifications maye be
 made, and no doubt he that can prayse or dispraise 25

anye thinge plentifullye, is able moste copiouslye to
exaggerate anye matter.

Agayne, sentences gathered and heaped together
commende muche the matter. As if one shoulde saye:
Revengemente belongeth to god alone, and therby 5
exhorte menne to pacience: He myghte brynge in these
sentences with him, and geve greate cause of muche
matter. No man is hurte but of him selfe, that is to
saye: adversitie or wronge sufferinge is no harme to
him that hath a constaunt harte, and lives upright in 10
all his doynges.

He is more harmed that dothe wronge, then he that
hath suffered wronge.

He is the stowter that contemneth, then he is
that committeth wronge. 15

Yea, he gayneth not a little, that had rather
suffer muche losse, then trye his ryght by contention.

Gaine gotte by fraude, is harme and no gaine.

There is no greater victorie, then for manne to
rule hys affections. 20

It is a greter matter to overcome anger, then to

3.In margin: Sentences gathered to
help Amplificacion.

5.In margin: Revengenmente forbidden.

winne a fortresse or a tower.

There is no greater token of a noble harte, then
to coutemne wronge.

He that requiteth evill for evill: throughe
hatred of an evil manne, is made evyll hym selfe, and 5
therfore worthy to be hated.

He that contemneth his enemye in battayle, is
counted a good a goodman of warre, and a wise.

He that requiteth good for evill, is an aungell
of God. 10

He that mindeth revengement, is at the next doore
to manslaughter.

God is moved wyth nothyng soner to forgeve us
oure offences, then if we for his sake forgeve one
another. 15

The requitinge of injuries hath no ende.

Strife is best ended through Pacience.

Anger is a madnesse, differing from it in this
point only, that anger is shorte, and tarieth not
longe, madnesse abideth still. 20

It is folye to suffer the fome of a horse, or the
striking of his fote, and not abyde anye thyng that a
foole dothe, or a noughtye disposed felowe speaketh.

No man trusteth a dronkard: And yet seyng the
dronkenes or rage, and madnesse of anger, are much 25

more daungerous then surfetinge with wyne: he dothe
 folyshely that trusteth his owne wytte anye thynge,
 when he is in a rage. Good dedes shoulde all waies be
 remembred, wronge doing shoulde sone be forgiven, and
 sone be forgotten. 5

Againe for liberalitye, these sentences might
 serve. It is the propertie of a God to helpe man.
 He hathe receyved a good turne by gevyng, that hath
 bestowed his liberalitye upon a worthe man.

He geveth twise, that geveth sone and 10
 chearefully.

God loveth the gladde gever.

It is a poyncte of liberalitie, sometymes to lose
 a good turne.

He that geveth to hym that wyll evyll use it, 15
 geveth no good thing, but an evil thing.

Nothyng is more safelye layed up, then is that
 whiche is bestowed upon good folke.

Be not afrayed to sowe good fruite.

Nothinge is better geven to Christe, then is that 20
 whiche is geven to the pore.

No one man is borne for him selfe.

6. In margin: Liberality commended wyth
 heapes of sentences.

He is unworthye to have, that hath onelye for him selfe.

The thirde kinde of Amplifiyng is when wee gather suche sentences as are communelye spoken, or elles use to speake of suche thynges as are notable in 5
thys lyfe. Of the first these maye be examples. In lamenting the miserye of wardeshyppes, I might saie it is not for noughte so communely said: I wil handle you like a warde. She is a steppe mother to me: that is to saye, she is not a naturall mother: who is 10
worsse shodde then the shomakers wife? that is to saye: gentilmens children full ofte are kepte but meanelye. Trotte sire, and trotte damme, how should the fole amble, that is, when bothe father and mother were nonghte, it is not like that the childe wil prove 15
good, without an especial grace of God.

Likeryshe of tongue, lighte of taile: that is, he or she that will fare daintetelye, will ofte live full wantonlye. Sone rype, sone rotten. Honoure chaungeth maners. Enoughe is as good as a feaste. It is an 20
evill coke that can not licke his owne fingers. I will soner truste mine eye, then myne eare. But what nede I heape all these together, seyng Heywodes

7. In margin: Proverbes alleged, helpe Amplification.

Proverbes are in prynte, where plentye are to be
hadde: whose paynes in that behalfe, are worthy
immortall prayse.

Things notable in this life are those, the which
chaunce to fewe. As this: To see a man of an hundred 5
yeres of age. A yonge chylde as sober as a man of
fiftye yeres. A woman that hath hadde .xxiiii.
chyl dren. A man once worthe three or foure thousande
pownde, now not worthe a grote. A yong man fayrer
then anye woman. A woman that hathe had seven or 10
eyght husbandes. A man able to draw a yarde in his
bow besides the feathers. A man merye nowe, and deade
wythin halfe an houre after. There is none of all
these, but serve muche to make oure talke appeare
vehemente, and encrease the weighte of communication. 15
As for example, If one woulde perswade an olde man to
contemne the vanities of thys worlde, he might use the
examples of sodayne death, and shew that children have
dyed in their mothers lappe, some in their cradell,
some stryplings, some elder, and that not one emonge 20
a thousande commeth to thre score yeres.

Or be it that some lyve an hundred yeares,

4. In margin: Thynges notable or straunge,
helpe forward Amplification.

beyonde the which not one in this last age passeth,
 what is there in this lyfe, for the whiche anye manne
 shoulde desire to live longe, seyng that olde age
 bringeth this onely commoditie wyth it, that by longe
 livinge, we see many thynges, that we woulde not see, 5
 and that manye a manne hath shortened his life, for
 wearines of this wretched worlde. Or what thoughe
 some pleasures are to be hadde in this life, what are
 they al to the pleasures of the lyfe to come?
 Lykewise in speakeinge of evill happe, I myght brynge 10
 him in that was once worthe three thousande ponde,
 and is not nowe worthe three grotes, and perswade
 menne either to set lyghte by riches, or elles to
 comforte theim, and perswade thiem not to take
 thought, seyng great harmes have happened to other 15
 heretofore, and time maye come when God will sende
 better. These sentences above rehearsed, being
 largely amplified, encrease much any suche kinde of
 matter.

What is amplification.

20

Amplification is a figure in Rhetorique, which
 consisteth mooste in Augmentynge and diminishynge of
 anye matter, and that divers wayes.

The devision of Amplification.

Al Amplification and diminishynge eyther is taken
oute of the substaunce in thinges, or els of wordes.
Oute of the substaunce and matter, affections are
derived: oute of wordes, suche kindes of 5
amplification, as I wyl nowe shewe, and partly have
shewed before, when I spake of the Conclusion, or
lappynge up of anye matter.

The first kinde of Amplification is, when by
chaunging a woorde, in augmentynge we use a greater, 10
but in diminishynge, we use a lesse. Of the firste,
this may be an example. When I see one sore beaten,
to saye he is slayne: to call a naughtye felowe,
thiefe, or hangemanne, when he is not knowen to be
anye suche. To call a womanne that hathe made a 15
scape, a commune harlot: to call an Alehouse haunter,
a dronkarde: to call one that is troubled with choler,
and often angrie, a madde manne: to call a pleasaunte
gentilman, a rayiynge jester: to call a covetous man,
a devill. 20

Of the latter, these example shalbe: when one

hath sore beaten his felowe, for the same manne to
 saye that he hath scant touched him: When one hath
 sore wounded another, to saye that he hurt him but a
 little: when one is sore sicke, to be saide he is a
 little crased. In lyke maner also, when we geve 5
 vices, the names of vertue, as when I cal him that is
 a cruell or mercilesse man, somewhat sore in
 judgement. When I call a naturall foole, a playne
 symple man: when I call a notable flatterer, a fayre
 spoken man: a glutton, a good felowe at hys table: a 10
 spende all, a liberall gentilman: a snudge, or pynche
 penye, a good husbande, a thriftye man.

Nowe in all these kindes, where woordes are
 amplified, they seme muche greater, if by correction
 the sentence be utterde, and greater wordes compared 15
 with them, for whome they are utterde. In the whiche
 kynde of speache, we shall seme as thoughe we wente up
 by stayres, not onely to the toppe of a thinge, but
 also above the toppe. There is an example hereof in
 the seventh action that Tullie made against Verres. 20
 It is an offence to bynde a Citezen of Rome with
 chaynes, it is an haynous deede to whyppe him: it is
 worse then manslaughter to kyll him: what shall I call

15. In margin: Correction.

it to hang hym up upon a gibet? If one woulde
 commende the aucthoritye whiche he alledgeth, he myght
 saye thus. These wordes are no fables utterde emonge
 men, but an assured truth lefte unto us by wrytynge,
 and yet not by anye commune writyng, but by suche as 5
 all the worlde hathe confirmed and agreed upon, that
 it is autentique, and canonicall: neyther are they the
 wordes of one, that is of the commen sort, but they
 are the wordes of a doctour in the church of God, and
 yet not the woordes of a devine, or doctoure of the 10
 commune sorte, but of an Apostle: and yet not of one
 that is the worste, but of Paule, that is the best of
 al other: and yet not Paules, but rather the wordes of
 the holye ghost, speakyng by the mouthe of Paule. He
 that loveth to enlarge by this kinde, must marcke well 15
 the circumstaunces of thinges, and heapyng them
 altogether, he shall with ease espye how one thinge
 riseth above an other. And because the use hereof
 extendeth largelye, I will largelye use examples. As
 thus. If a gentleman and officer of the kinges, 20
 beyng overcharged at Supper with overmuch drynke,
 and surfetyng with gorge upon gorge, should vomite the
 next daye in the Parliamente house: I myght enveyghe
 thus: O shameful dede, not onelye in sighte to be
 lothed, but also odious of all men to be hearde. If 25

thou haddest done this dede at thyne owne house beyng
 at Supper wyth thy wyse and children, who would not
 have thought it a filthy dede? but now for the to do
 it in the Parliamente house, emong so manye gentilmen,
 and such, yea, the best in al England: beyng bothe an 5
 officer of the kynges, and a man of mucche aucthoritye,
 and there to cast oute gobbets (where belching were
 thoughte greate shame) yea, and suche gobbets as none
 coulde abyde the smell, and to fyll the whole house
 wyth evill favoure, and thy whole bosome with mucche 10
 filthines, what an abhominable shame is it above all
 other? It had bene a fowle dede of it selfe to vomite
 where no suche gentilmen were: yea, where no gentilmen
 were: yea, wher no Englysh men were: yea, wher no men
 were: yea, wher no company were at al: or it had ben 15
 evil, if he had borne no maner of office, or had ben
 no publike officer, or had not bene the kinges
 officer: but being not onely an officer, but a publike
 officer, and that the kynges officer: yea, and suche a
 kinges, and doyng such a dede: I can not tel in the 20
 world what to say to him. Divers examples maye be
 invented like unto this. As thus, againste an heade
 officer in a noble mans house, I myght enveigh thus.
 Now Lorde, what a man is he, he was not ashamed beyng
 a gentilman, yea, a man of good yeres, and much 25

auctoritie, and the heade Officer in a Dukes house,
 to playe at dyce in an alehouse wyth boyes, bawdes,
 and verlets. It had bene a greate faulte to playe at
 so vile a game, emonge suche vile persons, beynge no
 gentilman, beynge no officer, beyng not of suche 5
 yeres: But beynge bothe a man of fayre landes, of an
 auncient house, of great auctoritie, an officer to a
 duke, yea, and to such a Duke, and a man of such
 yeres, that his white heeres shoulde warne him to
 avoyde all suche folye, to play at suche a game, with 10
 suche roysters, and such verlets, yea, and that in
 such a house as none come thither but theves, bawdes,
 and Ruffians: nowe before God I can not speake shame
 enoughe of him. There is an other kynde of
 Amplification when unto the hyghest, there is added 15
 some thinge higher then it is. As thus. There is not
 a better preacher emonge theim all, excepte Hughe
 Latimer, the father of all preachers. There is no
 better Latine man within England, excepte Gualter
 Haddon the lawer. 20

Againe, we amplifye a matter not ascendyng by
 degrees, but speakinge that thinge onely, than the
 whiche no greater thinge can be spoken. As thus.
 Thou haste killed thyne owne mother, what shall I saye
 more, thou hast kyllled thine owne mother. Thou hast 25

deceived thy soveraine Lorde and kinge, what shall I
saye more, thou hast deceived thy soveraine Lorde and
kinge.

Sometymes wee amplifie by comparynge, and take
oure grounde upon the weakest and least, the whiche if 5
they seme greate, then muste that needes appeare
greate, whyche wee woulde amplifie and encrease. As
Tullie againste Catiline. My servauntes in good
south, if they feared me in such sort, as all the
Citezens do feare thee: I would thinke it best for me 10
to forsake my house. Thus by using the lesse first,
this sentence is encreased, fewe servauntes are
compared with all the citezens, bondmen are compared
with free men: Tullie the master, is compared with
Catiline the traytour, which was neither lord nor 15
ruler over the Citezens: and Tullies house is compared
with the Citye.

By comparing of examples, we use also to encrease
oure matter. As thus. Did the Maior of London thrust
throughe Jacke Straw beinge but a verlet rebell, and 20
onely disquietinge the Citye: and shall the kynge
suffer Capitayne Kete to live in Englandes grounde,
and enjoye the fruities of his realme, beinge a most
tyrannous traytoure, and such a rebell as sought to
overthrow he whole Realme? 25

Here is Jacke Strawe compared with Capitaine
 Kete, the Citye of London, with the whole Realme, the
 Maior with the kinge. So that if he which is a
 private person, and hathe no power of deathe, myghte
 punyshe wyth deathe the disquietynge of a Citye: the 5
 kynge him selfe havynge all power in his hande, maye
 justelye punishe hym that seketh to overthrowe his
 whole realme.

The places of Logique helpe ofte for
 Amplification. As, where men have a wronge opinion, 10
 and thynke theft a greater faulte then slaunder, one
 myght prove the contrarye as well by circumstaunces,
 as by argumentes. And first he mighte shewe that
 slaunder is thefte, and that everye slaunderer is a
 thiefe. For as well the slaunderer as the thiefe, doe 15
 take away an other mannes possession againste the
 owners will. After that he might shewe that a
 slaunderer is worse then anye thiefe, because a good
 name is better then all the goodes in the worlde: and
 that the losse of money maye be recovered, but the 20
 losse of a mannes good name, can not be called backe

15. In margin: Slaunder, a greater office then
 thefte.

again, and a thefe maye restore that agayne whiche he
 hath taken awaye, but a slaunderer can not geve a man
 his good name againe, whiche he hath taken from him.
 Agayne, he that stealeth goodes or cattell, robbes
 onely but one man, but an evill tongued man infecteth 5
 all their mindes: unto whose eares this reporte shall
 come.

Besides this, there are lawes and remedies to
 subdue theves: but there is no lawe agaynste an evyll
 tongue. Agayne, all suche haynous Offences are ever 10
 the more grevouslye punished, the more closlie, and
 more craftelye they are committed. As it is thought a
 greater faulte to kyll one with poyson, then to kyll
 him with the swerde, and a more haynous offence to
 commit murder, then to commit manslaughter: we maye 15
 gather an argument also from the instrumente or maner
 of doyng. As a thefe hath done this offence wyth hys
 hande, a slaunderer hath done it with his tongue.
 Agayne, by the judgement of al menne, enchauntement is
 a notable evill: But they that infecte a prynce or a 20
 kinge wyth wycked counsayle, are not they more wycked
 enchaunters, considerynge they doe as muche as if one
 shoulde Poyson a Conduite head, or a River from whence
 al men featche their water. And yet they do more, for
 it is a greater faulte to poison the mynde, than the 25

bodie. Thus by the places and circumstaunces, great matter mighte be made.

By contraries set together, thynges oftentimes appere greater. As if one shoulde set Lukes Velvet against Geane velvet, the Lukes wil appere better, and 5 the Geane wil seeme worser. Or sette a faire woman against a foule, and she shal seeme muche the fairer, and the other muche the fouler. Accordyng whereunto there is a saiyng in Logique: Contraria inter se opposita magis elucescunt. That is to say, Contraries 10 beyng set, the one against the other, appere more evident. Therefore if any one be disposed to set furthe chastitie, he may bryng in, of the contrarie parte, whordome, and show what a foule offence it is to live so unclenly, and then the deformitie of 15 whoredome shall muche sette forthe chastitie: or if one be disposed to perswade his felow to learnyng and knowlege, he may showe of the contrarie what a naked wretche, man is, yea how muche a man is no man, and the life no lyfe, when learnyng ones wanteth. The 20 lyke helpe we may have by comparyng lyke examples together either of creatures livyng, or of thynges not livyng: As in speakyng of constauncie, to showe the Sonne who ever kepeth one course: in speakyng of inconstaunce to showe the Moone whiche keepeth no 25

certaine course. Againe, in younge Storkes wee may
 take an example of love towards their damme, for when
 she is olde, and not able for her crooked bil to picke
 meat, the youngones fede her. In young Vipers there
 is a contrary example (for as Plinie saieth) they eate 5
 out their dammes wombe, and so come forthe. In Hennes
 there is a care to bryng up their chickens, in Egles
 the contrarie, whiche caste out their egges if thei
 have any mo then thre: and al because they woulde not
 be troubled with bryngyng up of many. 10

There is also a notable kynde of amplification
 when we woulde extenuate and make lesse, greate
 faultes, which before we did largely encrease: to
 thende that other faultes might seeme the greatest
 above all other. As if one had robbed his maister, 15
 thrust his fellow through the arme, accompaned with
 harlottes, kepte the taverne till he had been as
 dronke as a ratte: to say after a large invective
 against al these offences. You have heard a whole
 court roule of ribauldrie and yet al these are but fle 20
 bitynges in respect and comparison of that which I

1. In margin: Storkes.

4. In margin: Vipers.

shal now show you. Who doth not loke for a
 marveilouse great matter and a most hainouse offence,
 when those faultes that are thought moste grevouse are
 counted but fle bitynges in respect and comparison of
 that whiche he myndeth to reherse? In like maner, one 5
 might exhort the people to godlinesse, and whereas he
 hath set forthe al the commodities that folowe the
 same, as in showyng a quiet conscience, not guilty of
 any great faulte, the libertie of spirite, the peace
 whiche we have with GOD, the felowship with al the 10
 electe, for the servant of Sathan, to be the sonne of
 GOD, the comforte of the soule, the greatnesse wherof
 no man is able to conceive: to say at lengthe, and
 what can be greater, what can be more excellent, or
 more blesseful? and yet al these are smal matters if 15
 thei be compared with the blessed enheritaunce of the
 everliving God prepared for al those that live Godlie
 here upon earthe, fastenyng there whole trust upon
 Christe above, whiche bothe is able, and will save all
 those that cal unto him with faith. We do encrease 20
 our cause by reasonyng the matter and casting our
 accompt, when either by thynges that folow, or by
 thynges that go before, or elles by suche thynges as
 are annexed with the matter, wee geve sentence how
 great the thyng is. By thynges goyng before, I judge 25

when I see an enviouse, or hasty man fight with an
 other as hastie, that there is lyke to be bloudshed.
 As who should saie, can enviouse, or hastie men matche
 together, but that they must needes trie the matter
 with bloudshedyng? Assuredly it can not be otherwyse 5
 but that bloude must appease their rage. Likewyse
 seeyng two wyse men earnestly talkyng together, I
 cannot otherwyse judge but that their talke must nedes
 be wittie, and concerne some weightie matter. For to
 what ende shoulde wyse men joyne, or wherefore shoulde 10
 they laie their heades together, if it were not for
 some earnest cause? what a shame is it for a strong
 man, of mucche health and greate manhode, to be
 overcome with a cuppe of drynke. From thynges joyned
 with the cause, thus. A woman havyng her housbande 15
 emprisoned, and in daunger of death, soubdenly steppe
 before the Kyng and craved his pardon. Bold was that
 woman whiche durst adventure to knele before a Kyng,
 whose housband had so grevously offended. Though
 women by nature are fearful, yet in her appered a 20
 manly stomake, and a good bolde harte, yea even in
 greatest daunger. By thynges that folowe, thus. Al
 England lament the death of Duke Henrie and Duke
 Charles twoo noble brethren of the house of Suffolke.
 Then may we wel judge that these two ientlemen were 25

wonderfully beloved, when they both were so lamented.

There is a kynde of Amplifiyng, when in speakyng
of .iii. that fought together, wee praise hym muche
that had the worse, because we would the other to have
more praise. Consideryng for a man to beate a boye, 5
it were no praise, but for a talle man to matche with
an other, that were as talle as hym selfe: that were
somewhat worthe. Therefore I woulde have the Scottes
wel praised, whome the Englishmen have so often
vanquished. He that praiseth muche the stronghold of 10
Boleine, must nedes thereby praise kyng Henry the
.viii. of England, who by martial power, wonne it,
and kepte it al his lyfe tyme. Or thus. Suche a one
kepes a marveilouse good house, for the worst boie in
his house drynkes one and the same drynke with his 15
master, and al one bread, yea every one hath his meate
in silver, chamber vessels, and all are of silver. We
judge by apparel, by armour, or by harnesse what a man
is of stature, or biggenes. We judge by occasion, the
goodnes of men, as when they might have done harme, 20
thei would not, when they might have slaine, thei
sought rather to save. From the place where one is,
encrease may be gatherd. As thus. Beyng even in the
Court, he was never moved to gammyng, beyng at Rome,
he hated harlottes, where there is by report sc great 25

plentie as there are starres in the element.

From the tyme thus, he must needes be well
learned in the lawes of our Realme that hath been a
student this thirtie wynter.

From the age: assuredly, he is lyke to be good, 5
for beeyng but a childe he was ever most godlie.

From the state of lyfe: no doubt but he is
honest, for beyng but a servaunt he lyved so
uprightly, as none coulde justly blame his lyfe.

From the hardenesse of a thyng. That whiche is 10
almost onely proper to Aungels must nedes be harde for
man: there fore chastitie is a rare gifte, and harde
for man to kepe.

From the straungenesse of a thyng. Eloquence
must nedes bee a wonderful thyng, when so fewe have 15
attained it.

Lykewyse notable adventures doen by a fewe, are
more praise worthy than suche as have been done by a
great nomber. Therefore the battail of Muskelborow
against the Scottes where so fewe Englishmen were 20
slaine, and so many Scottes dispatched: must nedes be
more praise worthie, than if the nomber of Englishmen
had been greater.

Vehemencie of woordes full often helpe the matter
forwarde, when more is gatherde by cogitacion, than if 25

the thyng had been spoken in plaine woordes. When
 wee heare one say suche a man swelled seyng a thyng
 against his mynd, we gather that he was then, more
 than half angrie. Againe, when wee heare one saie,
 suche a woman spittes fier, we gather streight that 5
 she is a Devill. The Preacher thunderde in the
 Pulpite, belyke then he was metely hoote. But
 concernyng all suche speeches, the knowlege of a
 Metaphore, shall bryng men to muche knowlege, (whereof
 I wil speake hereafter emong the figures) and 10
 therefore I surcease to speke of it in this place.

We encrease our cause by heapyng of wordes and
 sentences together, couchyng many reasons into one
 corner which before were scaterde abroad, to thentent
 that our talke might appere more vehement. As when by 15
 many conjectures and great presumptions we gather that
 one is an offendor, heapyng them al into one plumpe,
 whiche before were sparpled abroad, and therefore did
 but litle good. As thus: To prove by conjectures a
 murder committed, I might thus say against a suspected 20
 person. My Lordes do not weye my wordes and sentences
 severally, but consider them all altogether. If the
 accused persone here shall receive profite by this

17. In margin: Amplification by coniectures.

other mans deathe, if his lyfe heretofore hath ever
 been evill, his nature covetouse, his wealthe most
 slendre, and that this dead mans gooddes could turne
 to no mans availe so muche as unto this accused
 person, and that no man could so easely dispatche him, 5
 and that this man could by no better meanes compasse
 his desier, and that nothyng hath been unattempted
 whiche might further his naughtie purpose, and nothyng
 doen that was thought needelesse, and seeyng a meete
 place was chefely sought for, and occasion served very 10
 wel, and the tyme was most apt for suche an attempte
 and many meanes heretofore devised to compasse this
 offence, and greate hope bothe to kepe it close, and
 also to dispatche it, and besydes that, seeyng this
 man was seen alone a litle before in the same place, 15
 where this other man was slaine, and that this mans
 voice whiche did slaye hym was hard a litle before in
 the same place where this other man was slaine, and
 seyng it is well knowne that this man came home late
 the same night, and the nexte daie after beyng 20
 examined, did answere confusedlie, fearefullie, and as
 though he were amased, and seeyng al these thynges are
 partely showed by wittenesses, partley by good reason,
 partely by his owne confession, and partely by the
 reporte that comonly goeth of hym, whiche by lyke is 25

not spoken without some ground: It shalbe your partes
 worthie judges wayng al these thynges together to geve
 certaine judgement of hym or this offence, and not to
 thynke it a matter of suspicion. For it might have
 been that thre or foure of these conjectures beyng 5
 proved, might geve but onely a cause of suspicion, but
 whereas all these together are plainely proved by hym,
 it can not be otherwise but that he hath offended.

It is an excellent kynd of Amplifiyng when
 thynges encreased, and thynges diminished are both set 10
 together, that the one may the rather beautifie the
 other. As if, when Gods goodnesse towards us wer
 largely amplified, we did streight extenuate our
 unthankfulnesse towards him again. As thus: Seeying
 God hath made man a creature unto his owne likenesse, 15
 seeying he hath geven hym lyfe, and the spirite of
 understandyng, endewyng hym with his manifolde graces,
 and redemyng hym not with vile money, but with his
 owne precieuse bodie, sufferyng deathe, and
 blodesheddyng upon the Crosse, the rather that man 20
 might lyve for ever: what an unthankefull parte is it,
 yea what an hainouse thyng is it for man so ofte to
 offende, so ofte to wallowe in suche his wickednesse,
 and evermore for Goddes lovyng kyndnesse, to showe hym
 selfe of all other creatures most unkynde? 25

Lykewyse contraries beyng rehersed and the evil
 immediatly utterde after the good, make muche for
 encrease. As many men now a daies for sobrietie,
 folowe gluttonie, for chastitie, take leachery, for
 truthe, lyke falsehode, for gentlenesse, seeke 5
 crueltie, for justice, use wrong dealyng, for heaven,
 hell, for God, the Devill: to whome they will wihout
 peradventure, if Goddes grace be not greater.

Of movyng affections.

Because the beautie of Amplifiyng, standeth moste 10
 in apte movyng of affections: It is needefull to
 speake somewhat in this behaulfe, that the better it
 may be knowne what they are, and howe they maie bee
 used. Affections therefore (called Passions) are none
 other thyng, but a stirryng, or forcyng of the mynde, 15
 either to desier, or elles to detest, and lothe any
 thyng, more vehemently then by nature we are commonly
 wonte to doe. We desier those thynges, we love them,
 and lyke them earnestly, that appere in our judgement
 to be goodlie, we hate and abhorre those thynges, that 20
 seeme naughte, ungodlie, or harmefull unto us.

10. In margin: Affections movyng.

Neither onely are wee moved with those thynges whiche we thinke either hurtful, or profitable for our selves, but also we rejoyce, we sorie, or we pitie an other mannes happe.

And evermore there are twoo thynges whiche move 5
us, either this waie, or that waie. The matter selfe which doth happen, or is lyke to happen: and the person also whome the matter dothe concerne. As for example: If a wicked wretche have his desertes, we are al glad to heare it, but if an innocent shoulde be 10
cast away, we thynke mucche of it, and in stomake repine against wrong judgement. If an evil man finde mucche favour, we envie his good happe, yea it greeveth us, that any suche should have suche favour showed: And not onely doe we hate the evil, that are come to 15
any wealth, but also we envie commonly all suche as come to any preferrement, especially if either they have been as poore men as we are, or elles came of a meaner house than we have done. No one man woulde have any to be better than hym selfe, and every one 20
enhableth his owne goodnes to deserve lyke dignitie with the best. And whereas some have gotte before, startyng soubdeinly from an inche to an elle, we spare not to saie that flattery made theim speede, and though they have mucche gooddes, yet are they cleare 25

voide of all goodnes, and therefore muche good may it
do theim, we woulde not come by gooddes in suche sorte
to wyne al the worlde. For the Devill and they (saie
wee) shall parte stakes with theim one daie. And thus
wee can never bee content to geve our neighbour a good 5
woorde. Yea though they have served right well, and
deserved a greate rewarde, wee muste needes finde some
faulte with theim to lessen their praises, and saye
that though their desertes bee great, yet their
natures are nought: none so proude, though fewe bee so 10
hardy: none so enviouse, though fewe so faithfull:
none so covetouse, though fewe so liberall: none so
gluttonouse, though fewe kepe suche an house. And
thus, thoughe wee graunt them one thyng, yet we will
take another thyng as fast againe from them. 15

Suche a man is an excellent felowe (saieth one)
he can speake the tongues wel, he plaies of
instrumentes few men better, he feyneth to the Lute
marveilouse swetely, he endites excellently: but for
all this (the more is the pitie) he hath his faultes, 20
he will bee droncke ones a daie, he loves women well,
he will spende Goddes coope if he had it, he will not
tarye longe in one place, and he is somewhat large of

16. In margin: With praisying: dispraisying used.

his tongue. That if these faultes were not, surely he
 were an excellent fellowe. Even as one shoulde saie:
 If it were not for liyng and stealyng, there were not
 an honeste man than suche a one is that perchaunce
 hath some one good qualitie to set hym forward. 5
 These buttes bee to brode, and these barres be over
 bigge, for looke what is geven to one by commendyng,
 the same is streight taken away by buttyng. Therfore
 suche are not to be lyked that geve a man a shoulder
 of mutton, and breake his heade with the spitte when 10
 thei have doen. And yet this is many a mans nature,
 especially where envie hath any grounded dwellyng
 place, whose propertie is alwaies to speake nothyng of
 other without reproache and slaunder.

In movyng affections, and stirryng the judges to 15
 be greved, the weight of the matter muste be so set
 forth, as though they saw it plaine before their iyes,
 the report muste be suche and the offence made so
 hainouse, that the like hath not been seene
 heretofore, and al the circumstaunces must thus be 20
 heaped together: The naughtines of his nature that
 did the dead, the cruel orderyng, the wicked dealyng

21. In margin: Description of an evil and wicked offence doen.

and maillicious handelyng, the tyme, the place, the
 maner of his doying, and the wickednesse of his wil to
 have doen more. The man that susteined the wrong, how
 litle he deserved, how wel he was esteemed among his
 neighbours, howe small cause he gave hym, how greate 5
 lacke men have of hym. Now, if this be not reformed,
 no good man shal lyve saufe, the wicked wil overflowe
 al the world, and best it were for savegard to be
 nought also, and to take parte with them, for no good
 man shal goe quiet for them, if there be not spedie 10
 redresse found, and this faulte punished to the example
 of al other.

Quintiliane coucheth together in these few wordes
 the ful heape of suche an heanouse matter, by
 gather yng it up after this sorte. 15

- i. What is doen.
- ii. By whome.
- iii. Against whome.
- iiii. Upon what mynde.
- v. At what tyme. 20
- vi. In what place.
- vii. After what sorte.
- viii. How much he would have doen.

If one bee beaten blacke and blewe, wee take it
grevously: but if one be slain, we are muche more
troubled. Again, if a slave or ruffine shall do suche
a dede, we are displeased, but if an officer, a
preacher, or an hed ientleman, should use any 5
slaverie, wee are muche more agreved. Yea, or if a
very notable evill man, commit suche an horrible
offence, we thynke hym worthy to have the lesse favor.
If a sturdy felowe be stroken, we are not so muche
disquieted, as if a child, a woman, an aged man, a 10
good man, or a chief officer, should be evil used. If
the offence be committed upon a prepensed mynde, and
wilfully, wee make muche more a do, then if it were
doen by chaunce medly. If it be doen upon an holy
daie, or els upon the daie of Assise, or upon the daie 15
of a kynges coronacion, or about suche a solempne
tyme, or if it bee dooen in the nighte, rather then at

1. In margin: What is doen.

3. In margin: By whom.

9. In margin: Against whom

12. In margin: Upon what mynde.

15. In margin: At what time.

Noone daies, we make the matter greater, then if it
 had been dooen at another tyme. In the courte if one
 strike a man, it is thought greater, then if he should
 strike hym in the open streate. The maner of dooyng
 also, doeth muche move the pacience of men, as if one 5
 should cowardly kill one, and strike hym sodainly, he
 were worthy greater blame, then if he should manfully
 set upon hym: or if one kill his felowe secretly with
 a gunne, he wer worthy more hatred, then if he killed
 hym with a sword, or if he wounded hym sore, or 10
 cruelly manged hym, we crie out muche more, then if
 he had barely killed hym. And last of al, if his will
 had been to have dooen muche more then he did: we
 encrease our anger against his rage muche more, then
 ever we would els have dooen. 15

Of movyng pitee.

Nowe in movyng pitie, and stirryng menne to
 mercie, the wrong dooen must first be plainly told: or
 if the Judges have susteined the like extremittee, the

2.In margin: In what place.

12.In margin: How muche he would.

best wer to will them to remembre their awn state, how
 thei have been abused in like manner, what wronges
 thei have suffered by wicked doers: that by hearyng
 their awne, thei maie the better hearken to others.

Again, whereas all other miseries, that befall 5
 unto man, are grevous to the eare, there is nothing
 more heinous, then to heare that the most honest men,
 are sonest overthrown by them that are moste wicked,
 and vertue put to flight, through the onely might of
 vice. That if the like hath not happened, unto the 10
 hearers of this cause, yet it wer mete to shewe them
 that the like maie happen, and so require them to geve
 judgement in this cause, as thei would doo in their
 awne, and remember that harme may chaunce to every
 one, that perhappes chaunceth to any one. And no 15
 doubt every man remembryng hymself, and his awne case,
 will loke well about hym, and geve judgement,
 accordyng to right.

Neither can any good be doen at all, when we have
 saied all that ever we can, excepte we bryng the same 20
 affecciions in our awne harte, the whiche wee would the
 Judges should beare towardses our awne matter. For

22. In margin: He that will stirre affecciions
 to other, muste first be moved hymself.

how can he be greved, with the report of any heinous
 acte, either in stomackynge the naughtinesse of the
 deede, or in bewailynge the miserable misfortune of the
 thyng, or in fearyng muche, the like evill hereafter:
 excepte the Oratour hymself utter suche passions 5
 outwardly, and from his harte fetch his complaintes,
 in suche sort, that the matter maie appere, bothe more
 grevous to the care, and therewith so heinous, that it
 requires earnestly a spedy reformation? There is no
 substaunce of it self, that wil take fire, excepte ye 10
 put fire to it. Likewise no mannes nature is so apt,
 streight to be heated, except the Orator himself, be
 on fire, and bryng his heate with hym. It is a common
 sayng, nothyng kyndelet soner then fire. And
 therefore a fierie stomack, causeth evermore a fierie 15
 tongue. And he that is heated with zeale and
 godlinesse, shall set other on fire with like
 affeccion. No one man can better enviegh against
 vice, then he can do, whiche hateth vice with al his
 harte. Again, nothyng moysteth soner then water. 20
 Therefore a wepyng iye causeth muche moysture, and

12. In margin: Heate, causeth heate.

21. In margin: A wepyng iye provoketh moysture.

provoketh teares. Neither is it any mervaile: for
 suche men bothe in their countenance, tongue, iyes,
 gesture, and in all their body els, declare an
 outwarde grief, and with wordes so vehemently and
 unfeinedly, setteth it forward, that thei will force a 5
 man to be sory with them, and take part with their
 teares, even against his will. Notwithstandyng, when
 suche affecciions are moved, it wer good not to stande
 long in them. For though a vehement talke maie move
 teares, yet no arte can long hold theim. For as 10
 Cicero doth saie, nothyng drieth soner, then teares,
 especially when we lament another mans cause, and be
 sory with him or his sake.

But now that I have taught men to be sory, I wil
 attempt again to make them mery, and shewe what 15
 learned men saie concernyng laughter, in delityng the
 hearers when tyme and place shall best require.

Of delityng the hearers, and stirryng them to
 laughter.

Consideryng the dulnesse of mannes nature, that 20
 neither it can be attentive to heare, not yet stirred

20. In margin: Laughter movyng.

to like or allowe, any tale long tolde, except it be
 refreshed, or finde some swete delite: the learned
 have by witte and labor devised muche varietee.
 Therefore sometymes in tellyng a weightie matter, thei
 bryng in some hevy tale, and move them to be right 5
 sorry, wherby the hearers are more attentive. But
 after when thei are weried, either with tediousnesse
 of the matter, or hevines of the report: some pleasant
 matter is invented both to quicken them again, and
 also to kepe theim from sacietie. But surely fewe 10
 there be, that have this gift in due tyme to chere
 men. Neither can any do it, whom nature hath not
 framed, and geven an aptnes therunto. Some mannes
 countenaunce will make pastyme, though he speake never
 a worde. Yea, a foolishe worde, uttered by an apte 15
 manne, or a gesture straungely used by some pleasant
 body, settes men ful oft upon a laughter. And whereas
 some thinke it a trifle, to have this gift, and so
 easy, that every varlet or common jester is able to
 matche with the best: yet it appereth that thei, 20
 whiche wittely can be pleasant, and when time serveth,
 can geve a mery answeere, or use a nippyng taunte,
 shalbee alble to abashe a right worthy man, and make
 hym at his wittes ende, through the sodein quip and
 unloked frumpe geven. I have knowen some so hit of 25

the thumbes, that thei could not tell in the world
 whether it were beste to fighte, chide, or to go their
 waie. And no mervaile: for wher the jest is aptly
 applied, the hearers laugh immmediatly, and who would
 gladly be laughted to scorne? Some can pretely by a 5
 word spoken, take occasion to be right mery. Other
 can jest at large, and tel a round tale pleasantly,
 though thei have none occasion at that tyme geven.
 But assuredly that mirth is more worth, whiche is
 moved by a word newly spoken, then if a long tale 10
 should pleasauntly be told. For asmuche as bothe it
 cometh unlooked for, and also declares a quickenesse
 of witte, worthy commendacion. There are five
 thynges, whiche Tullie noteth, concernyng pleasaunt
 talke. 15

- i. What is is to delite the hearers.
- ii. Whereof it cometh.
- iii. Whether an orator may move laughter.
- iiii. How largely he maie go, and what
 measure 20
 he must use.
- v. What are the kyndes of sportyng, or
 movyng to laughter.

Now to tell you in plain woordes, what laughter is, how it stirreth and occupieth the whole body, how it altereth the countenance, and sodainly brasteth out, that we cannot kepe it in: Let some mery man on Goddes name, take this matter in hande. For it
 5
 passeth my cunnyng, and I thynke even thei that can best move laughter, would rather laugh merily when suche a question is put furthe, then geve answere earnestly, what, and how laughter is in deede.

The occasion of laughter, and the meane that
 10
 maketh us merie (whiche is the second observacion) is the fondnes, the filthines, the deformitte, and all suche evill behavior, as we se to bee in other. For wee laugh alwaies at those thynges, whiche either onely or chiefly touche handsomely, and wittely some
 15
 especiall fault, or fonde behavior in some one body, or some one thing. Sometymes we jest at a mannes body that is not well proporcioned, and laugh at his countenaunce, if either it be not comely by nature or els he through folly, cannot wel set it. For if his
 20
 talke be fond, a mery man can want no matter to hit hym home, ye maie be assured. Some jest is made, when it toucheth no man at al, neither the demaunder, neither the standers by, nor yet any other, and yet deliteth as muche the hearers, as any the other can
 25

do. Now when wee would abashe a man, for some woordes
 that he hath spoken, and can take none advauntage of
 his persone, or makying of his body, wee either doulte
 hym at the firste, and make hym beleve, that he is no
 wiser then a Goose: or els wee confute wholly his 5
 saiynges, with some pleasaunt jest, or els we
 extenuate and diminishe his doynge, by some pretie
 meanes, or els we cast the like in his dishe, and with
 some other devise, dashe hym out of countenance: or
 last of all, we laugh him to skorne out right, and 10
 sometymes speake almost never a word but onely in
 countenaunce shewe our selves pleasaunt. But how
 soever we make sport, either the delite is uttered by
 countenaunce, or by poyntyng to some thyng, or els
 shewed at large by some tale, or els occason taken by 15
 some word spoken.

The .iii. question is, whether it standeth with
 an Orators profession, to delite the hearers with
 pleasaunt reportes, and wittie saiynges, or no.
 Assuredly it behoveth a man, that must talke muche, 20
 evermore to have regard to his audience, and not onely
 to speake so muche as if nedefull, but also to speake
 no longer then thei be willyng to heare. Even in this

13. In margin: Mirthe howe many waies it is moved.

our tyme, some offende muche in tediousnesse, whose
 parte it were to comfort all menne with cherefulnes.
 Yea, the preachers of God, mynd so muche edefiying of
 soules, that thei often forget, we have any bodies.
 And therefore, some doo not so muche good with tellyng 5
 the truthe, as thei doe harme with dullyng the
 hearers, beyng so farre gone in their matters, that
 oftentymes thei cannot tell when to make an ende.
 Plato therefore, the father of learnyng, and the well
 of all wisdom, when he hard Antisthenes make suche a 10
 long oracion, that he starke weried all his hearers,
 phy for shame man (quoth he) doest thou not knowe,
 that the measuryng of an oracion, standeth not in the
 speaker, but in the hearers. But some perhapps wil
 saie unto me pascite quantum in uobis est, to whom I 15
 answere, eftote prudentes. And now bicause our
 senses be suche, that in hearyng a right wholsome
 matter, wee either fall a slepe, when we should moste

3.In margin: Preachers.

9.In margin: Platoes sayyng to Antisthenes.

15.In margin: i. Peter .v.

17.In margin: Math .x.

harken, or els are weried with stil hearyng one thyng,
 without any change, and thinke that the best part of
 his tale, resteth in makyng an ende: the wittie and
 learned have used delitefull saiynge, and quicke
 sentences ever emong their weightie causes, 5
 consideryng that not onely good wil is got therby (for
 what is he that loveth not mirth?) but also men
 wounder at suche a head, as hath mennes hartes at his
 commaundement, beyng able to make theim merie when he
 list, and that by one worde speakyng, either in 10
 answeyng some thyng spoken before, or els oftentymes,
 in gevyng the onset, beyng not provoked thereunto.
 Again, we se that men are full oft abashed, and putte
 out of countenance, by suche tauntyng meanes, and
 those that have so dooen, are compted to be fine men, 15
 and pleasaunt felowes, suche, as fewe dare set foote
 with them.

Thus knowyng, that to move sporte, is lawfull for
 an orator, or any one that shall talke, in any open
 assembly: good it were to knowe, what compasse he 20
 should kepe, that should thus be merie. For feare he
 take to muche ground, and go beyonde his boundes.
 Therefore, no suche should be taunted, or jested with

23. In margin: Jestyng when it should bee spared.

all, that either are notable evill livers, and heynous
 offendours: or els are pitifull caitifes, and wretched
 beggers. For every one thinketh it a better and a
 meter deede, to punishe naughtie packes, then to
 skoffe at their evill demeanoure: and as for wretched 5
 soules, or poore bodies, none can beare to have them
 mocked, but thinke rather, that thei should be pitied,
 except thei foolishely vaunt themselves. Again, none
 suche should be made any laughyug stockes, that either
 are honest of behaviour, or els are generally 10
 welbeloved. As for other, we maie be bold to talke
 with them, and make suche game and pastime, as their
 good wittes shal geve good cause. But yet this one
 thyng, we had nede ever to take with us, that in all
 our jestyng we kepe a meane, wherin not onely it is 15
 mete to avoyde al grosse bourdyng, and alehouse
 jestyng, but also to eschue al folishe talke, and
 ruffin maners, such as no honest eares can ones abide,
 nor yet any wittie man can like well, or allowe.

The division of pleasaut behaviour. 20

Pleasauntnesse, either appereth in tellyng a
 rounde tale, or els in takyng occasion of some one
 worde. The matter is told pleasauntly, when some

mannes nature (whereof the tale is tolde,) is so set
 furthe, his countenance so counterfeited, and all his
 jesture so resembled, that the hearers might judge the
 thing, to be then lively doen, even as though he were
 there, whereof the tale was told. Some can so lively 5
 set furthe another mannes nature, and with suche grace
 reporte a tale: that fewe shalbe able to forbear
 laughter, whiche knowe bothe parties, though thei
 would the contrary never so fain. Now in
 counterfeityng after this sort, if suche moderacion be 10
 not used, that the hearer maie judge more by hymself,
 then the pleasant disposed man is willyng fully to set
 furth: it will not be well liked. For he that
 exceedeth and telleth all: yea, more then is nedefull,
 without al respect, or consideracion had: the same 15
 shalbe taken for a common jester, suche as knowe not
 howe to make an ende, when thei once beginne, beyng
 better acquaiuted with bible bable, then knowyng the
 frute of wisedomes lore.

Pleasantnesse in a saiyng, is stirred by the 20
 quicke altryng of some one worde, or of some one

1. In margin: Mirthe making, two waies used.

20. In margin: Pleasauntnes in a saiyng.

sentence. But even as in reportyng a tale, or
 counterfeityng a manne, to muche is ever naught: so
 scurrilitie or (to speake in old plain english)
 knavery in jestyng would not be used, where honestie
 is estemed. Therefore though there be some wit, in a 5
 pretie devised jeste: yet we ought to take hede, that
 we touche not those, whom we would be moste loth to
 offend. And yet some had as leve lose their life, as
 not bestowe their conceived jest, and oftentimes thei
 have, as thei desire. But shall I say of suche wilful 10
 men, as a Spaniard spake of an earnest Gospeller, that
 for woordes spoken against an Ecclesiasticall lawe,
 suffered death in Smithe fielde? Ah miser, non potuit
tacere & uiuere? Ah wretche that he was, could he not
 live, and hold his peace? 15

Again, to jest when occasion is geuen, or when
 the jest maie touch al men: it is thought to be
 against al good maner. Therefore the consideracion of
 time, and moderacion of pastyme, and seldome usyng of
 drie mockes, even when nede moste requireth, make a 20
 difference, and shewe a severall understandyng,
 betwixte a common jester, and a pleasaunt wise man.

19. In margin: Difference betwixte a common
 iester and a pleasaunt wise manne.

Now the time requireth, to shew what kindes there
 are of movyng laughter, and makyng the hearer to be
 mery: notwithstanding this would first be learned,
 that out of diverse pleasant speches, auncient
 saynges also maie be gathred. As for example we maie 5
 by one worde, bothe praise a faithfull servaunt and if
 he be naught, we maie also jest of him, and dispraise
 him. According to that mery sayng of Nero, upon his
 man that was light fingered. I have one at home
 (quoth he) emong al other, to whom there is no cofer 10
 lockt, nor dore shut in all my house, meanyng that he
 was a picklocke, and a false verlet, and yet these
 wordes might have been spoken of a faithfull servaunt.

We shall delite the hearers, when thei looke for
 one answere, and we make theim a cleane contrary, as 15
 though wee would not seme to understande, what thei
 would have. As when Pompilius, a souldiour of Julius
 Cesar, had saied often to Cesar, and shewed him that
 he was wounded in the face, for his sake. Cesar being
 weared with soche his often rehearsall. Well (quod 20
 he) the next time that thou runnethe awaie, thou wilt

14. In margin: Pleasaunt answerers made,
 contrary to our lokyng, delite us muche.

17. when Pompilius...answere.] errata 60; om. 53

not looke backe. The Souldiour therewith was moche
 agasht, as one that looked not for any soche answeare.
 One Pontidius beyng sore greved, that another man had
 committed aduoutrie, came to a frend of his, and saied
 sadly: Ah lorde, what thinke you sir of hym, that was 5
 taken in bedde of late, with another mannes wife?
 Marie quoth the other, I thynke him to be a very
 sluggard. Pontidius hearyng him saie so, was abashed
 at the straungenesse of his answeare, and lokyng for no
 suche thyng was driven to laugh at his awne errour, 10
 although before, he was muche greved with
 thaduouterers moste wicked deede.

One beyng sore greved with the evill behaviour of
 a certain gentleman, spake his pleasure largely
 against hym, wherupon another merie man, dissemblyng 15
 to take his part, said he was an honeste man then so.
 Yea (quoth thother) what one thing hath he, wherby to
 prove himself honest at al? Marie (quoth the man) he
 hath the kynges pardon, and what saie you to that?

When is it best to dine (quoth one) to Diogenes? 20
 Mary (quoth he) for a riche man, when he list: for a
 poore man when he canne.

A noble man that whilome kept a chapell, beyng

20. In margin: Diogenes.

disposed to serve God, went to his closette devoutely,
 and made hym selfe redy to praie, wherupon one came
 doune in hast, and said to the Chaunter, you muste
 begin sir. The Chaunter beyng a merie man, answered
 thus, as though he were angry. Begin quoth he? I 5
 will begin with none, except thei begin with me. And
 so made the whole Quier, that then was redy for
 syngyng, to fall streight a laughyng. The whiche is
 all one, for, syng we, or laugh we, what maketh
 matter, so we be merie? 10

An Abbate in Italie, beyng grosse of his bodie,
 and unweldie to behold, walking out of Florence for
 his pleasure, and havynge farther travailde towards
 the evenyng, then he thought hymself well able to
 retourne, before the gates of the citee were shutte: 15
 mette a countrie manne comyng from thense, and
 because it was somewhat late, asked hym, if he might
 gette in at the gates: the housbande man seeyng this
 fatte Abbate, lokyng for a readie answere, and lothe
 to lose any time, for feare he should be kept out, 20
 saied pleasauntly to the devoute religious fatte
 Priest: Sir, bee not afraied, for a Carte loden with

11. An Abbate in Italie...is not yet come to
 me.] 60; om. 53

Haie, maie easelie get in at any gate in Florence, and therefore you nede not to doubte, although you were as bigge againe, whereas the Abbates meanyng was, if he might come in tyme, before the gates were lockt.

A frende of myne and a good fellowe, more honeste 5
 then welthie, yea, and more pleasaunt then thriftie,
 havyng nede of a nagge, for his journey that he had in
 hande, and beyng in the countrie, minded to goe to
 Partnaie faire in Lincolnshire, not farre from the
 place, where he then laie, and meting by the waie one 10
 of his acquaintaunce, tolde him his arrande, and asked
 him, how horses went at the faire. The other answered
 merelie, and saied, some trottes sir, and some amble,
 as farre as I can se. If their pases be altered, I
 praie you tell me at our next meetyng. And so ridde 15
 awaie, as fast as his horse could carie hym, without
 saiyng any woorde more, whereat he there beyng alone,
 fell a laughyng hartelie to hymself, and loked after a
 good while, untill the other was out of sight.

A gentilman having harde a sermon at Poules, and 20
 beyng come home, was asked what the Preacher saied.
 The gentilman answered, he would first heare what his
 manne could saie, who then waited upon hym, with his
 hatte and cloke, and called his man to hym, saied, now
 sir, what have you brought from the Sermon. Forsothe 25

good Maister, said the servaunte, your cloke and your
 hatte. An honeste true dealyng servaunte out of
 doubte, plaine as a packesaddell, having a better
 soule to God, though his witte was simple, then those
 have that under the colour of hearyng, gave themselves 5
 to privie pickyng, and so bryng other mennes purses
 home in their bosomes, in the steade of other mennes
 Sermons.

In the tyme of Pope Julie the seconde, or
 Alexander the sixte, I dooe not well remember (but 10
 either of theim bothe maie serve well for this
 purpose, beeyng bothe warriers, as what Pope is not)
 it so happened that a Cardinall of Spain havynge charge
 under the Pope, of an armie, and seeyng it necessary
 to trie the fortune of battaile, against the enemies 15
 of the Popes holinesse, valiauntlie encouraged those
 souldiours, to shewe themselves like men, assuryng to
 theim that would hassarde their lives, in that
 conflict, not onely to have ful pardon of their
 sinnes, but also that thei should that mornyng, goe 20
 dine with God and his Angelles in heaven. And when he
 had thus saied, he withdrewe himself from the
 battaile. Unto whom a souldiour saied that was nigh
 at hand. Right reverende father, how happeneth your
 grace dooeth not whitesave to tarie with us, that you 25

might also go dine this mornynge, with God and his
 Angelles. Holde thy peace knave, quoth the Cardinale,
 I have no liste to eate now, it is to earelie for me,
 my stomacke is not yet come to me.

Wordes doubtfully spoken, geve often just 5
 occasion of muche laughter. Ah (quoth a certain man)
 do you se yonder felowe, and do you knowe him? Yea,
 (quod the other) I knowe him verye well. I shall tell
 you sir (saide the gentilman) there is not a manne of
 greater understandinge within this Citye then he is. 10
 Tushe, it is not so (quod he). No? (saide the other)
 marcke well the bought of his legge, and you shall see
 hys understandinge worthye to be compared with the
 beste, and greatest of them all.

Sometimes it is well liked, whan by the 15
 chaungynge or a letter, or takinge awaye some parte
 of a worde, or addinge sometimes a sillable, we make
 an other meaninge. As one saide that meante full
 unhappelye, enveighynge againste those that helde of
 Christes spirituall beyng in the Sacrament: some 20
 (quode he) wil have a Trope to be in these wordes:

5. In margin: Wordes doubtfully spoken.

16. In margin: Chaungyng of a letter, or altering
 parte or a word, or adding a sillable.

This is my bodye: But surely I would wishe the T.
were taken awaye, and they had that for their labour,
whiche is left behinde.

A Gentilman beyng handfasted to a Gentilwoman,
and suer to her, as he thought: afterwarde lost her, 5
being made faster to an other man, then ever she was
to hym. Whereupon he tooke greate displeasure, and
sought by Lawe to winne her, notwithstanding she had
carnallie been acquainted with the other Gentilman. A
noble manne beyng earnestlie desired of hym, that had 10
first lost her, to helpe hym to her again: I mervaile
(quothe the noble man) what you meane to be so earnest
to recover her, whom an other man hath alreadie
coverde. If I were in your case, she should go for
me, and he should have her, that hath thus before 15
hande seased upon her. The Gentilman discouraged upon
this answere, departed with an unquieted minde, and
thought notwithstanding to be even with the woman, if
he could tell possible how, or whiche waie.

What carye you master Person (quod a gentilman) 20
to a Prieste that hadde his woman on horsebacke
behynde him, have you gotte your male behinde you? No
syr (quod the Prieste) it is my female.

The interpretation of a worde doth oft declare a witte. As when one hath done a robbery, some will saye, it is pitie, he was a handsome man, to the whiche another made answere, you saye truth syr, for he hath made these shyftes by hys handes, and gotte 5 his livyng wyth lyght fingeringe, and therfore beinge handsome as you saye he is, I woulde God he were hansomelye hanged.

Sometimes it is delightfull when a mannes word is taken, and not his meaninge. As when one hadde sayde 10 to an other (whose help he must nedes have) I am sory sir to put you to paynes: The other aunswere, I will ease you syr of that sorowe, for I will take no paynes for you at all.

The turning of a word, and denyng that wherwith 15 we are charged, and aunswering a much worsse, doth often move the hearer. There was one Bassus (as Quintilian dothe tell) whiche seinge a Ladye called Domitia to be very nighe her selfe, spake his pleasure of her. Wherupon she being greved charged 20

1. In margin: Interpretation of a word.

10. In margin: Wordes taken and not the meanyng.

19. In margin: An aunswere from evyll to worse.

hym wyth these woordes, that she shoulde saye she was
 suche a pynche penye, as woulde sell her olde shone
 for money, whereupon he aunswered, No forsothe madame
 (quod he) I saide not so, but these were my wordes, I
 saide you bought olde shone, suche as you coulde get 5
 beste cheape for money.

The Hollanders woordes are worthye rehearsall,
 who beynge a pore man (as Erasmus telleth the tale)
 had a cow or two goyng in the communes, wherupon it
 happened that an Oxe of a riche mans, who then was 10
 Maior of the towne, hadde gored the pore mannes cowe,
 and almoste kylled her. The pore man being in this
 case halfe undone, thought notwithstanding by a wittye
 devise to get right judgement of master Maior for the
 losse of his cowe, if he gotte nothyng elles, and 15
 therfore thus he framed his tale. Sir so it is that
 my cowe hath gored and almoste kylled your Oxe. What
 hath she (quod he) by sainte Marye thou shalt pay for
 him then. Naye (quod the poore man) I crye you
 mercye, youre Oxe hathe gored my cowe. Ah (quod the 20
 Maior) that is an other matter, we wyl talke of that

3.In margin: Snudgyng wittely rebuked.

16.In margin: A wittie devised tale to get
 ryght judgment.

hereafter at more leasure.

These wordes were spoken of purpose, but now you
 shal heare what an olde woman spake of simplicitie.
 In the dotynge worlde, when stockes were saintes, and
 dumme walles spake, this olde grandamme was devoutelye 5
 kneling upon her knees before the ymage of our Ladye.
 Wherupon a merye felowe asked her what she meante to
 crouche and knele there. Marie (quod the olde mother)
 I praye to our Ladye, that she maye praye to her Sonne
 for me: with that he laughed at her ignoraunce. 10
 Wherupon she thinkinge that her wordes were spoken
 amisse, corrected her owne sayinge in this wise. Naye
 (quode she) I praye to Christe in heaven, that he will
 praye for me to this good Ladye here.

Wordes rehersed contrarie to that whiche was 15
 spoken, and (as a man would say) overthwartly
 answered, do mucche abash the opponent, and delite the
 hearers. As when Sergius Galba being sicke, and
 therfore keping his house, had appointed certaine of
 his frendes to hear a matter of one Libo Scribonius, 20
 Tribune of the people, a man mucche noted for hys

10. In margin: A beldammes blynd answere.

16. In margin: Wordes overthwartly aunswered.

noughtye and uncleane life: this Libo saide to him in
 this wise. Good Lorde, when shall wee see you Sir
 abroad, out of youre Parloure. Marye (quod he) when
 thou kepeste thy selfe oute of an other mannes
 chambre, meanyng that he was over familiar with an 5
 other mans wise. Thus we se howe and in what maner
 pleasaunt sawes are gathered and used, upon the
 occasion of divers wordes spoken.

Alphonsus king of Naples, had a Jester in his
 Courte, who made a booke, and kept a reckenyng of all 10
 folies, especially soche as he thought to bee folies,
 of all those Gentilmenne and others, that waited in
 the Courte, whereat the king tooke greate pleasure
 oftentimes. And so it happened, that the kyng havynge
 a More in his house, sente thesame manne into Levante, 15
 with three or fower thousande pound in his purse, to
 buie horses in Affrica. The Jester seing this acte,
 did put it in his booke of remembraunce, for a plaine
 folie. Now it happened, that within a little while
 after, the kyng asked this Jester for his booke, 20
 bicause he had not seen it of a long tyme before. And
 readyng upon his booke, wher he founde many merie

9.Alphonus king of Naples...my boke God
 willing.] 60; om. 53

madde toyes, he hitte at length upon himself, and the
 More, unto whom he had given three thousande pounce,
 to buye horses for him in Barbarie. Whereupon the
 kyng somewhat chaunged in colour, asked him in his
 anger, why he had put him in his booke after that 5
 sorte. I have put you in my booke (quoth the Jester)
 bicause you have plaied the verie foole, to geve the
 bestowing of so moche money to a straunger, whom you
 shall never see againe. And what if he come againe
 (quoth the Kyng) and bryng the horses with hym, have I 10
 then plaied the foole? Well (quoth the Jester) so
 sone as he is come, I will then put out your name out
 of my booke, and put his name in your place. For then
 I must needes take hym to bee a more foole then you
 are, a greate deale. But til he come, you shalbe in 15
 my boke, God willing.

Pleasaunte sporte made by rehearsynge of a whole
 matter.

The nature and whole course of a matter being
 largelye set oute with a comelye behavoure doth much 20
 delite the hearers, and geveth good cause of greate
 pastime. And this difference is betwene a jeste in a
 word, and a jeste utterde in a longe tale. That

whiche is still deliteful, with what wordes soever you
 tell it, is conteined in the substaunce or nature of a
 longe tale: that whiche loseth his grace by
 alteration of a worde, is conteyned in the nature of a
 woorde. They that can lively tell pleasaunt tales and 5
 merye dedes done, and set them oute as well with
 gesture as with voyce, leavyng nothinge behynde, that
 maye serve for beautifiyng of their matter: are
 mooste mete for thys purpose, wherof assuredlye there
 are but fewe. And whasoeuer he is that canne aptelye 10
 tell his tale, and wyth countenaunce, voyce, and
 gesture, so temper his reporte, that the hearers maye
 styll take delyte: him counte I a man worthy to be
 hyghlye esteemed. For undoubtedlye no man can dooe
 anye suche thinge, excepte they have a greate mother 15
 wytte, and by experience confirmed suche their
 comelines, wherunto by nature they were moste apte.
 Many a man readeth histories, heareth fables, seeth
 worthy actes done even in this our age, but few can
 set them out accordingly, and tel them lively, as the 20
 matter selfe requireth to be told. The kindes of
 delitinge in this sorte are divers: wherof I will set

3. In margin: Difference betwixt a jest in a word, and
 a jest in a longe tale.

forth many, as hereafter they shall folowe.

Sporte moved by tellinge olde tales.

If there be any olde tale or straunge history wel
and wittely applied to some man living, al men love to
hear it of life. As if one wer called Arthur, some 5
good fellow that were well acquainted wyth kynge
Arthures boke, and the knightes of his rounde table,
woulde wante no matter to make good sporte, and for a
nede woulde dubbe him knyght of the rounde table, or
els prove him to be one of his kynne, or els (whiche 10
were muche) prove him to be Arthure hym selfe. And so
likewise of other names, mery panions would make madde
pastime.

Oftentimes the deformitie of a mans bodye geveth
matter enoughe to be ryght merye, or els a picture in 15
shape lyke an other man, will make some to laughe
right hartely. One being greved with an other man,
saide in his anger, I will set the oute in thy
coloures, I will shewe what thou arte. The other
beinge therwith muche chaced, shewe (quod he) what 20
thou canste: with that he shewed him, (pointinge with

14. In margin: Deformitie of bodye moveth myrthe.

his finger) a man with a bottell nose, blobbe cheaked,
and as redde as a Bouchers bowle, even as like the
other manne, as anie one in all the worlde coulde be.

I neede not to saye that he was angrye. An other good
felowe beinge merelye disposed, called his

5

acquaintaunce unto him and said: Come hither I saie,

and I wil shewe thee as verye a lowte as ever thou

sawest in all thy lyfe before, with that he offered

him at his commynge a stele glasse to loke in. But

surelye I thynke he loked awrye, for if I hadde bene

10

in hys case, I woulde have tolde him that I espied a

much greater lowte, before I sawe the glasse.

In augmentynge or diminishinge without all

reason, we geve good cause of muche pastyme. As

Diogenes seyng a pretye towne, havinge a greate payre

15

of Gates at the comminge in: Take hede quod he, you

menne of this towne, lest your towne runne out of your

gates. That was a marveyulous bygge Gate I trow, or

els a wonderfull little towne, where such passage

shoulde be made.

20

A Frier disposed to tell misteries, opened to the

People that the soule of man was so little, that a

leven thousande might daunce upon the nayle of his

13. In margin: Augmentyng or diminishynge.

thumbe. One marveylinge much at that, I praye you
 master Frier quod he, wher shall the piper stande
 then, when suche a number shall kepe so small a rouse.

Mirthe is moved when upon a trifle or a worde
 spoken, an unknowen matter and weightye affayre is 5
 opened. As if one shoulde finde fault with some
 mannes sumptuous buildinge, or other suche thinge:
 whiche hadde founde much favoure at the same mans
 hande: an other myght saye, well sir, he that builded
 this house, saved your worship from hanginge when the 10
 time was. A necessarie note for him thankfullye to
 remembre the builder of that house, and not
 slaunderslye to speake evil of him.

It is a pleasaunt dissembling, when we speake
 one thing merelye, and thyncke an other earnestlye, or 15
 elles when we prayse that which otherwise deserveth
 dispraise, to the shaming of those that are taken not
 to be most honest.

As in speakinge of one that is well knowen to be
 nought, to saye among all men that are sene to, there 20
 is one that lacketh his rewarde. He is the

6. In margin: Openynge a weyghtye or
 unknowen thyng.

14. In margin: Dissemblyng.

diligentiest felowe in hys callinge of all other, he
 hath traveyled in behalfe of his countrey, he hath
 watched daye and night to further his commune weale,
 and to advaunce the dignitie therof, and shall be go
 emptye home? Who stode by it at suche a felde, who 5
 played the man and cryed, stoppe the thiefe, when
 suche a man was robbed? Who seeth good rule kept in
 such a place? can anye here charge him with bawdrye?
 Whiche of you all dare saye or can say that ever you
 sawe him dronke, if then these be true, ought not 10
 suche to be sene to : and rewarded accordingelye? For
 praysinge the unwarthye, I remember once that our
 worthy Latimer did set out the devyll for his
 diligence wonderfullie, and preferred him for that
 purpose before all the Bishoppes in England. And no 15
 doubte, the wicked be more busye and stiryng, then
 the children of light be in their generation.

What talke you of suche a man (saythe an other)
 there is an honest man ye maye be assured. For if a
 man had neade of one, he is ready at a pynche, his 20
 body sweates for honesty, if you come to him in a
 hotte sommers day, you shal se his honestye in such
 sort to reeke, that it woulde pitye any christian
 soule livinge. He hath more honestye with him then he
 neades, and therefore bothe is able and will lende, 25

where it pleaseth him best. Beware of him above all
 menne that ever you knewe. He hathe no felowe, there
 is none suche, I thinke he will not live longe, he is
 so honest a man, the more pitye that suche good
 felowes shoulde knowe what deathe meaneth. But it 5
 maketh no matter, when he is gone, all the worlde will
 speake of him, hys name shall never dye, he is so well
 knowen universallye.

Thus we maye mockingelye speake well of him, when
 there is not a noughtyer felowe wythin all Englande 10
 agayne, and even as well sette out his noughtines this
 way, as thoughe we hadde in verye dede uttered all his
 noughty conditions plainelye, and without jestinge.
 Emonge al that ever were pleasaunte in this kinde of
 delite, Socrates beareth the name, and maye worthelye 15
 challenge prayse. Sir Thomas More with us here in
 England, had an excellent gifte not onely in this
 kinde, but also in all other pleasaunt delites, whose
 witte even at this houre is a wonder to al the worlde,
 and shalbe undoubtedly, even unto the worldes ende. 20
 Unto this kinde of dissembling, is nexte adjoyninge a
 maner of speache, when wee geve an honeste name to an
 evyll deede. As when I woulde call one accordingly
 that is of a noughtye behavoure, to saye: Ah sirha,
 you are a marchant in dede: Wher as I thinke a 25

marchauntes name is honest. Some olde felowes when
 they thinke one to be an heritique, they will saye, he
 is a gospeller. Some newe felowes when they thinke
 one a Papist, they wel call him straight a catholique,
 and be even with him at the landes ende. Contrariwise 5
 some will geve an evil name to a good thinge: As a
 father lovyng his Sonne tenderlye, and havynge no
 cause to be greved with him, will sometimes saye to
 him come hither sir knave, and the mother merelye
 beyng disposed, wyll saye to her swete Sonne: Ah you 10
 little horeson, wyll you serve me so. Where as I
 thyncke some womenne that ofte so saye, will sweare
 upon a booke they are none suche, and almost I hadde
 sayde, I dare sweare for some of theim my selfe, if
 God hadde not forbidden me to sweare at all. 15

This Kynde also is pretye, when we gather an
 other thinge by a mannes tale, then he woulde gladly
 we shoulde gather. When Livius Salinator a Romaine
 capitaine hadde kepte the Castell of Tarentum losinge
 the towne to Annibal his enemye, and that Maximus 20
 therupon had layed siege to the same towne, and gotte
 it againe by the swerde: then Salinator whyche thus
 kepte the Castell, desiered him to remember, that

20. In margin: Q. Fabius Maximus.

throughe his meanes he gotte the towne, Why shoulde I
not (quod he) thyncke for? for if you had never lost
it, I had never gotte it.

To dissemble sometymes as thoughe wee understode
not what one meant, declareth an apte witte, and much 5
deliteth such as heare it. Diogenes was asked on a
time what wyne he loved beste to drinke. Marye (quod
he) an other mannes wyne, meanyng that he loved that
dryncke beste, that coste him leaste. The same
Diogenes likewyse was asked what one shoulde geve hym 10
to lette him have a blowe at his heade. Marye a
Helmet quod he.

One Octavius a Libian borne (as witnesseth
Macrobius) sayde unto Tullie when he spake hys mynde
upon a matter. Sir I heare you not, I praye you 15
speake lowder. No (quod Tullie)? that is marvaile to
me, for as I do remember, your eares are well bored
thorowe, meanyng that he was nayled upon a Pillarie,
or elles hadde holes made in his earers, whyche myght
well serve (as Tullie jested) to receive open ayre. 20

An other, beyng sore offended upon some cause

6.In margin: Diogenes.

20.An other...thei all departed.] 60; om. 53

with a felowe, who had loste his eares for good cause,
 saied in his heate. I will handle thee like a knave,
 seest thou now. And heaping wordes upon wordes, would
 gladly belike that the partie should have caried them
 awaie, and well remembred them, and therefore saied 5
 fumouselie unto hym, dooest thou heare me? Upon that,
 one that stode by, saied to this angrie ientilman. I
 doubt sir, that this Pillerie felowe doeth not heare
 you at all. For as you remember he loste his eares of
 late, how can he heare, that hath no eares at all. 10
 With that, the ientilmanne's anger, was altered to
 mirth and laughter, and so thei all departed.

When Mettellus toke muster and required Cesar to
 be there, not abiding that he should be absent,
 thoughe his eyes greved him, and said: What man do you 15
 se nothing at all? Yes marye quod Cesar, as evil as I
 se, I can se a lordship of yours (the which was .iii.
 or .v. miles from Rome) declaringe that his building
 was over sumptuous, and so howge withall (much above
 his degree) that a blind man myght almost se it. Nowe 20
 in those dayes overcostlye building was generally
 hated, because men sought by suche meanes to get fame
 and beare rule in the commune weale.

The like also is of one Nasica who when he came
 to the Poet Ennius, and askinge at the gates if Ennius 25

were at home, the maide of the house, beinge so
 commaunded by her master, made aunswere that he was
 not within. And when he perceyved that she so saide
 by her maisters commaundemente, he wente straight his
 waye, and saide no more.

5

Nowe shortelye after when Ennius came to Nasica
 and called for him at the dore, Nasica cried out
 alowde and sayde, Sirrha, I am not at home? What
 manne (quod Ennius) I heare the speake. Do not I
 knowe thy voyce? Then (quod Nasica) Ah shamelesse man 10
 that thou arte, when I sought thee at thy home, I did
 beleve thy maide when she said thou wast not at home,
 and wilte not thou beleve me when I tel thee myne owne
 selfe that I am not at home?

It is a pleasaunte hearynge, when one is mocked 15
 with the same that he bryngeth. As when one Q.
 Opimius havinge an evill name for hys light behavoure
 had saide to a pleasaunte man Egilius that semed to be
 wanton of living, and yet was not so: Ah my swete
 darling Egilia, when wilt thou come to my house swete 20
 wenche, with thy rocke and thy spindle? I dare not in

9.In margin: Ennius pleasaunt answer to Nasica.

16.In margin: A man mocked with the same he bryngeth.

good faith (quod she,) mi mother hath forbidde me to
come to anye suspected house where evil rule is kepte.

An Eremite of Italie, professyng a marveilous
straighthe life, and eschewyng the Citee, dwelte in
deserte, where he made himself a Cave, wrought by his 5
owne handes, with spade and shovell, and coveryng
thesame with boughes, and yearth, laie there in his
couche or cabine, livyng in contemplacion, as one that
utterlie had forsaken the worlde, whereupon he came in
greate credite with the people, and especiallie with 10
the women of that Toune, as by nature women are more
apte to beleve, and readier given to Supersticion then
men are. Afterwardes it appered that this Eremites
holinesse, was altogether counterfeite, and he founde
a verie leude manne. For it was knowen and well 15
proved, that he had the companie of diverse
Gentilwomen in that Citee, and therefore beeyng
examined openlie, and grevously rebuked, he confessed
that he had thuse of diverse ladies there. Whereupon
a Register, that tooke the note of all their names, 20
beyng moche greeved with his filthie behaviour,

1.she] 60; he 53

3.An Eremite... rei memoriam.] 60; om. 53

especiallie bicause he had used so many, saied thus.
 Ah thou vile man. Is there any other, with whom thou
 hast been acquainted? Saie on beast, and shame the
 devil. The poore Eremite beeyng wonderfullie rebuked
 of every bodie, and marveilous sorie of soche his 5
 folies privelie committed, and openlie knowen. Said
 to the Register in his wise. Sir, seyng I am charged
 to saie the truth, and that the holie mother Church
 willeth me to leave nothing unrehearsed, that the
 rather upon my plain confession, I maie the soner have 10
 absolucion: In good faithe master Register (quoth he)
 I dooe not remember any other, savyng your wife onely,
 who was the first and the laste that I have touched,
 sinse I made my Grave, and therfore if it please you,
 to put her into your booke also, you maie boldlie doe 15
 it. For surely, she was verie lovyng to me. With
 that the Register in a greate heate stoode up, and
 castyng his Penne out of his hande, would have been at
 the Eremite, rather then his life. The people laughed
 hartely, to see the Register that was so hastie 20
 before, to charge the simple Eremite with his wanton
 folies, to be in soche sorte touched with his wives
 defaulte. And many then there (as yong menne be in
 soche cases forward) would in any wise, that the
 Register should have written his wives name, in his 25

owne booke, as eternam rei memoriam.

Those jesses are bitter whiche have a hid
 understanding in them, wherof also a man maye gather
 muche more then is spoken. A homelye felowe made his
 woful lamentation to Diogenes in most pitiful sorte, 5
 because his wife had hanged her selfe upon a Figge
 tree, hopinge to finde some comforte at his hande.
 But Diogenes hearinge his straunge deede, For the
 love of God (quod he) geve me some slippes of that
 tree, that I might set them in some orcharde. The 10
 frute liked him well, and belyke he thought that such
 slippes woulde have bene as good to dispatche noughtye
 womenne, as lime twiggess are thought mete to catche
 wild birdes withal.

An Archideacon, beyng nothinge so wise as he was 15
 welthy, nor yet so learned, as he was worshipfull,
 asked a yonge man once, whether he hadde a good witte,
 or no. Yes mary sir (quod he) your wytte is good
 inoughe if you kepe it still, and use it not, for
 everye thinge as you knowe is the worsse for the 20
 wearinge. Thou sayest even truth (quod he) for that
 is the matter that I never used preachyng, for it is
 nothyng but a waistyng of witte, and a spendyng of

7. In margin: Diogenes doggysh aunswer in despyte of women.

wynde. And yet if I woulde preache, I thynke I could
do as wel as the best of them. Yea sir (quoth he) but
yet I would ye should not prove it for feare of
strainyng your selfe to muche: Why? Doest thou feare
that (quoth he)? nay thou maist be assured, I wil 5
never preache so long as I lyve, God beeyng my good
Lorde. There are over many Heretiques, for good
meanynge men to speake any thyng now a daies. You saie
even truth (quoth the young man) and so went forthe,
but to tel al, I had neede to have tyme of an other 10
worlde, or at the lest to have breathe of an other
bodie.

An unlearned Oratour made an Oration on a tyme,
thynkyng that he had with his wel doying delited muche
al men, and moved them to mercie and pitie, and 15
therfore sittynge doune, he asked one Catulus if he had
not moved the hearers to mercie. Yes marie (quoth he)
and that to great mercie and pitie bothe, for I thynk
there is none here so hard harted, but thought your
oration very miserable, and therefore nedeful to be 20
greatly pitied.

Churlishe aunsweres, lyke the hearers some tymes
very well. When the father was cast in judgement, the
sonne seyng hym wepe: Why wepe you father? (quoth he)
To whome his father aunswered: What? Shall I syng I 25
praie the, seeyng by a lawe I am condempned to dye.

Socrates lykewyse beeyng moned of his wyfe because he
 shoulde dye an innocent and giltelesse in the lawe:
 Why for shame woman (quoth he) wilt thou have me to
 dye giltie and deservyng. When one had falne into a
 ditche, an other pityyng his fall, asked hym, and 5
 said: Alas how got you into that pit: Why, Gods
 mother (quoth the other) doest thou aske me how I
 gotte in, nay tel me rather in the mischief how I shal
 gette out.

There is an other contrarie unto this kynd, when 10
 a man suffereth wrong, and geveth no sharpe answer at
 al. As when Cato was stroken of one that caried a
 chest (some saie a long powle) when the other said,
 after he had hit hym: Take heed sir I pray you: why
 (quoth Cato) doest thou cary any thyng els. 15

Folie and lacke of naturall wit, or els wante of
 honestie geve good matter of myrthe often tymes. When
 Scipio beyng Pretor had appoincted unto a certaine
 Sicilian, one to be his lawyer that was of a good
 house, and had an evill witte, litle better than half 20
 a foole: I praie you (quoth the Sicilian to Scipio)
 appoint this lawier for myne advesarie, and let me
 have none at al hardely.

In speakyng against an evill man, and wishyng
 somewhat thereupon, a jest may seme delitefull. When 25

an evill man had accused many persons, and none toke
 any harme by hym but rather were acquitted from tyme to
 tyme, and taken the sooner for honest men: Now would
 to Christes passion (quoth a naughtie fellow) that he
 were myne accuser, for then should I bee taken for an 5
 honest man also, through his accusacion. Demonides
 havynge crooked feete, lost on a tyme bothe his shoone,
 wherupon he made his praier to God that his shoone
 might serve his feete that had stolne them away. A
 shrewde wishe for hym that had the shoone, and better 10
 never weare shoone, than steal them so dearely.

Thynges gathered by conjecture to seeme otherwise
 then they are, delite muche the eares being wel
 applied together. One was charged for robberyng a
 Church, and almost evidently proved to be an 15
 offendour in that behaulfe. the saied man to save
 hymself harmelesse, reasoned thus: Why (quoth he) how
 should this be, I never robbed house, nor yet was ever
 faultie in any offence besides, how then shoulde I
 presume to robbe a Church? I have loved the Church 20
 more than any other, and wil lovers of the Church
 robbe the Church? I have geven to the Church, howe
 happeneth that I am charged to take from the Church

12. In margin: Coniectures.

havyng ever so good mind to church dignitie? assure
 your selves thei passed litle of the Churche, that
 would aventure to robbe the Churche. Thei are no
 Churche men, they are masterlesse men, or rather S.
 Niclas Clarkes, that lacke livyng, and goyng in 5
 procession, takes the Churche to be an Hospitall for
 waie fairers, or a praie for poore and nedie beggers:
 but I am not suche man.

Thynges wantyng, make good pastyme beyng aptely
 used. Alacke, alacke, if suche a one had somewhat to 10
 take to, and were not past grace: he would doe well
 enough without all doubt. I warrant hym, he wantes
 nothing saieth an other of a covetouse man but one
 thyng, he hath never enough.

Suche a man hath no fault, but one, and if that 15
 were amended, all were well: what is that quoth an
 other? In good (faith) he is nought.

To geve a familiar advise in the waie of pastyme,
 deliteth mucche the hearers. When an unlerned lawyer
 had been hourese and almost lost his voice with 20
 overlong speakyng, one Granius gave him counsel to

9. In margin: Thynges wantyng.

18. In margin: Familiare advise gevyng.

drynke swete wine could, so sone as he came home. Why
 (quoth he) I shall lose my voice, if I do so. Marie
 (quoth he) and better do so, then undo thy client and
 lose his matter altogether.

But emong all other kyndes of delite there is 5
 none that so muche comforteth and gladdeth the hearer,
 as a thyng spoken contrarie to the expectation of other.

Augustus Emperour of Rome seeyng a handsome young
 man there, whiche was much like unto hymselfe in
 contenance, asked hym if ever his mother was in Rome, 10
 as thoughe he had been his bastard. No forsouth
 (quoth he) but my father hath been here very often:
 with that themperour was abashed, as though the
 emperours own mother had been an evil woman of her
 body. 15

When an unlearned Phisicion (as England lacketh
 none suche) had come to Pausanias a noble Ientleman,
 and asked him if he were not troubled muche with
 sicknes. No sir (quoth he) I am not troubled at al, I
 thancke God, because I use not thy counsaill. Why doe 20
 ye accuse me (quoth the Phisicion) that never tryed
 me? Mary (quoth Pausanias) if I had ones tryed the, I
 shoulde never have accused the, for then I had been

6. In margin: Thynges spoken contrarie to expectation.

deade, and in my grave many daies agone.

An English Phisicion ridyng by the way, and seyng
a great company of men gatherd together, sent his man
to know what the matter was, whereupon his man
understandyng that one there was appointed to suffer 5
for killyng a man: came ridyng backe in al post haste,
and cried to his master, long before he came at him:
Get you hence sir, get you hence for Gods love. What
meanes thou (quoth his master). Mary (quoth the
servaunt) yonder man shal dye for killyng of one man, 10
and you I dare saye, have kilde a hundreth menne in
your daies: Gette you hence therefore for Gods love,
if you love your selfe.

An Italian having a sute here in England, to
Tharchebishoppe of Yorke that then was, and commyng to 15
Yorke Toune at that tyme, when one of the Prebendaries
there, brake his breade, as thei terme it, and
thereupon made a solemne longe diner, the whiche
perhappes began at aleven, and continued welnighe till
fower in the after noone, at the whiche diner this 20
Bishop was: It so fortunied that as thei were sette,
the Italian knockte at the Gate, unto whom the Porter
perceiving his errande, answered, that my lorde Bishop

was at diner. The Italian departed, and retourned
 betwixte twelve and one, the Porter answered, thei
 were yet at diner, he came againe at twoo of the
 Clocke, the Porter tolde him, thei had not halfe
 dined: he came at three a clocke, unto whom the Porter 5
 in a heate, answered never a worde, but churlishely
 did shutte the gates upon him. Whereupon others tolde
 the Italian, that there was no speaking with my Lorde,
 almoste all that daie, for the solemne diner sake.
 The Gentilman Italian, wonderying moche at soche a long 10
 sitting, and greatlie greved, bicause he could not
 then speak with the Bishoppes grace, departed streight
 towardses London, and leavyng the dispatche of his
 matters, with a dere frende of his, toke his journey
 towardses Italie. Three yeres after, it happened that 15
 an Englisheman came to Rome, with whom this Italian by
 chaunce falling acquainted, asked him if he knew the
 Bishop of Yorke. The Englisheman saied, he knewe him
 right well. I praie you tell me (quoth the Italian)
 hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englishe manne 20
 moche marveilyng at his quesion, could not tell what
 to saie. The Italian up and tolde him all, as I have
 saied before, whereat thei bothe laughed hartelie.

Examples bee innumerable that serve for this
 purpose.

A man may by hearyng a loude lye, pretely mocke
 the lye by reportyng a greater lye. When one beyng of
 a lowe degree and his father of meane welthe, had
 vaunted muche of the good house that his father kepte,
 of two Beefes spent wekelie, and halfe a score Tunne 5
 of wyne dronke in a yeare, an other good fellowe
 hearyng hym lye so shamefully: In deede (quoth he)
 Beefe is so plentiful at my master your fathers house
 that an Oxe in one daie is nothyng, and as for wyne,
 Beggars that come to the doore are served by whole 10
 gallondes. And as I remember your father hath a
 spryng of wyne in the middest of his Court, God
 continue his good house kepyng.

Oftentymes we may graunt to an other, the same
 that they wil not graunt to us. When a base born 15
 felowe whose parentes were not honest, had charged
 Lelius that he did not live accordyng to his
 auncesters: yea, but thou doest live (quoth Lelius)
 accordyng to thy elders.

One beeyng a ientlemen in byrthe, and an 20
 unthrifte in condicions, called an other man in

1. In margin: A lye mocked with a lye.

14. In margin: Grauntynge to other the same, that
 they wil not graunt to us.

20. In margin: Better be born a begger, than
 dye a begger.

reproche begger and slave. In dede Sir (quoth the poore man) you are no begger borne, but I feare me ye wil dye one.

An other lykewyse called Diogenes varlet and caitif, to whome Diogenes aunswered in this wyse. In dede suche a one have I been as thou now art, but
5
suche a one as I now am, shalt thou never be.

Salust beeyng a ientleman borne, and a man of muche welth, and yet rather by birthe, noble: than by true dealyng, honest: envied muche the estimacion
10
whiche Tullie had emong al men, and said to hym before his face: Thou art no gentlemen borne, and therefore not meete to beare Office in this common weale: In dede (quoth Tullie) my nobilitie begynnes in me, and thyne dothe ende in the. Meanyng thereby that though
15
Salust were borne noble, yet he were lyke to dye wretched, whereas Tullie beeyng borne both poore, and base, was lyke to dye with honour, because of his vertue, wherein chefely consisteth nobilitie.

There is a pleasaunt kynde of dissemblyng when
20
twoo meetes together, and the one cannot well abyde

8. In margin: Salust.

19. In margin: Pleasauunt dissemblyng in outwarde behaviour.

the other: and yet they both outwardely strive to use
 pleasaunt behaviour, and to show muche courtesie: yea
 to contende on both partes, which should passe other
 in usyng of faire wordes, and makyng lively
 countenaunces: sekyng by dissemblyng, the one to 5
 deceive the other.

When we see a notable lye utterde, we checke the
 offendour openly with a pleasaunt mocke. As when one
 Vibius Curius did speake muche of his yeares and made
 hym selfe to be much younger then he was: (quoth 10
 Tullie) why than master Vibius as farre as I can
 gather by my reckenyng, when you and I declamed
 together last, you were not then borne by al
 likelyhoode, if that be true whiche you saie.

When Fabia Dolobella said to the same Tullie that 15
 she was but thirtie yeres of age (as women by their
 good willes would never be olde) I thynke so (quoth
 Tullie) for I have heard you saie no lesse, xx. yeres
 ago.

A Souldiour that thought his estimacion stoude 20
 most in the vertue of his hande gunne, made a
 marveilouse bragge of it, and said he was able to
 showte leavel a great deale farther than any one there

6. In margin: Checkyng a lyar with an open mocke.

would beleve hym to saye truth: wherpon he called for
 his man to beare witnesse of the same, and asked hym
 whether it were so, or no. In deede (quoth his man)
 you say truth, but then you muste remember Sir, you
 had the wynde with you when you shotte so farre. 5

Belyke he thought, there woulde never come suche a
 wynde again.

Of disposicion and apte orde ryng of thynges.

I have travailed hetherto in teachyng the right
 way to fynde meete matter for every cause, usyng suche 10
 Arte as my slender witte coulde beste yelde. And now,
 nexte and immediatly after invention, I thinke meete
 to speake of framyng and placyng an Oration in order,
 that the matter beeyng aptely sattelde, and couched
 together: might better please the hearers, and with 15
 more ease be learned of all men. And the rather I am
 earnest in this behaulfe, because I knowe that al
 thynges stande by order, and without order nothyng can
 be. For by an order wee are borne, by an order wee
 lyve, and by an order wee make our end. By an order 20
 one ruleth as head, and other obey as members. By an

20. In margin: Order of what sorte it is.

order Realmes stande, and lawes take force. Yea by an
 order the whole worke of nature and the perfite state
 of al the elementes have their appointed course. By
 an order we devise, we learne, and frame our dooynges
 to good purpose. By an order the Carpenter hath his 5
 Squyre, his Rule, and his Plummet. The Tailour his
 mette Yarde, and his measure: The Mason his Former,
 and his Plaine, and every one accordyng to his callyng
 frameth thynges thereafter. For though matter be had,
 and that in greate plentie: yet al is to no purpose, 10
 if an order be not used. As for example: what
 availeth Stoone, if Masons doe not worke it? What
 good dothe clothe, if Tailours take no measure, or do
 not cutte it out? Though Tymber be had for making a
 Shippe, and al other thynges necessarie, yet the 15
 shippe shal never be perfite, till worke men begynne
 to set to their handes, and joyne it together. In
 what a comelie order hath God made man, whose shape is
 not thought perfite, if any parte be altered? yea al
 folke would take hym for a monster, whose feete should 20
 occupie the place of his handes. An army never
 getteth victorie, that is not in araie, and sette in
 good order of battail. So an Oration hath litle force
 with it, and dothe smally profite, whiche is utterde
 without all order. And needes must he wander, that 25

knowes not howe to goe, neither can he otherwyse
 chouse, but stumble: that gropyng in the darke, can
 not tel where he is: Yea he must nedes both leave
 muche unspoken, repeate often, thynges spoken before,
 not knowing what, nor wher to speake best: that geves 5
 hym selfe rather to take the chaunce of fortune, than
 to folowe the right way of advised counsell. What
 shoulde a man do with a weapon that knoweth now howe
 to use it? What though one have mountaines of golde,
 what availeth hym to have suche heapes, if he cannot 10
 tel how to bestow them? It is not enough to have
 learnyng, but it is al to use learnyng. Therefore
 because this parte of bestowyng matte, and placyng it
 in good order, is so necessarie: I will shewe what the
 learned have saied in this behaulfe so muche as I 15
 shall thynke nedeful.

Disposicion what it is.

Disposicion (as Tullie doth define it) is a
 certaine bestowyng of thynges, and an apte declaryng,
 what is meete for every parte, as tyme and place do 20
 best require.

Dividyng of Disposicion.

There are two kyndes of disposyng, and placyng of matter. The one is when we folowe the appointed rule of Rethorique, the whiche nature doth almost teache us: The other is wholly fasshioned by the discretion 5 of hym that makes the Oration.

Rethorique doeth teache us, and nature also leadeth us thereunto, first to speake somewhat before we open our matter, after that to tell the cause of our entent, setting forthe the matter plainly that al 10 may understand it, then to prove our owne cause by good reason, and to confute all suche thinges as are contrarie to our purpose: last of al, to gather the whole in a somme, concludyng the matter briefly, and so to make an ende. Nowe to place those reasons, 15 whiche shoulde both serve to confirme and to confute, and to tel in what parte of the Oration it were best to use this reason, and that reason, that the rather wee might prove, teache, and perswade: a right wyse man had nede to take this matter in hande. For even 20 as the tyme, the place, the judge, and the matter it selfe shal geve cause: so must a wyse body take his

6. In margin: Rhetorique what it teacheth, for orderyng of thynges.

advantage. Sometyes it shalbe expedient to use no
 preface at al, or els when the matter is wel knowne,
 it will be good to leave the matter unfolde, and
 streight to seeke the confirmacion, usyng some stronge
 reason for the same purpose. Yea sometyes it may do 5
 good to nelecte the naturall order, and begynne firste
 to prove the cause, and afterwarde to tell it better,
 than it was tolde before.

If the judge, or the hearers shalbe weried with
 other reportes before, it is best to goe to the 10
 matter, and prove it out of hande with as briefe
 reasons, and as strong as can be gatherde possible.
 And in provyng of our matters, we had nede evermore
 rather to waie our reasons, than to nomber them, and
 thynke not that then we shall doe beste, when we have 15
 the most, but then looke to doe best, when we have the
 strongest. And first of al the strongest should be
 used, and the other placed in the middest of the
 Oration, the whiche beeyng heaped together wil make a
 good mustar. And yet this also would be learned, 20
 whereas we used the best reasons at the first, we
 shoulde also reserve some that were lyke good, for the

20. In margin: Argumentes howe they should be
 digested.

later end: that the hearers might have them freshe in
 their remembraunce, when they should geve judgement.
 The slender reasons that can do lesse good, and yet
 not all, (for some may better be omitted) woulde be
 placed in the midst (as I saied) that both they 5
 might bee lesse marked, or beeyng heaped there
 together, they might doe more good, especially when
 bothe weightie reasons went before, and weightie
 reasons also, folowed after. Now a wyse man that hath
 good experience in these affaires, and is able to make 10
 hym selfe a Rhetorique for every matter, will not bee
 bounne to any precise rules, nor kepe any one order,
 but suche onely as by reason he shall thynke best to
 use, beeyng maister over Arte, rather then Arte
 shoulde be maister over hym, rather makyng Art by 15
 witte, than confoundng witte by Arte. And undoubtedly
 even in so doynge, he shal do right wel, and contente
 the hearers accordyngly. For what mattereth whether
 we folowe our Booke, or no, if wee folowe witte, and
 appoint our selfe an order, suche as may declare the 20
 truthe more plainely? Yea some that be unlearned and
 yet have right good wittes: will devise with them
 selves, without any Booke learnyng, what they wil
 saie, and how much they wil say, appointyng their
 order, and partyng it into thre, or foure partes, or 25

more, if neede be, suche as they shal thynke especial
 pointes, and most meete to bee touched. Whose doynges
 as I can wel like, and much commende them for the
 same: so I would thynke them muche more able to do
 much better: if thei either by learning folowed a 5
 Paterne, or els knewe the preceptes, whiche leade us
 to right order. Rules wer therfore geven, and by
 muche observacion gathered together, that those whiche
 could not see Arte hid in another mannes doynges,
 should yet se the rules open, all in an order set 10
 together: and therby judge the rather of their
 doynges, and by earnest imitacion, seke to resemble
 suche their invencion. I cannot deny but that a right
 wise man unlearned, shall doo more good by his
 naturall witte, then twentie of these common wittes, 15
 that want nature to help arte. And I know that rules
 wer made first by wise men, and not wise men made by
 rules. For these preceptes serve onely to helpe our
 nede, suche as by nature have not suche plentifull
 giftes. And as for other, unto whom nature is more 20
 favorable, thei are rather put the soner in
 remembraunce, that suche lessons are, then so taught
 as though thei never knewe theim, or els never would

11. In margin: Thuse of arte.

use them. And therefore a certain learned man, and of
 much excellencie, beeyng asked what was suche a
 figure, and suche a trope in Rhetorique: I cannot tell
 (quoth he) but I am assured, if you loke in the boke
 of myne oracions, you shall not faile but finde theim. 5
 So that though he knew not the name of suche and suche
 figures, yet the nature of them was so familiar to his
 knowlege, that he had thuse of them, whensoever he had
 nede. Nowe though this man could well thus doo, beyng
 of suche notable understandyng, yet it were foly that 10
 all should folowe his waie, whiche want so good a wit.
 And I thinke even he himself, should not have lost by
 it neither, if he had seen that in a glasse, whiche he
 often used to do without knowlege. Man is forgetfull,
 and there is none so wise, but counsaill maie dooe hym 15
 good. Yea, he shall dooe muche better, that knoweth
 what arte other men have used, what invencion thei
 have folowed, what order thei have kept, and now thei
 have best doen in every part. If he like not theirs,
 he may use his awne, and yet none dooeth so evill (I 20
 thynke) but some good maie be got by hym. The wise
 therefore wil not refuse to heare: and the ignoraunt
 for want, had nede to seke a wil.

Thende of the .iii. boke.

The third boke.

Of apte chusing and framyng of wordes and sentences
together, called Elocucion.

And now we are come to that parte of Rhetorique,
the whiche above al other is most beautifull, wherby 5
not onely wordes are aptly used, but also sentences
are in right order framed. For whereas Invencion,
helpeth to finde matter, and Disposicion serveth to
place argumentes: Elocucion getteth wordes to set
furthe invencion, and with suche beautie commendeth 10
the matter, that reason semeth to bee clad in purple,
walkyng afore, bothe bare and naked. Therefore Tullie
saieth well, to finde out reason, and aptly to frame
it, is the part of a wise man, but to commende it by
wordes, and with gorgious talke to tell our conceipte, 15
that is onely propre to an Orator. Many are wise, but
fewe have the gift to set furthe their wisdomes. Many
can tell their mynde in Englishe, but fewe can use
mete termes, and apt order: suche as all men should
have, and wise men will use: suche as nedes must be 20
had, when matters should be uttered. Now then what is
he, at whom all men wonder, and stande in a mase, at

the viewe of his wit? Whose doynges are best esteemed?
 Whom do we moste reverence, and compt halfe a God
 among men? Even suche a one assuredly, that can
 plainly, distinctly, plentifully, and aptly utter
 bothe wordes and matter, and in his talke can use 5
 suche composicion, that he maie appere to kepe an
 uniformitiee, and (as I might saie) a nomber in the
 uttering of his sentence. Now an eloquent man beyng
 smally learned, can do muche more good in perswading,
 by shift of wordes, and mete placyng of matter: then a 10
 greate learned clerke shalbe able with great store of
 learnyng, wantyng wordes to set furthe his meanyng.
 Wherefore I muche marvaile that so many seke the only
 knowledge of thynges, without any mynd to commende or
 set furthe their entendement: seyng none can knowe 15
 either what thei are, or what thei have, without the
 gift of utteraunce. Yea, bryng them to speake their
 mynde, and enter in talke with suche as are said to be
 learned, and you shal finde in them suche lacke of
 utterance, that if you judge theim by their tongue, 20
 and expressyng of their mynde: you must nedes saie
 thei have no learnyng. Wherin me thinkes thei do,
 like some riche snudges, that havyng great wealth, go
 with their hose out at heeles, their shoes out at
 toes, and their cotes out at bothe elbowes. For who 25

can tell, if suche men are worth a grote, when their
 apparel is so homely, and al their behavior so base?
 I can call them by none other name, but slovens, that
 maie have good geare, and neither can, no yet will
 ones weare it clenly. What is a good thyng to a 5
 manne, if he neither knowe thuse of it, nor yet
 (though he knowe it) is able at all to use it? If we
 thinke it comelinesse, and honestie to set furthe the
 body with handsome apparell, and thynke theim worthie
 to have money, that bothe can and will use it 10
 accordyngly: I cannot otherwise se, but that this part
 deserveth praise, whiche standeth wholly in setting
 furthe matter by apte wordes and sentences together,
 and beautifieth the tongue with greate chaunge of
 colours, and varietie of figures. 15

Foure partes belongyng to Elocucion.

- i. Plainnesse.
- ii. Aptenesse.
- iii. Composicion.
- iiii. Exornacion. 20

3. In margin: Barbarous clerkes, no
 bet ter then slovens.

Emong al other lessons, this should first be
 learned, that we never affect any straunge ynkehorne
 termes, but so speake as is commonly received: neither
 sekyng to be over fine, nor yet livyng over carelesse,
 usyng our speache as most men do, and ordryng our 5
 wittes, as the fewest have doen. Some seke so farre
 for outlandishe Englishe, that thei forget altogether
 their mothers language. And I dare swere this, if
 some of their mothers were alive, thei were not able
 to tell, what thei say, and yet these fine Englishe 10
 clerkes, wil saie thei speake in their mother tongue,
 if a man should charge them for counterfeityng the
 kynges English. Some farre jorneid ientlemen at their
 returne home, like as thei love to go in forein
 apparell, so thei wil powder their talke with oversea 15
 language. He that cometh lately out of France, wil
 talke Frenche English, and never blushe at the matter.
 Another choppes in with Englishe Italianated, and
 applieth the Italian phrase, to our Englishe speaking,
 the whiche is, as if an Oratour that professeth to 20
 utter his minde in plaine Latine, would needes speake
 Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge

1. In margin: Plaines what it is.

antiquitie. The lawyer wil store his stomack with the
 pratyng of Pedlers. The Auditour in makyng his
 accompt and rekenyng, cometh in with sise sould, and
 cater denere, for vi.s iii.d. The fine Courtier wil
 talke nothyng but Chaucer. The misticall wise menne, 5
 and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothyng but quaint
 proverbes, and blynde allegories, delityng muche in
 their awne darkenesse, especially, when none can tell
 what thei dooe saie. The unlearned or foolishe
 phantasticall, that smelles but of learnyng (suche 10
 felowes as have seen learned men in their daies) will
 so latine their tongues, that the simple cannot but
 wonder at their talke, and thynke surely thei speake
 by some Revelacion. I knowe them that thynke
 Rhetorique, to stande wholly upon darke woordes, and he 15
 that can catche an ynke horne term by the taile, hym
 thei compt to bee a fine Englishe man, and a good
 Rhetorician. And the rather to set out this folie, I
 will adde here suche a letter, as Willyam Sommer
 himself, could not make a better for that purpose. 20
 Some will thinke and swere it to, that there was never
 any suche thyng written, well I wil not force any man

1.Englishe Italianted...antiquitie.] 60; Angleso
 Italiano: 53

to beleve it, but I will saie thus muche, and abide by
it to, the like have been made heretofore, and praised
above the Moone.

A letter divised by a Lincolneshire man, for a
voide benefice, to a gentilman that then waited upon 5
the lorde Chauncellour, for the tyme beyng.

Ponderying, expending, and revolutyng with my self
your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitee, for
mundane affaires: I cannot but celebrate and extolle
your magnificall dexteritee, above all other. For how 10
could you have adepted suche illustrate prerogative,
and dominicall superioritee, if the fecunditee of your
ingenie had not been so fertile, and wounderfull
pregnaunt. Now therfore beeyng accersited, to suche
splendent renoume, and dignitee splendidious: I doubt 15
not but you will adiuuate suche poore adnichilate
orphanes, as whilome ware condisciples with you, and
of antique familiaritie in Lincolne shire. Emong whom
I beeyng a Scholasticall panion, obtestate your
sublimatee to extoll myne infirmitee. There is a 20
sacerdotall dignitee in my native countrey, contiguate

4.A letter...tyme beyng.] 60; om. 53

7.In margin: An ynkehorne letter.

to me, where I now contemplate: whiche your
 worshipfull benigitee, could sone impetrate for me, if
 it would like you to extend your scedules, and
 collaude me in them to the right honorable lorde
 Chauncellor, or rather Archigrammatian of Englande. 5

You knowe my literature, you knowe the pastorall
 promocion, I obtestate your clemencie, to invigilate
 thus muche for me, accordyng to my confidence, and as
 you knowe my condigne merites, for suche a compendious
 livyng. But now I relinquishe to fatigate your 10
 intelligence with any more frivolous verbotie, and
 therfore he that rules the climates be evermore your
 beauteux, your fortresse, and your bulwarke. Amen.

Dated at my Dome, or rather Mansion place, in
 Lincoln shire, thepenulte of the moneth Sextile. Anno 15
Millimo, quillimo, trillimo.

Per me Iohannes Octo.

What wise man readyng this letter, will not take
 him for a very Caulfe, that made it in good earnest,
 and thought by his ynkepot termes, to get a good 20
 personage. Doeth wit reste in straunge wordes, or els
 standeth it in wholsome matter, and apt declaryng of a
 mannes mynd? Do we not speake, because we would have

other to understande us, or is not the tongue geuen
 for this ende, that one might know what another
 meaneth? And what unlearned man can tell, what half
 this letter signifieth? Therefore, either we must make
 a difference of Englishe, and saie some is learned 5
 Englishe, and other some is rude Englishe, or the one
 is courte talke, the other is countrey speache, or els
 we must of necessitee, banishe al suche affected
 Rhetorique, and use altogetheryn one maner of language.
 When I was in Cambrige, and student in the kynges 10
 College, there came a man out of the toune, with a
 pinte of wine in a pottle pot, to welcome the provoste
 of that house, that lately came from the courte. And
 because he would bestow his present like a clerke,
 dwellyng among the schoolers: he made humbly his thre 15
 curtesies, and said in this maner. Cha good even my
 good lorde, and well might your lordship vare:
 Understandyng that your lordeship was come, and
 knowyng that you are a worshipfull Pilate, and keptes
 a bominable house: I thought it my duetie to come 20
 incantivantee, and bryng you a pottell a wine, the
 whiche I beseche your lordeship take in good worthe.
 Here the simple man beyng desirous to amende his
 mothers tongue, shewed hymself not to bee the wisest
 manne, that ever spake with tongue. 25

Another good felowe in the countrey, beyng an
 officer, and Maiour of a toune, and desirous to speake
 like a fine learned man, havynge just occasion to
 rebuke a runnegate fellow, said after this wise in a
 greate heate. Thou yngram and vacacion knave, if I 5
 take thee any more within the circumcision of my
 dampnacion: I will so corrupte thee, that all vacacion
 knaves shall take ilsampl by thee.

Another standyng in mucche nede of money, and
 desirous to have some helpe at a ientlemanns hand, 10
 made his complaint in this wise. I praie you sir be
 so good unto me, as forbeare this halfe yeres rent.
 For so helpe me God and halidome, we are so taken on
 with contrary Bishoppes, with revives, and with
 southsides to the kyng, that al our money is cleane 15
 gone. These wordes he spake for contribucion, relief,
 and subsidie. And thus we see that poore simple men
 are mucche troubled, and talke oftentymes, thei knowe
 not what, for lacke of wit and want of Latine and
 Frenche, wherof many of our straunge woordes full 20
 often are derived. Those therefore that will eschue

5. In margin: Roperipe chidyng.

17. southsides] 60; susides 53

this folly, and acquaint themselves with the best kynd
of speache, muste seke from tyme to tyme, suche wordes
as are commonly received, and suche as properly maie
expresse in plain maner, the whole conceipte of their
mynde. And looke what woordes wee best understande, 5
and knowe what thei meane: the same should sonest be
spoken, and firste applied to the utteraunce of our
purpose.

Now whereas wordes be received, aswell Greke as
Latine, to set furthe our meanyng in thenglishe 10
tongue, either for lacke of store, or els because wee
would enriche the language: it is well doen to use
them, and no man therin can be charged for any
affectacion, when all other are agreed to folowe the
same waie. There is no man agreved, when he heareth 15
(letters patentes) and yet patentes is Latine, and
signifieth open to all men. The Communion is a
felowship, or a commyng together, rather Latine then
Englishe: the Kynges prerogative, declareth his power
royall above all other, and yet I knowe no man greved 20
for these termes, beeyng used in their place, nor yet
any one suspected for affectacion, when suche generall
wordes are spoken. The folie is espied, when either
we will use suche wordes, as fewe men doo use, or use
them out of place, when another might serve muche 25

better. Therefore to avoyde suche folie, we maie
 learne of that most excellent Orator Tullie, who in
 his thirde booke, where he speaketh of a perfect
 Oratoure, declareth under the name of Crassus, that
 for the choyse of wordes, foure thinges should 5
 chiefly be observed. First, that suche wordes as we
 use, shuld bee proper unto the tongue, wherein wee
 speake, again, that thei be plain for all men to
 perceive: thirdly, that thei be apt and mete, moste
 properly to sette out the matter. Fourthly, that 10
 woordes translated from one significacion to another,
 (called of the Grecians, Tropes) bee used to beautifie
 the sentence, as precious stones are set in a ryng, to
 commende the golde.

Aptnesse what it is. 15

Suche are thought apt wordes, that properly agre
 unto that thyng, whiche thei signifie, and plainly
 expresse the nature of the same. Therefore thei that
 have regard of their estimacion, do warely speake, and
 with choyse, utter woordes moste apte for their 20

6. In margin: Foure thinges observed,
for choyse of wordes.

purpose. In weightie causes, grave wordes are thought
 moste nedefull, that the greatnesse of the matter,
 maie the rather appere in the vehemencie of their
 talke. So likewise of other, like order muste be
 taken. Albeit some, not onely do not observe this 5
 kynde of aptnes, but also thei fall into muche
 fondnesse, by usyng wordes out of place, and applyng
 theim to diverse matters without all discrecion. As
 thus. An ignorant felowe comyng to a gentlemannes
 place, and seyng a greate flocke of shepe in his 10
 pastour, saied to the owner of theim, now by my truthe
 sir, here is as goodly an audience of shepe, as ever I
 saw in al my life. Who will not take this felowe
 meter to talke with shepe, then to speake among menne?
 Another likewise seeyng a house faire buylded, saied 15
 to his felowe thus: good lorde, what a handesome
 phrase of buildyng is this? Thus are good wordes evil
 used, when thei are not wel applied, and spoken to
 good purpose. Therefore I wishe that suche untoward
 speakyng, maie geve us a good lesson, to use our 20
 tongue warely, that our wordes and matter maie still
 agree together.

2. In margin: Aptnes.

9. In margin: Unapte usyng of apt wordes.

Of Composicion.

When we have learned usuall and accustomable
 wordes to set furthe our meanyng, we ought to joyne
 them together in apt order, that the eare maie delite,
 in hearyng the harmonie. I knowe some English men, 5
 that in this poynt have suche a gift in the Englishe,
 as fewe in Latine have the like, and therfore, delite
 the wise and lerned so muche, with their pleasaunt
 composicion: that many rejoyce, when thei maie heare
 suche, and thynke muche learnyng is gotte, when thei 10
 maie talke with suche. Composicion therefore, is an
 apte joynyng together of wordes in suche order, that
 neither the eare shal espie any jerre, nor yet any man
 shalbe dulled with overlong drawing out of a sentence,
 nor yet muche confounded with myngelyng of clauses, 15
 suche as are nedelesse, beyng heaped together without
 reason, and used without nomber. For, by suche meanes
 the hearers will be forced, to forgette full oft, what
 was saied first, before the sentence be halfe ended:

11. In margin: Composicion what it is.

or els bee blynded with confoundyng of many thynges
 together. Some again will bee so shorte, and in suche
 wise curtall their Sentences, that thei had nede to
 make a commentarie immediatly of their meanyng, or els
 the moste that heare them, shalbe forced to kepe 5
 counsaill.

Some will speake oracles, that a man cannot tell,
 whiche waie to take thiem, some will be so fine, and
 so Poeticall with all, that to their semyng, there
 shall not stande one heire amisse, and yet every body 10
 els shall thinke them meter for a ladies chamber, then
 for an earnest matter, in any open assemblie.

Some wil rove so mucche, and bable so farre
 without order, that a manne would thynke, thei had a
 greate love, to heare themselves speake. 15

Some repeate one woorde so often, that if suche
 woordes could be eaten, and chopte in so ofte, as thei
 are uttered out, thei would choke the widest throte in
 all England. As thus. If a man knewe, what a mans
 life wer, no man for any mannes sake, would kill any 20
 man, but one man would rather help another man,
 considryng man is borne for man, to help man, and not

3. In margin: Faultes in composicion.

22. not] 60; no 53

to hate man. What man would not be choked, if he
chopt al these men at ones into his mouth, and never
dronke after it? Some use overmuch repeticion of
some one letter, as pitiful povertie praieth for a
peny, but puffed presumpcion, passeth not a poynt, 5
pamperying his panche, with pestilent pleasure,
procuring his passe porte to poste it to Hell pytte,
there to be punished with paines perpetuall. Some
will so sette their wordes that they muste be fayne to
gape after everye worde spoken, endinge one worde with 10
a vowell, and beginninge the next wyth an other,
whyche undoubtedly maketh the talke to seme mooste
unpleasaunte. As thus. Equitie assuredlye everye
injurye avoydeth. Some will set the carte before the
horse, as thus. My mother and my father are both at 15
home, even as thoughe the good man of the house ware
no breaches, or that the graye Mare were the better
Horse. And what thoughe it often so happeneth (God
wotte the more pitye) yet in speakinge at the leaste,
let us kepe a natural order, and set the man before 20
the woman for maners sake.

An other cominge home in haste after a long
journey, sayeth to hys manne: Come hither sir knave,
helpe me of with my bootes and my spurres. I praye
you sir geve him leave firste to plucke of your 25

spurres, ere he meddle wyth your bootes, or els your
 man is like to have a madde pluckinge. Who is so
 folyshe as to saye the counsayle and the kynge, but
 rather the Kinge and his counsayle, the father and the
 sonne, and not contrary. And so likewise in al other, 5
 as they are in degree firste, evermore to set them
 formoste.

The wise therfore talkinge of divers worthye
 menne together, will firste name the worthiest, and
 kepe a decent order in reportynge of their tale. Some 10
 ende their sentences all alike, makynge their talke
 rather to appeare rymed meter then to seme playne
 speache, the whiche as it muche deliteth beyng
 measurablye used, so it muche offendeth when no meane
 is regarded. I hearde a preacher delityng much in 15
 thys kynd of composition, who used so often to ende
 his sentence with wordes like unto that whiche wente
 before, that in my judgements, there was not a dosen
 sentences in hys whole sermon, but they ended all in
 ryme for the most part. Some not best disposed, 20
 wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rymed sermon
 he myght use some pleasaunt melodye, and so the people
 myghte take pleasure divers wayes, and daunce if they
 liste. Certes there is a meane, and no reason to use
 any one thinge at all times, seyng nothinge deliteth 25

(be it never so good) that is alwayes used.

Quintilian likeneth the coloures of Rhetorique to
 a mannes eye sighte. And nowe (quod he) I woulde not
 have all the bodye to be full of eyes, or nothings but
 eyes: for them the other partes shoulde wante their 5
 due place and proporcion. Some overthwartelye sette
 their woordes, placynge some one a myle frome his
 felowes, not contented with a playne and easye
 composition, but seke to sette wordes they can not
 tell howe, and therfore one not likynge to be called 10
 and by printe published Doctoure of Phisike, woulde
 neades be named of Phisike Doctour, wherin appeared a
 wonderfull composition (as he thought) straunge
 undoubtedlye, but whether wise or no, lette the
 learned sitte in judgement upon that matter. 15

An other. As I rose in the mornyng (quod one) I
 mette a carte full of stones emptye. Belike the manne
 was fastinge, when the carte was full, and yet we see
 that throughe straunge composition this sentence
 appeareth darke. 20

Some will tell one thinge .xx. times, nowe in,
 nowe out, and when a man would thinke they had almost
 ended, they are ready to beginne againe as freshe as
 ever they were. Suche vayne repetitions declare both
 wante of witte, and lacke of learninge. Some are so 25

homely in all their doynges, and so grosse for their invention, that they use altogetther one manner of trade, and seke no varietie to eschewe tediousnes.

Some burden their talke with nedelesse cotype, and will seme plentifull, when they shoulde be shorte. An 5
other is so curious and so fine of his tongue, that he can not tell in all the worlde what to speake. Everie sentence semeth commune, and everye worde generallye used, is thought to be folyshe, in his wise judgemente. Some use so manye interpositions bothe in 10
their talke and in their writinge, that they make their sayinges as darke as hell. Thus whan faultes be knowen, they may be avoyded: and vertue the soner may take place, when vice is forsene, and eschewed as evill. 15

Of Exornation.

When wee have learned apte woordes and usuall Phrases to sette forthe oure meanyng, and can orderlye place them without offence to the eare, we maye boldelye commende and beautifie oure talke wyth 20
divers goodlye coloures, and delitefull translations, that oure speache maye seme as bryghte and precious, as a ryche stone is fayre and orient.

Exornation is a gorgiousse beautifiynge of the
 tongue with borrowed wordes, and chaung of sentence of
 speache, with muche varietie. Firste therfore (as
 Tullie saythe) an Oration is made to seme ryghte
 excellent by the kinde selfe, by the colour and juice 5
 of speache. Ther are .iiii. maner of styles or
 enditinges, the greate or mighty kind, when we use
 great wordes, or vehement figures:

The smal kinde, when we moderate our heate by
 meaner wordes, and use not the most stirring 10
 sentences:

The lowe kinde, when we use no Metaphores, nor
 translated wordes, nor yet use any amplifications, but
 go plainelye to worke, and speake altogether in
 commune wordes. Nowe in all these three kindes, the 15
 Oration is muche commended, and appeareth notable,
 when wee kepe us styll to that style, whiche wee
 firste professed, and use suche wordes as seme for
 that kinde of writinge most convenient.

Yea, if we minde to encrease, or diminish: to be 20
 in a heate, or to use moderation: to speake

2.In margin: Exornation.

9.In margin: Thre maner of stiles or enditinges.

pleasauntly, or speake gravelye: to be sharpe, or to
 be softe: to talke lordlye, or to speake finelie: to
 waxe auncient, or familiar (which al are comprehended
 under one of the other three:) we muste ever make oure
 wordes apte and agreable to that kinde of stile, 5
 whiche we firste ganne to use. For as frenche hodes
 do not become Lordes: so Parliament Robes are
 unfitting for Ladies. Comeliness therfore must ever
 be used, and all thinges observed that are moste mete
 for every cause, if we loke by attemptes to have our 10
 desire.

There is another kind of Exornacion that is not
 equally sparpled throughout the whole oration, but is
 so dissevered and parted, as starres stand in the
 firmament, or floures in a garden, or pretty devised 15
 antiques in a clothe of Araise.

What a fygure is.

A figure is a certaine kinde, either of sentence,
 oration, or worde, used after some new or straunge

10.attemptes] 60; attempted 53

12.In margin: Exornation by coloures of
 Rhetorique.

wise, muche unlike to that, whiche men communely use
to speake.

The division of fygures.

There are thre kindes of figures, the one is when
the nature of wordes is chaunged from one 5
signification to an other, called a Trope of the
Grecians: The other serveth for woordes when they are
not chaunged by nature, but only altered by speaking,
called of the Grecians a Scheme: The third is when by
deversity of invention, a sentence is manye wayes 10
spoken, and also matters are amplified by heapyng
examples, by dilatynge argumentes, by comparinge of
thynges together, by similitudes, by contraries, and
by divers other like, called by Tullie Exornacion of
sentences, of coloures of Rhetorique. 15

By all whiche Figures, everye Oration maye be
muche beautified, and without the same, not one can
attaine to be counted an Oratoure, thoughe his
learninge otherwise be never so greate.

Of the fyrst use of Tropes. 20

When learned and wise menne gan firste to enlarge

their tongue, and sought with greate utteraunce of
 speache to commende causes: they founde full ofte
 muche wante of wordes to set out their meanyng. And
 therfore remembrynge thinges of like nature unto those
 wherof they spake: they used suche wordes to expresse 5
 their minde, as were most like unto other. As for
 example. If I shoulde speake against some notable
 Pharisee, I might use translation of wordes in this
 wise: Yonder man is of a croked judgment, his wyttes
 are clowdie, he liveth in deepe darkenes, dusked 10
 altogether wyth blynde ignoraunce, and drowned in the
 raginge sea, of bottomeles superstition. Thus is the
 ignoraunte set out, by callinge hym croked, clowdye,
 darke, blinde, and drownde in superstition. All
 whiche wordes are not proper unto ignoraunce, but 15
 borrowed of other thinges, that are of lyke nature
 unto ignoraunce. For the unskilfull man hath his
 wytte set oute of order, as a mannes bodye is set out
 of joynte, and therupon it maye be sayde to be croked.
 Likewyse he maye be called clowdye, for as the clowdes 20
 kepe the Sunne shynyng from us, so dothe his
 Ignoraunce kepe him blindefolde from the true
 understandinge of thinges. And as when the eyes are

1. In margin: Tropes how they wer fyrst founded.

oute, no manne can see anye thinge: so when perfecte
 judgemente is wantinge, the truthe can not be knowen.
 And so likewise of all other. Thus as necessitie hath
 forced us to borowe wordes translated: so hath time
 and practice made theim to seeme moost pleasaunt, and 5
 therefore thei are muche the rather used. Yea, when a
 thyng full ofte can not be expreste by an apte and
 mete woorde, we do perceyve (when it is spoken by a
 woorde translated) that the likenes of that thyng
 whiche appeareth in an other worde, muche lighteneth 10
 that, which we woulde most gladly have perceyved.

And not onely do menne use translation of wordes
 (called Tropes) for nede sake, when thei can not finde
 other: but also when they maye have mooste apte wordes
 at hande, yet wyll they of a purpose use translated 15
 wordes. and the reason is this. Menne counte it a
 poynte of witte to passe over suche woordes as are at
 hande, and to use suche as are farre fetcht and
 translated: or elles it is, because the hearer is led
 by cogitacion upon rehearsall of a Metaphore, and 20
 thinketh more by remembraunce of a word translated,
 then is there expreslye spoken: or elles because the
 whole matter semeth by a similitude to be opened: or
 last of al, bicause every translation is commenly, and
 for the most part referred to the senses of the body, 25

and especially to the sense of seing, which is the
 sharpest and quickest above all other. For when I
 shal saye that an angrye manne fometh at the mouthe, I
 am brought in remembraunce by this translation to
 remember a bore, that in fightyng useth muche foming, 5
 the whiche is a fowle and lothelye sighte. And I
 cause other to thinke that he brake pacience
 wonderfully, when I set out his rage comparable to a
 bores fominge.

An other beinge offended wyth checkes geuen, will 10
 saye, I marvaile sir what you meane to be ever
 snarringe at me, wherein is declared a brutishenes,
 consideringe he speaketh bitynge wordes, as muche
 without reason and as uncomelye, as a dogge dothe,
 when he snarreth, the whiche wee see is nothing 15
 semely. There is nothing in all the worlde, but the
 same maye have the name of some other worde, the
 whiche by some similitude is lyke unto it.
 Notwithstandinge there ought muche warenesse to be
 used in chosyng of wordes translated, that the same be 20
 not unlike that thing, wherunto it is applied, nor
 yet that the translation be uncomely or suche as may
 geve occasion of any uncleane meaning.

A Trope.

A Trope is an alteration of a word or sentence from the proper signification to that which is not proper.

The division of Tropes.

5

Tropes are either of a word, or of a longer continued speech or sentence.

Tropes of a word are these.

A Metaphor or translation of words.

A word making.

10

Intellection.

Abusion.

Transmutation of a word.

Transumption

Change of a name.

15

Circumlocution.

2. In margin: Trope what it is.

6. of] 60; or 53

6. In margin: Devision of Tropes.

Tropes of a longe continued
speache or sentence are these.

An Allegorie, or inversion of wordes.

Mounting.

Resemblinge of thinges.

5

Similitude.

Example.

What is a Metaphore.

A Metaphore is an alteration of a woorde from
the proper and naturall meanyng, to that whiche is 10
not proper, and yet agreeth therunto, by some lykenes
that appeareth to be in it.

An Oration is wonderfullye enriched, when apte
Metaphores are gotte and applied to the matter.
Neither can anye one perswade effectuouslye, and winne 15
men by weyght of his Oration, withoute the helpe of
woordes altered and translated.

The diversitie of translations.

First we alter a worde from that which is in the minde, to that whiche is in the bodye. As when we perceyve one that hath begiled us, we use to saye: Ah sirrha, I am gladde I have smelled you oute. Beinge greved with a matter, we saye communelye we can not digest it. The Lawyer receiving money more then neadeth oftentimes, will saye to his Client wythout any translation. I fele you wel, when the pore man thinketh that he doth well understand his cause, and will helpe him to some good ende. For so, communelye we saye, when we know a mans minde in anye thinge. This kinde of mutation is muche used, when we talke earnestlye of any matter.

From the creature wythout reason, to that whyche hathe reason.

The seconde kinde of translation is, when we goo from the creature wythout reason to that whiche hathe reason, or contrarye from that whiche hathe reason, to that whiche hath no reason. As if I shoulde saye, such an unreasonable brawler, did nothings else but barke like a Dogge, or like a Foxe. Women are saide to chatter, churles to grunte, boyes to whyne, and

yonge men to yell. Contrariwise, we call a Foxe false, a Lyon proude, and a Dogge flatteringe.

From the lyvyngge to that whyche hath no lyfe.

From the livynge to the not livynge, we use many translations. As thus. You shall praye for al men 5 dispersed throughoute the face of the earthe. The arme of a tree. The syde of a Bancke. The lande cryeth for vengeaunce. From the not livinge, to the not livinge: Hatred buddeth emonge malicious men, his wordes flowe out of his mouthe. I have a whole world 10 of busines.

In observing the worke of Nature in al several substaunces we maye finde translations at wyll, then the whiche nothings is more profitable for anye one that myndeth by hys utteraunce to stirre the hartes of 15 menne either one waye or other.

A worde makinge called of the Grecians Onomatopeia is when we make wordes of oure owne mynde, suche as be derived from the nature of thinges.

8.not livinge] living 53

17.In margin: Word making.

As to call one Patche or Cowlson, whom we see to do a
 thinge folyshelye, because these two in their time
 were notable foles. Or when one is lustye to saye
 Taratauntara, declaringe therby that he is as lustye,
 as a Trumpette is delitefull, and styryng: or when 5
 one woulde seme galaunte, to crye hoyghe, whereby also
 is declared courage. Boyes beyngre greved will saye
 some one to an other, Sir I wyll cappe you, if you use
 me thus, and withholde that frome me whyche is myne
 owne: meanyng that he will take his cappe from him. 10
 Againe, when we see one gaye and galaunte, we use to
 saye, he courtes it. Quod one that reasoned in
 divinitie wyth his felowe, I like well to reason, but
 I can not chappe these textes in scripture, if I
 shoulde dye for it: meaning that he coulde not tell in 15
 what chapiter thinges were conteyned, althoughe he
 knewe full well that there were suche sayinges.

Intellection.

Intellection called of the Gretians, Synecdoche,
 is a Trope, when wee gather or Judge the whole by the 20
 parte, or part, by the whole. As thus. The king is

20. In margin: Intellection.

come to London, meaning therby that other also be come
with him. The French man is good to kepe a forte, or
to skyrmishe on horsebacke, wherby we declare the
Frenchmen generally. By the whole the part, thus.

All Cambridge sorowed for the deathe of Bucer, 5
meaninge the most parte. All Englande rejoyseth that
pilgrimage is banished, and Idolatrye for ever
abolished: and yet all England is not glad, but the
most parte.

The like phrases are in the Scripture, as when 10
the Magians came to Jerusalem, and asked where he was
that was borne Kyng of the Jewes. Herode starte up
beeyng greatly troubled, and al the citie of Jerusalem
with hym, and yet al the Citie was not troubled, but
the most part. By the signe we understande the thyng 15
signified, as by an Ivie garlande, we judge there is
wyne to sel. By the signe of a Beare, Bul, Lyon, or
any suche, wee take any house to be an Inne. By
eatyng breade at the Communion, wee remember Christes
death, and by Faith, receive hym spiritually. 20

Abusion.

Abusion, called of the Grecians Catachresis, is

when for a certaine proper woorde we use that whiche
 is most nighe unto it: As in callyng some water, a
 fishe ponde, though there be no fische in it at all:
 or elles when we saie, here is long talke, and small
 matter. Whiche are spoken improperly, for we cannot 5
 measure, either talke, or matter by length, or
 breadth.

Transmutacion of a worde.

Transmutacion helpeth much for varietie, the
 whiche is when a woorde hath a proper signification of 10
 the owne, and beyng referred to an other thyng, hath
 an other meanyng, the Grecians cal it Metonymia, the
 whiche is diverse waies used. When we use the auctor
 of a thyng, for the thyng selfe. As thus. Put upon
 you the Lorde Jesus Christe, that is to say, be in 15
 livyng suche a one, as he was. The Pope is banished
 England, that is to saie, al his superstition, and
 Hypocrisie, either is, or shoulde be gone to the
 Devill by the Kynges expresse will, and commaundement.
 Againe when that whiche doeth conteyne, is used for 20
 that whiche is conteined. As thus. I have dronk an

10. In margin: Transmutation.

hoggeshead this weeke: Heaven may rejoyce, and hell
may lament, when olde men are not covetouse.

Contrarywise, when the thyng conteined is used for the
thyng conteinyng. As thus. I praie you come to me,
that is to say, come to my house. Fourthely, when by 5
the efficient cause, the effecte is streight gatherde
thereupon. As thus. The Sonne is up, that is to
saie, it is day. This felowe is good with a long
bowe, that is to saie, he shouteth wel.

Transumption. 10

Transumption is, when by digrees wee go to that,
whiche is to be shewed. As thus: Suche a one lyeth
in a darke doungeon, now in speaking of darkenesse, we
understand closenesse, by closenesse, we gather
blacknesse, and by blackenesse, we judge depenesse. 15

Chaunge of name.

Chaunge of a name, is when for the propre name,
some name of an office, or other calling is used. As
thus: the Prophete of God saith: Blessed, are they

18. In margin: Antonomasia.

whose synnes by not imputed unto them, meanyng David.
 The Poete saieth: It is a vertue, to eschew vice,
 wherein I understande Horace.

Circumlocution.

Circumlocution is, a large description either to 5
 sette forth a thyng more gorgeously, or els to hyde
 it, if the eares cannot beare the open speakyng: or
 when with fewe wordes we cannot open our meanyng, to
 speake it more largely. Of the first thus. The
 valiaunt courage of mightie Scipio subdued the force 10
 of Carthage and Numantia. Henry the fifte, the most
 puissaunt Kyng of Englande, with seven thousand men
 toke the Frenshe Kyng prisoner with al the flower of
 nobilitie in Fraunce. Of the seconde. When Saule was
 easayng hymselfe upon the grounde, David toke a peece 15
 of his garment, tooke his weapon that laie by hym, and
 might have slaine hym. Suche a one defiled his bodie
 with suche an evill woman. For the thirde parte, the
 large commentaries written, and the Paraphrasis of
 Erasmus englished: are sufficient to shewe the use 20
 therof.

What is an allegorie.

An Allegorie is none other thyng, but a Metaphore used throughout a whole sentence, or Oration. As in speakyng against a wicked offendour, I might say thus. Oh Lorde, his nature was so evill, and his witte so 5 wickedly bente, that he ment to bouge the shippe, where he hymselfe sailed, meanyng that he purposed the destruction of his owne countrie. It is evill puttyng strong wine into weake vesselles, that is to say it is evill trustyng some women with weightie matters. The 10 English Proverbes gatherde by Jhon Heywood helpe wel in this behaulf, the whiche commenly are nothyng elles but Allegories, and darcke devised sentences. Now for the other fower figures, because I mynde hereafter to speake more largely of them, and Quintilian thynketh 15 them more meete to be placed among the figures of Exornacion, I wil not trouble the reader with double inculcation, and twyse tellyng of one tale.

Of Schemes, called otherwyse sentences of
a worde and sentence. 20

I might tary a longe tyme in declaryng the

21. In margin: Scheme what it is.

nature of diverse Schemes, whiche are woordes or
 sentencies altered, either by speakyng, or writyng,
 contrarie to the vulgare custome of our speache
 without chaungyng their nature at all: but because I
 knowe the use of the figures in word is not so greate 5
 in this our tongue, I wil run them over with asmuche
 haste as I can.

The division of Schemes.

Straunge usyng of any worde or sentence contrarie
 to our daiely wont, is either when we adde, or take 10
 away a sillable, or a word, or encrease a sentence by
 chaunge of speache contrarie to the commune maner of
 speakyng.

Figures of a worde.

Those be called figures of a word, when we 15
 chaunge a worde, and speake it contrarie to our
 vulgare and daily speache. Of the whiche sorte, there
 are sixe in number.

- i. Addition at the first.
- ii. Abstraction from the first. 20

- iii. Interlacyng in the midst.
- iiii. Cuttyng from the midst.
- v. Addyng at the ende.
- vi. Cuttyng from the end.

Of addition. As thus. He did all to berattle 5
hym. Wherein appereth that a sillable is added to
this worde (rattle). Here is good nale to sel, for
good ale.

Of Abstraction from the first, thus. As I romed 10
al alone, I ganne to thynke of matters greate. In
whiche sentence, (ganne) is used, for beganne.

Interlacyng in the midst. As. Relligion, for
religion.

Cuttyng from the midst. Idolatrie, for 15
Idololatrie.

-
- 5. In margin: Prosthesis.
 - 9. In margin: Apheresis.
 - 12. In margin: Epenthesis.
 - 14. In margin: Syncope.

Addyng at the end. Hasten your busines, for,
Haste your businesse.

Cuttyng from the end. A faire may, for, maide.

Thus these figures are shortely sette out, and as
for the other Schemes, whiche are utterde in whole 5
sentences, and expressed by varitie of speache: I wil
set them forth at large emong the coloures and
ornamentes of Elocution, that folowe.

Of coloures and ornamentes to commende and sette
forthe an Oration. 10

Now, when we are able to frame a sentence
handsomly together, observyng number and kepyng
composition, suche as shal lyke best the eare, and do
know the use of Tropes, and can applie them to our

2. In margin: Proparalepsis.

4. In margin: Apocope.

11. In margin: Coloures of Rhetorique.

purpose: than thornamentes are necessarie in an
 Oration, and sentences woulde bee furnished with moste
 beautifull figures. Therefore to thende that they may
 be knowne, suche as most commende and beautifie an
 Oration: I wil set them forthe here in suche wise as I 5
 shal best be able, folowyng the order whiche Tullie
 hath used in his Booke made of a perfite Oratour.

Restyng upon a poycte.

When wee are earnest in a matter, and feelee the
 weight of our cause, wee rest upon some reason, whiche 10
 serveth best for our purpose. Wherin this figure
 appereth most, and helpeth muche to set forthe our
 matter. For if we stil kepe us to our strongest
 holde, and make ofte recourse thither, though we be
 dryven through bytalke to go from it nowe and than: we 15
 shall force them at length, either to avoide our
 strong defence, or elles to yelde into our handes.

An evident, or plaine setting forth of a thyng as
though it were presently doen.

This figure is called a description, or an
evident declaration of a thyng, as though we sawe it
even now doen. An example. If our enemies shall 5
invade, and by treason wyne the victorie, we al shal
dye every mothers sonne of us, and our Citie shalbe
destroyed sticke and stone. I see our children made
slaves, our daughters ravished, our wives caried away,
the father forced to kil his own sonne, the mother 10
her daughter, the sonne his father, the sucking child
slaine in the mothers bosome, one standing to the
knees in anothers bloude, Churches spoiled, houses
plucked doune, and al set in fier rounde about us,
every one cursyng the day of their birth, children 15
cryng, women wailyng, and olde men passyng for very
thought, and every one thynking hymselfe most happy
that is first ridde out of this worlde, suche will the
crueltie be of our enemies, and with suche horrible
hatred wil they seeke to dispatche us. Thus where I 20

2. In margin: Illustrates explanatio.

8. In margin: Description of outrage after a
battaile.

might have said, we shal al be destroyed and saie no
 more, I have by description sette the evill forth at
 large. It muche availeth to use this figure in
 diverse matters, the whiche whosoever can do, with any
 excellent gift, undoubtedly he shal muche delite the 5
 hearers. The circumstaunces wel considered in every
 cause, geve much matter for the plaine opening of the
 thyng. Also, similitudues, examples, comparisons,
 from one thyng to another, apt translacions, and
 heaping of allegories and all suche figures as serve 10
 for amplifiyng, do muche commende the lively setting
 forthe of any matter. The miseries of the Courtiers
 lyfe might well be described by his kind of figure.

The commoditie of learnyng, the pleasure of plowe
 men, and the care that a Kyng hath. And not onely are 15
 matters set out by descripton, but men are painted out
 in their colours, yea buildynges are set forth,
 Kyngdomes, and Realmes are portured, places, and tymes
 are described. The Englishe man for feedyng, and
 chaung of apparel: the Duytche man for drynkyng: The 20
 Frenche man for pryde and inconstaunce: The Spanyard
 for nymblenes of bodie, and much disdaine: The Italian
 for greate witte and pollicie: The Scottes for
 boldenes, and Boeme for stubbornesse.

Many people are described by their degree as a man of good yeres is compted sober, wise and circumspect: a young man wilde, and carelesse: a woman bablyng, inconstant, and redy to beleve al that is tolde her.

5

By vocation of life, a souldiour is counted a great bragger, and a vaunter of hymselfe: a Scholer simple: a russed coate, sadde and sometymes craftie: a courtier, flatteryng: a citezen, jentle.

In describing of persons there ought alwaies a commelinese to be used, so that nothyng be spoken whiche may be thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might cal hym ientle, milde of nature, ledde by perswasion, and redy to forgeve, carelesse for wealthe, suspectyng none, merciful to al, fearefull in adversitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortune. Again for Richarde the third I might bryng hym in, cruell of harte, ambiciouse by nature, enviouse of mynde, a depe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to revenge, and feareful to lose his hight estate, trustie to none, liberal for a purpose, castyng still the worst, and hoping ever the best. By this figure

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15

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10. In margin: Description of persone.

also we imagine a talke for some one to speake, and according to his person we frame the Oration. As if one should bryng in noble Henry the .viii. of most famouse memorie to enveigh against rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. What if Henry theight were 5 alyve, and sawe suche rebellion in this Realme, would not he say thus, and thus? yea me thynkes I heare hym speake even now. And so set forth suche wordes as we would have hym to saie.

Some tymes it is good to make God, the Countrie, 10 or some one towne to speake, and loke what we woulde say in our owne person, to frame the whole tale to them. Suche varietie doth mucche good to avoide tediousenes, for he that speaketh al in one sort though he spake thinges never so wittely shal sone 15 wery his hearers. Figures therfore wer invented to avoide sacietie, and cause delite: to refresh with pleasure and quicken with grace, the dulnesse of mans braine. Who wil loke of a whit waul an houre together, where no workemanship is at al? Or who wil 20 eate stil one kinde of meate, never desire chaunge? Certes as the mouthe is dainte: so the wit is tickle, and wil sone lothe an unsavery thing.

16. In margin: The use of figures.

A stop, or half tellyng of a tale.

A stoppe is, when we breake of our tale before
 we have told it. As thus. Thou that art a young man
 suche towardnes havynge suche frendes to plaie me suche
 a parte, wel, I will saie no more, God amende all that 5
 is amisse. Or thus. Dothe it become the to be, shal
 I tel al, Naie, I wil not for very shame.

A close understandyng.

A close understandyng is, when more may be
 gatherd than is openly exprest. A naughtie fellowe 10
 that used much robbery, founde hym selfe greeved that
 the greate Oratour Demosthenes spent so much oyle
 wherby he watched from tyme to tyme in compassyng
 matters for the commune weale: In dede (quoth)
 Demonsthenes darke nightes are best for thy purpose, 15

2.In margin: Precisio.

9.In margin: Significatio plus ad intelligendun ob dixeris.

12.In margin: Demosthenes.

meanynge that he was a great robber in the night. One
 also beeyng set in a heate, because another had
 contraried hym for the choise of meates, was muche
 more greved when he gave hym this taunt. You may
 boldely (quoth he) speake for fishe eaytng, for my 5
 maister your father hath many a time and often wipt
 his nose upon his sleeve, meanynge that his father was
 a fishemonger.

Shorte sentences.

Then shorte clauses, or sentences are used when 10
 we speake at a worde, parte of our minde, and next
 after speake as briefly againe, usyng to make almost
 every worde a perfite sentence. As thus. The man is
 sore wounded, I feare me he will dye. the Phisicions
 mistrust hym: the partie is fledde, none persueth: God 15
 sende us good lucke.

Abatyng, or lessenyng of a thyng.

We make our doynge appere lesse, when with
 wordes we extenuate and lessen the same. As when one

10. In margin: Distincte concisa breuitas

11. next] 60; nest 53

18. In margin: Extenuatio.

had geven his fellowe a sound blowe, beyng rebuked for the same, saied he scante touched hym. Likewise, when two have fought together, to say that the one had his legge prickte with a sworde, when perchaunce he had a great wounde.

5

Whittie jestyng.

Many pleasaunt ientlemen are well practised in merie conceited jestes, and have both suche grace and delite therin, that they are wonderfull to beholde, and better were it to be sharpely chidde of diverse 10 other, then pleasauntly taunted by any of them. When a ientleman of greate landes and small witte had talked largely at a supper, and spake wordes scant worth the hearyng, an other beeyng muche greeved with his foolie, saied to hym: Sir I have taken you for a 15 plaine manyng ientleman, but I know nowe, there is not a more deceiptfull bodie in al Englande: with that, other beyng greeved with the young ientlemans foolie, boldely began to excuse hym for deceipt, and therefore said, he was to blame to charge hym with that 20 fault, consideryng his nature was simple, and few can

7. In margin: Illusio.

say that ever he was craftie. Wel quoth thother, I
 must nedes say he is deceiptful, for I toke hym
 heretofore for a sober wittie young man, but now I
 perceive, he is a foolish bablyng felowe, and therefore
 I am sure he hathe deceived me like a false craftie 5
 child, as he is: with that they al laughed, and the
 ientleman was muche abashed. But as touchyng sharpe
 tauntes, I have largely declared them in place, where
 I treated of laughter.

Digression, or swarvyng from the matter. 10

We swarve sometymes from the matter upon just
 consideracions, makyng the same to serve for our
 purpose as wel as if we had kepte the matter stil. As
 in making an invective against rebelles, and largely
 setting out the filth of their offence, I might 15
 declare by the way of a digression, what a noble
 countrie England is, how great commodities it hath,
 what trafike here is used, and howe muche more nede
 other Realmes have of us, than we have neede of them.
 Or when I shal geve evidence, or rather declame 20
 against an hainouse Murtherer, I may digresse from the

11. In margin: Digresio ab re non longa.

offence doen, and enter in prayse of the deade man,
 declaryng his vertues in moste ample wyse, that the
 offense doen, may be thought so muche the greater, the
 more honest he was that hath thus been slaine.

Notwithstandyng, this would be learned, that (when we 5
 make any suche digression) the same maie well agre to
 the purpose and be so set out, that it confounde not
 the cause, or darken the sense of the matter devised.

Proposicion.

Proposicion is a short rehersall of that, wherof 10
 we mynde to speake. I will tell you (quoth one) there
 is none hathe a worse name then this fellow, none hath
 been so often in trouble, he maie be faultelesse, but
 I can hardely beleve it, there are enow that will
 testifie of his naughtinesse, and avouche his evill 15
 demeanour to bee suche, that the like hath not been
 hard heretofore.

An over passage to another matter.

When we go from one matter to another, we use

10. In margin: Propositio quid sis dicturus.

this kynde of phraise. I have tolde you the cause of
all this evill, nowe I will tell you a remedy for the
same. You have heard of justificacion by faith onely,
now you shal here of the dignitee of workes, and how
necessary thei are for every christian body. 5

Of commyng again to the matter.

When wee have made a digression, wee maie declare
our returne, and shewe that whereas wee have roved a
litle, we will now kepe us within our boundes. In
this kynde of digression, it is wisdomes not to wander 10
over farre, for feare wee shall werie the hearers,
before we come to the matter again. I knew a
preacher, that was a whole houre out of his matter,
and at length remembryng hymself, saied, well, now to
the purpose, as though al that, which he had spoken 15
before, had been litle to the purpose, whereat many
laughed, and some for starke wearinesse wer fain to go
awaie.

1. In margin: Seiunctio ab eo quod dictum est.

7. In margin: Reditus ad propositum.

Iteratyng and repeatyng thynges saied before.

When a man hath largely spoken his mynd, he may
 repeate in fewe wordes, the somme of his saiyng. As
 if one should be charged with felonie, that is a man
 of welth and honestie, he might thus gather his mynd 5
 together after a long tale told. First I wil prove
 there is no cause that I should steale, again that I
 could not possible at suche a tyme steale, and last,
 that I stole not at all.

The conclusion, or lappyng by of matter. 10

The conclusion, is a apt knittyng together of that,
 whiche we have said before. As thus. If reason can
 perswade, if examples maie move, if necessitee maie
 helpe, if pitee maie provoke, if daungers foreseen,
 maie stirre us to be wise: I doubte not but you will 15
 rather use sharpe lawes, to repressse offendours, then
 with dissolute negilgence, suffer all to perishe.

3.In margin: Iteratio.

11.In margin: Rationis apta conclusion.

Mountyng above the truthe.

Mountyng above the truthe, is when we do set
 furthe thynges excedyngly and above all mennes
 expectacion, meanyng onely that thei are very great.
 As thus, God promised to Abraham, that he wold make 5
 his posteritee, equal with the sandes of the yearth.
 Now it was not so said, that there should be so many
 in deede, but that the nomber should bee infinite.
 For, whether we shall understande those, to bee the
 children of Abraham, that came of his stocke in 10
 fleshe, or els take them for the children of Abraham,
 that have the faithe of Abraham: wee shall never prove
 the nomber of men; to bee equall with the sandes of
 the sea, though wee could reken all that have been,
 from the beginnyng of the worlde. Therfore in this 15
 speache, wee muste understande there is a mountyng,
 called of the Grecians hyperbole: we use this figure
 muche in English. As thus. He is as swift as a
 swallowe, he hath a belly as bigge as a barrell, he is
 a giaunt in makyng. The whole Temmese is litle enough 20
 to serve hym, for wasshyng his handes. In all whiche

2. In margin: Veritais superlatio, at quom traiectio.

speaches wee mounte evermore a greate deale, and not
meane so as the wordes are spoken.

Askyng other, and answeyng our self.

By askyng other, and answeyng to the question
our self, we muche commende the matter, and make it 5
appere very pleasant. If I would rebuke one that hath
committed a robberie, I might saie thus. I wonder
what you ment to commit suche felonie. Have you not
landes? I knowe you have. Are not your frendes
worshipfull? Yes assuredly. Wer you not beloved of 10
them? No doubt you were. Could you have wanted any
thyng that thei had? If you would have eaten gold,
you might have had it. Did not thei alwayes bidde you
seke to them, and to none other? I knowe thei did.
What evill happe had you then, to offende in suche 15
sorte, not goyng to your frendes, whiche would not se
you want, but sekyng for that, whiche you should not
have; endaungeryng your self by untrue dealyng, to
fele the power and strength of a law, when otherwise
you might have lived in savegard? 20

The like kynd of writyng is also used, when we

make another body to speake, and yet not aske them any
question at al. As when D. Haddon had comforted the
duchesse of Suffolkes grace for her children, and had
said thei wer happily gone because thei might have
fallen hereafter, and loste that worthy name, whiche 5
at their death thei had: at last he bringeth in the
mother, speakyng motherlike, in her childrens behalf
of this sort, and answereth still to her saiynge.
But al these evilles wherof you speake (quoth she)
hadde not chaunced: Yet suche thynges doo chaunce. 10
Yet not alwayes: Yet full ofte. Yet not to al: Yet to
a great many. Yet thei had not chaunced to myne: Yet
wee knowe not. Yet I might have hoped: Yet better it
had been to have feared.

Snappishe askyng. 15

We doo aske oftentimes, because we would knowe:
we do aske also, because we woulde chide, and sette
furthe our grief with more vehemencie, the one is
called Interrogatio, the other is called Percontatio.
Tullie enveighyng against Catiline, that Romaine 20
rebell, beginneth his oracion chidingly, questionyng

16. In margin: Percontatio.

with Catiline of this sort. How long (Catiline) wilt thou abuse our sufferance? How long will this rage and madnesse of thine go aboute to deceive us?

Dissemblyng or close jestyng.

When we jest closely, and with dissemblyng 5
 meanes, grigge our felowe, when in wordes wee speake
 one thyng, and meane in hart another thyng, declaryng
 either by our countenaunce, or by utteraunce, or by
 some other waie, what our whole manyng is. As when
 we se one bostyng himself, and vain glorious, to hold 10
 him up with ye and naie, and ever to ad more to that,
 whiche he saieth. As I knowe one that saied hymself,
 to be in his awne judgement one of the best in all
 Englande, for tryng of metalles, and that the
 counsaill hath often called for his helpe, and cannot 15
 want hym for nothyng. In deede (quoth another)
 Englande had a sore losse, if God should call you.
 Thei are all Bungelers in comparison of you, and I
 thynke the best of theim, maie thanke you for all that
 he hath: but yet sir your cunnyng was suche, that you 20

5. In margin: Dissimutatio, alia dicentisac significantio.

brought a shillyng to nyne pence, naie to sixe
 pence, and a grote to two pence, and so gave hym a
 frumpe, even to his face, because he sawe hym so
 folishe. A glorious ientleman that had twoo
 servauntes, and belike would be knowen not only to 5
 have them, but also to have mo, said in the presence
 of a worshipfull man, I mervaile muche where all my
 servauntes are? Marie sir (quoth one) that thoughte
 to hitte hym home: thei wer here al two, even now.
 Thus he closely mockt hym, and worthely. For, the 10
 nomber is not greate, that standeth upon .iii., and
 (all) is to muche, when we speake of so fewe.

Doubtfulnesse.

Doubtfulnesse is then used, when we make the
 hearers beleve, that the weight of our matter causeth 15
 us to doubte, what were best to speake. As when a
 kyng findeth his people unfaithfull, he maie speake in
 this wise. Before I begin, I doubt what to name ye.
 Shal I call you subiectes? You deserve it not. My
 frendes ye are not. To cal you enemies wer overlittle, 20
 because your offence is so greate. Rebelles you are,

14. In margin: Dubitatio.

and yet that name doeth not fully utter your folie.
 Traitors I maie call you, and yet you are worse then
 traitors, for you seke his death, who hath geven you
 life. Thoffence is so great, that no man can
 comprehend it. Therefore I doubt what to call you, 5
 except I should call you by the name of theim all.
 Another. Whether shall I speake, or holde my peace?
 If I speake, you will not heare, if I holde my peace,
 my conscience condempneth my silence.

Distribucion. 10

Distribucion, is when we apply to ever body,
 suche thynges as are due unto them, declaryng what
 every one is in his vocacion. It is the duetie of a
 Kyng, to have an especiall care over his whole realme.
 It is thoffice of his nobles, to cause the kynges will 15
 to be fulfilled, and with all diligence to further his
 Lawes, and to se justice doen every where.

It is the part of a subject, faithfully to do his
 princes commaundement, and with a willyng hart to
 serve him at al nedes. 20

It is thoffice of a bishop to set furthe Gods

worde, and with all diligence to exhort men to all
 godlinesse. It is an husbandes duetie to love his
 wife, and with ientle meanes to rule her. It is the
 wifes office, humbly to submit her self to her
 husbandes will. Servauntes should be faithfull to 5
 their maistres, not onely for feare of a law, but also
 for conscience sake. Masters should use their
 servauntes accordyngly, payyng theim that, whiche is
 due unto them. A father should bryng up his children
 in the feare of God. Children should reverence their 10
 fathers with all submission. It is also called a
 distribucion, when we divide the whole, into severall
 partes, and saie we have foure poyntes, whereof we
 purpose to speake, comprehendyng our whole talke
 within compasse of the same. 15

Correccion.

Correccion, is when we alter a woorde or
 sentence, otherwise then we have spoken before,
 purposyng therby to augment the matter, and to make it
 appere more vehement. Tullie aginst Verres, geveth a 20
 good example. We have broughte before you my Lordes,

17. In margin: Correctio.

20. In margin: Tullie against Verres.

into this place of judgement, not a thefe, but an
 extorcioner and violent robber, not an aduouterer, but
 a ravisher of maides, not a stealer of church goodes,
 but an errant traitor, bothe to God and all
 godlinesse: not a common ruffin, but a moste cruell 5
 cut throte suche as if a man should rake hell for one,
 he could not finde the like. Again, if one would
 enveigh against bacbiters, after this sort. Thou hast
 not robbed hym of his money, but thou hast taken awaie
 his good name, whiche passeth all worldly goodes, 10
 neither hast thou slaundered thyne enemye, but thyne
 awne brother, and frende, that meant thee well, and
 hath doen thee pleasures: nay thou hast not slandred
 him, but thou hast slain hym. For a man is halfe
 hanged, that hath lost his good name. Neither hast 15
 thou killed him wih the sword, but poysoned hym with
 thy tongue, so that I maie call it rather an
 enchanting, then a murther. Neither hast thou killed
 one man alone, but so many as thou hast brought out of
 charite, with thy most venemous bacbityng. Yea, and 20
 last of al, thou hast not slain a man, but thou hast
 slain Christe in his members, so muche as laie in thee
 to do. But of this figure I have spoken heretofore,
 where I wrote of amplificacion.

Rejeccion.

Rejeccion is then used, when we lay suche faultes
 from us, as our enemies would charge us with all,
 saiying it is folly to thynke any suche thyng, muche
 more to speake it: or els to saie, suche a mannes 5
 worde is no slaunder, or it nedeth not to talke of
 suche toyes. Or thus. Who wold thinke that I would
 doo suche a deede? Or is it like that I would do
 suche a dede? Antony charged Tully, that he was the
 occasion of civill battaill. Nay (quoth Tullie) it is 10
 thou, it is thou manne and none other, that settes
 Ceasar on worke, to seke the slaughter of his
 countrey.

A Buttresse.

A buttresse is a fense made for that, whiche we 15
 purpose to hold up, or go about to compasse. As
 thus. I hope my lordes, bothe to perswade this man by
 reason, and to have your judgement in this matter.

2.In margin: Reiectio.

15.In margin: Premunitio.

For wheras it is a sore thyng to be justly accused,
for breaking frendship, then assuredly if one be
wrongfully slandred, a man had nede to loke about him.

A familiar talke, or comunicacion used.

Comunicacion is then used, when we debate with 5
other, and aske questions, as though we looked for an
answer, and so go through with our matter, leavyng the
judgement therof to their discrecion. As thus. What
thinke you in this matter? Is there any other better
meanes to dispatche the thyng? What would you have 10
doen, if you were in the same case? Here I appeale to
your awne conscience, whether you would suffer this
unpunished, if a man should do you the like
displeasure.

Descripcion of a mannes nature, or maners. 15

We describe the maners of men, when we set them
furthe in their kynd what thei are. As in speakyng

5.In margin: Communicatio.

16.In margin: Descriptio.

against a coveteous man, thus. There is no suche
 pinche peny on live, as this good felowe is. He will
 not lose the paryng of his nailes. His heire is never
 rounded, for sparyng of money one paire of shoen
 serveth hym a .xii. moneth, he is shod with nailes 5
 like a horse. He hath been knowen by his cote this
 .xxx. winter. He spent ones a grote at good ale,
 beyng forced thorowe companie, and taken short at his
 worde, whereupon he hath taken suche conceipt sins
 that tyme, that it hath almost cost hym his life. 10
 Tullie describeth Piso for his naughtines of life,
 wonderfully to heare, yea, worse then I have set furth
 this coveteous man. Read the Oracion against Piso,
 suche as be learned.

Error. 15

Errour is, when wee thinke muche otherwise then
 the truth is. As when we have conceived a good
 opinion of some one man, and are often deceived, to
 saie, who would have thought, that he ever would have
 doen so. Now of all menne upon yearth, I would have 20
 leaste suspected hym. But suche is the world. Or

16. In margin: Erroris inductio.

thus. You thinke suche a man a worthy personage, and of muche honestie, but I will prove, that he is muche otherwise: a man would not thynke it, but if I do not prove it, I will geve you my hedde.

Mirthe makyng.

5

I have heretofore largely declared, the waies of mirth making, and therfore I litle nede to renue them here in this place.

Anticipacion, or Prevencion.

Anticipacion, is when we prevent those wordes, 10
that another would saie, and disprove theim as
untrue, or at least wise, answeere unto them. A Godly
Preacher enveighed earnestly against those, that would
not have the Bible to bee in Englishe, and after
earnest probacion of his cause, saied thus: but me 15
thynkes I heare one saie. Sir, you make muche a dooe,
aboute a litle matter, what were we the worse, if we

6. In margin: In hilaritatem impulsio.

10. In margin: Ante occupatio.

had no scripture at al? To whom he answered: the
 scripture is left unto us by Goddes awne will, that
 the rather we might knowe his commaundementes, and
 live therafter al the daies of our life. Sometymes
 this figure is used when we saie, we will not speake 5
 this or that, and yet doo notwithstandyng. As thus.
 Suche a one is an Officer, I will not saie a briber.
 Righte is hyndered throughe mighte, I will not saie,
 overwhelmed. Thus in sayyng we will not speake, we
 speake our mynde after a sort, notwithstandyng. 10

A Similitude.

A similitude is a likenesse when .ii. thynges, or
 mo then two, are so compared and resembled together,
 that thei bothe in some one propertie seme like.
 Oftentymes brute beastes, and thynges that have no 15
 life, minister greate matter in this behalfe.
 Therefore those that delite to prove thynges by
 similitudes, must learne to knowe the nature of
 diverse beastes, of metalles, of stones and al suche,
 as have any vertue in them, and be applied to mannes 20
 life. Sometymes in a worde appereth a similitude,

12. In margin: Similitudo.

whiche beyng dilated helpeth wel for amplificacion.
 As thus. You strive against the streme, better bowe
 then breake. It is evill runnyng against a stone
 wall. A man maie love his house wel, and yet not ride
 upon the ridge. By all whiche, any one maie gather a 5
 similitude, and enlarge it at pleasure. The proverbes
 of Heiwode helpe wonderfull well for this purpose. In
 comparyng a thyng from the lesse to the greater,
 Similitudes helpe well to set out the matter. That if
 we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poses and 10
 sentences, wee maie with ease talke at large. This
 shall serve for an example. The more precious a
 thyng is, the more diligently should it bee kepte, and
 better hede taken to it. Therfore tyme, (consideryng,
 nothyng is more precious), should warely bee used, and 15
 good care taken, that no tyme bee lost, without some
 profite gotten. For it thei are to be punished, that
 spende their money, and waist their landes, what folie
 it is, not to thynke theim worthie muche more blame,
 that spend their tyme (whiche is the chifest treasure 20
 that God geveth) either idely, or els ungodly? For
 what other thyng doeth manne lose, when he loseth his
 tyme, but his life? And what can bee more deare to

12. In margin: Similitude enlarged.

man, then his life? If wee lose a litle money, or a
 rynge of golde with a stone in it, we compt that
 greate losse. And I praie you, when wee lose a whole
 daie, whiche is a good porcion of a mannes life, shall
 wee not compte that a losse, consideryng though our 5
 money bee gone, wee maie recover the same again, but
 tyme lost can never be called backe again. Again when
 we lose our money, some bodye getteth good by it, but
 the losse of time turneth to no mannes avayle. There
 is no man that loseth in anye other thyng, but some 10
 bodye gayneth by it, savyng onely in the losse of
 time. Yea, it hathe saved the lyfe of some, to lose
 al that they hadde. For riches be the occasion
 sometimes of mucche mischief in this lyfe, so that
 were better sometymes wastefullye to spende, then 15
 warely to keepe: by the losse of time, no man hath
 profited him selfe any thing at all. Besides this,
 the better and more precious a thing is, the more
 shame to spend it fondly. Though men kepe their
 goodes never so close, and locke them up never so 20
 fast, yet often times, either by some mischaunce of
 fyre, or other thinge, they are lost, or els desperate
 Dickes borowes nowe and then againste the owners
 wille, all that ever he hathe. And now though the
 owner be undone, yet is he not therfore dishonest 25

considerynge honestye standeth not in wealthe or
 heapes of money: But the losse of tyme, seyng it
 happeneth throughe oure owne folye, not onelye dothe it
 make us wretches, but also causeth menne to thinke
 that wee are paste all grace. A wonderfull kynde of 5
 infamie, when the whole blame shal reste uppon none
 other mannes necke, but uppon his onely that suffereth
 all the harme. Wyth money a manne maye bye lande, but
 none can gette honestie of that pryce: and yet with
 well usinge of tyme, a manne not onely might get him 10
 muche worshippe, but also myghte purchase himself a
 name for ever. Yea, in a smal time a man might get
 greate fame, and live in much estimation. By losinge
 of money wee lose little elles: by losynge of time,
 wee lose all the goodnes and gyftes of GOD, which by 15
 laboure might be hadde.

Thus a Similitude myghte be enlarged by heapyng
 good sentences, when one thinge is compared wyth an
 other, and a conclusion made therupon.

Emonge the learned menne of the Church, no one 20
 useth this figure more then Chrisostome, whose
 writynges the rather seme more pleasaunte and swete.
 For similitudes are not onelye used to amplifie a
 matter, but also to beautifie the same, to delite the
 hearers, to make the matter playne, and to shewe a 25

certaine maiestye wyth the reporte of suche resembled
 thinges, but because I have spoken of similitudes
 heretofore in the boke of Logique, I will surcesse to
 talke anye further of this matter.

Example

5

He that myndeth to perswade, muste neades be well
 stored with examples. And therfore muche are they to
 be commended whiche searche Chronicles of all ages,
 and compare the state of our elders, with this
 presente time. The historye of Goddes boke to the 10
 christian is infallible, and therfore the rehearsall
 of suche good thinges as are therin conteyned, move
 the faythfull to all upright doinge and amendmente of
 their lyfe. The Ethnicke aucthoures styre the
 hearers, beyng well applyed to the purpose. For when 15
 it shall be reported that they whiche hadde no
 knowledge of God, lived in a brotherlye love, one
 towardes an other, detested aduoutrye, banished
 perjures, hanged the unthanckfull, kepte the ydle
 withoute meate, tyll they laboured for their livynge, 20
 suffered none extorcion, exempted Brybers frome

bearynge rule in the commune Weale: the Christians
 muste neades be ashamed of their evyll behaviour, and
 studye much to passe those, whiche are in callynge
 muche under theim, and not suffer that the ignoraunte
 and Paganes lyfe, shall countervayle the taughte 5
 chyldren of God, and passe the Christians so much in
 good livynge, as the Christians passe theim in good
 learninge. Unequall examples commende muche the
 matter. I call theim unequall, when the weaker is
 brought in againste the stronger, as if chyldren be 10
 faythfull, much more ought menne to be faythfull. If
 womenne be chaste, and undefiled: menne shoulde muche
 more be cleane, and wythoute faulte. If an unlearned
 manne wyll do no wronge, a learned man and a preacher
 muste muche more be uprighte, and live without blame. 15
 If an housholder will deale justlye with his
 servauntes, a Kynge muste muche the rather deale
 justelye with his subjectes.

Examples gathered out of histories and used in
 this sort, helpe muche towards perswasion. Yea, 20
 brute beastes minister greate occasion of righte good
 matter, considerynge manye of them have shewen unto
 us, the paternes and ymages of divers vertues.

Doves seyng an hauke, gather all together,
 teachynge us none other thing, but in adversitie to 25

sticke one to another.

Craynes in the nyght have their watche, warninge
us never to be carelesse, for if their watche faile
them, they al never leave tyll they have killed that
one Crayne, teachyng us that no traytours are worthye 5
to live upon earth. The watche for his safegarde, and
because he woulde not slepe: holdeth a stone in his
fote, the whiche falleth from him, when he beginneth
to waxe heavy, and so he kepeth him selfe styll
wakyng. Wherby wee maye learne that all menne in 10
their vocation shoulde be right ware and watchfull.
The Henne clocketh her chickens, feadeth them, and
kepeth theim from the Kyte. Womenne must clocke their
children, bring them up well, and kepe them from evill
happe. Nowe I myght in speakinge of some odious vyce, 15
largelye sette oute some example belonginge to the
same, and compare it with other by heapinge of
Chronicles, and matchinge of thynges together.

The unthankefull in this age (whereof there is no
small number) can not have enoughe saide againste 20
theim. And therefore I am minded to saye somewhat

2. In margin: Craynes.

20. In margin: Unthankefulnes how evil it is.

againste theim, to the utter abhorynge of all suche
 unkynde dealynge. For he that is unthankeful, and for
 herty love, sheweth cankard hatred: wanteth all other
 Vertues, that are required to be in manne. The chiefe
 perfection and the absolute fulfillyng of the Lawe, 5
 standeth in the love which manne oweth first to God,
 and nexte to his neighbour. Lette a manne have fayth
 that he may be able to translate mountaines (as saint
 Paule sayeth:) yea, let him have never so good
 qualities, or be he never so politique a manne for the 10
 saulfegarde of his Countrey, be he never so wise, so
 ware, and so watchful: yet if he wante Love, he is
 nothyng elles but as a soundinge brasse, or a
 tinckelinge Cymbal.

Nowe he that is churlishe and unthankfull, muste 15
 neades wante love, and therefore wanteth he all other
 goodnes. The Persians therefore seyng the greatenes of
 this offence and that where is rested, all vyces for
 ever were banished: provided by a law that suche
 should suffer death as felons, which were founde 20
 faultye with unthankfulness.

And yet I can not see but they deserve rather an

17. In margin: Unthankfulness punished by the Persians with death.

exquisite kynde of Deathe (suche as fewe have sene, or fewe have felte) then to suffer lyke Deathe with other, that have not like offended wyth them.

But nowe because this offence is an evill most odious, and the principal occasion of all other 5 mischiefes, I will set forth the three notable examples, the one of a Dragon, the seconde of a Dogge, and the thirde of a Lyon (whiche all thre in thankefulnes, if that be true whiche is reported of theim, wonderfullye exceded), and the rather I seke to set theim oute, 10 that the wycked herebye maye well knowe what they theim selves are, when brutte Beastes shall sette theim al to schole.

There was a manne (as Plinie writeth) whiche fostered up a yong Dragon, who seyng the same beaste 15 to waxe wonderfull greate, feared to kepe his Dragon anye longer within his house, and therfore he put him out into a wylde foreste. It happened aferwarde that the same manne traveylinge on hys journey throughe the Foreste, was besette with thieves. And nowe beyng in 20 this distresse, and lokinge for none other ende but death; made (as lothe to departe) a greate showte and an outcrye: strayghte upon whose noyse, and at the

15. In margin: Thankfulnes of a Dragon.

knowledge of his voyce, the Dragon came to him in all
the haste possible. Wherupon the theves beinge
greatelye afrayed, ranne cleane awaye to save theim
selves harmeles. Thus throughe the thanckefulnes of a
Dragon, this mans life was saved. 5

The dogge of the Romaine Fulvius is more
wonderful. This Fulvius traveylinge by the waye, was
slayne wyth slaves that laye in wayte for him. Hys
Dogge seynge his master deade, laye by him for the
space of two dayes. Whereupon when the manne was 10
missinge, and searche made for him: they founde him
dead, with his Dogge liynge by him.

Some marveylinge to see the dogge lye there by
hys deade master, stroke him, and woulde have driven
him from the deade corse, and coulde not: some seynge 15
suche kindenes in the Dogge, and pitynge him that he
should lye there without meate, two or thre dayes
before: cast him a pece of flesh, wherupon the Dogge
strayghte caried the meate to his masters mouthe, and
woulde not eate anye whitte him selfe, thoughe he 20
hadde forborne meate so longe before. And last of
all, when this deade bodye shoulde be caste into the
river, (according to the maner of the Romaines) the

6. In margin: Thanckefulnes of a Dogge.

Dogge leapt in after, and holdynge up his maister so longe as he coulde, did chose rather to dye with him, then to live without him.

The Lyon (wherof Appian the Grammarian doth speake) is also straunge for his kindenes, and almost 5
incredible. A servaunte that hadde runne awaye from his master, and hidde him selfe for feare in a cave, within a greate woodde, toke a thorne out of a Lions fote, whiche then came to him for succour as he lay there. Now when he had done, the lion to requite his 10
good turne, brought suche meate to the cave, as he coulde kyll in the woode. The whiche meate the Servaunte rostynge againste the Sunne, (beynge in the mooste hotte countrey of all Affrica) did eate from time to time. At length yet being werye of suche a 15
lothesome lyfe, he left the cave, and came abrode, by meanes wherof, he was taken again, and beinge a slave to his master (who hadde power of life and deathe over him) he was condempned to be caste to the wylde beastes at Rome, there to be devoured of a Lyon. The 20
pore caytife stode pitifullye in the sighte of thousandes, ever lokinge when he sholde be devoured. It happened at the same time, when this fellow was thus

5. In margin: Thankefulnes of a Lyon.

adiudged to dye: that the same Lyon was taken, whose
 foote he healed in the wood. When the Lyon was putte
 to him, he came firste very terribly towarde this
 felowe, and immediatly knowyng what he was, stoode
 styll, and at length fauned gently upon him. The 5
 fellow at first being amased, began to take harte unto
 him afterwardes, as halfe knowing him likewise, and
 thus they began bothe to take acquaintaunce thone of
 thother, and played together a good space withoute all
 daunger, wherupon the people beyng amased, muche 10
 wondered at the straungenes of the thinge. And
 standinge thus astonied, they sente to knowe of the
 slave, what his matter shoulde meane. Unto whom this
 poore wretche opened the whole thyng altogether, even
 as it happened. When the people hearde this, they not 15
 onely rejoysed muche at the sight therof, but also
 they made earnest request to his Master for his lyfe.
 His master marveylinge as muche as anye of them, at
 suche an unwonte kyndenes: gave him not onelye hys
 life, but also his fredome. And nowe to the ende he 20
 myght have some what whereupon to lyve, the people
 gave hym a fee for terme of his lyfe. The felowe by
 and by gotte him a linne and a coler, and caried the

Lyon up and downe the citye in suche sorte, as
 hunttesmenne carye a Greyhounde, or a Spaniell, the
 people styll wonderynge, and sayinge ever as he came
 bye: Beholde a manne that hath cured a Lyon, behold a
 Lyon that hath saved a man. 5

The whiche example, the more straunge it is, the
 more ashamed maye they be that are unnaturall, and
 maye learne kindenes of a brute Beaste. For suche
 menne beyng overcome with kindnes by Beastes, are
 worsse then Beastes, and more mete rather to be 10
 tormented with Devils, then to live with men.

Of enlargynge examples by copye.

And now because examples enriched by Copy, help
 muche for Amplification: I will geve a taste, howe
 these and suche lyke Histories maye be encreased. And 15
 for the better handelynge of theim, nedefull it is to
 marke well the circumstaunces: that beyng well
 observed and compared together on bothe partes, they
 maye the rather be enlarged.

As thus. That whiche brute Beastes have doone, 20
 shalt thou being a man seem not to have done? They

20. In margin: Example enlarged.

shewed them selves natural, and wilt thou appeare
unnaturall? Nay they overcame nature, and wilte thou
be overcome of them? They became of beastes in bodye,
men in nature, and wilt thou become of a manne in
bodye, a Beaste in nature? 5

They beinge withoute reason, declared the
propertye of reasonable creatures, and wilte thou
beinge a man endued wyth reason, appeare in thy
doynge altogether unreasonable? Shall Dogges be
thankefull: and menne, yea, christian menne wante 10
suche a vertue? Shall wormes shewe suche kindenes:
and menne appearre gracelesse? It had ben no matter
if they had bene unthankefull: but man can never
escape blame, seinge God hathe commaunded, and Nature
hathe graffed this in all menne: that they shoulde do 15
to other, as they woulde be done unto. Agayne, they
for meate onelye shewed them selves so kinde: and shal
man for so many benefites received, and for such
goodnes shewed, requite for good will, evil dedes: for
hartie love, deadlye hatred: for vertue, vyce: and for 20
life geven to him, yelde death to other? Nature hath
parted man and beast: and shall man in nature be no
manne? Shamed be that wretche that goeth agayst
nature, that onelye hath the shape of a man, and in
nature is worse then a beast. Yea, worthe are all 25

suche rather to be torne with devils, then to live
with men. Thus an example might moste copiouslye be
augmented, but thus muche for this time is sufficient.

The saiyng of Poets and all their fables are not
to be forgotten, for by them we may talke at large, 5
and winne men by perswasion, if wee declare before
hande, that these tales were not fayned of suche wise
menne without cause, neither yet continued untill this
tyme, and kepte in memorie without good consideration,
and therupon declare the true meanyng of all suche 10
writinge. For undoubtedlye there is no one tale
emonge al the Poetes, but under the same is
comprehended some thinge that perteyneth eyther to the
amendement of maners, to the knowledge of trueth, to
the settinge forthe of Natures woocke, or elles to 15
the understandinge of some notable thyng done. For
what other is the paynefull travayle of Ulisses
discribed so largelye by Homere, but a lively picture
of mans miserie in this life. And as Plutarche sayth
and likewise Basilius Magnus: In the Iliades are 20
described strengthe and valeantenes of the bodye: In
Odissea is set forthe a lyvelye Paterne of the minde.
The Poetes were wise men, and wished in harte the

6. In margin: Poeticall narrations profitable.

23. In margin: Poets under culoures shew
much wisdom.

redresse of thinges, the whiche when for feare they
 durst not openly rebuke, thei didde in coloures paynte
 theim oute, and tolde menne by shadowes what they
 shoulde do in good south: or els because the wycked
 were unworthy to heare the truth, they spake so, that 5
 none myght understande, but those unto whom they
 pleased to utter their meaninge, and knewe them to be
 menne of honeste conversation.

We reade of Danae the fayre damosel, whom
 Juppiter tempted full ofte, and coulde never have his 10
 pleasure, tyll at lenthe he made it raine golde, and
 so as shee sate in her chimney, a greate deale fell
 upon her lappe, the whyche shee toke gladly, and kepte
 it there: within the which gold Juppiter him selfe was
 comprehended, wherby is none other thyng elles 15
 signified, but that women have bene, and wyl be
 overcome with money.

Likewise Juppiter fanseinge the fayre maide Isis
 could not have his will, till he turned him selfe
 into a fayre whyte Bull, whiche signified that beautie 20
 may overcome the best.

9. In margin: Danae.

18. In margin: Isis.

If a manne woulde speake agaynste covetous
 Caytifes, can he better shewe what they are, then by
 settinge forthe the straunge plague of Tantalus, who
 is reported to be in Hell, havinge water comminge
 styll to his chynne, and yet never able to drynke: and 5
 an apple hangyng before his mouthe, and yet never able
 to eat?

Icarus woulde nedes have wynges and flye
 contrary to nature, wheupon when he hadde them sette
 together with waxe, and joyned to his syde, he mounted 10
 up into the ayre. But so sone as the sunne hadde
 somewhat heated him, and his waxe began to melte, he
 fel downe into a greate River, and was drowned out of
 hande, the whiche water was ever after called by his
 name. Now what other thing dothe this tale shewe us, 15
 but that everye man should not meddle with thinges
 above his compasse.

Midas desiered that whatsoever he touched, the
 same might be golde: wherupon when Juppiter hadde
 graunted him his bounde: his meate, drinke, and al 20

3.In margin: Tantalus.

8.In margin: Icarus.

18.In margin: Midas.

other thinges turned into gold, and he choked with his owne desire, as al covetous men lightly shalbe, that can never bee content when they have enough.

What other thyng are the wonderfull laboures of Hercules, but that reason shoulde withstande 5
 accection, and the spirite for ever should fight, against the fleshe? We Christians had like fables heretofore of joyly felowes, the Images wherof were set up (in Gods name) even in our Churches. But is any man so mad to thynk that ever there was suche a 10
 one as S. Christofer was paincted unto us? Mary God forbid. Assuredly when he lived upon earth there were other houses builded for hym, then we have at this tyme, and I thynke tailers were muche troubled to take measure of him for makyng his garmentes. He might be 15
 of kynne to Garganteo, if he were as bigge as he is set forthe in Antwerpe. But this was the meanyng of our elders (and the name self doth signifie none other) that every man should beare Christ upon his backe, that is to say, he should love his brother as 20
 Christe loved us, and gave his body for us: he shoulde

4. In margin: Hercules laboures what they signified.

11. In margin: S. Christofer what he signified.

travaile through hunger, colde, sorowe, sickenes,
 deathe, and al daungers with al sufferance that might
 be. And whether should he travaile? to the
 everlivyng GOD. But how? In darkenes? No forsouth,
 by the light of his word. And therfore Sainct 5
 Christofer beyng in the Sea, and not well able to
 gette out (that is to say beyng almost drowned in
 synne, and not knowyng whiche waie best to escape) an
 Heremite appered unto hym with a lanterne and a light
 therein, the whiche dothe signifie none other thyng to 10
 the Christian but the true woorde of God, whiche
 lighteneth the hartes of men, and geveth understanding
 to the youngelinges (as the Prophet doth saie).
 Againe, Sainct George he is set on horsebacke and
 killeth a Dragon with his speare, whiche Dragon woulde 15
 have devoured a virgine, whereby is none other thyng
 ment but that a Kyng and every man unto whom
 the execution of jusice is committed, should defende the
 innocent against the ungodly attemptes of the wicked,
 and rather kill suche devilles by marcial law, than 20
 suffer the innocentes to take any wrong. But who gave
 our clargie any suche auctoritie that those monsters
 shoulde bee in Churches as laye mens Bookes? God

14. In margin: S. George on horse backe.

forbadde by expresse worde to make any graven Image,
 and shal we be so bolde to breake Gods wil for a good
 entent, and call these Idolles laie mens Bookes? I
 could talke more largely of examples, and heape a
 nomber here together, aswell of Ethnike Aucthours, as 5
 of other here at home: but for feare I should be
 tediousse, these for this tyme shal suffice.

Of fables.

The feigned fables, such as are attributed unto
 brute beastes, would not be forgotten at any hand. 10
 For not onely they delite the rude and ignoraunt, but
 also they helpe much for perswasion. And because
 suche as speake in open audience have ever moe fooles
 to heare them than wise men to geve judgement: I would
 thynke it not amisse, to speake muche accordyng to the 15
 nature and fansie of the ignoraunt, that the rather
 thei might be wonne through fables, to learne more
 weightie and grave matters. For al men cannot brooke
 sage causes, and auncient collacions: but wil lyke
 earnest matters the rather, is some thing be spoken 20
 there emong agreyng to their natures. The multitude

(as Horace doth say) is a beast, or rather a monster
 that hath many heades and therefore like unto the
 diversitie of natures, varietie of invencion must
 alwaies be used. Talke altogether of most grave
 matters, or depely searche out the ground of thynges 5
 or use the Quiddities of Duncce to sette forth Gods
 misteries: and you shal see the ignoraunt (I warrant
 you) either fal a slepe, or elles bid you farewell.
 The multitude must needes be made mery: and the more
 foolish your talke is, the more wise wil they counte 10
 it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse, but rather
 wisdom to wynne men by tellyng of fables to heare of
 Gods goodnesse. Undoubtedly fables well sette forth,
 have doen muche good at diverse tymes, and in diverse
 commune weales. The Romaine Menenius Agrippa allegying 15
 upon a tyme a fable of the conflicte made betwixt the
 partes of a mans bodie, and his belie: quieted a
 marveilouse stirre that was lyke to ensewe and
 pacified the uprore of sediciouse rebelles, whiche els
 thought for ever to destroy their countrie. 20
 Themistocles perswaded the Athenians not to chaunge
 their Officers, by rehersyng the fable of a scabbed

4. In margin: Fables how nedeful they are to
 teache the ignoraunte.

foxe. For (quoth he) when many flees stode feedyng
 upon his rawe fleshe, and had wel fedde themselves, he
 was contented at anothers persuation, to have them
 slapte away: whereupon their ensewed suche hungry
 flees afterwardes, that the sorie foxe beyng al alone 5
 was eaten up almost to the harde boone, and therefore
 cursed the tyme that ever he agreed to any suche evil
 counsel. In lyke maner (quoth Themistocles) if you
 will chaunge Officers, the hungry flees will eate you
 up one after another, whereas now you live beyng but 10
 onely bitten, and lyke to have no farther harme, but
 rather muche wealth and quietnesse hereafter, because
 they are filled, and have enough, that heretofore
 suckte so muche of your bloud.

Now likewyse as I gave a lesson how to enlarge an 15
 example, so may fables also in lyke sorte be sette
 out, and augmented at large by Amplification. Thus
 muche for the use fables. Againe, sometymes feined
 Narrations and wittie invented matters (as though they
 were true in deede) helpe wel to set forwarde a cause, 20
 and have greate grace in them, beyng apetyly used and
 wel invented. Luciane passeth in this pointe: and sir
 Thomas More for his Eutopia can soner be remembred of
 me, then worthely praised of any according as the
 excellentse of his invencion in that behaulf doth most 25

justly require.

Digestion.

Digestion is an orderly placynge of thynges,
 partyng every matter severally. Tullie hath an
 example hereof in his Oration whiche he made for 5
 Sextus Roscius Amarinus. There are three thynges
 (quoth Tullie) whiche hynder Sextus Roscius at this
 tyme, the accusacion of his adversaries, the boldenes
 of them, and the power that they beare. Eruscus his
 accuser hath taken upon hym to forge false matter, the 10
 Roscians kinsfolke have boldly adventured, and wil
 face out their doynges, and Chrisogonus here, that
 most can do, wil presse us with his power.

A whisht, or a warnyng to speake no more.

A whisht, is when we bid them holde their peace 15
 that have least cause to speake, and can do litle
 good with their talkyng. Diogenes beeyng upon the Sea

3.In margin: Digestio.

15.In margin: Reticentia.

among a number of naughtie packes in a greate storme
 of wether, when diverse of these wicked felowes cried
 out for feare of drownynge, some with fained prayour to
 Juppiter, some to Neptune, and every one as they beste
 fantaised the goddes above: whishte (quoth Diogenes) 5
 for by Gods mother, if God hym selfe knowe you be
 here, you are lyke to be drowned every mothers sonne
 of you. Meanyng that they were so nought, and so
 fainedly made their prayour to false Godes without
 mynde to amende their naughtie lyfe, that the lyvyng 10
 God woulde not leave them unpunished though they cried
 never so fast. Wee use this figure likewyse, when in
 speakyng of any man: we saie, whisht, the woulfe is at
 hand: when the same man cometh in the meane season, of
 whome we spake before. 15

Contrarietie.

Contrarietie is, when our talke standeth by
 contrarie wordes, or sentences together. As thus wee
 might despraise some one man. He is of a straunge

5. In margin: Diogenes.

17. In margin: Contentio.

nature as ever I sawe, for to his frende he is
 churlishe, to his foe he is jentle: geve him faire
 wordes, and you offende hym: checke hym sharpely, and
 you wyne hym. Let hym have his will, and he wil flye
 in your face: kepe hym shorte, and you shal have hym 5
 at commaundement.

Freennesse of speache.

Freennesse of speache, is when wee speake boldely,
 and without feare, even to the proudest of them,
 whatsoever we please, or have list to speake. 10
 Diogenes herein did excel, and feared no man when he
 sawe just cause to saie his mynde. This worlde
 wanteth such as he was, and hath over many suche, as
 never honest man was, that is to say, flatterers,
 fawners, and southers of mennes saynges. 15

Stomake grief.

Stomake grief, is when we will take the matter

8. In margin: Liberavox.

17. In margin: Iracundia.

as hote as a tost. We nede no examples for this
 matter, hote men have to many, of whom they may be
 bould and spare not, that fynde them selves a colde.
 Some tymes we entreate earnestly and make meanes by
 praier to wyne favour. Sometyes we seke favour by 5
 speaking well of the companie present. As. Thorowe
 your helpe my lordes this good deede hath been done.
 Some tymes we speake to hurte our adversaries, by
 setting forth their evil behavior. Some tymes we
 excuse a fault, and accuse the reporters. Sometyes 10
 we wishe unto God for redresse of evil. Sometimes we
 curse the extreme wickednes of some past good
 roisters. In al whiche I thynke neither examples
 neede, nor yet any rehersal had been greatly
 necessarie, considering al these come without any 15

5.In margin: Deprecatio.

5.In margin: Conciliatio.

6.In margin: Laesio.

9.In margin: Purgatio.

11.In margin: Optatio.

13.In margin: Execratio.

great learnyng, saving that for apt bestowing,
judgement is right nedeful.

Of figures in sentencies, called Schemes.

When any sentence upon the placyng, or setting of
wordes, is said to be a figure: the saied is alwaies 5
called a Scheme, the whiche wordes beyng altered, or
displaced, the figure streight doth lose his name, and
is called no more a scheme. Of this sorte there be
diverse, suche as hereafter folowe.

Doublettes. 10

Doublettes, is when we rehearse one and the same
worde twise together. Ah wretche, wretche, that I am.
Tullie againste Catiline inveighyng sore against his
traiterouse attemptes, saith after a long rehersed
matter, and yet notwithstanding all this notourouse 15
wickednesse: the man liveth stil, liveth? Nay mary he
cometh into the counsel house whiche is more. An
other: Darest thou showe thy face, thou wretched
theef, thou theefe I saie to thyne own father, darrest

11. In margin: Geminatio verborum.

thou looke abrode? Thus the ofte repeatyng of one worde doth muche stirre the hearer, and makes the worde seeme greater, as though a sworde were ofte digged and thrust twise, or thrise in one place of the bodie.

5

Alteryng parte of a worde.

Alteryng parte of a word, is when we take a letter, or sillable from some word, or els adde a letter, or sillable to a worde. As thus. William Somer seyng muche a do for accompted makyng, and that 10 the Kynges Maiestie of most worthie memorie Henry theight wanted mony suche as was due unto hym: And please your grace (quoth he) you have so many frauditours, so many conveiers, and so many deceivers to get up your money, that they get al to themselves. 15 Whether he said true, or no, let God judge that. It was unhappely spoken of a foole, and I thynke he had some Scholemaister: he shoulde have saied Auditours, Surveyours, and Receavours.

Repetition.

Repetition is when we begynne diverse sentencies one after another with one and the same worde. As thus: When thou shalt appere at the terrible daie of judgement before the high majestie of God, where is 5 then thy riches? where is then thy deintie faire? where is then thy great band of men? where are then thy faire houses? wher are then al thy landes, pastures, parkes, and forestes? I might saie thus of our soveraine lord the Kynges maiestie that now is. 10 Kyng Edwarde hath overthrowne idoloatrie: Kyng Edwarde hath bannished superstition: Kyng Edward by Gods helpe hath brought us to the true knowlege of our creation: Kyng Edwarde hath quieted our consciencies, and laboured that al his people should secke healthe 15 by the death and Passion of Christ alone.

Conversion.

Conversion is an ofte repeatyng of the last worde, and is contrarie to that which went before.

1. In margin: Repetitio a primo.

17. In margin: Conversio eiusdem in extremum.

When just dealing is not used: welth goeth away,
 fryndship goeth away, truth goeth awaie, all goodnes
 (to speake at a worde) goeth awaie. Where affections
 beare rule, there reason is subdued, honestie is
 subdued, good wil is subdued, and al thinges els that 5
 withstande evil, for ever are subdued.

Comprehension.

Comprehension, is when bothe the above rehersed
 figures are in one kynd of speakyng used, so that
 bothe one first worde must ofte be rehersed, and 10
 likewise al one last worde. What winneth the hartes
 of men? Liberalitie. What causeth men to adventure
 their lifes, and dye willyngly in defence of their
 masters? Liberalitie. What continueth the state of
 a Kyng? Liberalitie. What becometh a woman best, 15
 and first of al? Silence. What seconde? Silence.
 What third? Silence. What fourth? Silence. Yea if
 a man should aske me til dowmes day, I would stil
 crie, silence, silence, without the whiche no woman

8.In margin: Conuersio in eadem.

15.In margin: Silence becometh a woman best.

hath any good gifte, but having the same, no doubt she must have many other notable giftes, as the whiche of necessitie do ever folow suche a vertue.

Progression.

Progression standeth upon contrarie sentences 5
 which answere one another. If we would rebuke a
 naughty boie, we might with commendying a good boie,
 say thus. What a boie art thou in comparison of this
 fellow here. Thou sleapes: he wakes: thou plaies: he
 studies: thou art ever abroad: he is ever at home: 10
 thou never waites: he stil doth his attendaunce: thou
 carest for no body: he doeth his dutie to al men: thou
 doest what thou canst to hurt al, and please none: he
 doth what he can, to hurte none, and please all.

Lyke endyng, and lyke fallyng. 15

Then the sentences are said to ende lyke, when
 those wordes do end in like sillables, which do lacke

5. In margin: Progressio.

16. In margin: Similiter desinesn, similiter cadens.

cases. Thou lives wickedly, thou speakes naughtely.
 The rebelles of Northfolke (quoth a most worthie man
 that made an invective against them) through slaverie,
 slew Nobilitie: in dede miserably, in fashion cruelly,
 in cause devilishly.

5

Sentencies also are said to fal like, when
 diverse wordes in one sentencie ende in lyke cases,
 and that in ryme. By greate travaile is got muche
 availe, by earnest affection, men learne discrecion.

These .iii. kyndes of Exornacion are then most 10
 delitefull when contrarie thynges are repeated
 together: when that ones again is utterde, whiche
 before was spoken: when sentencies are turned, and
 letters are altered. Of the first this may be an
 example: where learnyng is lived, there labour is 15
 esteemed: but wher sleuth is thought solace, there
 rudenes taketh place. A Kyng is honoured, that is a
 Kyng in dede: wil you drink or you go, or wil you go
 or you drinke? There is a diffrence betwixt an
 horsemilne, and a milneshorse. He is a meter man to 20
 drive the carte, than to serve in the Courte. Through
 labour cometh honour, through ydell lyvyng followeth
 hangyng. Diverse in this our tyme delite muche in
 this kynd of writyng, whiche beeyng measurably used,
 deliteth muche the hearers, otherwyse it offendeth, 25

and werieth mens eares with sacitie. S. Augustine
 had a goodly gifte in this behaulf, and yet some
 thinkes he forgot measure, and used overmuch this
 kynde of figure. Notwithstandyng the people were
 suche where he lived, that they toke muche delite in 5
 rymed sentences, and in Orations made ballade wise.
 Yea thei were so nyce and so waiwarde to please, that
 excepte the Preacher from tyme to tyme coulde ryme out
 his Sermon, they woulde not long abide the hearyng.
 Tacitus also sheweth that in his tyme, the judges and 10
 sergeauntes at the lawe were driven to use this kynd
 of phrase both in their writyng, and also in their
 speakyng. Yea great lordes would thynk them selves
 contempned, if learned men (when they speake before
 them) sought not to speake in this sorte. So that 15
 for the flowyng stile, and ful sentence, crepte in
 mynstrelles elocution, talkyng matters altogether in
 rime, and for weightnesse and gravitie of wordes,

1. In margin: Augustine.

10. In margin: Tacitus.

15. In margin: Rymed sentences used without measure.

succeeded nothyng els but wantonesse of invencon.
 Tullie was forsaken, with Livie, Cesar, and other:
 And Apuleius, Ausonius, with suche mynstrell makers
 were altogether folowed. And I thynke the Popes
 heretofore (seeying the peoples folie to be suche) made 5
 al our Hymnes and Anthemes in rime, that with the
 singyng of men, plaiyng of organes, ringyng of belles,
 and rimyng of Hymnes, and Sequencies, the poore
 ignoraunt might thinke the Harmonie to be heavenly,
 and verely beleve that the Angels of God made not a 10
 better noise in heaven. I speake thusmuche of these
 two figures, not that I thinke folie to use them (for
 thei are pleasaunt and praise worthie) but my talke is
 to this end, that thei shoulde neither onely, nor
 chefely be used, and I know some in this our time do 15
 overmuche use them in their writynges. And overmuche
 (as al men know) was never good yet. Yea a man may
 have overmuche of his mothers blessyng if she wil
 never leave blessyng. Therefore a measure is best,
 yea even in the best thynges. And thus farre for 20
 these .ii. figures.

Equal members.

Eguall members are suche, when the one halfe of

4. In margin: Rymes made, to mocke the simple.

the sentence answereth to the other, with just
 proporcion of nomber, not that the sillables of
 necessitee, should be of just nombre, but that the
 eare might judge them, to bee so eguall, that there
 maie appere small difference. As thus. Lawe without 5
 mercie, is extreme power, yet men thorowe folie,
 deserve suche justice. Learnyng is daungerous, if an
 evill man have it. The more noble a manne is, the
 more ientle he should be. Isocrates passeth in this
 behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in nomber, 10
 kepyng just proporcion in framynge of his sentence.

Like among themselves.

Sentences are called like, when contraries are
 set together, and the first taketh asmuche as the
 other folowyng: and the other folowyng taketh asmuche 15
 a waie, as that did, whiche went before. As thus.
 Lust hath overcome shamefastnesse, impudencie hath
 overcome feare, and madnesse hath overcome reason. Or
 els sentences are said to be like among themselves,

1. In margin: Paria paribus relata.

13. In margin: Similia inter se.

when every part of one sentence is eguall, and of like
 weight one with another. As thus. Is it knowen,
 tried, proved, evident, open, and assured that I did
 suche a deede? Another. Suche riote, dicyng,
 Cardyng, pikyng, stealyng, fighting, ruffines, queanes 5
 and harlottes, must nedes bryng hym to naught.

Gradacion.

Gradacion is when we rehearse the worde that goeth
 next before, and bryng another woorde thereupon that
 encreaseth the matter, as though one should go up a 10
 paire of staiers, and not leave til he come at the
 toppe. Or thus. Gradacion is when a sentence is
 dissevered by degrees, so that the worde, whiche
 endeth the sentence goyng before, doeth begin the
 nexte. Labour getteth learnyng, learnyng getteth 15
 fame, fame getteth honour, honour getteth blesse for
 ever. Another. Of slouthe cometh pleasure, of
 pleasure cometh spendyng, of spendyng cometh whoryng,
 of whoryng cometh lacke, of lacke cometh thefte, of
 thefte cometh hangyng, and there an ende for this 20
 world.

Regression.

That is called regression, when we repeate a worde eftsones, that hath been spoken, and rehersed before, whether the same bee in the beginnyng, in the midst, or the latter ende of a sentence. 5

In the beginnyng, thus. Thou art ordeined to rule other, and not other to rule thee.

In the midst, thus. He that hath money, hath not geuen it, and he that hath geuen money, hath not his money still: but he that hath geuen thankes, hath 10 thankes still, and he that hath them still, hath geuen them notwithstanding.

In the latter ende, thus. Manne must not live to eate, but eate to live. Man is not made for the Sabboth, but the Sabboth is made for man. If man do 15 any filthy thyng, and take pleasure therein: the pleasure goeth awaie, but the shame tarieth still. If manne do any good thyng with pain, the paines go awaie, but the honestie abideth still.

Wordes loose.

Wordes louse are suche, which as are uttred
without any addicion of conjunccions, suche as knitte
woordes and sentences together. As thus. Obeye the
Kyng, feare his lawes, kepe thy vocacion, doo right, 5
seke rest, like well a litle, use all menne, as thou
wouldest thei should use thee.

Out cryyng.

Out cryyng is when with voyce we make an
exclamacion. Oh Lorde, O God, O worlde, O life, O 10
maners of menne? O death, where is thy styng? O hell
where is thy victorie?

Oft usyng of one worde in diverse places.

Can he have any mannes harte in hym, or deserveth
he the name of a man, that cruelly killeth a poore 15
innocent man, who never thought hym harme?

8.In margin: Dissolutum.

13.In margin: Exclamatio.

A cause geven to a sentence uttered.

I feare not myne adversarie, because I am not
gilitie. I mistrust not the Judges, because thei are
juste, the quest will not cast me, the matter is so
plain.

5

A cause geven to thynges contrary.

Better it were to rule, then to serve: For, he
that ruleth, liveth: because he is free. But he that
serveth, cannot be saied to live. For where bondage
is, there is no life properly.

10

Sufferaunce.

Take your pleasure for a tyme, and do what you
list, a tyme will come when accompt shalbe made.
When thynges cannot be, that we would have, we should
will that, whiche we can have. Pacience is a remedy
for every disease.

15

A doubtyng.

Shall I call hym foole, or shall I call hym
 varlet, or bothe? Another. What made hym to commit
 suche a robberie: Lacke of money, or lack of wit, or
 lacke of honestie? I doubte whether to call hym a 5
 foolishe knave, or a knavishe foole. When muche
 matter was here in Englande, for callyng the Pope,
 supreme hedde of the church (quoth a Spanyarde, that
 whilome was of the Popes courte in Rome) you doubt
 muche here in England, whether the Pope be hedde of 10
 the church or no, and greate variaunce there is
 emonges you, at the whiche foly of yours I doo muche
 marvaill, for we doubte muche at Rome, whether he be a
 member of the Church at all, or no.

Reckenyng.

15

Reckenyng, is when many thynges are nombred
 together. There is no streat, no house, no man, no
 child, no shop, no lodgyng in all this toune, but he

1. In margin: Dubitatio.

7. In margin: A Spaniardes doubte.

15. In margin: Dinumeratio.

hath been in it. There is no stone, no Diamond, no
 Saphire, no Rubie, no Christall, no Turcassee, no
 Emerode, but he knoweth theim perfectly. By this
 figure we may enlarge that, by rehersyng of the
 partes, whiche was spoken generally, and in fewe 5
 wordes. This maie be an example. Suche a ientle man
 beyng an unthrifte, hath spent all that ever he had.
 Thus the sentence maie be amplified, if we shew
 particulary what he had, and tell severally how he
 spent it. Loke what enheritaunce came to him (whiche 10
 was no small thyng) by the death of his awn kinne, and
 his wifes kinsfolk: What dower soever he had by
 mariage of his wife, which by report was very greate
 thyng: Whatsoever he got by executorship: Whatsoever
 the kinges Maiestie gave hym. What booties soever 15
 he gotte in warre fare, looke what money he had, what
 plate, what apparell, what householde stuffe, what
 lande and Lordeshippes, what Shepe, goodes, Parkes,
 and Medowes, yea, whatsoever he had, moveable, or
 unmoveable, his house, and all that ever he had: he 20
 hath so spent in fewe daies, so wasted it, and made
 suche havocke of all together, among the beastly

6. In margin: Sentence amplified by severall
 rehersyng of thynges.

compagnie of filthy queanes, emong abhominable
 harlottes, with banquetyng from daie to daie, with
 sumptuous reare suppers, with drinkyng in the nighte,
 with daintees and delicates, and all suche swete
 delites, with Dicyng, Cardyng, and all maner of 5
 gamenyng: that he hath now left neither crosse nor
 crucifixe, no not a dodkin in all the worlde, to
 blesse hymself with al. Thus these wordes (he hath
 spent all his goodes in riot) are dilated, and sette
 furthe at large, by rehersyng severally every thyng, 10
 one after another.

Reasonyng a matter with our selves.

Then wee reason the matter with our selves, when
 we aske questions of our selves, and answer thereunto.
 As thus. Howe came this good felowe by all that he 15
 hath? Did his father leave hym any lande? Not a
 foote. Did his frendes geve hym any thyng? Not a
 grote. Hath he served in any vocacion, to heape up so
 muche wealth? None hath lived more idly. Doeth he
 not leane to some noble man? Yea, but he never 20
 received more then .iiii. marke wages. How then

cometh he by all that ever he hath, livyng without
 labour, havynge no frendes to helpe hym, havynge so
 litle to take unto by all outwarde apparaunce, and
 spendyng so liberally, and owyng no man a grote in all
 the world: Assuredly, it cannot be otherwise, but 5
 that he cometh naughtily by moste of that, whiche he
 hath. Another. Seyng thou art so basely borne, so
 poore in state, so smally learned, so hard favoured,
 and hast no witte at al, what meanest thou to vaunte
 thy self so muche, and to make suche bragges as thou 10
 doest? What doeth make thee to waxe so proude? Thy
 stocke wherof thou diddest come? Why manne, thei are
 very base folke. Thyne awne wealth? tushe, thou art
 as poore as Job. Thy learnyng? Marie thou never
 camst yet where any learnyng did growe. Thy beautie? 15
 Nowe in good sothe, a worse favoured manne can there
 not be upon yearth again. Thy witte? Now God he
 knoweth, it is as blounte as may bee. What other
 thyng then, is all this thy braggyng, but plain
 madnesse? 20

Resemblyng of thynges.

Resemblyng of thynges, is a comparyng or

likenyng of looke, with looke, shape, with shape, and
 one thyng with another. As when I see one in a greate
 heate, and fiersely set upon his enemye, I might saie,
 he lette flee at hym like a Dragon. Or thus. He
 lookes like a Tyger, a man would thinke he would eate 5
 one, his countenaunce is so ougle. He speakes not,
 but he barks like a Dogge: he whettes his tethe like
 a Bore, he beates the grounde with his foote, like a
 greate Horsse: he is as raumpyng as a Lion. By this
 figure called in Latine Imago, that is to saie an 10
 Image, we mighte compare one manne with another, as
 Salust compareth Ceasar and Cato together, or we
 mighte heape many men together, and prove by large
 rehersall, any thyng that we would, the whiche of the
 Logicians is called induccion. 15

Answering to our self.

We are saied to answer our self, when wee seme
 to tell our self, what we will do. Phedria in Terence
 beyng muche troubled and out of quiet, because he was
 not receiued of his woman, but shutte out of doores, 20
 when he was moste willyng to se her, made as though he

17. In margin: Sibi ipsi responsio.

would not come to her afterwarde, nor yet se her at
 all, when she did moste iently sende for hym. And
 therfore beyng in his anger, thus he saied: Well, what
 shall I dooe? Shall I not go, not even now when she
 sendes for me, of her awne accorde? Or shall I be of 5
 suche a nature, that I cannot abide the
 despitefulnesse of harlottes? She hath shutte me out,
 she calles me again. Shal I go to her? Naie I will
 not, though she entreate me never so faire.

Order

10

Order is of twoo sortes, the one is, when the
 worthier is preferred, and set before. As a man is
 sette before a woman. The seconde is, when in
 amplificacion, the weightiest wordes are sette last,
 and in diminishyng, the same are sette for moste. 15
 With what looke, with what face, with what harte dare
 thou do suche a dede?

Brief describyng, or circumscripcion.

Circumscripcion, is a briefe declaryng of a

11. In margin: Ordo.

thyng. As thus. He is free, that is subject to no evil. It is a vertue to eschewe vice.

There are diverse other colours of Rhetorique, to commende and set furthe a sentence, by chaunge of wordes, and mucche varietee of speache, but I had rather offende in speakyng to litle, then deserve rebuke in saiyng to mucche. Forasmucche as close silence maie soner be pardoned, then immoderate bablyng can want just blame, and therfore thus an ende.

5

10

Of memorie

As I have labored to set out thother partes of Rhetorique, in suche ample wise as I thought moste nedefull, so it standeth me in hand, not to slacken mynde endevor, now that I am come to speake of memorie. For, though man have understandyng and judgement, whiche is one parte of wisdom: yet wantyng a remembraunce to apply thynges aptly, when tyme and place shall best require: he shal do but small good with al his understandyng. And therfore it is said not without reason, that the same is memorie

15

20

to the mynde, that life is to the body. Now then what
 els must thei do that esteme reason, and love
 knowledge, but cherishe the memorie from tyme to tyme,
 as an especiall and soveraigne preservative, against
 thinfeccion of cankard oblivion. The faulkners saie, 5
 it is the first poyncte of haulkyng to hold faste.
 And yet I cannot thinke otherwise, but that in al good
 learnyng also, it is best and moste expedient,
 evermore to hold fast. For, what availe good thynges,
 if we cannot kepe them, if wee receive theim in at 10
 one eare, and let theim out as fast again at the other
 eare? A good thriftie man will gather his goodes
 together, in tyme of plentie, and laie theim out again
 in tyme of nede: and shall not an Oratour have in
 store good matter, in the chefte of his memorie, to 15
 use and bestowe in tyme of necessitee? I doubte not,
 but all men desire to have, a good remembraunce of
 thynges, the whiche what it is, how it is divided, and
 howe it maie bee preserved, I will shewe in as fewe
 woordes as I can. 20

What is memorie.

Memorie is the power retentive of the mynde, to

kepe those thinges, whiche by mannes wit are
 conceived, or thus. Memorie is the power of the mind
 that conteineth thynges received, that calleth to
 mynde thynges past, and renueth of freshe, thynges
 forgotten.

5

The place of memorie.

The Phisicians declare, that in the former parte
 of the hed, lieth the common sense, the whiche is
 therefore so called, because it geveth judgement, of al
 the five outwarde senses, onely when thei are 10
 presently occupied aboute any thyng. As when I heare
 a thyng, or see a thyng, my common sense judgeth, that
 then I do heare, or se the same. But the memorie
 called the Threasure of the mynde, lieth in the hynder
 parte, the whiche is made moste perfect by 15
 temperatnesse, and moderacion of qualitees in the
 brain. For where humours excede or want, there must
 nedes ensure muche weakenesse of remembraunce.
 Children therefore beyng over moyst, and olde menne
 over drie, have never good memories. Again, where 20

19. In margin: Children and old men have but
 evill memories.

over much cold is, and extreme moisture, there is
 ever much forgetfulness. Therefore it availeth
 greatly, what bodies we have, and of what constitution
 they be compacte together. For such as be hotte
 and moyste, do some conceive matters, but they kepe 5
 not long. Again, they that be colde and drie, doo
 hardly conceive, but they kepe it surely, when they
 ones have it. And the reason is this, heate being
 chief qualitee, dooeth drawe thynges unto it (as we
 maie se by the Sonne) the whiche notwithstanding are 10
 some after dissipated and resolved. Again, who hath
 seen a print made in water of any yerthly thing? Then
 though heat and moisture together, drawe thynges unto
 them, yet (we see plainly) they cannot long hold
 them. But when the brain is cold and drie, thynges 15
 are therefore the faster holden, because it is the
 propertie of colde and drought, to thicken all
 thynges, and to harden them faste together, as we see
 the water through coldnesse, is congeled, and softe
 thynges are frosen oftentimes, almoste as harde as a 20
 stone. So that moisture, through heate being chief
 qualitee, doth drawe: and drought through coldnesse,

4. In margin: Hot and moist bodies some conceive.
 Colde and drie kepe thynges sure.

whiche is chief contrary to heate, dooeth harden and
 make thynges fast together. But now how dooe wee
 knowe, that the memorie resteth in the latter parte of
 the hedde? No doubte, experience hath proved, and
 confirmed this to be moste true. For, there hath been 5
 some, that beyng hurt in that place, have utterly
 forgot their awne name. I do remember one man, that
 (beeyng hurte in that place, at the insurreccion of
 the Lincoln Shire men, .xv. yeres past) could not
 devise the makynge of some Letters, in his Crosse rowe, 10
 when he tooke penne and ynke, to write to his frende,
 whereas before that tyme, he wrote bothe faste and
 faire, and was learned in the Latine. And therfore
 when he wrote, he would stande musyng a greate while,
 before he could call to his remembraunce, howe he used 15
 to make a .P. a .G. or suche another letter, whereupon
 diverse muche marveiled what he would have, or what he
 ment at the first tyme. For beyng greved, and willing
 to aske help, he could not utter his meanyng, for
 lacke of remembraunce, and yet his tongue served hym 20
 well otherwise, to utter whatsoever came in his hedde.

4. In margin: Memorie in the latter part
 of the hedde.

The division of memorie.

Memorie is partly naturall, and partly
 artificiall. Naturall memorie is, when without any
 preceptes or lesson, by the onely aptenesse of nature,
 we beare awaie suche thynges as wee heare. Wherein 5
 some heretofore, did muche excell, and greatly passe
 all other. As Themistocles, who had so good a
 memorie, that when one proffered to teache hym the
 arte of memorie, naye by saincte Marie (quoth he)
 teache me rather the arte of forgettyng. Declaryng 10
 thereby that his memorie was passyng good, and that it
 was more pain for hym, to forgette suche thynges, as
 he would not kepte, then hard to remember suche
 thynges as he would knowe.

Mithridates also hadde suche an excellent 15
 memorie, that whereas he was Lorde and ruler over
 .xxii. straunge countries that spake divers speaches
 one from an other, he was able to talke wyth everye
 one of theym in their owne countrey language.

2.In margin: Memorie divided.

7.In margin: Themistocles.

15.In margin: Mithridates.

Likewyse Cyrus Kynge of the Persians, havinge a greate armye of menne, knewe the names of all his Souldiours.

Cyneas Ambassadoure for kinge Pyrrhus, called everye one by his name that was in the Parliamente 5
house at Rome, the seconde daye after he came thither, the number of them beyng foure times as many as they be, that belonge unto the Parliament here in Englande.

Julius Cesar is reported that he coulde reade, heare, and tel one what he should write, so fast as 10
his penne could runne, and endite letters hym selfe altogether at one time.

Thus we see that naturallie menne have hadde wonderfull memories, as contrarywise there have bene hearde of as straunge forgetfull wittes. Some hathe 15
not knowen his right hande from his leftte. An other hath forgotte his owne name. An other hath caried his knyfe in his mouth, and hath runne rounde aboute

1. In margin: Cyrus.

4. In margin: Cyneas.

9. In margin: Julius Cesar.

15. In margin: Forgetful wittes.

the house sekinge for it. An other hath tolde a tale halfe an houre together, and immediatly after hath forgotte what he spake al that while.

Cicero telleth of one Curio, that where as he woulde make a devision of three partes, he woulde
5
either foget the thirde, or make up a fourthe, contrarye to his firste purpose and entente.

This I remember beinge a boye, that where as a preacher hadde taken upon him to set forthe the .xii. Articles of our beliefe, he coulde not in all the
10
worlde finde oute paste nine. So that he was fayne to saye, he was assured there was twelve, where soever the other thre were become, and he doubted not but the hearers knewe theim better then he did, and therfore he woulde for his parte saye no more, but commit them
15
all to God, and those nine (thought he) were enoughe for him at that time, to set forthe and expounde for their understandinge.

Nowe the beste meane bothe to mende an evil memory and to preserve a good, is first to kepte a
20
diet, and eschewe surfites, to slepe moderatelye, to

9.In margin: Belike thys man had the arte of forgettinge.

18.In margin: Preservation of Memorie.

accompanye with women rarelye, and last of all to
 exercise the witte with cunnynge of manye thinges
 without Booke, and ever to be occupied with one thinge
 or other. For even as by laboure the witte is
 whetted, for by lithernes the witte is blunted. 5

But nowe concerning the other kind of memorye
 called artificial, I had nede to make a long
 discourse, considering the straungenesse of the thinge
 to the English eare, and the hardnes of the matter, to
 the ignoraunte and unlearned. But first I will shew 10
 from whence it hath beginning, and upon what occasion
 it was first invented, before I adventure to declare
 the preceptes that belonge unto the same.

The firste founder of the arte of Remembraunce.

The invention of this Arte is fatherde upon 15
 Simonides, for when the same manne (as the fable
 recordeth) had made in behalfe of a triumphant
 Champion called Scopas, for a certaine summe of money
 a Ballade, suche as was then wonte to be made for
 Conquerours: he was denied a piece of his rewarde, 20

15. In margin: Simonides first aucthoure of the
 Arte of remembraunce.

because he made a digression in his songe (whiche in
 those dayes was customablie used) to the praise and
 commendation of Castor and Pollux (who were then
 thoughte being Twinnes, and gotte by Juppiter to be
 Goddes) of whom the Champion willed him to aske a 5
 porcion, because he hadde so largely set forthe their
 worthye doynges. Nowe it chaunced, that where as
 there was made a great feaste to the honour of the
 same Victorye, and Simonides had bene placed there as
 a geiste, he was sodainely called from the table, and 10
 told that there was two yonge men at the dore, and
 bothe on horsebacke, whiche desiered moste earnestlye
 to speake with him oute of hande. But when he came
 out of the dores, he sawe none at all,
 notwithstanding, he was not so sone out, and his fote 15
 on the thresholde, but the Parlour fell downe
 immediatlye upon theim al that were there, and so
 crushed their bodies together, and in such sorte, that
 the kinsfolke of those whiche were deade, comming in,
 and desierous to burie them every one according to 20
 their calling, not onely could they not perceive them
 by their faces, but also they coulde not discern them
 by any other marke of any parte in all their bodies.
 Then Simonides well remembringe in what place everye
 one of theim did sitte, tolde theim what every one 25

was, and gave them their kinsfolkes carkases, so many
as were there. Thus the arte was first invented. And
yet (thoughe this be but a fable) reason might beat
thus much into our heades, that if the like thinge had
bene done, the like remembraunce might have ben used. 5
For who is he that seeth a dosen sit at a table whom
he knoweth verye well, can not tell, after they are
all risen, where every one of them did sitte before?
And therefore be it that some man invented this tale:
the matter serveth well our purpose, and what nede we 10
any more?

What thinges are requisite to get the Arte of Memorie.

They that wyll remember manye thynges and
rehearse them together out of hande: muste learne to
have places, and digest Images in them accordingly. 15

A Place what it is.

A place is called anye rowme apte to receive
thinges.

An Image what it is.

An Image is any picture or shape, to declare some certayne thing therby. And even as in waxe we make a print with a seale, so we have places wher lively pictures must be set. The places must be greate, of 5 small distaunce, not one like an other, and evermore the fifte place must be made notable above the rest, havinge alwayes some severall note from the other, as some antique, or a hande pointing, or suche like, that the rather havinge a greate number of places, we might 10 the better knowe where we are, by the remembraunce of suche notable and straunge places. And thus havynge them well appoynced, wee muste kepe them freshe in oure memorye, and never chaunge them, but use them styll, whatsoever we have to saye. But the ymages we 15 may chaunge as the matter shal geve just cause, usinge suche as shall serve beste for the knowledge of thinges. The whiche Images muste be sette forthe as thoughe they were stirring, yea they must be sometimes made raumping, and last of all, they muste be made of 20 thinges notable, suche as maye cause earnest impression of thinges in our mind. As a notable evill

4.In margin: Places howe they muste be.

17.In margin: Images how they muste be.

meanes, there shall be gathered, an hundreth and
fiftene places.

Some againe will set their places in his heade or
bodye with whome they speake. As to make the nose,
the eyes, the forheade, the heere, the eares, and 5
other partes, to serve for places. And for makinge
places in anye house, churche, or other rowme, this
lesson is also geven, that wee enter oure firste
places alwaies upon the right hande, never returning
backe, but goynge on styll as I might saye in a 10
circuite, til we come to that place where we first
beganne. But first before the Images be invented, the
places muste be learned perfitelye, and therfore one
geveth counsayle that we should go into some solitary
place where no company is, and there make our places, 15
walking up and downe foure or five times and callyng
styll to our remembraunce what and where the places
are. And not onely to do this once or twise, but to
laboure in it two or thre dayes at severall times,
until we shal be able to tel our places upon our 20
fingers endes.

And nowe to make this harde matter somewhat
plaine, I will use an example. My frende (whom I toke
ever to be an honest manne) is accused of thefte, of
aduoutrie, of ryot, of manslaughter, and of treason, 25

if I would kepe these wordes in my remembraunce, and rehearse them in order as they were spoken, I muste appoynte five places, the whiche I hadde neade to have so perfectlye in my memorye, as coulde be possible.

As for example, I will make these in my chamber. A 5
 dore, a windowe, a presse, a bedsteade, and a chimney.
 Now in the dore, I wil set Cacus the thefe, or some
 suche notable verlet. In the windowe I will place
 Venus. In the presse I will put Apitius that famous
 glutton. In the bedsteade I will set Richard the 10
 thirde kinge of England, so some like notable
 murtherer. In the chimney I wil place the blacke
 Smythe, or some other notable traytoure. That if one
 repete these places, and these Images twise or thrise
 together, no doubte, though he have but a meane 15
 memorie, he shal carye awaye the wordes rehearsed with
 ease. And like as he maye do with these five woordes,
 so maye he do wyth five score, if he have places
 freshe in hys remembraunce, and do but use him selfe
 to this trade one fortynight together. 20

Therefore thoughe it seme straunge and folyshe to
 them that knowe it not, yet the learned have taken
 this waye, and doubte not but marvayles maye be done,
 if one have places readye made for the purpose, and
 have them freshe in his remembraunce. For what other 25

thinge els doe they that appoynt ymages in certaine
 places made for that purpose, but write (as a manne
 woulde saye) upon Paper, that which is spoken unto
 them? What maketh the olde manne (that for lacke of
 naturall heate and moisture, scante knoweth hys right 5
 hande from his leftte) remember in the morning where he
 layed his purse all nyght, but the beddes heade,
 whyche lyghtlye is the appoynted place for all mennes
 purses, especiallie such as be wayfairers, and have
 but little store. Shall some gentilman playe 10
 blkyndefolde at the chesse, and can not a learned man
 be able to rehearse up a score or two of straunge
 names together? A Netcherde havinge the charge and
 kepyng of .xviii. score heade of beastes in a wyld
 Fenne, that belonge to divers menne, will not onelye 15
 tell, who be the owners of al suche cattell, but also
 he wil shew a manne twise a weeke where anye one is
 feading, and if he wante one amonge the whole, he will
 tell immediatly what it is, and whose it is that is
 wantynge. Then fonde are they that counte the Arte of 20
 Memorie so harde, seyng they will neither prove the
 hardenes of it, nor yet blowshe at the matter, when
 they see pore neteherdes go so farre beyonde them.
 Howe many thinges dothe Memorie conteine marveyulous to
 beholde, and mucche more would, if we were not 25

altogether slouthful, and as carelesse to kepe, as we are to gette, good thinges I meane, not goodes of thys world? Everye Artificer hath through exercise and laboure, and artificall memorye, savyng the learned man onely, who hath most nede of it above all other. 5

When we come to a place where we have not bene many a daye before, we remembre not onely the place it selfe, but by the place, we call to remembraunce manye thinges done there. Yea sometimes a window makes some remember that they have stollen in their daies some 10 thing out of it. Sometimes a chimney telleth them of manye late drinkinges and sittinges up by the fire. Sometimes a bedstead putteth them in remembraunce of many good morowes, sometimes a dore, and sometimes a parler. Thus we se places even without images, helpe 15 oft the memorye, muche more then shall we remembre, if we have both places and Images.

But nowe because I have halfe wried the reader with a tedious matter, I will harten him agayne wyth a merye tale. At the time of rebellion in Northfolke, 20 there was a priest emong al other adiuged to dye upon a gibet in a grene place, a little from the hyghe waye side. The Prieste seinge the place of his laste ende, stode a while musinge wyth him selfe, and saide to the

companye there. Now Lord God what a thinge is this.
 It comes to my remembraunce nowe that aboute fourtene
 yeres paste, I was merye here upon thys Bancke wyth an
 other Prieste, and wallowynge me downe upon the
 grasse, I said these wordes: Haec requi. es mea in 5
seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam. The
 whiche Sentence beyng a Psalme of David, is nothings
 els in Englishe, but this is my restynge place for
 ever and ever, here shall be my dwellynge, because I
 have chosen it. And nowe (quod he) I finde it to be 10
 over true, so that I thinke it be Goddes wyl I should
 dye, and therefore I take it in good worthe, and thus I
 desire you al to praye for me. Thus we see that the
 place brought hym in remembraunce of a sentence spoken
 .xiii. yeres before. 15

Therefore this knoweledge is not to be neglected,
 no thoughe we do contemne it, yet we have the use of
 it. For if we be fully disposed to remember a thing,
 we do call up the memorye, and styre it to mynde
 thynges lyke thereunto. As if one be called 20
 Wingfeld, and I feare to forget this name, I might

1. In margin: God graunt al rebels lyke remembraunces.

20. In margin: Remembraunce bi thinges like.

remembre the winge of a byrde, and grene feld to walke
 in. Sometyes we remember the whole, by kepyng in
 mynde some parte of a word. As when one is called
 Crowcroft, I myght by remembring of a Crowe, the
 rather mind his name.

5

Not withstanding ther be some (emong whom is
 Erasmus) which like not this Arte of Memorie, but saye
 it rather hindereth, then helpeth a mans wit. And yet
 Tullie the greatest Oratour emong the Romaines, did
 wel alowe it, and proved it good by a naturall reason. 10
 For where as we knowe some thinges (sayeth he) onelye
 by understandynge, and some by the sence of seynge,
 those we kepe beste in our mindes whiche we knowe by
 sight, and have marked with our eyes. As for example.
 When I se a Lyon, that ymage therof abideth faster in 15
 my mind, then if I should heare some report made of a
 Lyon. Emong all the sense, the eye sight is most
 quicke, and conteineth the impression of thinges more
 assuredly, then any of the other senses do.

And the rather when a manne bothe heareth and 20
 seeth a thinge (as by artificiall memory he doth
 almoste se thinges livelye) he dothe remember it muche
 the better. The sight printeth thinges in a mannes
 memorye, as a seale doth prynte a mannes name in waxe.
 And therefore heretofore Images were sette up for 25

remembraunce of Sainctes, to be laye mennes bokes,
 that the rather by seinge the Pictures of suche menne,
 they might be stirred to folowe their good livynge.
 The whiche surely hadde bene well done, if God had not
 forbidden it. But seinge thinges muste be done not of 5
 a good entente, but even as God hathe commaunded, it
 is well donne that suche Idolles are cleane taken oute
 of the churche. Marye for this purpose wherof we nowe
 write, they woulde have served gayly well. Thus the
 arte is sone tolde, but the practise of it is all. 10
 And therfore if one desire to excell herein, let him
 take paynes to gather his places together, and kepe
 them well in remembraunce, provinge by halfe a score,
 how he shall be able to use a hundreth. and no
 doubte, but time and exercise shall make him perfecte. 15

For the beste arte of memorye that can be, is to
 heare muche, to speake muche, to reade muche, and to
 write much. And exercise it is that dothe all, when
 we have saide al that ever we can.

Of Prounciation.

20

Pronunciation is an apte orderinge bothe of the
 voyce, countenaunce, and all the whole bodye,

21. In margin: Utteraunce what it is.

accordynge to the worthines of suche woordes and mater
 as by speache are declared. The use hereof is suche
 for anye one that liketh to have prayse for tellynge
 his tale in open assemblie, that having a good tongue,
 and a comelye countenaunce, he shalbe thought to passe 5
 all other that have the like utterauuce: thoughe they
 have much better learning. The tongue geveth a
 certayne grace to everye matter, and beautifieth the
 cause in like maner, as a swete soundynge Lute muche
 setteth forthe a meane devised Ballade. Or as the 10
 sounde of a good instrumente styreth the hearers, and
 moveth muche delite, so a cleare soundyng voice
 comfortethe muche our daintie eares, with muche swete
 melodie, and causeth us to allowe the matter rather
 for the reporters sake, then the reporter, for the 15
 matters sake. Demosthenes therfore, that famouse
 Oratour beyng asked what was the chiefest point in al
 Oratorie, gave the chiefe and onely praise to
 Pronuuciation, being demaunded, what was the seconde,
 and the thirde, he stil made answere, Pronunciation, 20
 and would make none other aunswere, till they lefte
 askyng, declaryng hereby that Arte without utteraunce
 can dooe nothyng, utteraunce without Arte can dooe

right muche. And no doubt that man is in outward
 apperaunce halfe a good Clarke, that hath a cleane
 tongue, and a comely gesture of his bodie. Aeschines
 lykewyse beyng banished his countrie through
 Demosthenes, when he had redde to the Rhodians his 5
 owne Oration, and Demosthenes aunswere thereunto, by
 force wherof he was bannished, and all they marveiled
 muche at the excellencie of the same: then (quoth
 Aeschines) you would have marveiled muche more if you
 had heard hymselfe speake it. Thus beyng cast in 10
 miserie and banished for ever, he could not but geve
 suche greate reporte of his most deadly and mortal
 ennemy.

The partes of Prounciation.

Pronunciation standeth partely in fashionyng the 15
 tongue, and partely in framyng the gesture.

The tongue, or voice is praise worthie, if the
 utteraunce be audible, strong, and easie, and apte to
 order as we liste. Therefore they that mynde to gette
 praise in tellyng their minde in open audience must at 20
 the first beginnyng speake somewhat softly, use meete

2. In margin: Aeschines.

pausyng, and being somewhat heated, rise with their
 voice, as the tyme and cause shal best require. Thei
 that have no good voices by nature, or cannot wel
 utter their woordes, must seeke for helpe elsewhere.
 Exercise of the bodie, fastyng, moderacion in meate, 5
 and drynke, gaping wyde, or singyng plaine song, and
 counterfeityng those that do speake distinctly, helpe
 muche to have a good deliveraunce. Demonsthenes
 beeyng not able to pronounce the first letter of that
 Arte whiche he pofessed, but would say, for, 10
 Rhethorique, Letolike, used to put litle stones under
 his tongue, and so pronounced, whereby he spake at
 lengthe so plainely as any man in the worlde coulde
 doe. Musicians in England have used to put gagges in
 childrens mouthes that they might pronounce 15
 distinctly, but nowe with the losse and lacke of
 Musicke, the love also is gone of bringyng up children
 to speake plainely.

Some therebe that either naturally, or through
 folie have suche evill voices and suche lacke of 20
 utteraunce, and suche evill gesture, that it muche
 defaceth all their doynge. One pipes out his woordes
 so small through defaulte of his wynde pype, that ye

19. In margin: Faultes in pronuciation.

woulde thinke he whisteled. An other is so hource in
his throte, that a man woulde thynke he came lately
from scouryng of harnesse. An other speakes, as
though he had Plummes in his mouthe. An other speakes
in his throte, as though a good Ale crumme stacke 5
fast. An other ratles his wordes. An other choppes
his wordes. An other speakes, as though his wordes
had neede to be heaved out with leavers. An other
speakes as though his wordes shoulde be weyed in a
ballaunce. An other gapes to fetch wynde at every 10
thirde woorde. This man barks out his Englishe
Northrenlike with I say, and thou ladde. An other
speakes so finely, as though he were brought up in a
Ladies Chamber. As I knew a Priest that was as nice
as a Nonnes Henne, when he would saie Masse, he woulde 15
never saie Dominus vobiscum, but Dominus vobicum. In
like maner as some now wil say, the Commendementes of
God, blacke vellet, for Commaundementes and blacke
velvet. Some blowes at their noistrelles. Some
sighes out their wordes. Some synges their 20
sentencies. Some laughs altogether, when they speake
to any bodie. Some gruntes lyke a Hogge. Some
cackels lyke a Henne, or a Jack Dawe. Some speakes as
thoughe they shoulde tel a tale in their sleeve. Some
cries out so loude, that they would make a mans eares 25

ake to heare them. Some coughes at ever worde. Some
hemmes it out. Some spittes fier, they talke so
hotely. Some makes a wrie mouthe, and so they wreste
out their wordes. Some whynes lyke a Pig. Some
suppes their wordes up as a poore man doth his porage. 5
Some noddess their head at every sentence. An other
winckes with one iye, and some with both. This man
frowneth alwaies when he speakes. An other looks
ever as though he were mad. Some cannot speake, but
thei must up and doune, or at the lest be stirryng 10
their feete as though they stode in a cockeryng Bote.
An other wil plaie with his cappe in his hande, and so
tel his tale. Some when they speake in a great
companie, will looke al one way, as I knewe a reader
in my daies, who loked in lyke sorte when he redde to 15
Scholars, whome one thought to disappoint of suche his
constant lookes: and therefore against the nexte daie
he painted the Devil with hornes upon his heade in the
self same place where the Reader was wont alwaies to
looke, the whiche straunge monster when the reader 20
sawe, he was halfe abashed, and turned his face an
other way. Some pores upon the ground, as though
thei sought for pynnes. Tullie telles of one
Theophrastus Tauriscus, who is saide to declaime arsee
versee. Some swelles in the face and filles their 25

chekes ful of wynde, as though they would blow out
 their woordes. Some settes forthe their lippes two
 ynches good beyonde their teeth. Some talkes as
 thoughe their tongue went of patyns. Some showes al
 their teeth. Some speakes in their teeth altogether. 5
 Some leates their wordes fall in their lippes, scant
 openyng them when they speake. There are a thousand
 suche faultes emong menne bothe for their speache, and
 also for their gesture, the whiche if in their young
 yeres they be not remedied, they will hartely be 10
 forgotte when they come to mans state. But the rather
 that these faultes may be redressed: I have partly
 declared heretofore the righte use of utteraunce, and
 nowe I mynde by Goddes helpe to shewe the right use of
 gesture. 15

What is gesture.

Gesture is a certaine comely moderacion of the
 countenaunce, and al other partes of mans body,
 aptely agreeyng to those thynges whiche are spoken.
 That if wee shall speake in a pleasaunt matter, it is 20
 meete that the loke also should be chereful, and al

17. In margin: Gesture what it is.

the gesture stirryng thereafter. The heade to be
 holden upright, the forehead without frownyng, the
 browes without bendyng, the nose without blowyng, the
 iyes quicke and pleasaunt, the lippes not laid out,
 the tethe without grennyng, the armes not muche cast 5
 abrode, but comely set out, as time, and cause shal
 best require: the handes somtymes opened, and
 sometimes holden together, the fingers pointyng, the
 brest laid out, and the whole body stirryng altogether
 with a seemely moderacion. By the whiche behaviour of 10
 our body after suche a sorte, we shal not onely delite
 men with the sight, but perswade them the rather the
 truth of our cause.

Q. Hortensius had suche delite to use comely
 gesture, and had suche grace in that behaulfe: that I 15
 doubt whether men had a greater desire to see hym,
 than they had to heare hym. His countenaunce to wel
 agreed with his wordes, and his woordes were so meete
 for his countenaunce, that not onely he did please the
 judgement of his hearers, and contented their mynde: 20
 but also he pleased their iyes, and delited their
 eares, so muche as could be wished.

Tullie saith well: The gesture of man, is the

14. In margin: Hortensius.

speache of his bodie, and therfore reason it is, that
 lyke as the speache must agree to the matter, so much
 also the gesture agree to the mynde, for, the iyes are
 not geuen to man onely to se, but also to shewe, and
 set forth the meanyng of his mynde, even as unto a 5
 Bore are geuen briselles: to a Lyon, the taile: to a
 horse, his eares: whereby their inclinacions and
 soubdeine affections are sone espied. When we see a
 man loke redde in the iyes, his browes bent, his teeth
 bytyng his upper lip, we judge that he is out of 10
 pacience. Therefore as we ought to have good regarde
 for the utteraunce of our wordes, so we ought to take
 hede that our gesture be comely, the whiche bothe
 beyng wel observed, shal encrease fame and gette
 estimacion universally. 15

But here an end. And now as my wil hath been
 earnest to doe my beste: so I wishe that my paines may
 bee taken thereafter. And yet what needes wishyng,
 seeyng the good will not speake evill, and the wicked
 can not speake well. 20

Therfore beyng staied upon the good, and assured
 of their ientle bearyng with me: I feare none, because
 I stande upon a saufe ground.

III. COMMENTARY

The references throughout the commentary to various books of the Bible are to the 1540 Great Bible, referenced here under The byble in Englishe.

All substantive emendations are also listed here, following the same form used in this text. The reading to the left of the bracket is that of this edition. The number on the right of the bracket indicates the edition, if any, that first included the change. After the semicolon, the reading of the copy-text will be listed. The editions are abbreviated by the last two digits of the year published. For example, 60 refers to the 1560 edition of the Arte of Rhetorique. The errata lists for 1553 and 1560 are abbreviated by FE and the last two digits of the edition. For example, FE 53 refers to the errata list included in the 1553 edition.

Key to Abbreviations of Often Cited Works

"Actionis Secundae in C. Verrem." Cicero, The Verrine Orations, trans. L.H.G. Greenwood, 2 vols. (Loeb, 1965).

Adages. Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. XXXI (Toronto: UP Toronto, 1978)

Ad Herennium. Cicero [attrib.], Rhetorica ad Herennium, trans. Harry Caplan (Loeb, 1968).

- BM. British Museum copy of The Arte of Rhetorique (1560).
- The byble in Englyshe. (London: E. Whytchurche, 1540 [STC 2070]).
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160:18-169:1 Lucilius...at all] De Oratore: "For just as Gaius Lucilius, himself a learned and highly accomplished man, was wont to say that he wished his wrings to be read neither by the most ignorant nor the most learned, since the former class understood nothing, and the latter possibly more than himself did" (II,vi,25).

161:1-2 as meete to reade aucthours, as an Asse to plaie on the Organnes] Adages ([II, 164b] pp. 344-45).

163:12 Amende] It is not clear whether Wilson means to alter his text or to make amends for it.

See textual introduction (pp. 121-124).

163:24 burnt child] Tilley (C 297);
Heywood (l. 1428).

164:5-7 who that toucheth pitch shall be
filed with it] Ecclesiastes 13:1: "Who so toucheth pytch,
shal be fyled withal."

164:7-8 goeth in the sunne] Tilley (S 972).
Wilson uses this phrase above (17:25-26) and in the
preface of his Demosthenes (sig. *3a).

164:15 caste in my dish] be forced upon me
to account for; "To cast oysters in one's teeth," Tilley
(O 115); Heywood (ll. 1123-24).

165:3 as great an] a great an (in all
copies but BM)

165:4 thorow wilful ignorance] (only in
BM)

165:4 by simplicities] (only in BM)

165:11 tanquam per ignem] as though by
fire

165:11 one fire] he could mean simply that
the prison was on fire or that the prison was in full
blaze and thus all one fire; thus, one captures both
possibilities. See Macbeth (The Riverside Shakespeare,
ed. G. Blakemore Evans [Baltimore: Houghton-Mifflin,
1974], II, ii, 58-60): "this hand will rather/ The
multitudinous seas incarnadine,/ Making the green one
red." Also we know that one rhymed with on because
Jonson, a fastidious writer, uses it in his masque "Love
Freed from Ignorance and Folly" (The Complete Masques, ed.
Stephen Orgel [New Haven: Yale UP, 1969], ll. 154-155):
"Yet if you hit the right upon,/ You must resolve these
all by one." Wilson uses both spellings throughout his
work. See Rule (p. 12), "not onely to know worldely
affaires."

170:1 John Dudley] (1528?-1554) Eldest
son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. See
biographical introduction (pp. 38-42).

170:6 Pyrrhus] (319-272 b.c.) In his
Lives Plutarch tells of King Pyrrhus of Empeirus and his
effective orator Cineas: "At any rate, Pyrrhus used to say
that more cities had been won for him by the eloquence of
Cineas than by his own arms" ([Loeb, 1969], XIV, 2 ff).

171:13-14 the use so necessary] Wilson is
emphasizing early on that the importance of language study
is predicated upon use.

172:14 Dymoke] Sometime sheriff of
Lincolnshire, friend of the Willoughby-Brandons and the
Wilsons. See introduction (pp. 32, 119).

174:3-175:1 Man...by reason to all good order.]
The spirit of this discussion is found in Isocrates' Nicocles or the Cyprians ([Loeb, 1968], I) wherein he expounds upon the divine gift of reason and speech and how they have brought men out of the woods and into the political bonds of society. See also De Oratore, (I, viii, 32-35).

174:10 entendement] understanding

175:3 woodoses] savages in the woods

176:21-177:4 Hercules...ever they were able.]
Lucien's Heracles ([Loeb, 1961], I) describes the elderly
Hercules of Celtic lore whose wisdom and eloquence were so
effective that he was seen to lead men by gold chains from
his tongue.

180:2-7 Rhetorique...to here them.] The general nature of this definition is scattered throughout Cicero and the Ad Herennium. The closest is in De Oratore (I, iii-vi) where Cicero, as does Wilson, combines the notions of general rhetorical theory and specific or judicial rhetoric.

181:6-9 Everye question...some ende.] The two kinds of questions (hypotheses and theses) were articulated by Hermagoras of Temnos and is a commonplace in logic. Wilson probably took the idea from Topica (21); see also De Oratore (XXXI) and Partiones Oratories (18) but Wilson most clearly elaborates the point that the specific always implies the general.

181:14-15 Whether now...to marie| Wilson

states the argument that priests should marry in his Rule (p. 147).

181:1-4 Orator's proffession...generall]
Wilson gives the orator a more inclusive role here than he does in Rule wherein he states, "Rhethorique useth gaie painted sentences, and setteth forthe those matters with freshe colours, and goodly ornamentes, and that at large"(p. 11). Equating dialectic and logic Wilson defines logic as "an Arte to reason probably, on bothe partes, of all matters that be putte forth, so farre as the nature of every thyng can beare" (p. 8).

182:16-183:3 Tullie...neither] In De Oratore (XXXI) and Partitiones (18) Cicero claims that discussion of any particular implies the need to consider the general as well. See note to 13:21-26.

183:11-15 Three thynges...persuade] De Oratore (II,xxviii,121). See also Orator (xx,69) and Brutus (XLIX,185).

184:10-185:10 Phavorinus...sea] Gellius (I,x,1-4) provides the germ of the story of Favorinus and the saying of Gaius Caesar to avoid strange words as one would a dangerous rock. It is interesting that Wilson uses antiquity against antiquity. The importance of using words in current use is stated in Ad Herennium (I, vii) and throughout De Copia.

184:11-12 hit a young man over the thumbes]
Tilley (T 274); Heywood (l. 1655).

186:12-13 fooles in the pulpit] Wilson reveals the extremely practical side of his theory here by stressing the need to delight the audience almost at the expense of the dignity of the church.

166:17 humours] The reference is to Galenistic physiology.

187:1 cunne] can

187:18-189:22 nedeful it is...learne wisdomel] Ad Herennium (I, ii, 3) states the commonplace of the three things required of an orator: rules, imitation, and practice.

188:9-10 thei bothe litle...practise] Ad Herennium (I, i-ii) urges the necessity of practise, yet it is urged in every text (e.g. De Copia, De Ratione Studii, Cox, Elyot, Sherry).

188:16-189:8 many men...to excell] De Oratore (I, xxxii, 146): "But to my thinking the virtue in all the rules is, not that orators by following them have won a reputation for eloquence, but that certain persons have noted and collected the doings of men who were naturally eloquent: thus eloquence is not the offspring of the art, but the art of eloquence." Wilson make the same statement in his Rule (p. 8).

188:16-17 sonne burnt] This metaphor is used earlier (D:3-4).

190:18-191:9 whetted] The metaphor of the whetstone is mentioned in Udall's Floures of Terrence ([London: 1533], fol. 176v) but attributed there to Horace. In Plutarch's Lives of Ten Orators, (Trans. Charles Barcroft, Plutarch's Essays and Miscellanies, eds. A.H. Clough and William Goodwin, vol. V [New York: Little, Brown, 1909]) he ascribes the saying to Isocrates. Wilson also used the idea in his Rule (p. 2).

190:18-191:9 Five thynges...Utteraunce] The five arts of discourse are mentioned in Ad Herennium (I, ii, 3) and in De Inventione (I, vii, 9).

191:10-13 invention...probable] In the Rule invention is described as a skill, "whereby we maie finde argumentes, reasones, meete to prove every matier, whereupon questions may rise." Invention is also a "storehouse of places, wherein argumentes reste" (p. 89).

193:12 perfecte Oratoure] As Castiglione labors to provide instructions for the perfect courtier, so Wilson implies that these rules are set forth for Englishmen in order that they may aspire toward the Platonic ideal of rhetor, a curious irony given Plato's contempt for rhetors. This conception explains Wilson's statement that "arte is a surer guide, then nature" (18:2), for in Platonic philosophy mental ideals are superior to phenomenal nature.

193:16 .vii. partes in every oration] The seven-part division is original with Wilson. He follows

Ad Herennium except for adding the proposition.

Proposition is mentioned a few pages later in the Ad Herennium (p. 109) where he could have picked it up.

Quintilian (III, ix, 1) mentions it as a part of forensic oratory, and Cox also refers to its use in deliberative rhetoric (p. 68). Yet it is a common enough term in logic and rhetoric that it is not too surprising that Wilson should have included it here.

195:7

clarkely] cleverly, artfully

196:1-197:6

Every matter...heddes] In the Ad Herennium (I, iii, 5), the same four cases are mentioned. Ovid wrote a poetical praise of a nut tree, Nux Elegia. (Some scholars do not attribute the Nux to Ovid; see Hermann Frankel, Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds [Berkeley: UP California, 1969], p. 253). Virgil was thought to have praised a gnat in the Culex, an idea made more popular later by Spenser's translation of it, "Virgil's Gnat." Gellius (XVII, xii, 2) mentions Favorinus' praise of the quartan ague, quartan because it resurfaced every fourth day. The battle of the frogs can found in the pseudo-Homeric BATPAXOMYOMAXIA (Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White [Loeb, 1959]). The praise of baldness by Synesius is mentioned by Erasmus along with these other references in Praise of Folly (p. 2). There is, however, no clear reference to the goose, but it was most likely a school exercise for declamations in the manner of praising the night, winter, nothing, et cetera.

197:11-202:22

Wisdom...harme at all] The general tenor of this section owes a great deal to Ad Herennium (I, vi-vii), wherein are discussed the two types of introductions--direct and subtle. The discussion of subtlety stresses the importance of manipulating the conditions of time, place, and audience in order to persuade.

205:11

trumpel] high praise, clarion call of commendation (OED, sb.2:3)

202:1-2

three kyndes of causes for oratory] The three occasions of oratory are stated nearly everywhere in classical rhetoric. Wilson's nearest source is probably Ad Herennium (I, ii, 2).

203:7

three] foure (53,60) The context

clearly dictates the necessity for the change.

204:10-206:13 in praising a noble...about his death] The basic division of a man's life can be found in Quintilian (III, vii, 10-17), yet Cox appears to be Wilson's source. In demonstrative oratory, for Cox, "The Narration or tale wherein persones are prayesd/ is the declarynge of theyr lyfe and doynges after the fasshyon of an hystorye. The places out of whiche it is sought are: The persones byrthe. His chydhode. His adolescencie. His mannestate. His olde age. His dethe and what followeth after" (p. 55).

206:14-210:1 Now to open...likest best] The elaboration of these stages of epideictic oratory are borrowed loosely from Ad Herennium (III, v-vii), except for sex which is taken from De Copia ([I, 80c] p. 583).

209:6 (In margin) viii. Wise counsaill] viii. (all eds). The phrase was carelessly omitted and thus it is here emended in order to follow the pattern set by the preceding seven.

209:10 want] but want

210:2 Enuryng] Training [by habitual actions] (OED, vbl. sb. of "Enure," v:3)

210:18 Gorgias] Gorgias, the legendary first sophist who brought rhetoric to Athens from Sicily in 427 b.c., does not praise unrightousness per se in Plato's dialogue of that name, but he does stand for amoral rhetorical power. Glaucon in the Republic ([Loeb, 1963], II), does praise injustice and Wilson may have picked this up from Praise of Folly which mentions "unjust Glaucon" (p. 2). However, the fact that Gorgias' name should appear in this context is interesting, for while he is the founder of classical oratory, he is also the infamous pagan sophist who argued that nothing exists. Wilson cautions his reader in this passage of the dangers of separating truth from display.

210:19 Heliogabalus] This is the name of the title given to Marcus Aurelius Antonius, Roman emperor from 218-222, which was taken from the name of the officer of the Syrian sun god. He was killed by praetorian guards for sexual misconduct. Sextus Aurelius, Historica de vita et Morbus Imperatorum Romanum ([Paris:

1531] fol. 16).

211:1 Phavorinus] See above note for
20:38-21:1.

211:5 vaunte] boast, brag (OED, v:3
refl.)

212:19 sworde in a naked mannes hand]
This clause makes little sense as it stands, but it is probably a misquotation of the proverb: "Ill putting a naked sword in a madman's hand," Tilley (P 669); Heywood (l. 2312).

215:2 wittes in] wits on

215:10-11 I have written, bothe in Latine and
Englishe] Refers to his collaboration with Haddon; see biographical introduction (pp. 33,42); no English copy of this essay is extant.

216:7-11 The partes...conclusion] Wilson doesn't follow the classical sources on the selective use of the parts but rather his source is Cox, whose list includes the following: "The Preamble or exorden. The Tale or narracion. The provinge of the matter or contencion. The conclusion." Cox also states that the parts should not follow any specific pattern, "for they are not found generally in every oracion. but some have moo partes/ and some lesse"(p. 50).

216:14-17 Aristotle...the other] In the Rhetoric ([Loeb, 1959], I, ix, 41), Aristotle reiterates this point from his Topics (Loeb, 1966). See also Topica (XV) and De Oratore (II, lxxxv, 349).

217:4-21 The places to confirme...he did it]
Wilson most likely is following a very similar list in Cox (p. 63).

218:4-5 who...disclose] It was of course pedagogically fashionable to set a lesson to meter. The source may be Cox again: "Circumstances are these/ what was done/ who dyd it/ whan/ where it was done/ amonge whom/ by hose helpe" (p. 63).

219:1 David] He is also mentioned in Rule (p. 2) and see De Ratione Concionandi (V, 974d). Wilson's

protestant humanism is taken up with David for he represents so well the individual with artistic abilities who overcomes overwhelming odds, all for the glory of God and especially country. The power of this vehicle is furthermore increased by Wilson's diminishing David's size and age.

227:9 harnes] body-armour [of a foot soldier] (OED, sb:1)

229:5 Places of confirmation] Wilson picks up Cox's topics again (p. 63).

230:1 Places of logique] These are adapted from the Rule (pp. 43-45).

231:1-242:6 An example...Amen] Elyot provides a panegyric to justice in Governour (pp. 159-163), and it contains many of the sentiments expressed by Wilson. Cox also includes a shorter version of praising justice (pp. 45-48). Yet the basic design of Wilson's oration seems to be his own.

233:15 Aristotle] In the Nichomachean Ethics ([Loeb, 1962], V, i, 15) justice is compared to the morning and evening star, but as Derrick finds in John Wilkerson's translation from the Italian, The Ethiques of Aristotle ([London: R. Grafton, 1547], sig. E8v), justice is compared to the star and the setting of the sun.

234:20-22 why should not other use the same...naked] This sentiment is in general an inversion of Matthew 5-6.

236:3 Storke...love] Pliny (X, xxxii, 63).

236:14-15 If you love me...commaundements.] John 15:14.

236:16-17 Chiristes...self.] Matthew 22:37-39.

236:15 (In margin) Marc. x.] The reference is most likely to Mark 10:17-22. This passage is glossed Mat. xix in The byble in Englyshe (1540) and is perhaps the source of the confusion of the citation to Matth. xix.

250:12 Nature is a right] Throughout this passage Wilson may have used some common places from De Conscribendis Epistolis : Religion, natural love, thankfulness, assured and constant truth (I, 402c); right by custome, bargaining, right by a law, fortitude and temperance (I, 402f).

258:13 neshe] weak, easily yielding to temptation or force (OED, a:3b Obs.)

259:6 yngrame] ignorant, unlearned

259:8 snapshare] share obtained as an extra fee (OED, sb. Obs.)

261:2-3 all men go together by the eares] Tilley (E 23); Heywood (l. 1413).

262:18 graffed] grafted

263:5 mountyng] This is a variant spelling for "mooting," the practice of trying imaginary cases by students at the Inns of Court (OED, vbl. sb: 2 spec.)

264:12-313:5 An Epistle to perswade a young gentleman to Mariage] This epistle is Wilson's translations of Erasmus' Encomium Matrimonii from De Conscribendis Epistolis. Wilson does not use Richard Taverner's earlier translation of the same, A Ryght fruteful Epystle (London: R. Grafton, 1530?).

266:2 one consent] unanimous approval

267:5-6 Christ...honest] John 2:1-11.

268:8 Licurgus] legendary founder of the Spartan constitution

268:9 Solon] (640-561 b.c.) famed reformer of the Athenian constitution

269:2-4 this lawe...yearthe] Genesis 9:1-9.

269:11-12 shall man leave...wyfe] Matthew 19:5.

- 270:12-18 Christe...miracles] John 2:1-11.
- 272:8-11 S. Paul...undefiled] Hebrews 13:4.
- 273:5-18 Deauteronomie...woman] Deuteronomy 6:3.
- 273:8 Lya] Genesis 29:31. Wilson appears to have confused Leah with Rachel. Leah had born Jacob three sons before he preferred Rachel who did become barren.
- 273:10-15 the Psalme...table] Psalm 128:3.
- 274:14 (In margin) Plutarchus] Plutarch
- 276:5 (In margin) Juvenal] Satire ([Loeb, 1965], lx, 86-88).
- 276:9 suer] This word has been glossed as sure, but it probably should be read as soever (so'ere), for the sense and especially the rhyme are better.
- 280:10-16 As Plinie...waxe barraine] Pliny (XLV, iii, 10).
- 280:16-19 The same Plinie...heldeth.] Pliny (XLLL, xv, 31).
- 281:17 snakes feete] Ovid, Metamorphoses ([Loeb, 1966], I, 84); the interpretation of the Giants as symbols of unnatural desire is in De Copia ([I, 90c] p. 610).
- 285:12 raunsome Rachel...bondage] Genesis 29:18.
- 288:20-22 Christe...God] Matthew 19:12.
- 290:13 lemmans] mistresses
- 291:18-19 Hierome...starres] Jerome, "The Virgin's Profession," Select Letters of St. Jerome, trans. F.A. Wright (Loeb, 1963, xxii).
- 293:12 That man] The reference is to Onan in Genesis 38:8-10.

- 296:5-6 as swallows flie away when sommer
is past] Ad Herennium (IV, xlviii, 61).
- 297:24 Tymon that careth for no manne]
Probably picked up from Praise of Folly : "imitate Timon
and move to some wilderness, where he may enjoy his wisdom
alone" (p. 33).
- 299:17-21 Horace...departe.] Horace (I,
xiii, 17).
- 302:6 Cornelia...Assia] Maximus (IV,
vi).
- 306:8-9 A good woman...porcion] Proverbs
31:10-31.
- 306:14 nocke] mark of proportion or
adequation (OED, sb.1: 1b. Obs.)
- 307:12-13 Josephus speaketh that they will
neither have wyfe, nor servauntes] Jewish Antiquities
([Loeb, 1965], XVIII, 21). This passage iterates the
manner in which both wives and servants lead to social
decay.
- 307:16-17 Or do] FE 53; Do
- 310:24 Daughters of Loth] Genesis
19:30-36.
- 313:12 Erasmus] De Conscribendis
Epistolis (XXVI) "De exhortatoria epistola"(I, 385b).
- 315:21 Paccaui] I have sinned
- 315:21-316:1 if God...hym?] Romans 8:31.
- 322:14-340:3 An example of Comforte...Amen] An
imitation of Declamatio de Morte by Erasmus.
- 322:3-5 God is the searcher of...wyll.]
Psalm 44:20.
- 334:16-19 The righteous man...soul.] Wisdom
4:10-13.
- 335:4-6 My soule (quod David)...lord.]

Psalm 84:2.

335:6-8 Yea, like as the herte...God?]
Psalm 42:1.

337:18-20 Job1 Job 1:21.

343:8-9 Thy will be doen in yearth, as it
is in heaven.] Matthew 6:10.

343:10-11 happie is that body, whom God
scourgeth] Job 5:17.

346:22-23 Commodus...wicked man] Dio Cassis,
Roman History ([Loeb, 1955], lxxiii) explains that this
 emperor (180-192) had good counselors though they did not
 impede his immoral behavior.

347:1-3 Nero...he?] Suetonius (VI, vii)
points out that Annaeus Seneca tutored Nero.

356:11 (In margin) ii Regum .xii.] Vulgate and Great Bible divide Kings into four parts, the first two generally understood as Samuel. See II Samuel 12:15-24.

349:16-17 Job] Job 1:21.

349:17-19 Tobias] Tobias 2:17.

349:20-350:9 Paul...with hym.] I Thessalonians
4:13.

350:12-15 I am the resurreccion...shal never
die.] John 11:25.

350:18-20 Anaxagoras, Pericles] Declamatio de
Morte (lv, 618c).

351:10 Cornelia] Erasmus, ibid. (IV,
619d).

352:10 Bibulus] Erasmus, *ibid.* (IV,
619c).

352:19-353:5 Horatius Pulvillis, Paulus Emilius]
Erasmus, *ibid.*(IV, 619a).

353:19-20 Zenophon, Quintus Martius, Julius

- Cesar, Tiberius Caesar] Erasmus, *ibid.* (IV, 619c).
 Suetonius is the source for referring to Emperor Claudius
 as Tiberius Caesar; see Suetonius (V, ii).
 354:18-19 a mans wisdom...the olde age]
 Wisdom 4:8.
- 355:2-3 Stagge...more] Pliny (VIII, 1,
 119).
- 357:9 ons] once
- 357:19 ones] once
- 359:2 blesse] bliss, blessing
- 359:9 cooles] coals
- 363:12-13 my tale to talke of Robbyn Hoode]
 "Tales of Robin Hood are good among fools," Tilley (T 53),
 Heywood (l. 2514); "a tryfle, and a tale of Robynhoode,"
 Sherry (p. 3).
- 364:7 courtise] courteously
- 364:18-19 hence to Rome gates] Here the
 English humanist uses his travel metaphor for invention to
 show that ranging in a field is fine for gathering matter
 but only if it is the right one; ranging so far as to
 touch the boundaries of Roman gates or of the realm of
 popery is stepping into enemy land, an act that borders on
 treason.
- 365:9-12 A State...marke.] Ad Herennium (I,
 xi, 18) makes the argument between prosecutor and
 defendent in the same staccato manner. Wilson translates
constitutio (Latin for the Greek status) as issue.
Quintilian (III, vi, 1) uses the term statu and thus may
 be Wilson's source rather than the original Greek.
- 367:16-18 Coniecturall...Juridiciall.] Ad
Herennium (I, xi, 18).
- 369:8 The Assertion...or no.] Ad
Herennium (I, xvii, 27).
- 371:3-4 will...evil] The terms seem to
 come from Quintilian's volverit and potuerit (VII, ii,
 27).

- 371:3-372:14 In the will...dede.] Ad Herennium
(II, ii, 3-iii, 5).
- 372:17-373:7 The ground...mane of doynge] Ad
Herennium (III, v-vi) lists the signs of the accused: "the
Place, the point of time, the duration of time, the
occasion, the hope of success, the hope of escaping
detection.
- 378:7-14 The partes...refusinge] Ad
Herennium (II, ix-xii).
- 379:10-14 Christ geveth...father] Matthew
10:6.
- 379:14-18 after his ressurecion...living.]
Matthew 28:19.
- 381:1-2 If thy right eye...thee] Matthew
5:29.
- 381:2-4 If one geve the...cheke.] Matthew
5:39.
- 381:4-5 There be some Eunuches...heaven.]
Matthew 19:12.
- 381:5-7 Go, and sell...geve it to the
poore.] Matthew 19:21.
- 381:7-8 He that doeth...worthy of me.]
Matthew 16:24.
- 383:2-6 The civil lawe...ordered.] Ad
Herennium (I, xiii, 23).
- 383:14 common place] court of common
pleas (OED, "Common Pleas," sb.)
- 385:2-16 Tullie...you.] "Pro T. Annio Milone
Oratione"(IV, 10); Cox uses this example throughout his
text, and Erasmus refers to it in De Copia ([I, 90a] p.
609).
- 385:13-17 Saguntynes...Romaines.] Maximus
(VI, vi).

- 390:1-7 An enteraunce...insinuacion.] Ad
Herennium (I, iv, 7).
- 392:3-6 three poynctes...favor:] Ad
Herennium (I, iv, 7).
- 393:11-394:15 Demosthenes...hym.] Udall (fol.
 75v).
- 394:11-12 a tale of a Tubbel] Tilley (T 53);
 Heywood (l. 2517).
- 394:15 them] hym (all eds); clearly the
 reference is to the plural members of the audience.
- 397:4-398:15 Now resteth...sane.] Ad Herennium
 (I, vi).
- 399:21-22 Ad omnia quare] wherefore to all
 things
- 403:7-10 the firste...said.] Ad Herennium
 (I, ix, 14).
- 405:2 rope rypel] ripe for the hangman's
 rope.
- 405:14 (In margin) Probabilitie] Probalitie (53).
- 415:6-13 Now Tullie...at an end.] Ad
Herennium (I, x, 17). Wilson claims Cicero wrote the Ad
Herennium as did nearly all other scholars of the time.
- 415:23 enveigh against those women] The
 subject of this exercise theme can be found in Erasmus De
Pueris Instituendis (I, 498f) which Sherry translated and
 published with his Treatise. See Sherry.
- 411:2 Maydens that have made a scapel
 The OED cites this phrase as an example of using scape to
 mean transgression against or an especially sinful loss of
 chastity (OED, "Scape," sb.1: 2 Obs.).
- 416:2-7 Quintilian willeth...law.]
 Quintilian (IV, iv, 1) claims that proposition is a part
 of the confirmatio which should follow narratio.
- 416:1-15 these places together...hymself.]

This list of topics can be found in De Ratione Concionandi (V, 906f).

419:8 twoo partes of a conclusion]
Partitiones (XV, 52) and Ad Herennium (II, xxx, 47), use a
 three-part conclusion.

422:24-25 Athenians...forbid...conclusions.]
 Erasmus, De Ratione Concionandi (V, 951c).

423:10 Amplification] Much of the spirit
 of Wilson's discussion of amplification comes from
 Erasmus' De Copia and De Ratione Concionandi as well as
 the sections on pathos in Cicero's De Oratore (III).

423:16 copiel copia, a store of words,
 phrases, and techniques for generating texts

425:12-430:3 There is no greater
 victorie...selfe] Many of these proverbs come from
 Erasmus De Ratione Concionandi (V, 967e).

430:9-10 She is a stepe mother to me]
 Tilley (D 19); Heywood ll. (2470-71).

430:13-14 Trotte sire and trotte damme...God]
 "How can the foal amble when the horse and mare trot,"
 Tilley (F 408); Heywood (l. 837).

430:17 Likeryshe of tongue...wontonlye]
 "Though her mouth be foul, she has a fair tail," Heywood
 (l. 283).

430:19 Sone rype, sone rotten] Tilley (R
 133); Heywood (l. 670).

430:20 Enoughe is as good as a feaste]
 Tilley (E 158); Heywood (l. 2754).

430:20-21 It is an evill coke that can not
 licke his owne fingers] Tilley (C 636); Heywood (l.
 2367).

433:10-434:12 chaunging a woorde...man] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 969b).

434:13-19 Nowe in al thinges...above the
 toppe.] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 969e).

434:20-435:1 Tullie...gibbet?] "Actionis Secundae in C. Verrem" (V, lxvi, 170). This speech is mentioned in De Ratione Concionandi (V, 969e), De Copia ([I, 83e] p. 592), Quintilian (VIII, lv, 4), and Sherry (p. 71).

435:17-436:21 a gentleman...say to him.] This example is probably influenced by Cicero's condemnation of Anthony's vomiting in public, Philippic (II, xxx, 63), referred to in De Ratione Concionandi, De Copia ([I, 83e] p. 592), and in Sherry (p. 72).

437:17-18 Hugh Latimer] (1485-1555) Protestant preacher, friend of Bucer, Katherine Willoughby-Brandon, supporter of Edward VI, and martyr under Mary.

437:19-20 Walter Haddon] (1505-1556) Friend of Wilson at Cambridge, member of the early group of humanists including Cheke and Ascham; see biographical introduction pp. 32,42).

437:24-25 Thou hast killed thy mother..owne mother.] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 970d).

438:8-17 Tullie againste Catiline...citye.] The speech is referred to in De Ratione Concionandi (V, 971c) and De Copia ([I, 84c] p. 593). See Quintilian (VIII, iv, 13).

438:20 Jacke Straw] He was a well known rebel in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

438:22 Capitayne Kettel] Kett was early revolutionary who led the revolt in Norfolk (1549) and was defeated by John Dudley at Dussindale.

439:14-440:23 :1 slaunder is theft...River] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 972a).

441:4 Lukes Velvet] Velvet from Liege (Flem. Luik) in E. Belgium (OED, "Lukes," a. Obs.)

441:5 Geane Velvet] Velvet from Genoa (Fr. Genes) (OED, "Geane," Obs.) The idea of the comparison may come from De Ratione Concionandi (V, 972d) wherein Erasmus compares a fine purple cloth to one of a

lesser quality.

442:1-6 Storkes...forthe] De Ratione
Concionandi (V, 972f).

342:5 Pliny] Pliny (X, xxii, 63).

442:12-15 extenuate...other.] De Ratione
Concionandi (V, 973a).

443:6-20 one might exhort...faith] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 973a-c).

443:11 Boleine] The Duke of Suffolke took
Boulogne for Henry VIII on July 14, 1544 (John Bowle,
Henry VIII: A Biography [Boston: Little, Brown, 1964] pp.
270-272).

443:19-446:13 by occasion...man to kepe] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 974e). Erasmus uses the topics of
occasion, place, age, and difficulty of the task for
amplification.

443:20-25 We do encrease...thyng is.] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 973d) under the heading of ratio.

445:2-8 There is a kynde...worthe.] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 974d), but Erasmus illustrates the
point with the story of David which Wilson uses above.

446:19 Muskelborow] 1500 Scots were taken
prisoner by Somerset's forces at Musselburgh on the river
Esk on September 10, 1547 (Froude, IV: 293-296).

447:12-13 heapyng of wordes and sentences
together] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 975e).

447:19-449:8 To prove by coniectures a
murder...offended] Ad Herennium (IV, xl, 53).

449:12-25 Gods goodnesse...most unkynde?] De
Ratione Concionandi (V, 976b).

452:24 Goddes coope] Three possible
meanings: (1) God's cup (i.e. Holy Grail); (2) God's cope
(i.e. his bargain or sum for man); (3) God's cope, meaning
a clergyman's cape.

- 454:13 Quintillian] Quintilian (VI, i, 15).
- 454:14 heanouse] 60; heauouse Obviously since the reference in the text is to heinous crimes the compositor simply turned the "n" carelessly or his case was foul.
- 455:14 chaunce medly] chance, accident [without evil intent] (OED, "Chance-medley," 1 Law.)
- 456:17-457:1 in movyng pity...own state] This is the doctrine of misericordia in De Oratore (II, lii, 21).
- 458:14 saiying, nothyng kyndelet soner then fire.] Tilley (N 308).
- 459:11 Cicero doth saie, nothyng drieth soner, then teares] Ad Herennium (II, xxxi, 50). Cicero attributes the phrase to Appolonius in De Oratore (I, lvi, 109).
- 460:19 jester] 67; jesture The authority for this emendation is not just the context which clearly indicates that jester is the word, but also the errata list of the 1553 edition makes the same emendation for 467:16.
- 467:14-23 Tullie noteth...laughter.] De Oratore (II, lviii-lxxi).
- 467:15 respect] FE 53; repect
- 467:16 jester] FE 53; jesture
- 462:10-12 the meane that maketh us merie...is the fondnesss, the filthines, the deformitee] De Oratore (II, lix, 239).
- 464:9-11 Plato...hearers.] There is no known source for Plato's response to Antithenes who speaks in the Symposium, but Plato does complain about Polus' speeches in the Gorgias for not directing themselves to the hearers' questions adequately ([Penguin, 1960], p. 21).
- 466:16 bourdyng] jesting, mocking (OED,

vbl. sb. Obs.)

469:8-13 Nero...servaunt.] De Oratore (III, lxi, 248).

470:3-12 Pontidius...wicked deede.] De Oratore (II, lxviii, 275).

470:20-22 When is it best to dine...came.] Udall (fol. 98).

472:9 Partnaie fair] fair held on the three Lady days of September in Partney, Lincolnshire

473:9-10 Pope Julie the seconde, or Alexander the sixte] Julius II (1503-1513); Alexander VI (1431-1503). Alexander's reputation is the more martial of the two. These two are mentioned together in Castiglione's The Courtier and in Machiavelli's The Prince.

473:25 whitesave] vouchsave (OED, "Vouchsafe," v.)

474:16 chaungynge of a letter] Quintilian (VI, iii, 74).

476:17-477:6 There was one Bassus...money] Quintilian (VI, iii, 74).

477:8 Erasmus telleth the tale] There is no known source for this reference.

478:4 the dolyng world] The reference appears to indicate Wilson's estimation of the medieval period.

478:18-479:6 Servius Galbas...an other man's wife.] Servius Galba's banter with Libo can be found in De Oratore (II, lxv, 263).

479:9 Alphonsos] Alphonso V of Aragon (1416-1485) became king of Naples in 1442.

483:15-20 Diogenes...made.] Udall (fol. 130r).

496:18-498:3 Livius Salinator...gotte it.] De

Oratore (II, lxvii, 273).

488:6-12 Diogenes...he.] Udall (fols. 126r, 125r).

488:13-19 Octavious...ayre] Udall (fol. 308r). I can find no connection between this tale and Macrobius such as Wilson suggests.

489:11-21 Mettellus...weale.] De Oratore (II, lxviii, 276-77).

490:17-491:2 Opimius...is kept.] De Oratore (II, lxviii, 277).

491:3-492:24 An Eremite in Italie...booke.] A similar story though not set in Italy is found in Tales and Quicke Answeres ([London:1535?], sig. D3r).

491:6 coveryng] FE 60; covered

491:9 whereupon] FE 60; wherof

492:12 Grave] An excavation or pit of any kind (OED, sb:4)

492:24 ad aeternam rei memoriam] to the eternal memory of the deed

493:3-13 A homelye felowe made...birdes withal.] Here Wilson combines two tales: (1) a Sicilian who asked for cuttings from the fig tree on which his friend's wife hanged herself from, De Oratore (II, lxix, 278); (2) Diogenes' remark upon his seeing a woman hanging from an olive tree--"Would God, saied he, that the other trees too had like fruite hanging from them," Udall (fol. 122r).

494:12-20 An unlearned orator...pitied.] De Oratore (II, lxix, 278).

495:1-4 Socrates...deservyng.] Udall (fol. 21v).

495:12-23 :5 Cato...hardely] The stories of Cato and the praetor come from De Oratore (II, lxix, 279).

496:6-11 Demonides...dearely.] Moralia (I,

95).

497:4-5 S. Niclas Clarkes] St. Nicholas is
the patron saint of poor students, clerks.

497:21-498:4 Granius...altogether.] De Oratore
(II, lxx, 281).

498:5-20 But emong...of her body.] Udall
(fol. 242v).

498:21-499:1 an unlearned Phisicion...agone.]
Moralia (III, 383).

501:7 In] 60; I

501:14-19 Oftentymes...elders.] De Oratore
(II, lxx, 281).

502:5-7 Diogenes...thou never be.] Udall
(fol. 129v).

502:8-19 Salust...nobilitie.] "In
Sallustium Crispum Oratio," attributed to Cicero; see
Salust (II, 5).

503:9-14 Vibius Curious...you saie.]
Quintilian (VI, iii, 73).

503:15-19 Fabia Dolobella...years ago.]
Quintilian (VI, iii, 74).

503:20-504:7 Souldiour...wynde again.] Udall
(fol. 320v).

506:18-21 Disposicion...require.] Ad
Herennium (I, ii, 3).

508:9-12 If the judge...possible.] Ad
Herennium (III, ix, 17).

508:13-17 And in proving of our
matters...strongest.] De Oratore, (II, lxxvi, 309).

514:16-20 Foure partes...exornation.] De
Oratore (III, x, 37).

516:18 Rhetorician] FE 53; Rhetotician 53

516:19 Willyam Sommer] Court fool to
Henry VIII from 1525 to 1547

519:12 provost] This refers to Cheke
(1514-1557) who was elected provost on April 1, 1548.

520:14 runnegate] renegade

520:14 revives] relief

520:15 southsides] subsides (53).
Obviously the compositor misunderstood the line and
"corrected" Wilson's intended misspelling.

523:12-17 audience of sheep...phrase of
building] Both unapt words are taken from Sherry (p. 35).

524:12-18 Composicion therefore...nomber.]
Definition of composition here is taken largely from
Sherry: "plucke of my boots and spurres"(p. 31).

528:2-3 Quintilian likeneth..sighte.]
Quintilian (VIII, v, 34).

530:4-6 Tullie sayeth) an oration
is...excellente...by the color and juice of speache.] De
Oratore (II, lii, 199).

530:6-19 .iii. maner of
styles...convenient.] De Oratore (III, lii, 199) the
wording sounds more like Sherry because he also uses the
terms "great" and "small" for two of the three styles.
See Sherry (pp. 21-24).

531:14 sparpled] scattered (OED, ppl. a.
Obs.)

531:16 Araise] Arras

531:18-532:2 A figure is a certaine
kinde...speake.] Closest to definition in Sherry (p. 25).

532:4-9 There are thre kindes of
figures...Scheme:] Wilson adopts Quintilian's notion of
the difference between a trope and figure: "The name of
trope is applied to the transference of expression from
their natural and principal signification to another.... A

The four-fold division of metonyms comes from De Copia ([I, 20b] pp. 339-340). The example, "Come to my house," also can be found there.

543:11-15 Transumption...depenesse.] Sherry, Wilson's probable source, uses the figure of "blacke dennes" (pp. 41-42); Sherry in turn must have borrowed from Erasmus, De Copia ([I, 19f] p. 339) who uses the figure of "lusterless cavern" to imply blackness and then deepness.

544:14 heanouse] heauouse (53) This is clearly a turned case error.

545:2-3 Allegorie...oration.] De Copia ([I, 18e] p. 338). This passage also contains the first example: "to bouge the ship."

545:15-17 Quintilian...Exornacion.] Quintilian (VIII, vi, 44).

546:14-389:4 Figures of a word...end.] Ad Herennium (IV, xxi, 29). The author lists eight categories which include the ones Wilson uses.

547:12-13 Relligion, for religion] Sherry (p. 27).

547:14-15 Idolatrie, for Idololatrie] (Ibid).

548:3 A faire may, for, maide] (Ibid.)

549:6-7 folowyng the order...Oratour.] De Oratore (III, liii-liv).

550:2 (In margin) Illustris explanatio] De Oratore (III, liii, 202) meaning "illustrated explanation."

550:4-19 If our enemies...dispatche us.] The source here is De Copia ([I, 77b-e] pp. 576-577) which is based on Quintilian (VIII, iii, 67).

551:18-23 The Englishe...stubbornesse.] Cox (pp. 75-76).

552:10-555:9 Description of persone...saie.] De Copia ([I, 79f-81e] pp. 582-587).

554:2 (In margin) Precisio.] De Oratore (III, liii, 202) meaning "quick review."

554:9 (In margin) Significatio plus ad intelligendum quam dixeris] De Oratore (III, liii, 202) meaning "an explanation that implies more than one actually says."

554:10-555:1 A naughtie fellowe...night.] Udall (fol. 342r).

555:6-8 wipt his nose...fishemonger] Ad Herrenium (IV, liv, 67); also De Copia ([I, 17b] p. 332).

555:10 (In margin) Distincte concisa breuitas] De Oratore (III, liii, 202) meaning "consiseness with respect to clearness."

557:11 (In margin) Digressio ab re non longa.] De Oratore (III, liii, 202). Wilson adds "non" to Cicero's ab re longa degressio ("digression from the matter at hand") in order to reemphasize his general theory of sticking to the purpose.

559:1 (In margin) Sejunctio ab eo quod dictum est.] De Oratore (III, liii, 203) meaning "distinction from what already has been said."

559:7 (In margin) Reditus ad propositum] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "return to the proposition."

560:3 (In margin) Iteratio] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "repetition."

560:11 (In margin) Rationis apta conclusio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "a fitting conclusion based on reason."

561:2 (In margin) Veritatis superlatio, atque trajectio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "exaggeration and transposition of the truth."

561:5-6 God promised to Abraham...yearth] Genesis 22:7.

562:4 (In margin) rogatio] De Oratore (III, liii, 203) meaning "questioning."

563:2 D. Haddon.] Walter Haddon, see
above note for 147:12.

563:16 (In margin) Percontatio] De Oratore (III,
liii, 203) meaning "rhetorical questioning."

563:20-564:3 Tullie...deceive us?] "In
Catilinam"(I, 1).

564:5 (In margin) Dissimutatio, alia dicentis ac
significantiol] De Oratore (III, liii, 203) meaning
"irony, or saying one thing and meaning another."

564:6 grigge] agonize, annoy

565:2 frumpe] insult

565:14 (In margin) Dubitatio.] De Oratore (III, liii,
203) meaning "hesitation."

566:11 (In margin) Distributatio] De Oratore (ibid.)
meaning "apportioning."

567:17 (In margin) Correctio.] De Oratore (ibid.)
meaning "correction."

567:20-558:9 Tullie against Verres...the like.]
"Actionis Secundae In C. Verrem" (I, iii, 9); cited also
in De Copia ([I, 84d] p. 94).

569:2 (In margin) Reictio] De Oratore (III, liii,
203) meaning "rejecting."

569:9-13 Antony charged Tully...countrey.]
Philippics (II, x, 24).

569:15 (In margin) premunitio] De Oratore (III, liii,
203) meaning "preparation."

569:5 (In margin) Communicatio.] De Oratore (ibid.)
meaning "communication."

69:11-13 Tullie describeth Piso...covetous
man.] "In Pisonem" (I, i, 1).

571:16 (In margin) Erroris inductio] De Oratore (III,
liii, 203) meaning "leading into error."

572:6 (In margin) In hilaritatem impulsio] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "inciting laughter."

572:6 (In margin) Ante occupatio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "seizing in anticipation."

572:12-573:5 A Godly Preacher...the daies of our life] It is fitting that the portestant translator of classical rhetoric would be supportive of Englishing the bible, still a contentious position in 1553.

573:12 (In margin) Similitudo] De Oratore (III, liii, 203) meaning "comparison."

574:4-5 A man may love his house well,...ridge.] Tilley (M 266); Heywood (ll.1577-78).

576:20-21 Emonge the learned...Chrisostome] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 1011a).

577:2-3 I have spoken of similitudes...in the boke of Logique.] Rule (pp. 123-124).

577:7 (In margin) Exemplum.] De Oratore (III, liii, 203) meaning "example."

577:14 Ethicke aucthoures] pagan writers. Wilson uses the same term in his Rule (p. 226).

577:16-578:8 they whiche hadde no knowledge of God...in good livynge] This statement may serve as an epitome of the Christian humanist's argument for studying pagan literature, the position that More's Utopia most cleverly exemplifies.

578:8-13 Unequall examples...faulte.] De Ratione Concionandi (V, 866e). The examples from Pliny and those on female chastity are found here also; the source of the story of the cranes is Pliny (X, xxx, 59).

580:9-14 let him have never so good qualities...Cyball.] I Corinthians 13:2.

581:14-582:5 Plinie writeth...mans life was saved.] Pliny (VIII, xxii, 61), but Wagner points out that Wilson follows Erasmus' account of this story in De Ratione Concionandi (V, 866a).

582:6-583:3 The dogge of the romane
Fulvius...to live without him.] There is no clear source
for this, although Pliny writes of a famous loyal dog who
tried to feed and protect his master's body (Pliny, VIII,
lxi, 145), and Appian's Syrian Wars mentions Lysimachus'
faithful dog (XI, x, 64), and The Civil Wars recounts
Fulvius' death. The scattered nature of these sources
would seem to imply then that Wilson either had a
different source or was simply not remembering the story
very accurately.

583:4-585:5 Lyon (whereof Appian the
Grammarian...saved a man.] De Ratione Concionande (V,
866d); see also Gellius (V, xiv, 5).

585:13 examples enriched by Copy] The
spirit of this discussion of method is inspired by De
Copia.

587:19-20 Plutarche...the minde.] No
reference can be found in Plutarch or in Basil, yet the
sentiment is expressed in De Conscribendis Epistolis (I,
390b).

587:23-588:8 The Poetes were wise
men...conversation] This is a synopsis of the
redactionist theory of literature and myth.

588:9-17 Danae...money] Udall (fol. 166r);
De Copia ([I 90f] p. 611).

588:18 Isis] Wilson mistakes Isis here
for Europa.

588:21 best.] It seems that Wilson could
have meant beaste here, as Derrick has emended the word,
referring to the fact that Zeus became a bull to seduce
Europa. But it wouldn't make sense because Europa, the
beauty, does not overcome the beast; it is rather the
other way around. However, she does overcome the best,
Zeus (best of the gods), by forcing his metamorphosis.
Thus, beauty overcomes the best in us by bringing out the
beast in us.

589:1-7 agaynste covetous...able to eat?]
De Copia ([I 90f] p. 611).

589:8-17 Icarus...compasse.] De Copia

(ibid.).

589:18-590:3 Midas...enough.] De Copia (ibid.).

589:21-593:1 The multitude (as Horace doth say)
is a beast] Horace (III, i, 1).

590:2 that 60; then

590:5-7 Hercules...fleshe?] De Copia
(ibid.).

593:16-17 fable of a conflicte made betwixt
the partes of a mans bodie] De Copia ([I, 98e] p. 632).

593:21-594:14 Themistocles...your bloud.] De
Copia (ibid.).

594:7 every] 60; every

595:3 (In margin) Digestio.] De Oratore (III, liii,
205) meaning "division."

595:6-13 There are three things...his
power.] Pro Sexto Roscio Americo (XIII, xxxv).

595:15 (In margin) Reticentia.] De Oratore (III,
liii, 205) meaning "keeping silent."

596:13 (In margin) Contentio.] De Oratore (ibid.)
meaning "contrasting."

597:8 (In margin) Liveravox.] De Oratore (ibid.)
meaning "speaking freely."

598:1 hote as a tost] Tilley (T 363);
Heywood (l. 1400).

598:5-13 (In margin) Deprecatio. Cinciliatio. Laesio.
Purgatio. Optatio. Execratio.] De Oratore (III, liii,
205) meaning "anger, deprecation, conciliation, attack,
cleansing, wishing, curse."

599:11 (In margin) Geminatio verborum.] De Oratore
(ibid.) meaning "a budding of words."

599:13-600:1 Tullie againste Catiline...abrode.]
"In Catilinam" (I, i, 2).

600:7 (In margin) Paulum immutatum verbum.] De Oratore (III, liii, 205) meaning "changing a word slightly."

601:2 (In margin) Repetitio a primo.] De Oratore (III, liii, 205) meaning "repetition at first."

601:18 (In margin) Conversio eiusdem in extremum.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "repetition of the same word at the end."

602:8 (In margin) Conversio in eadem.] De Oratore (III, liii, 206) meaning "repetition of the same word." Wilson's translation of "comprehension" may be informed by Ad Herennium (IV, xxvii, 38).

603:5 (In margin) Progressio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "progression."

603:16 (In margin) Similiter definens, similiter cadens.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "similar rhyming, similar case." See also De Ratione Concionandi (V, 1000c-f), which is also the source for the references to Augustine, Tacitus, and Arsonius.

604:2 (In margin) a most worthie man] Gabriel Harvey identified this man as Cheke in his marginalia (Samuel A. Tannenbaum, "Some Unpublished Harvey Marginalia," MLN, 25 [1930], 330).

604:19-20 There is a diffrence betwixt an horsemilne, and a milnehorse.] Rule : "if one should saie unto me yonder is a horsemille, the conversione were amisse to saie, yonder is a mille horse, for what idiote knoweth not, except he had a horse heade, that here the sence is altred, and that it is two thinges to saie, a horsemille and a mil horse" (p. 54).

607:1 (In margin) Paria paribus relata.] De Oratore (III, liv, 206) meaning "parts related by division into parts."

607:9-10 (In margin) Isocrates passeth in this behalff] Wilson may have picked up this reference to Isocrates' use of balanced syntax from Orator (LII, 174) where he says that "enthusiastic admirers of Isocrates extol as the greatest of his accomplishments that he was the first to

introduce rhythm into prose."

607:13 (In margin) Similia inter se] De Oratore (III, liv, 207) meaning "words sounding alike."

608:9 (In margin) Gradatio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "step by step."

609:2 (In margin) Regressio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "turning back."

610:8 (In margin) Dissoltum.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "omission of connecting particles."

610:13 (In margin) Exclamatio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "exclamation."

610:12 Oft usyng of one worde in diverse places] Compare De Oratore (ibid.): "the use of a nouns in several cases."

611:1 A cause geven to a sentence uttered.] Compare De Oratore (ibid.): "the appending of a reason to a statement."

611:6 cause geven to thynges contrary.] Compare De Oratore (ibid.): "assignment of a reason for separate details."

611:12 (In margin) Permissio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "concession of a point."

612:1 (In margin) Dubitatio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "hesitation."

612:15 (In margin) Dinumeratio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "enumeration of points."

614:13 (In margin) Disputatio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "disputation."

613:2-3 Turcassee...Emerode]
Turquoise...Emerald

614:7 dodkin] coin [of small value, early name for Dutch doit] (OED:1)

615:7-20 thou art basely borne...madnesse?]

De Copia (I, 22e), under the figure subiectio.

615:22 (In margin) Imago.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "indication of similarity." The examples come from De Copia ([I, 95b] p. 623).

616:12 Salust compareth Caesar and Cato] Bellum Catilinae in Sallust (LIV, 1-6)..

616:17 (In margin) Sibi ipsi responsio.] De Oratore (III, liv, 207) meaning "Answering one's own question."

616:18 Phedria in Terrence...never so faire.] The Eunuch ([Loeb, 1964], I, 46-49).

617:11 (In margin) Ordo.] De Oratore (III, liv, 207) meaning "order."

618:2 (In margin) Circumscriptio.] De Oratore (ibid.) meaning "periphrasis."

619:10-13 in at one eare, and let them out as fast again at the other] Tilley (E 12); Heywood (l. 2468).

620:13 memorie called the Threasure of the mynde] In the Ad Herennium (III, xvi, 28) memory is called the "treasure house of ideas."

620:19 children therefore beyng over moyst] Quintilian (XI, iii, 28) claims that boys' voices should not be strained because they are overmoist. This may be a source of Wilson's similar idea about memory.

623:2-3 Memorie is partly naturall, and partly artificiall.] Ad Herennium (III, xvi, 28).

623:7-10 Themisticles...teache me the arte of forgetting.] De Oratore (II, lxxiv, 299).

623:15-624:12 Mithradates...at one time.] Pliny (VII, xxiv, 24).

625:4-7 Cicero telleth of one Curio...entente.] Brutus (LX, 217).

625:19-626:5 Now the beste,..blunted.] Wilson seems again to be using Quintilian's advice for preserving

a good voice as advice for maintaining good memory, Quintilian (XI, iii, 19-20). Quintilian advises abstinence from sexual intercourse to postpone a young boy's voice from changing. It is not clear what Wilson has in mind.

626:5 lithernes] laziness, listlessness
(OED, Obs:2)

626:16-628:2 Simonides...invented.] Quintilian (XI, ii, 11). See also De Oratore (II, lxxxvi, 351-353).

628:17-18 A place is called anye rowme apt to receive thinges] Ad Herennium (III, xvi, 29). The idea of a room comes from Quintilian (XI, ii, 20) as well as Ad Herennium (III, xviii, 30).

629:2 An image is any picture or shape] Ad Herennium (ibid.).

629:2-3 And even as in waxe we make a print with a seale] Quintilian (XI, ii, 22), citing the simile from De Oratore (II, lxxxvi, 34).

629:5-6 evermore the fifte place must be made notable...hand pointing] Ad Herennium (III, xviii, 31): "in the fifth [background] we should set a golden hand."

630:4-11 The places of Memory...readynge.] Ad Herennium (III, xvii, 30).

632:6 pressel] cabinet

632:7 Cacus the thefel] Causcus supposeldly stold Hercules' cattle, Ovid Fasti ([Loeb, 1959], I, 543-585).

632:9-10 Apitius the famous glutton] Pliny (IX, xxx, 66).

635:5-6 Haec requies...elegi eam.] Vulgate, Psalmes 131:14.

636:7 Erasmus...like not this arte of Memorie] In De Ratione Studii ([I, 522c] p. 671) Erasmus does not deny the importance of places but says that "the best memory is based on three things above all:

understanding, system, and care"; see also Praise of Folly (p. 43), wherein Folly scoffs at man's reliance on the sciences.

636:9-10 Tullie...proved it by natural reason.] This passage is loosely based on De Oratore (II, lxxxvii, 357).

636:15 Lyon] Ad Herennium (III, xvi, 29) mentions the lion along with a horse and an eagle as good images for memory.

638:16-22 Demosthenes...they left askinge.] There are several sources of his story, but Wilson seems closest to Quintilian (XI, iii, 6); see also De Oratore (III, lvi, 213) and Udall (fol. 343v).

639:3-10 Aeschines...speake it.] Quintilian (XI, iii, 7).

639:15-16 Pronunciation standeth...the gesture.] Ad Herennium (III, xi, 19).

640:8-14 Demosthenes beyng not able to pronounce...doe.] De Oratore (I, lxi, 260).

641:14-15 as nice as a Nonnes Henne] Tilley (N 353); Heywood (l. 1348).

642:23-25 Tullie telles of one Theophrastus...arsee versee.] De Oratore (III, lix, 221).

643:4 patyns] pattens, clacking sound as made by wooden shoes called pattens; "tongue runs on patten," Tilley (T 387); Heywood (l. 2051).

643:17-19 Gesture is...spoken] Ad Herennium (III, xv, 26).

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Press Variants in 1553 (Q1)

Copies collated: Newberry (N), Folger (F), Berkeley (B),
Huntington (H), Yale (Y), British Museum (BM), Oxford (O),
Cambridge (C), Warrington PL (W), Glasgow PL (G).

Sheet a (outer forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

a.3.a observation,] observation;
 ned,] ned;

Sheet b (outer forme)
uncorrected: C
corrected: all others

b.3.a ,and his] ; and his

(inner forme)
uncorrected: F,H
corrected: N,C

b.4.a vant] want

Sheet c (outer forme)
uncorrected: H
corrected: all others

c.1.a childishenes,] childishesnes;

c.3.a co`utrey,] co`untrey;

Sheet d (outer forme)
uncorrected: B,Y
corrected: all others

d.1.a but half mynded] never mynded
 for by] for, by

Sheet d (inner forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

d.4.a the~, that] the~ that

Sheet g (outer forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

g.2.b Thracia~,] Thracia~;

g.4.b wives. But] wives. But

Sheet K (outer forme)
uncorrected: H
corrected: all others

K.1.a dumpe,] dumpe;

Sheet l (outer forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

l.3.a death, as] death; as

Sheet O (outer forme)
uncorrected: N,C,Y,F,B
corrected: all others

This is a change of type and lineation. The correction changes the section title, The seconde booke, from small italics to black letter type larger than the text's type. Also lines 19-21 are reset with larger type, so the lineation is altered. The last words of lines 19 and 20 are as follows:

corrected] uncorrected
when] hea=
of] to

Sheet O (inner forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

o.3.b thirdly, in] thirdly. in

Sheet p (outer forme)
uncorrected: N
corrected: all others

p.2.b about. now] about. now

Sheep p (inner forme)
 uncorrected: BM
 corrected: all others

p.4.a and] aud

Sheet R (inner forme)
 uncorrected: N,BM,O,G,W,H
 corrected: all others

R.4.a lawyer] lawer

Sheet s (outer forme)
 uncorrected: H
 corrected: all others

s.2.b speaches,] speaches;

(inner forme)
 uncorrected: N
 corrected: all others

s.3.b standeth most in] standeth _

Sheet t (outer forme)
 uncorrected: N,BM,O,W
 corrected: all others

t.1.a (cw) them] the

Sheet Cc (inner forme)
 uncorrected: N
 corrected: all others

Cc.4.a dedes:] dedes_

sayeth:] sayeth_

Print Variants for 1560 additions

[Copies collated: Huntington (H), University of Illinois, Urbana (I), British Museum (BM), Peterborough, in Cambridge UL (P), National Library in Edinburgh (NEd).]

Sheet A (inner forme)

corrected: BM

uncorrected: all others

A.4.a	me, but] me. But
A.5.b	wepe] weepe
	folowe] follow
	hurte] hurt
	hymself] himself
	dooynges] doinges
	therefore] therfore
	partes,] partes:
	looke] loke
	it: for] it. For
	manne] man
	reade] read
	dooe] doe
	them] the`
	hereafter,] hereafter:
	theim] them
	are] ar
	a] ~
	as] a
	thorow wilful ignoraunce] ~ ~
	perhappes] perhaps
	Sir] sir
	are] ar
	and] &
	menne] men
	from] fro`
	dooyng] doying
(inner forme?)	
E.1.b	dome.] dome,

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Emendations Of Accidentals

Here are recorded the changes in spelling and punctuation according to the guidelines established in the textual introduction. These changes affect meaning in no significant way; those emendations that do affect meaning, the substantive emendations, are noted at the bottom of the pages of the text and in the commentary. The citation to the left is the reading of this edition; those to the right are to the copy-text.

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159:1	Prologue] 62; Porlogue
13	imagined] 62; imimagined
165:15	thus fearfull] 62; ingenerall
172:1	in generall] 62; ingenerall
8	new para
182:1	time,] 67; ~ ~
184:21	theel] the
188:7	muche] 60; mnche
13	Marie,] ~ ~
19	eloquent.] 60; ~ ~
191:15	plentifull] 60; plentitifull
193:19	Enteraunce] enterance
194:1	Division] division
1	thynges.] 60; ~ ~
13	Proposition,] ~ ~
16	Division,] division~
195:8	Conclusion,] ~ ~
196:15	them,] 67; ~ ~
202:6	without] 60; wttout
202:24	order.] 60; ~ ~
204:1	The kynde] 60; Thekynde
205:17	woman.] 62; ~ ~
207:2	tide.] 62; ~ ~
10	wede.] 62; ~ ~
13	deth.] 62; ~ ~
17	can.] 60; ~ ~
212:20	knowledge] 60; kuowlege
213:1	suche hope] 60; sucheh ope
219:20	Philistines] 60; phi listenes
226:14	circumstaunces.] 60; ~ ~
229:14	For] for
17	For] for

17 For] for
 230:9 iiii] 60; iiii
 240:1 stealyng,] ~ ~
 243:12 matter,] ~
 252:6 man.] 60; ~ ~
 8 to them] 60; tothem
 253:7 Gounes] gounes
 257:6 body.] 60; ~ ~
 259:14 est.] 60; ~ ~
 17 said?] 62; ~ ~
 262:13 lawier,] ~
 15 shortly,] ~.
 265:1 you,] ~ ~
 22 mother,] ~ ~
 267:4 weighte)] ~,)
 268:3 What] 60; what
 269:13 And] and
 13 And] and
 270:17 doen,] 60; ~ ~
 274:15 folowe:] ~.
 276:1 more,] ~ ~
 10 children] 60; children
 281:5 continuall] 60; continuall
 283:5 New Para
 285:16 Zantippe] 60; zantippe
 287:12 matters] ~ ~
 14 Nature),] ~) ~
 288:9 Why] What
 13 owne?] ~.
 289:13 whatsoever] 62; what soever
 290:11 New Para
 291:10 luste.] 60; ~ ~
 292:14 Navies] navies
 293:3 the reason] 60; thereason
 16 that] 60; that that
 294:6 awne?] ~.
 9 wheat,] 60; ~ ~
 295:5 For] for
 15 a one] 60; aone
 16 charge?] ~.
 22 faithfulnessel] 60; faith fulnesse
 297:9 kisse,] 62; ~ ~
 298:2 Sea?] ~.
 300:4 thyges] 60; thy ges
 302:13 Tertial] 62; tertia
 304:10 you] 60; your
 12 Well] 60; well
 305:21 profitel] 60; pro fite

306:2 Zexxes] 62; zexxes
 306:9 armie?] ~.
 13 you,] ~ ^
 20 Wyy] why
 21 muche?] 60; ~ ^
 311:2 whoredome] 60; whore dome
 3 And] and
 313:9 perswasion] perswasiou
 318:13 daungers,] 60; ~ ^
 18 afflictions,] 60; ~ ^
 330:1 is,] 60; ~ ^
 19 markynge] markyuge
 331:1 comforte] 67; comfore
 332:10 comforte] comfore
 333:13 to] 60; o
 335:7 theel] 67; the
 16 mery.] 62; ~ ^
 338:4 knowen,] 60; ~ ^
 16 long.] 62; ~ ^
 339:23 pounde.] 62; ~ ^
 340:14 appoynced,] 62; ~ ^
 341:1 Therefore,] ~.
 10 children,] 62; ~ ^
 342:8 so,] 62; ~ ^
 347:13 continually] 60; continnally
 350:13 life,] 62; ~ ^
 18 Anaxagoras] 60; Anaxogaras
 351:3 countenaunce] 60; countenanne
 18 otherwise] 62; other wise
 352:10 Bibulus,] 62; ~ ^
 354:2 men.] 60; ~ ^
 355:21 death.] ~ ^
 357:1 other,] 67; ~ ^
 359:13 You] 60; Yow
 362:21 be coumpted] 60; becompted
 366:3 advisement,] 60; ~ ^
 367:5 come] com
 18 iii.] 60; ~ ^
 372:9 vii.] ~ ^
 13 ix.] 60; xi.
 373:9 vii.] 60; ~ ^
 15 Souldiour.] 60; ~ ^
 377:5 you] 60; yon
 20 accuser] 60; accusex
 378:3 some] 60; sone
 9 maker.] 80; ~ ^
 378:10 Ambiguitye] 60; Ambignitye
 379:11 .x.] ~x.

383:9 founed] foned
 385:8 it,] 60; ~ ^
 386:1 worse.] 60; ~ ^
 7 mercie.] 60; ~ ^
 12 doen,] 60; ~ ^
 389:14 rehersed,] 60; ~ ^
 20 discussed.] 60; ~ ^
 390:5 insinuacion.] 60; ~ ^
 9 beel 60; bee be
 393:9 laugh,] 62; ~ ^
 395:13 heretofore] 60; here tofore
 397:14 causes:] 62; ~.
 400:5 at] 60; ~,
 401:8 begynning] 60; begynnng
 22 together] 60; toguether
 403:4-5 about. Now] about, now
 10 sholud] 60; should
 15 whereas] where as
 21 considered,] 60; ~ ^
 406:9 thought] 60; ~ ^
 407:19 Notwithstandyng] 62; Notwitstandyng
 408:15 worthiel 60; worthe
 409:9 require,] ~ ^
 11 therunto,] 63; ~ ^
 21 New Para
 410:1 children] 60; chidren
 2 Whereas] Where as
 411:11 mylke,] ~.
 13 New Para
 412:5 also] 60; al so
 413:14 right.] 60; ~ ^
 417:13 Honest.] 60; ~ ^
 418:10 turne] 60; ~ ^
 420:1 sory,] 60; ~ ^
 6 offendor.] 60; ~ ^
 421:2 greater.] 60; ~ ^
 425:3 manne,] 62; ~ ^
 426:2 awaie] 67; a waie
 427:13 suffereth] 60; suffered
 428:17 Pacience.] 60: ~ ^
 433:14 correction] 60; corretion
 436:3 a] 60; a a
 439:8 New Para
 19 enchauntement] 60; enchauncement
 440:3 contraries] 60; contrarries
 14 foule] 62; foully
 442:8 conscience,] 60; ~ ^
 12 GOD,] 60; ~ ^

25 before,] 60; ~ ^
 444:22 thus. Al] 62; thus, al
 445:23 gatherd] 62; ~ ^
 446:19 number] 60; nombe
 449:5 or] 62; of
 14 unthankfulnessel] 62; unthanfulnessse
 452:4 For] for
 455:4 dede,] 62; ~ ^
 17 tyme,] 60; ~ ^
 456:5 men,] 62; ~ ^
 10 sword,] 67; ~ ^
 459:13 sake.] ~ ^
 460:15 worde.] 60; ~ ^
 461:5 Some] 60; some
 23 laughter.] 60; ~ ^
 462:23 demaunder,] 67; ~ ^
 463:16 spoken.] 60; ~ ^
 17 .iii.] 60; ~ ^
 24 heare.] ~ ^
 468:5 esteemed.] 60; ~ ^
 470:4 aduoutrie] 60; ~ ^
 471:6 me.] 60; ~ ^
 474:11 Tushe,] ~ ^
 11 he).] he.)
 476:4 answers,] 60; ~ ^
 477:7 are] 60; ars
 11 towne,] 80; ~ ^
 478:1 leasure.] 60; ~ ^
 480:18 matter.] 60; ~ ^
 481:21 told.] ~ ^
 484:8 favoure] fanoure
 11 necessaire] 62; neecessarie
 487:2 heritique,] 60; ~ ^
 489:9 that,] ~ ^
 10 New Para
 15 (the] 60; ^the
 16 his] 60; (his
 17 withall] 60; ~ ^
 490:16 one] 60; ~ ^
 493:14 withal.] 60; ~ ^
 20 quod] qnod
 21 preachyng,] ~.
 494:4 he)?] he?)
 495:25 seme] FE 53; seene
 496:14 One] Oue
 497:6 procession,] 60; ~ ^
 498:20 body.] 62; ~ ^
 28 the,] ~.

499:12	therefore] 60; thereore
505:18	comelie] 60; comenly
507:19	man] 60; mau
508:19	when wel] 60; ~ ~
509:23	selves,] 60; ~ ~
510:20	giftes.] 60; ~ ~
514:2	Whom] 60; whom
6	composicion] 60; conposicion
11	accordyngly] accordyugly
520:19	and] aud
522:15	Aptnesse] Aptesse
523:11	pastour,] 60; ~ ~
524:6	harmonie] 60; harmonie
8	like,] 60; ~ ~
525:19	thus.] 60; ~ ~
527:5	other,] 62; ~ ~
530:2	altogether] 60; altogither
531:10	attempted] 60; attempted
11	New Para
17	fygure.] 62; ~ ?
532:6	other,] ~ ~
534:6	muche] 60; mucht
535:20	translated] 60; tanslated
541:17	Bul,] 60; ~ ~
22	Catechresis] 60; Catechresis
542:12	<u>Metonymia,</u>] 60; Metonymia
545:14	figures,] 60; ~ ~
547:7	rattle.)) ~).
549:14	ofte recourse] 60; oftercourse
553:20	workemanship] 63; worke manship
554:9	taunt] tauut
11	next] 60; nest
556:2	same,] 60; ~ ~
558:5	Notwithstandyng,] 60; ~ ~
560:1	Iteratyng] Iteratyug
562:14	other?] 60; ~.
16	sorte,] 60; ~ ~
563:11	Yet to] 60; Yetto
565:1	pence,] 80; ~ ~
11	.ii.] . ~ ~
568:20	bacbityng.] ~ ~
570:3	him.] 60; ~ ~
8	judgement] 60; jndgement
571:4	rounded] 60; ronnded
572:8	place.] 60; ~ ~
574:15	precious),] ~,)
577:15	the] 60; the the
580:15	New Para

581:9 theim,] 62; ~ ^
 10 exceded),] ~,) ^
 582:7 wonderful.] 62; ~ ^
 17 without] 60; withont
 586:19 dedes:] 60; ~.
 590:2 covetous] 60; cocovetous
 591:4 But] 60; but
 592:18 For] for
 595:3 orderly] 62; ordely
 596:13 is] 60; it
 19 It] it
 600:2 muchel] 60; munhe
 16 It] it
 602:8 Comprehension] 60; Comprehersion
 11 What] 60; Whac
 604:18 dede:] ~ ^
 19 drinke?] ~.
 605:5 where] 60; were
 606:1 invencon] 60; ivvencon
 8 Sequencies,] 60; ~ ^
 608:2 another.] 62: ~ ^
 610:12 harme?] ~.
 614:14 thyng:] 60; ~ ^
 615:7 hath.] 60; ~ ^
 11 doest?] ~ ^
 20 madnesse?] ~ ^
 618:14 nedefull,] 60; ~ ^
 619:21 What] 60; what
 622:7 name.] 60; ~ ^
 9 .xv.] ~.
 16 .G.] 62; ~.
 623:18 other,] ~ ^
 624:18 iu] in
 627:12 horsebacke,] 60; ~ ^
 628:2 there.] 60; ~ ^
 15 accordingly.] 60; ~ ^
 629:3 seale,] ~ ^
 12 appoyncted] 60; appoynnted
 631:12 But] Bnt
 634:3 world?] ~.
 635:8 but] But
 21 name,] 60; ~ ^
 636:6 New Para
 17 Lyon.] 60; ~ ^
 640:9 pronounce] 62; proprounce
 19 New Para
 645:3 mynde,] 60; ~.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Historical Collation

The following copies have been collated: 1553 Newberry; 1560 Huntington; 1562 Cambridge; 1563 Cambridge; 1567 Cambridge; 1580 British Museum; 1584 Huntington; 1585 Cambridge; 1909 Tennessee. All substantive and semisubstantitive variants have been recorded, including all variants of punctuation, but not spelling. To the left of the brackets are listed readings in this editions; on the right of the bracket are the variants identified by the corresponding editions which are abbreviated by the last two digits of the year it was published. The symbol "q" stands for all black letter symbols of "quoth" or "quod." The symbols "New Para" and "No Para" stand for new paragraph indentations and their absences. In the collations, dates are given only for those editions that differ from this one.

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159:5 For] ~, 62-90
 8 like,] ^^ 80-09
 11 man,] ^^ 80-09
 12 wiser] ~, 62-09
 14 likel] ~, 62-09
 23 readers,] ^^ 80-09
 160:2 pleasures,] ~: 67
 4 undoubtedlie,] ^^ 85
 7 praise,] ^^ 84-09
 8 mind,] ^^ 80-09
 9 part,] ^^ 80-09
 12 For] ~, 62-09
 12 follie] ~, 85
 13 proudest,] ~: 63
 13 him,] ^^ 80-09
 14 but to find] ~ to find 62,67,80
 17 No Para] New Para 62-09
 22 For] ~, 62-09
 24 thother] the other 67,80-09
 161:3 saiyng] ~, 62-09
 6 should reade] shoulde. reade 67
 6 doyings:] ~, 67
 7 Christ,] ~, 62-67
 12 learning,] ^^ 67
 13 learning,] ^^ 63
 14 advantage,] ^^ 84-09

19 past,] ~^ 80-09
 21 goodnes] ~^ 67
 21 greater)] ~(63
 24 absolucion,] ~^ 80
 162:5 manes] mann 62-80
 11 For] ~, 62-09
 13 shiftes,] ~^ 80-09
 25 little] ~, 67
 163:1 be,] ~, 63,67
 3 For] ~, 62-80
 4 denied,] ~^ 80-09
 11 me,] ~^ 63-84
 12 it,] ~^ 63-80
 13 it] ~, 67-09
 14 For] ~, 62-80
 15 cause,] ~^ 80-09
 16 for,] ~^ 67-09
 17 doe,] ~^ 80
 18 occassion,] ~^ 67,80
 21 heed,] ~^ 80-09
 22 bookes,] ~^ 63-09
 23 Carter,] ~^ 67,80
 25 Dogge,] ~^ 80-09
 164:5 deareliel ~, 62,67
 6 him,] ~^ 80
 7 pitch] ~, 62] ~; 67
 8 sonne,] ~^ 80-09
 9 this,] ~^ 67-09
 10 ende,] ~^ 80
 17 laugh,] ~, 62,63,80-09
 21 hymself,] ~^ 80
 21 therefore] ~, 62-80
 23 assured,] ~^ 80-09
 26 saie,] ~^ 84-09
 165:1 warned] warmed 67
 3 al as 67-09
 3 heresie,] ~^ 84-09
 5 some, perhappes] some. perhappes, 62-09
 6 Sir,] ~^ 80-09
 6 blamed,] ~^ 80-09
 10 shewe,] ~^ 80-09
 11 tanq] tanquam 62-80
 11 For] ~, 62
 11 onel on 67
 11 fire,] ~^ 80-09
 17 hereafter,] ~^ 80-09
 24 parte,] ~^ 80-09
 166:1 death,] ~^ 80-09
 2 continued,] ~^ 62-67,84-09

2 are] a
 3 self,] ~ 80-09
 8 For] ~, 62-67
 10 therefore] ~, 62-67
 11 sufficiently,] ~ 80-09
 13 me,] ~ 80-09
 14 mouth:] ~ 80-09
 15 Englande,] ~ 80-09
 15 thraldome,] ~ 62-67
 20 maie] ~, 63
 21 Father,] ~ 80,84
 21 Father,] Father, the Sonne, 85
 22 ghost,] ~ 80
 22 be honour] be all honor 85
 22 glorie,] ~ 80-09
 23 Domimil dn~i 62,67] omitted 80-09
 167:2-3 et Oxoniesis Collegn Magdalenensis Praesis.] et
 Reginae Maiestatis, a Libellis supplicibus. 62-09

The following words are changed from Greek font on 1553 to Roman on 1560 and all later editions.

167:3 Retoriken
 3 logike
 5 Retorike
 7 logicine
 16 Retoriken

167:3 Retoriken,] ~ 62,63,84-09
 4 Britannus] Britannos 09
 5 perculsa] perculsae 09
 5 dolorer:] ~ 62
 6 ore] ore~ 63
 7 logicine,] ~ 62,63
 7 Magister] ~: 62-09
 8 addideratq;] ~ 84-09; addideratque 09
 8 sonos:] ~. 62-09
 9 amicis] ~: 62-09
 10 iocat] vocat 09
 10 velit.] ~? 62-09
 11 libenter,] ~: 62-09
 13 (inquit)] [inquit] 62,63
 13 legesq;] ~ 84-09; legesque 09
 15 politur] ~: 62-09
 16 utraque] ~: 63
 17 Anglia,] ~ 62-09
 17 sororum] ~: 62,63] ~. 67-09; sororem. 09

168: The two poems on pages 10 and 11 were omitted from

all later eds.

169:12 Rhetoricen.] Retoricen suam. 62-09; Rhetoricem suam. 09

- 13 quod] ~: 84-09
- 18 teres] tenes 62,63,84-09
- 20 velit.] velet. 09
- 170:1 Lorde,] ~^ 63,(67?),80-09
- 2 Lisle,] ~^ 63
- 3 Kynges maiestie] Kinges spaiestie 60
- 4 commaund] cammaunde, 60,09
- 6 Epirotes] ~, 60-80
- 11 people] ~, 63,67
- 13 townes] tounes, 60-80
- 15 fortresses] ~, 62-80
- 16 up] ~, 60-80
- 17 founde] ~, 60-80
- 19 talke] ~, 60-09
- 20 Oratoure,] ~^ 80-09
- 21 Cineas] ~, 60-67
- 22 him selfe] himself 63,09
- 23 able] ~, 62-80
- 171:1 Oratour] ~, 60-80
- 2 King] ~, 60-80
- 2 whiche] that 85,09
- 2 For] 60; ~, 62-80
- 5 cities] ~, 60-80
- 4-5 to achive] achive to 60-09
- 9 multitudel ~, 60-85
- 9 of al of, 67-09
- 9-10 man ravished and drawen] man, ravished and drawen, 60, 62-85; man, ravished & draw 09
- 10 him] he 62-09
- 11 adventure] ~, 62-09
- 12 forthel ~, 60-80
- 16 al ~ 60
- 17 therefore] ~, 67,80
- 17 estate,] ~^ 80-09
- 23 imbracyngel imbracing, 60-80
- 24 exercises,] exercise: 84-09
- 25 you have] ~~, 60-09
- 172:2 affection] ~, 62-09
- 3 therefore] ~, 62-09
- 4 the endel] thende 62,67
- 5 that both] that ~ 60-09
- 6 promyse] ~, 60-09
- 8 For] ~, 60
- 8 where as] whereas 09
- 8 it] it hath 67,80

8 you] ~, 60-67
 9 wyshe] ~, 60,62,67,80
 10 Rhetorique] ~, 60-099
 12 thys] the 63
 12 Somer] Sommer, 60-09
 13 vacation] vacacion, 60-09
 14 muchel moche, 60-09
 16 hartel ~, 60-85
 17 mocion] ~, 60-09
 19 is.] ~, 60
 19 No Para] New Para 67-09
 19 For] ~, 62-09
 20 experience] ~, 60,62,67-09
 21 commune weale] communeweal 09
 21 nothing] ~, 60,62,67-09
 23 but that] ~ ~ 60-09
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 5 speach,] ~: 62,67
 6 declare] ~, 60,62,67
 7 New Para] No Para 09
 7 season] ~, 63-09
 8 Lordshippe] ~, 60-09
 9 defendoure] ~, 60-80
 9 Laboures] ~, 63-09
 10 God] ~, 67-09
 11 continuaunce.] ~ ~ 09
 174:1 God, after] God, and after 60-09
 4 at hys] at the 80-85
 8 in,] ~ ~ 84-09
 10 entendement] ~, 63,67
 12 goodnesse,] ~ ~ 80-09
 13 where as] whereas 67,09
 15 glorye] ~, 62,63,
 16 father] ~, 62-67
 18 enheritaunce] ~, 62,67-09
 19 fayth] ~, 67
 19 thereafter] hereafter 80-09
 19 was] ~, 60-63
 22 neglected,] ~ ~ 60
 22 knowen] knowne 84-09
 23 another] an other 09
 175:1 spoyle,] ~: 84-09
 2 Beastes] ~, 60,67
 2 ground,] ~: 84-09
 3 naked,] ~: 84-09
 3 woodoses,] ~: 84-09
 4 could,] ~ ~ 84-09
 4 almosete] ~, 63,67
 7 ended,] ~: 09

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 10 regarded,] ~: 85,09
 11 place,] ~: 84-09
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 13 reason] ~, 63-80
 14 order,] ~: 60-09
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 24 utteraunce] ~, 62,63
 25 ease] ~, 62-67
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 6 God] ~, 62-67
 7 badde] had 60-63
 8 and what] and ~ 62-84
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 9 rude,] ~ 84-09
 10 for] ~ the 67-09
 10 thing, would] ~.~ 62,63
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 13 drawen] ~, 62-09
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 5 see] ~, 67
 6 broughtel ~, 60,63,67
 6 meanes] ~, 62-09
 7 life,] ~ 80,84
 8 to obeyel ~ 80-09

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 15 perswaded] ~, 60,63-85
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 19 toyle] ~, 62-67
 19 with the] ~ ye 09
 20 browes?] ~: 63
 20 pleasure] ~, 62-67
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 1 where as] whereas 09
 3 point] ~, 62-67
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 6 menne] all men, 67-09
 6 God,] ~: 60-09
 7 chiefly,] ~^ 67-09
 7 other,] ~^ 84-09
 8 For] ~, 62,63
 9 reasonable,] ~^ 09
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 17 God,] ~^ 60
 19 then] ~, 62-09
 20 grace] ~, 62-09
 22 them selves:] ~^ 63
 23 forthel] forthe such 09
 23 preceptes] suche preceptes 62-85
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 2 them selves] ~, 62,80] themselves 09
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 8 speake] stande 80-09
 11 enacted,] ~^ 67
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 12 tongue,] ~^ 80-09
 16 onely,] ~^ 80-09
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 6 question,] ~^ 62-85
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 4 maiestie,] ~^ 67,84-09
 7 Orator] ~, 62-09
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 5 knowen,] ~^ 80-09
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 5 delited] ~, 60,62,67-09
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 8 anothers] an others 80-09
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 10 tell,] ~^ 80-09
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 20 man,] ~^ 80-09
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