

**Certain ancient tracts concerning the management of landed property  
reprinted / [edited by R. Vansittart].**

### **Contributors**

Vansittart, Robert, 1728-1789.  
Xenophon. Oeconomicus.  
Hervet, Gentian, 1499-1584.  
Fitzherbert, Anthony, 1470-1538.

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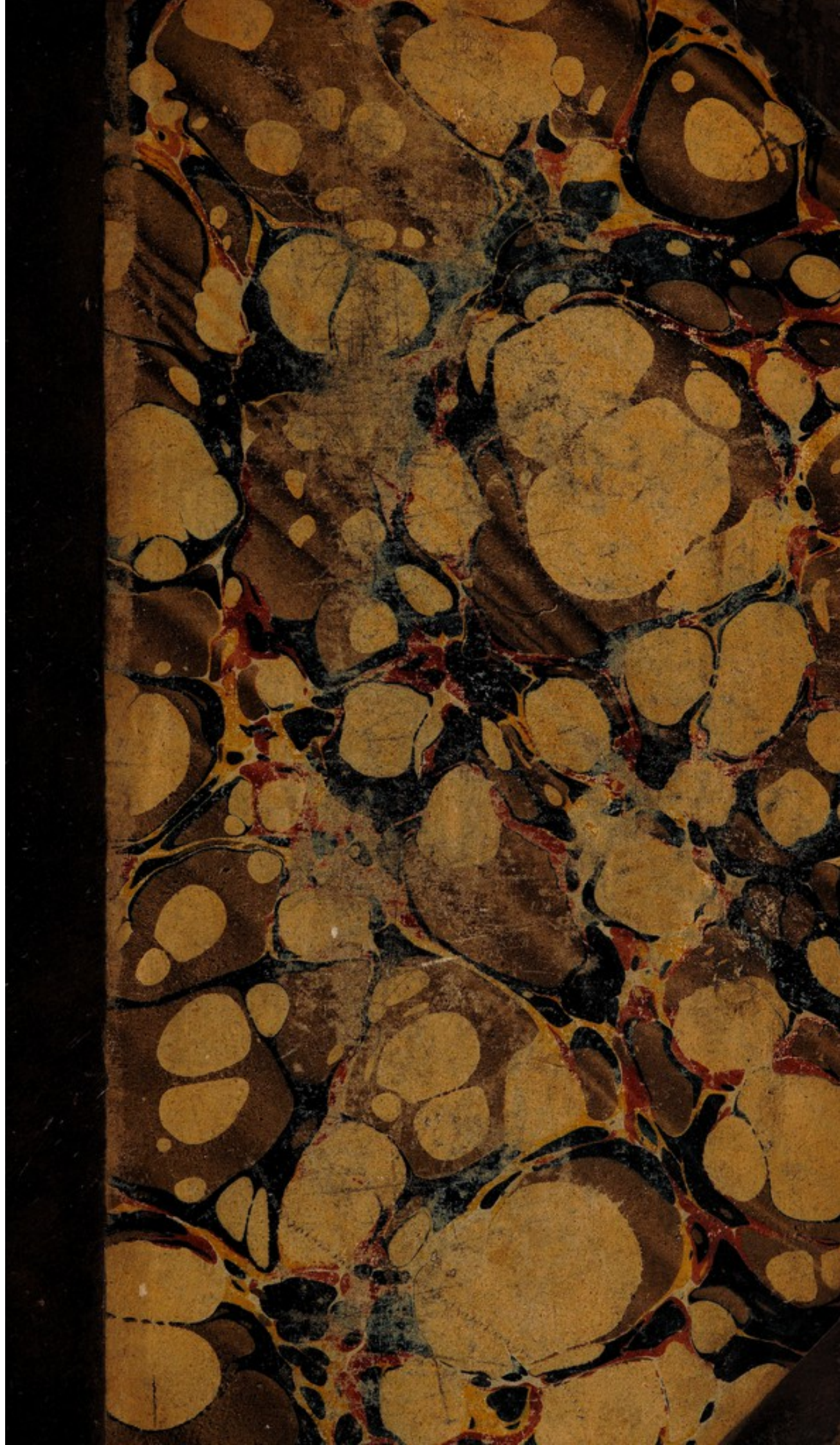
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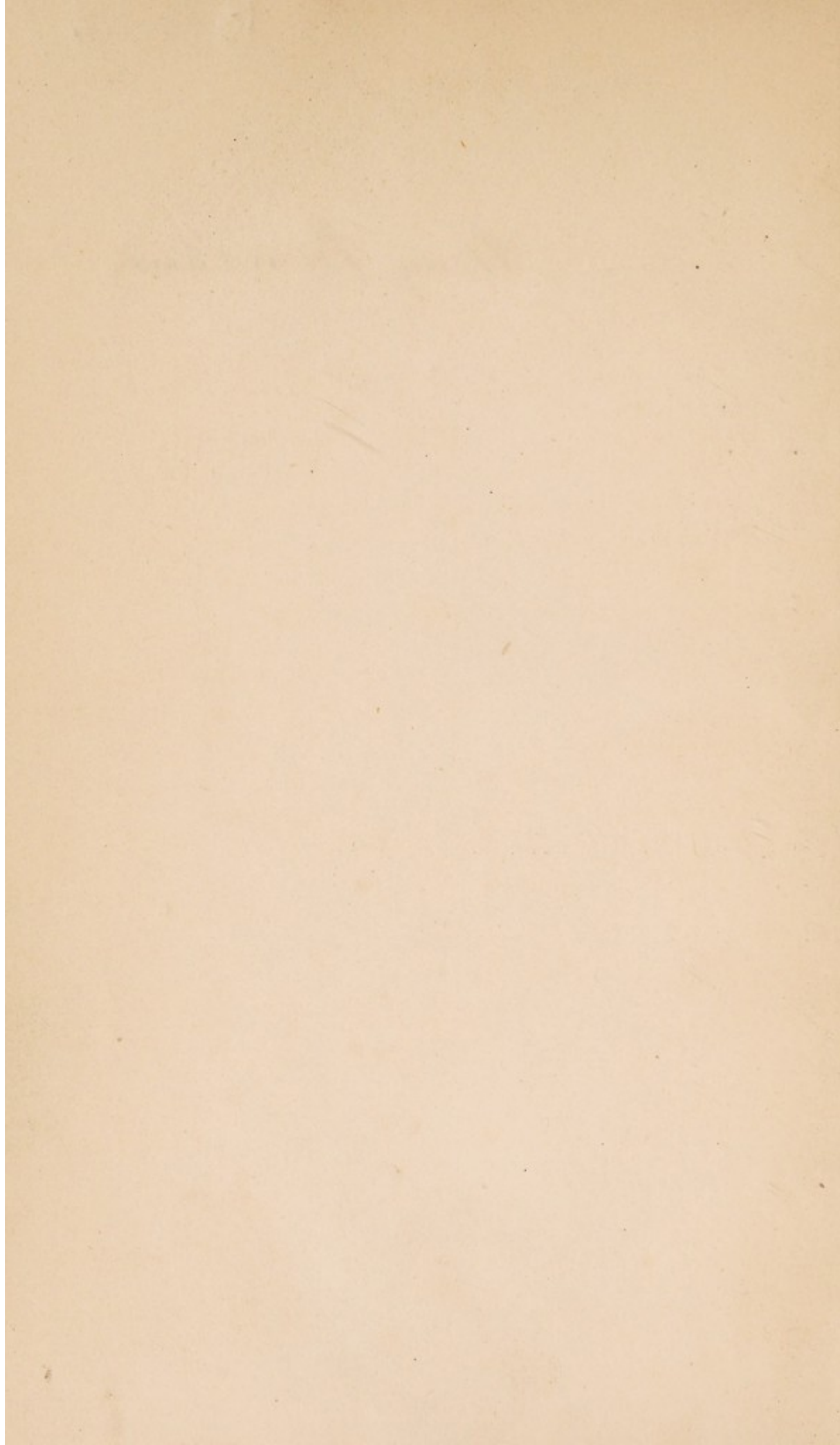
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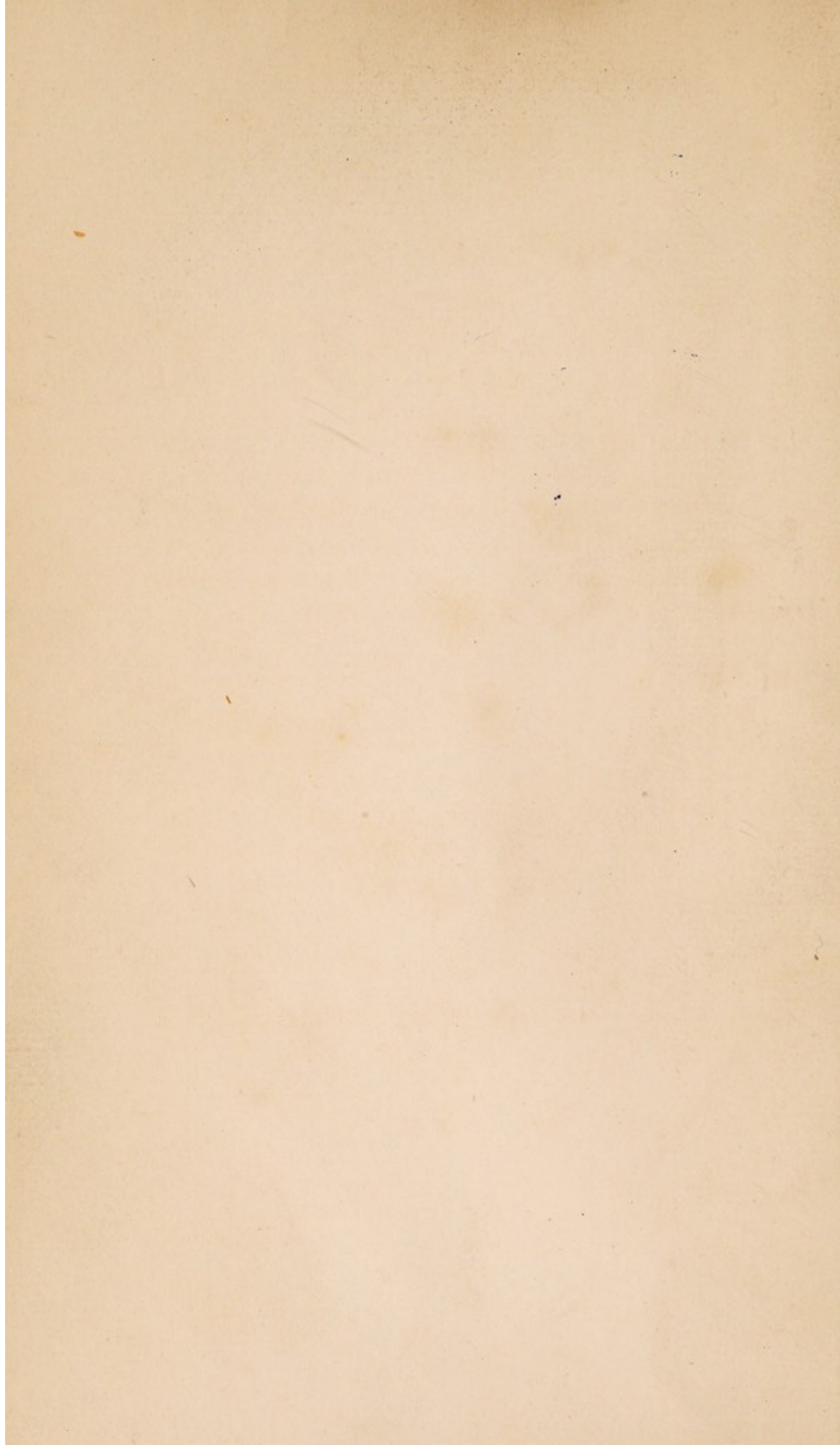




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CERTAIN  
ANCIENT TRACTS

CONCERNING THE

MANAGEMENT

OF

LANDED PROPERTY

REPRINTED.



L O N D O N :

Printed for C. BATHURST, at the Cross Keys, over-  
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Treatises are reprinted, partly on account of their usefulness, and partly for the sake of their antiquity. The book was become exceedingly scarce, has been much sought after, and purchased sometimes at a high price. The *Husbandry*, and the *Surveying*, are attributed, and with good reason, to that most able judge Sir Anthony Fitzherbert. The translation of the ΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΟΣ of Xenophon is the best version of that piece in the English language; and expresses with some success the simple and unaffected stile, and the humorous and sagacious dialogue of that elegant writer. Upon the whole, they all very well deserved to be rescued from oblivion; and if they shall afford their readers either information or amusement, the Editor's purpose will be answered.



HONORATISSIMO  
P R Æ S I D I  
E T  
SPECTATISSIMÆ SODALITATI  
VIRO RUM ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ.

HOC VETERIS  
AGRICULTURÆ  
PRISCÆQUE SAPIENTIÆ  
MONIMENTUM

D. D. D.

EDITOR.



HONORATISSIMO  
P. R. A. S. I. D. I.

ET

SPECTATISSIMAE SODALITATI

VIRORUM TON GIANCAGLIA

HOC VETERIS

AGRICULTURAE

PRISCOGOUR RAPHELTIN

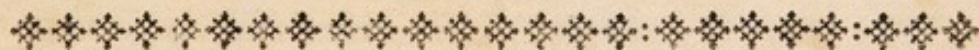
MONIMENTUM

D. D. D.

EDITOR



XENOPHON'S  
TREATISE  
OF  
HOUSEHOLDE.





To the R E D E R.

**T**HIS boke of householde, full of hyghe wisedome, written by the noble philosopher Xenophon, the scholer of Socrates, the whiche for his swete eloquence, and incredyble facilitie, was furnamed Musa Attica, that is to say, the songe of Athenes: is ryght counnyngly translated out of the Greke tonge into Englyshe, by *Gentian Hervet*, at the desyre of mayster *Gefrey Pole*, whiche boke for the welthe of this realme, I deme very profitable to be red.





*XENOPHON'S*

TREATISE OF

# HOUSEHOLDE.

**I**HARDE vpon a time the wyse Socrates commune of the ordring of an house, speakyng to one Critobulus, after this maner: Telle me Critobulus, is the ordryng of an house, the name of a science, lykewyse, as phisyke is, and masons and carpenters crafte? So me thinketh, sayd Critobulus. Whether than may we tel, what is the dutie, and the propre office, of the ordryng of an house; like wise, as we can tell of other craftes and sciences? Me thynketh, sayde Critobulus, it longeth to a good husbnde, and a good ordrer of an house, to guide wel and order his owne house. But yet sayd So. If one dyd put him in trust, and charge him to order his house, coude not he order it as wel as his owne, if he wolde? For he that hath a carpenters crafte well, he can worke as wel for an other, as he can for hym selfe; and may not a good husband, wel expert in the ordryng of an house, do lyke wyse? Me thinketh yes, good Socrates. Thanne a man, sayde Socrates, that is well sene in that science, though he haue no substance, nor no goodes hym selfe, maye get his lyuyng, and haue good wages, if he wyll order an  
B other



other mans house, as wel as he that buyldeth an house? In good faythe, sayde Critobulus, he were worthy to haue very good wages, if he coulde take an other mans house in hande, and do euery thyng that belongeth to it, and make the hous better in goodes and in substaunce. But what do we meane by the house, whether is it nothing els but the bare house, or whether al maner of thynges that a man hath oute of the house, be belonginge to the hous? Me thynketh, sayd Crito. that althoughe that that a man hath, be not within the towne where he dwelleth, but in the countrey, or any where els, that all doth belonge to the hous, what so euer a man hath. And be there not some men that haue enmyes? Yes, mary, and a gret meiny to. And shal we say, that their enmies be their goodes or substance? By my feyth it were a mery ieste, if he that hath caused vs to haue mo enmyes than we had, wold haue a rewarde for it besyde; for bycause we haue iuged a mans house, and that that a man hath, to be al one. Ye, but I do not accompte that amonge a mans substance and goodes, that is nought and hurtful vnto him, but that that is good and profitable? Than, as farre as I se, ye cal that a mans goodes and substance, that is profitable vnto hym. Ye mary do I; and suche thinges as be hurtful, I cal them damages and not goodes. And what if a man bye a horse that he can not ryde, but fall downe from his backe, and so doo him selfe a dyspleasure, is not that horse his goodes? No, by my faye, seing those thinges be goodes that be good. Nor the ground than shal not be called goodes vnto a man, the which occupieth it so, that he hath damage by it. Nor the ground shal not be called goodes, if where that a man shoulde be founde and norished by it, he dyeth for hungre. Than it fareth lykewyse by shepe. If a man hath any damage, by  
the



the reason that he can not guyde them, nor order them as he shulde, the shepe shall not be goodes vnto hym? Me thynketh no. Than, as farre as it semeth by you, ye cal those thinges goodes, that be profitable; and those thynges that be hurtefull, be no goodes? So me thynketh. Than one selfe thyng shal be called goodes vnto him that can vse it as he shuld; and to hym that can not, it shal be no goodes: like wise, as recorders be goodes vnto him that can play on them somewhat according; but vnto him that can not, they be no other wise good than stones, that be vnprofitable, excepte a man do selle them. And soo lyke wyse by the recorders, if we sel them, they be good: but if we kepe them, and can not occupie them, they be no goodes. We must nedes agree in this tale, seing we haue said afore, that those thynges that be profitable, be goodes. For the recorders, as long as we kepe them vnfolde, they be no goodes, for they do vs no good; but if they be sold, they be goodes. Ye, mary, said So. if one haue the wit to sel them wel. But if one do sell them, that can not order hym selfe, euen whan they be al redy sold, they be no goodes, according to your tale? Me thinketh ye saye fyr Socr. that nor yet money nother is goodes, excepte a man can vse it. So me thinketh, ye haue graunted alredy, that those thynges be called goodes, that a man getteth any profite by. But if a man did bestowe his money vpon an harlot, and that by the reason of dayelye conuersation with her, his bodye were the weaker, his soule the worse disposed, and his house the worse kepte and ordered, howe shuld money be profitable vnto hym. It can not be in no case, excepte paraduenture we wyll call our goodes a poyson, the which whan a man doth eate of it, it bringeth him out of his witte. But as for money, frend Critobulus, if a man can not vse it as he



shulde, let him cast it away farre from him; for it is nother profitable vnto hym, nor may be called goodes. But as for frendes, if a man can vse them, so that he get some profite of them, what shal we say that they be? Goodes forsoth, sayd Crito. and moche more than shepe or oxen, seinge they be a great deale more profitable. Than, according to your tale, our enmies lykewyse be goodes vnto him, that can geat profite of them. So me thinketh. And it is a point than of a good husband, and a good order of an house, to haue a waye, to vse his enmies soo, that he may get some profit by them. In any case. For ye se wel inoughe, good Crito. howe many mean mens houses, and howe many lordes and kingis dominions haue ben increased and amplyfied by the reason of warre. Forsoth fyr So. me thinketh ye haue very wel spoken in this matter; but what thinke you by this, whan that we se that som men, which haue sciences, good wages, and good propreties, wherby they might make their houses the better, if they wolde put them selfe to it: yet we may wel se and perceiue, they woll not do it. And therfore we se, that the sciences and good propreties that they haue, auayle them nothyng: whether than shal those sciences that they haue, be accomted for their goodes and substance, or for some what els? Ye, said Socra. me thynketh ye meane that, by bond men, and by some vile persons. No, by my feyth, I; but I speake of some of them, that be honest mens sonnes, and gentilmennes to, the whiche I se, that some of them, that be experte bothe in those thynges that longe to warre, and also to peace, yet they woll not put them selves to none of them: and me thinketh, they shuld be in a better case, if they were bond men. For I suppose, that they do not that that they shuld, for bycause they lacke maisters to putte them to it. Howe canne that  
that



that stande, sayde Socrates, that they haue no maisters, whan that they desiring to liue in welthe and felicitie, and mynded to do that that wolde be for their profit; their lordes and superiours do let them, that they shall not do it? And what be they, sayde Critobulus, that be inuisible, and yet ordre them thus; nay, they be not all soo inuisible, no; I wis they be clere inoughe to euery mans sight. And ye knowe well your selfe, they be moſte vngratious and moſt miſcheuous of all, if ſlothfulnes, ſluggardiſe, lacke of ſtomacke and quickeneſſe, lacke of takinge hede, and alſo negligence maye be taken for vngratiouſnes. And beſide theſe, there be other deceitfull ladies, the which do come in vnder the colour and name of pleaſures, playenge at dice and cardes, vnproſytable triſſyng and kepyng company with vnthriftes, the whiche in proces of tyme do ſhewe playnlye vnto theyr adherentes, by them deceiued, that among pleaſures there is ſomme wo and ſome ſorowe myngled. Theſe ladies kepe them ſo in ſeruage and thraldome, that they can not be ſuffered to do nothyng that is for theyr proſytte. Ye, but there be ſome other, good Socra. the which haue no ſuch to let them from their buſines, but rather applye them ſelfes wel fauordly to theyr buſines, and ſeke and imagin al the waies poſſible to get them good with al; yet they do ſtroye them ſelfes, miniſhe their liuelode, and diſtroy their houſes. And as concernyng to fynde any remedy, they be at their wittes endes. And they alſo, ſaide Socrates, be lyke wyſe bondemen, as other be, and haue ouer them very fore and cruell felowes to their maisters. Some of them be in the thraldome of glotony, ſome of licorouſnes, ſome of dronkenneſs, ſome of vayne pryde, and coſtly vayne glorye, the whiche kepe their ſubiectes ſo fore in ſeruitude and bondage, that as long as they



se them yong and lustie, and able to worke, they  
 make them to bringe them all that euer they can  
 get, to bestowe it vpon their lustis and pleasures.  
 But whan they perceyue they be so old, that they  
 can not worke, than they let them alone with a  
 mischiefe, to liue wretchedly in their old age, and  
 seke other, that they may brynge into their seruice  
 lykewyse. But it behoueth, gentil Critobulus, to  
 striue and fight with them for our own libertie,  
 none otherwise, than we wolde with them, the  
 which, with naked swordes and weapons in their  
 handes, go about to bring vs in to thraldome and  
 seruytude. Enmyes, if that they be good honest  
 men, whan they haue brought some men into their  
 subiection, they cause many to be moche better,  
 teachynge them to be reuly and temperate, that  
 afore wer to high mynded and to fierce. But as  
 for these ladies, they neuer cesse, but be euer-  
 more punishing, beatinge, and turmentinge the  
 bodies, the soules, and the houses of them that  
 they haue vnder; and that they do as longe as  
 they be their maistresses. Then Critobulus saide  
 vnto hym after this maner. As for this matter, me  
 thinketh, I haue harde you speke sufficiently in it.  
 And whan I grope and serche wel my conscience,  
 I find, that me thinketh, I can very well refraine  
 all maner of such thynges. Wherfore if ye wil  
 gyue me counsail, howe I maye do, to encrease  
 and make my hous better, I thinke, I shall be no-  
 thinge let of them that ye call ladyes. And ther-  
 fore tell me with a good wil, if ye haue any good-  
 nes in this matter. Or els ye thynke parauenture,  
 that we be ryche inoughe, and nede no more  
 goodes. By my faith, saide Socrates, in dede, if  
 ye speake of me, I nede no more goodes, but I  
 am ryche inough. But as for you, Critobulus,  
 me thinketh ye be very poore. And by the feithe  
 I owe to god, I haue sometimes gret pitie of you.  
 Than



Than Critobulus laughinge faide. And I pray you for goddis sake, if al your goodes were sold, what shulde ye haue for them: And what shulde I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them? I thynke, sayd Socrates, that if I myght mete with a good byer, I shulde haue wel for my house, and for all my goodes, a v or vi marke. But as for yours, I know very wel, that ye shulde haue an hundred tymes more. And ye that knowe this, do ye think your selfe, that ye lacke no more goodes, and haue pite of me, bicause of my pouerte. For that that I haue is sufficient inough to fynde me that that is necessary. But for to meintein your state, and the worshyp, that ye haue taken vpon you, me semeth, that if ye had foure tymes as moche more, as ye haue, it were not inoughe. And howe so, sayd Critobulus? Than sayde Socrates, Fyrste of all I se, that ye must nedes make many feastis and many great bankettes, or the people wyll skante abyde the sighte of you. Moreouer, ye must receiue into your houses many strangers, and intreate them honorably, keping good hospitalitie. Furthermore, ye must byd many men to dyner, and do them some pleasure, or elles at your nede, ye shal haue no manne to helpe you. Moreouer, I perceiue, that the citie of Athenes beginneth to put you to many gret charges, as to fynde horses, to helpe to builde thinges longing to the cite, to make musters of men, to cause goodly pageantes to be made, and goodly plaies to be plaide. But if there come in war ones, I am sure, they wyll haue so moche money from you, what in taxes, what in subsidies, and what in preastis, that ye shall scant be able to beare it. And if ye seme to paye somewhat lesse than your power is, they woll punyshe you as fore, as thoughe they had founde you robbinge the common treasorie. Besyde this, I se that ye haue this opynion, that ye



be riche, and that ye care not to get no more goodes, and that ye gyue your selfe to vaine and chyldishe pleasures, as ye may wel do. The whiche thynges do moue me to haue compassion of you, fearynge lest ye fal into some mysfortune, and into great pouertye without any remedye. And as for me, if I had nede, I trowe ye knowe very wel, that there be many that wolde helpe me: in so moch, that if they gaue me but euery man a littel, I shulde haue more than the degree of my liuing doth require. But as for your frendes, although they haue more to kepe them in their degre, than ye haue for yours; yet they loke, that ye shulde helpe theym. Than sayde Crytobulus, I haue nothyng to say agaynst you in this matter: But it is time for you to instruct me with some good preceptes, to thintent that I be not so myserable in dede, that ye may haue compassion on me with a good cause. Than, sayde Socrates, Do not ye thynke your selfe, that ye do a very strange, and a meruailous thyng, that but a praty whyle ago, whan I sayde that I was riche, ye lough at me, as though I knew not what riches mened, and neuer stinted, til ye had put me to a rebuke, and made me to confesse, that I had not the hundreth part of that, that ye haue, and nowe ye byd me to instructe you, and set my diligence, that ye be not poore in very dede. For I se wel, good So. sayd Critobulus, that ye haue in you the caste, to make a man ryche in dede, that is to make him haue plentie and abundaunce. And I truste, he that of a littel thing can make plentie and abundaunce, shall do it moche more lightlier of many great thynges.

Be ye not remembred of our comuning a praty while ago, whan I coude in no case contrary your sayinge, that to him that can not vse horses, horses be no goodes vnto hym, nor lande, nor shepe, nor money,



money, nor nothing els ; and yet of such thinges a man may get great profite and vantage ? But as for me, how do ye thinke, than I can vse or order suche thinges, that had neuer none. But me thought, that although a man had nother money, nor goodes, yet there was a certaine science of gyding and ordning of an house. And what letteth you, that ye may not haue the same science ? Loke what doth let a man to playe vpon recorders, if nother he had neuer none him selfe, nor borrowed none of no body : the selfe same impediment haue I in the ordning of an hous. For I neuer had nother instrumentes, that is goodes and money of min owne, to lerne by it ; nor there was neuer no bodye that charged me with his goodes to ouerse them, or to ordre them, except ye para- uenture be disposed to do. But ye knowe well, that they that lerne first to play vpon an harpe, they spyll the harpe : so if I shulde nowe lerne on your household, howe to kepe an house, I am a ferde, lest I shulde destroye your house. Ha, ye go aboute very busyly and redily to auoide, that ye wol not helpe me to beare, and susteyne with me parte of my busines. Be my faye, that do I not : I woll be glad with all myne harte, to shewe you all that euer I can. But I thinke this, that if ye came to my house for some fyre, and I had none, if I brought you to an other place, where ye mighte haue some, ye wolde not be displeased with me. And if ye came, and asked me water, and I hadde none, if I brought you into a place, where ye myghte drawe some, ye could not blame me. And if ye wolde, that I shulde teache you musicke, if I did shew you other men, more expert in it than I am my selfe, and that wolde be gladde and fayne to teache you, what coulde ye blame me if I dyd so ? I coude not do it with a good cause. Therefore I will shewe you, that these  
thynges



thynges which ye desire so instantly of me, that there be other men more cunning, and more experte in them, than I am. And this I grant you, that I haue hadde a greate mynde to knowe, which were the moſte cunnynge, and the moſte experte in all the citie. For whan I did ſometyme confidre, that in one worke, one buſines, and one thyng doinge, ſome waxed very poore, and ſomme verye riche. I marueiled, and me thought it was a thyng to be well conſydered, howe that ſhuld be. And thus conſideryng, I found, that this happened none otherwyſe, than the thyng it ſelfe, and reaſon wolde. For I ſawe, that they that behaued them ſelfes raſhely in theyr buſines, had damage and loſſe by it: and they, that with diſcretion, witte, and good aduiſement, applied theyr buſynes, broughte theyr mattiers to paſſe more quickly, more eaſyly, and with more auantage. Of the whiche I thinke that ye may lerne, and ſo by the grace of god, come to be a very ryche man, with moche wyning and lucre. Nowe by my feyth, I wyll neuer let you be in reſte, vntyl the tyme ye ſhewe afore theſe frendes of yours, that ye ſpeake of, that that ye haue promyſed me. But what wolde ye ſaye, if I dydde ſhewe you ſome men, the which haue builded for verye moche money, vnprofitable houſes, without any good caſt, or any good commoditie: and other that for leſſe coſte a great dele, haue made houſes, lackynge nothing that longeth to an houſe, wyll ye not ſaye, that I do ſhewe you a point of a good ordrer of an houſe? Yes, veryly, ſayde Critobulus. What if I ſhewe you next, and accordynge to the ſame, that ſome men haue moche houſeholde ſtuſſe, and of all fortes, and whan they haue nede of it, they can not uſe it, but it is to ſeche, and they can not telle whether it be loſt or ſaue leide vp? And for this cauſe they be wonderſlye greued in their mindes,



mindes, and vexe and trouble their seruantes, and nothings elles. And also other men, the whiche haue no more, but rather lesse, haue euery thing redy at hand, whan they haue nede of it. What shulde be the cause of it, gentil Socra. but that the tone doth caste asyde euery thyng folysshelye, without any order: and the tother layth vp euery thyng in his place? There ye saide wel, said Soc. And he not only setteth euery thyng in his place, but also in suche a place as is mete and conuenient to set it in. Me semeth, sayde Crito. that ye say, that this also is a pointe of a good ordrer of an hous. And what if I shew you, that in one place all the bondemen and seruantes be tyed faste, and yet they runne awaye often tymes: and in an other place they be losed, wylling to abyde and labour with al theyr hartes, wil ye not thinke this a good point of a house keper, worthy to be loked vpon? Yes, mary, said Critobulus, and very worthy to be loked vpon. And what if I shewe you housebande men, of the whiche some complayne and saye, that they dye for hunger, for all theyr housebandry; and somme that haue plentie of al maner of thinges necessary, by the reason of their housebandrye. Ye, mary, said Critobulus, peradventure they bestowe their money, and their goodes, not where they shuld, but in suche thynges as be hurtefull both to theym and to their houses. In dede there be some suche, sayde Socra. but I do not speke of them, but of those, the which cal them selfe housebande men, and yet they can scant get their meate and their drinke. And what shulde be the cause of this, gentill Soc. I will bringe you vnto them, said Soc. and whan ye se them, than shall ye lerne. Mary that wyll I, if that I can. Ye, but first ye must proue your selfe, if ye shal be able to knowe it, whan ye se them. It commeth into my mynde now, that ye  
wold



would rise very yerly, and go a great way, to se enterludes played, and that ye wold intreat me nedes to go with you; but ye neuer had me to such a fight. Than ye thinke, mine owne Soc. that I am worthye to be laughed to scorne of you? Ye, but of your selfe moche more. But what if I do shewe you some men, the whiche by the reason of keping of horses, haue ben brought to extreme pouerte, and other, the which by the reason of it, haue made theym selues ryche men, and haue gotten so gret substance, that they liue lyke lordes? I haue seene theim, and I knowe them both, but I haue neuer the more vantage for that. The cause of it is, that ye beholde them lyke wyse, as ye loke vpon the plaiers of enterludes, not to thint that ye may be a poete, but for a pastime and a recreation. And parauenture ye do well in that, for ye be not mynded to be a poete, but where ye be compelled to kepe and fynde horses, wyl ye not iudge your selfe a foole, if ye go not about to studye a remedy, that ye be not ignoraunt in that behalfe, seinge that the selfe same thynges be good to the vse, and profitable to be solde? Your mynde is that I shuld breke horses? Noo, by my faythe it, no more thanne if ye wold haue a good laborer, I wold giue you counsel to bringe him vp of a childe. But there be ages both of horses and of men, the whiche be immediately profitable, and do dayly so growe, that they doo more good one daye than an other. Furthermore, I canne shew you some men, the which haue so ysed and ordred their wiues, that they comfort them and helpe them toward the increfing of their house: and some that haue suche wiues, the which destroy vtterly the hous, and so the moste parte of men haue. But who is to be blamed for this, the husebande or the wyfe, good Socrates? A shepe, if it do not well, for the moste parte we doo blame  
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the sheperde. And a horse most commonly, if he be skittishe, and do some displeasure, we blame the breker. And a wyfe like wise, if her housebande teache her well, if she do not folowe it, she is parauenture to blame. But if he do not teache her, if she be rude, vnwomanly, and wytles, is not he to be blamed? Yes, by my faithe, sayde Crito. And seing that we be frendes, and may speke plainly betwene our selues, Is there euer any other wyfe man, that ye trust and charge soo moche in your busines, as ye doo your wyfe? No, forsooth, sayde he. And is there any, that ye commune lesse with, then ye do with her? No, by my fayth, and if there be any, they be very fewe. Ye married her uery yonge, whan she hadde nother sene, nor harde moche of the worlde. Wherefore it were more to be marueiled at, if she knew and did as she shuld, than if she dyd amysse. Critobu. They, the whiche ye saye, haue good wyues, haue they taught them so in dede? Socrates. It is a thing not to stand long vpon: For I wyl brynge you my wyfe Aspasia, the which shal shewe you all this better than I my selfe. But me thynketh, that a wife, beinge a good companion, and a good felowe to her husband in a house, is very necessary, and within a lyttel, as moch worthe as the housebande. For commonly goodes and substance do come into the house by the labour and peine of the man, but the woman is she for the moste parte, that kepeth and bestoweth it where nede is. And if these two thynges stande well together, and be well ordeyned, the houses doo increace, if not, they muste nedes decaye.

Moreouer, me thinketh, that I can shewe you in al sciences, them that do worke and labour, accordynge as they shulde, if ye thynke that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherse them all, good Socrates, sayde Critobulus? For it is nother possible



possible for a man to haue workemen of all faculties, suche as shulde be, nor him selfe to be expert in al. But as for suche sciences, as be moste honourable, and maye become me well to occupie them, them I wolde ye dyd shewe me, and also those men, the whiche applye them selves vnto them. And ye of your side helpe to teache me, and further me in them as moche as ye can. Ye speake verye well, friende Critobulus, sayde Socrates. For suche craftes, as be called handy craftes, they be verye abiecte and vile, and lyttel regarded and esteemed in cities and common welthes. For they do destroye the bodies of those that do occupie them, whan they make them to fytt euermore at home, and to be fedde vppe alwaye in the shade; and some make them to stande all the daye starynge on the fyre. And whan the bodye is ones tender and feble, the stomake and spirite muste nedes waxe a greate deale the weaker. And agayne, they haue smale leysure to sette theyr mynde and diligence to doo their friendes any good, nor also the common welthe. Wherefore such men seme to be but a small comforte to their friendes at a nede, nor no good menne to succoure theyr countrey in tyme of ieoperdy. And for a fuertie, in some cities and common welthes, and specyallye suche as be dayly in warre, it is not lafull to neuer a cytesen to occupie no handy crafte. And what facultyes wyll ye counsaylle me to vse, gentille Socrates? Socrates. Let not vs thynke scorne, nor be ashamed to folowe the kyng of the Persis. For they saye, that he, supposinge the science of warre, and also of housebandry, to be moste honourable, and also necessary among other faculties, doth regarde and exercyse them wonderfly.

And whan Critobulus harde that, he said, Do ye thynke, that the kyng of Persia careth any thyng for housebandry? If we consyder it after this maner, saide Socrates, we shall



shall peradventure come to knowledge, whether he dothe or not. For euery manne graunteth, that he setteth fore his study vpon suche thynges, as long to war. For it is appoynted to euery lieutenaunte and lordes of the countries vnderneath him, howe many men of armes, morispikes, billes, archers, and crossebowes, they shall haue redy in theyr wages, eyther to kepe his subiectes from rebellion for feare, or to kepe the countrey, if enemyes do inuade it. Besyde these, he layeth garisons in all the towres and castels, and there is a capitayn apointed to pay them truely theyr wages, and to se that there be no faulte in it. And the king causeth euery tweluemonth the musters to be made of al them that be in his wages, and be apointed to be redy in harneis at any tyme, and so bryngeth them all together, those reserued that be in garisons into a place, that they cal the place of congregation. And suche as be nighe his manour and his dwellynge place, he ouerloketh them himselfe. But they that dwel in farre countreys, he sendeth thither some that he trusteth best, to haue the ouersight of them. And those heedes, rulers, and capitaines, whether they haue many or fewe vnder them, if they brynge forth theyr full nombre, that is apointed vnto them, well harneised, and well horsed, and well furnished of al maner of thinges, he giueth very great praise and honour to the lieutenantes and to the lordes, and giueth them many great giftes and rewardes, so that they be riche for euer. But whan he fyndeth that his lordes, his lieutenautes, and deputies, haue no regarde to the capitaines of his souldiours, but catche and pul, and care but only for their owne vantage, he punisheth them sore, he putteth them out of their officis, and setteth other in their stede. In doinge those thinges, there is no man that douteth but that he applieth his minde and his study



study very fore to warre. But beside this, all the cuntry, that is therby, where he dwelleth, he rydeth aboute hym selfe, takynge hede, and markynge howe it is tyllled and laboured. But whan a cuntry is so farre of, that he can not com to se it hym selfe, he sendeth them, that he trusteth best, to ouer se it. And whan he fyndeth, that his lieutenantes and deputies do kepe the cuntry wel inhabited, the ground wel plowed and laboured, ful of such trees as the cuntry wyll beare, he promoteth them to the rule of more countres, he geueth them gret presentes, and dothe them great honour. But whan he findeth the cuntry desert and vnhabited, the grounde vntilled and vnlaboured, bycause of their negligence, wronges doing, extorsions and cruelties, he punisheth them, he putteth them out of their offices, and setteth other in their rowmes. In doing these thinges, do ye thynke, that he setteth lesse his minde to haue his countre wel replenyshed of dwellers, and well tyllled and laboured, then that souldiours shulde defende it well? Moreouer, of the lieutenautes and deputies that he hath, one man hath not the charge of two thinges at ones. For some of theym be appointed to haue the ouersyght of the housbande men and labourers, and to gether tythes and tributes of them. And there be other that haue the ouersight of the souldiours, and of the garrisons. And if the lyeutenaunt of the garison do not his duete, in keping and defendyng the cuntry, he that is the lieutenaunte of the husbande men and labourers, accuseth the tother lyeutenaunt, that they can not plye their worke for lacke of good defence. But if the lieutenaunte of the garyson dothe his duetie, and kepeth the countre in peace, so that they may work at theyr pleasure, and the lieutenant of the housband men doth not se to the cuntry, that it  
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be well inhabited, and that the housbande menne applye theyr worke as they shulde, than the lieutenant of the garison accuseth him againe. For whan the housebande men do not labour well, the fouldiours can scant gette vitayles, nor the king can haue his tribute. And in somme countreys of Persia, a great lord, that they cal Satrapa, occupieth the rowme of bothe lyeutenantes. Than spake Critobulus, and sayde, If the kyng dothe, as ye saye, he taketh as moch hede to housbandry, as he doth to warre. Soc. Moreouer, in what so euer cuntrey he lieth, and where so euer he maketh his abydyng, he setteth his mynde to haue goodlye fayre gardeynes, that they call in theyr tongue Paradise, full of all maner of thynges, that the earthe bryngethe forth. And there he bydethe for the mooste parte, as longe as the tyme of the yere doth not let hym.

Than by my faythe, sayde Critobulus, seinge that he bideth there him selfe, he must nedes do his diligence, that these gardeines maye be as fayre and as goodly as can be, well replenysshed with trees, and all maner of thynges, that the earth can brynge forth. And also some saye, good Critobulus, sayd Socrates, that whan the king gyueth any rewardes, that he calleth them fyrste that haue behaued them selves manly in the warres, bycause it were to none effecte, to tyll and labour the grounde, except there were some that shuld defend it. And nexte to theim he calleth those, that haue prouided that the countrey shuld not be ydell, but well occupied and laboured, saying, that the valiant men of warre coud not lyue, if the good labourers were not.

And they say, that Cyrus, the which hath ben a very famous, and an excellent kynge, sayd vpon a tyme vnto them, that he called vnto hym, to gyue them rewardes, that he hym selfe was well



worthy to haue the rewardes of them bothe. For he sayde, that he was very good both to se the countrey wel laboured, and also to kepe and defend it. Forsothe, sayde Critobulus, if Cyrus dyd say so, he dyd shew playnly, that he had as great pleasure, that the countrey shuld be well occupied, as to haue good men of war. Soc. By my faith, if Cyrus had lyued, he wold haue proued a very noble prince : and of that he shewed many great and euident tokens at dyuers tymes, and amonge the tother, whan he came forthe agaynste his brother, to trye by battayle, who shuld be kyng. For they saye, that from Cyrus no man fled to the kyng, but many thousandes lefte the kyng to come and serue Cyrus.

And me thinketh this is a great argument of a princis vertue, whan men do obey him with theyr owne good wyl, and be glad to abyde with hym in tyme of ieopardy. For Cyrus friendes stode fightyng about hym whiles he was yet alyue, and whan he was slayne, they fightynge most valiantly were slaine al beside him, excepte Arieus, the which was set in the left winge. This, gentil Cyrus, whan Lyfander came to him, to bringe him presentes fro the cites of Grece, confederated vnto him, they saye, as Lyfander shewed hym selfe to a friende of his in the towne of Megara, that he receyued him with moch humanite, and among other thynges he shewed hym a gardeyne that was called the Paradis of Sardis. But whan Lyfander began to maruaile at it, bycause the trees were so fayre and so egally sette, and the orders of the trees laye streyghte one agaynst an other, and made goodly angles and corners wel proportioned, and many swete and pleasaunt saouours came to their noses, whan they were walkynge, he wondrynge thervpon, sayde thus : Forsoth, Cyrus, the great beautifulnes of these things



things is a greate maruayle to me ; but I wonder moch more of him that hath measured and fet them thus in order. Than Cyrus, whan he harde this, did reioyce and say, Al these that ye se, I haue measured them, and sette them in order ; and I can shewe you some trees that I haue set with myne owne handes. And Lyfander, when he had loked vpon hym, and beholden his goodly apparail, and felt the good fauour that came from it, and the estimable fayrenesse of his golden chaynes, his rynges, and his precious stones, sayde, What saye ye Cyrus, haue ye sette any of these with your owne handes ? Than Cyrus answered, Do ye meruayle of this, Lyfander ? By the faythe that I owe to god, whan I am well at ease, I neuer go to diner, vnto the time I haue done somewhat, eyther in feates of armes, or in some poynte of housebandry, tyl I sweate. Than, whan Lyfander herd this, he toke hym by the hande, and sayd, Me thynketh, Cyrus, ye be fortunate not without a cause. For ye be fortunate beinge a good man.

And this I reherse vnto you, myne owne Critobulus, said Socrates, for this cause, that ye may se, that they that be ryche and fortunate, can not well kepe them frome housebandry. For it is suche an exercyse, and suche a busines, that a man maye haue pleasure in it, bothe to encrease and multiply his goodes, and also to exercyse the bodye soo, that it shall be able to doo all maner of thynges that belonge to an honeste manne to doo. For fyrste of all, the grounde bryngethe forthe all suche maner of thynges that a manne is fed and nourished with, and it bryngeth forthe also suche thynges, that a man maye haue pleasure by it. Moreouer, it gyuethe vs all suche thynges as we nede, to trymme and dresse the auters and ymages with all, and that with mozte pleasaunte syghtes



and fauours. Furthermore, of meates necessary for mannes vse, somme it bryngethe by hit selfe, and some it nourisheth. For the craft of keepyng of sheepe is annexed to housebandry, soo that we maye vse them at our owne pleasure. And though it gyuethe vs plentye of all maner of thynges, yet it doth not suffre vs to gether them with softenes and tendernes, but vseth vs to be hard and stronge, in wynter by the reasonne of the colde, and in sommer by the reason of the heate. And as for them, the whiche do labour with their owne handes, it makethe theym bygge and myghtye; and they that occupy housebandrye but onely with ouer lokyng and takyng hede to other mens warkes, it quickeneth and maketh theym lyke men, makynge them to ryse yarely in the mornynge, and causyng them to walke a great waye. For bothe in the fieldes, and also in the cities, euery thyng that a man dothe to any purpose, must nedes be done in tyme and in season. Moreouer, if he wyl be a horseman, and defend his countre on horsebacke, a horse maye no where be better fedde than in the countreye. And if he wyl be a foteman, housebandrie maketh a man strong bodied, and causeth hym to exercise him selfe goinge a huntynge, whan it gyueth lyghtly meate to the dogges, and the grounde bringeth vp and nouryssheth wylde beastes. And the horses, and lyke wyse the dogges, thus holpen by the way of husbandry, do againe some seruice to the grounde. For the horse beareth hym yerly in the mornynge, that wyl se the grounde be not let alone vntilled and vntrymmed, and at nyghte beareth hym home agayne, if he tary neuer so late. And the dogges kepe awaye wylde beaustis, that they spyl not the fruite, and kylle the shepe, and make a man to be sure in a wyldernes. Moreouer, hit comforteth and stirreth husband men to be bolde, and to stande manly to defend theyr countre, seing  
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it leaueth the fruites abroad in the playne to be vsurped of him that is stronger. And what facultie wyll make a man more apte to runne, to shote, and also to leape, than husbandrye? What science yeldeth more again to them that do labour? What science receiueth him that is studious with greater pleasure, seing whan he cometh, it gyueth hym leaue to take what he wyll? Where shal a straunger be better welcomed to make hym good chere? Where shal a man haue better commoditie to kepe his winter with fire inoughe and hotte bathes? And where is more pleasant dwellynge for goodly waters, gentyll wyndes, and shadowe, than in the fieldes? Where maye a man make better feastis, and more triumphant bankettes? What other place do seruantes loue better? What other place doth a wife lyke more? Where do children desire more to be? Where be frendes better receyued, and gladder to be? Forsoth me thinketh it a maruailous thinge, if any honest man can fynde any substance, that he delyteth more in, or if he can fynde any occupation outhere more pleasaunte than this is, or more profitable for his liuyng. And moreouer, the grounde techeth men Iustice, if they haue the witte to lerne it. For they that do for it, and haue care for it, it rewardeth them with farre moche more. And if they, that haue ben brought vppe in housebandry, by some sodeine chance of enmyes, they that be lordes of the countrey can not tyll the grounde, they may go into theyr enmyes countreis, seyng they haue ben well and hardly brought vp, and gette there as moche, if god be not against them, as wyll suffice them to lyue with. And it is often times more sure to seke for his liuing in time of warre, with weapons of warre, than with instrumentes of housebandrye.



Houſbandry alſo teacheth men to helpe one another. If we wyl go to warre, we muſt haue men, nor the grounde can not be laboured without menne. And therefore, he that will be a good houſband man, he muſt get him good luſty worke men, and willing to do after hym and obeye hym. And the ſelfe ſame thyng he muſt go about to bring to paſſe, that leadeth an army to fyghte agaynſt his enmies, giuing great rewardes vnto them that behaue them ſelfes like good valiant men, and punyſhe them that be ſtoborne, and wyl not be ordred. And he that is a good houſband, muſt as often tymes cal vpon his labourers, and comfort them, as the capitaine doth his ſouldiours. And bounde men haue as great nede to be comforted, and meinteined with good hope, as other fre men, ye, and rather more, to thende they run not away, but be glad to bide ſtil. And ſurely he ſayde very well, that called houſbandry the mother and the nourice of al other ſciences. For if houſbandry doth ſtand well, all other ſciences and facultyes do the better. But if the ground be barain, and can beare no fruite, all other ſciences be almoſt ſpilled bothe by ſee and by land.

Whan Critobulus hadde harde this, he ſpake after this maner. Me thinketh, good Socrat. ye ſpeke very well in this matter. But ye knowe very wel, that the moſt part of ſuch thinges as long to houſbandry, a man can not caſte them afore hande. For oftentimes hayle ſtones, drought, or continuall rayne, myſte, or vermyne, that eate vp the ſede that is in the ground, do put vs beſide our intent and purpoſe, if it were neuer ſo good. And ſhepe like wiſe, if they be in neuer ſo good paſture, there comethe a ſickenes, that deſtroyeth them all. Socra. whan he hard that, ſayd againe, I thought that ye knewe wel, that god is aboue al, as wel in houſbandry, as he is in warre. We ſe,  
that



that they that wil make war, afore they begynne, they make their vowes, prayers, and sacryfices, desyrynge to knowe what is beste to do, and what is not beste. And thynke ye, that in those thynges that long to housebandry, we shuld haue les recourse to god? Be ye sure of this, that good and honest men do worship almighty god with oblations and praiers for al theyr frutes, their oxen, theyr shepe, and theyr horses, and generally for all that they haue. Me thinketh, good Socra. sayde Critobu. that ye speake very wel in this matter, whan ye byd to begin euery thyng with the trust of the helpe, and of the grace of god, seinge that god is aboue al thinges, as wel in war as in peace. And therfore we wil endeuour vs to do so. But seinge your purpose was, to speake here of the ordryng of an house, the which ye haue left, and be entred into an other tale, endeuour your selfe to shew vs a lyttell more, what foloweth next. For nowe that I haue harde you say that that ye haue spoken, me semeth I se moch better than afore, what a man muste do for to lyue. Wherefore Socrates sayde, But wil ye, that we reherse all that we haue spoken afore, and agreed in, to thentente that we maye, if we can, go forthe in this matter, bringynge such thyng as we shal lyke wyse agree vpon? Me thynketh that lyke wyse, as it wolde be a great pleasure, whan two men haue lente moneye one to an other, to agree vpon the rekenyng. So nowe in our comunication, vtteryng our myndes one to an other, if we myght gree in one tale.

Wel than, said Socrates, we agreed vpon this, that the ordryng of an house is the name of a science, and that semeth to be the science, to order and increace the house.

And we toke the house for al a mans possessions and goodes. And we sayd, that was truely the possession and goodes of a man, the which was



profitable vnto hym for his lyuynge ; and we founde all that profitable, that a man coude vse and order. And therfore, we thought impossible for a manne to lerne all maner of sciences. And as for all the handye craftes, we thought best to expelle them from vs, lyke wise as many cyties and common welthes dyd. For they seme both to destroye a mannes body, and to breake a mannes hart and stomake. And hereof we sayd, that this myght be an euidente token. For if the enmyes did inuade the countreyes, and one dyd set the houseband men and the artificers a fyde, diuided in two partes, and asked them, whether they had leuer to come forth, and pitch the felde to fyght with their enmyes, or els to gyue vp the fieldes, and kepe and defende the cities? They that haue ben vsed in the fieldes and housebandry, would be glad to fyght, to deliuer the countrey. But on the tother fyde, the artificers wolde doo that that they haue ben brought vp in, that is to fytte styll, neuer labourynge, nor neuer puttyng them selves in preace, nor in ieopardy. Moreouer, we commended housebandry for a good exercise, and a good occupation for a good and honest man, by the whiche men may haue all that is necessarye for them. For it is an occupation very sone lerned, and very pleasant to be occupied in it ; the which also maketh a mans body myghtye, stronge, well complexioned, and wel fauoured ; his stomake and his spiryte to be alway lusty and redy to do for his friendes, and for his countreye.

Moreouer, we iudged that it gaue men harte and courage to be valiant and hardy, seing the fruites that the ground brought forth, lay abroad in the plaine, without trenches, bulwarkes, or fortresses. And therfore, that kynd of lyuinge semed to be most honorable, and beste esteemed in cities and common welthes, because it maketh  
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good men well disposed and well mynded to do good for the common welthe.

Than sayde Critobulus, I am after my mynde sufficiently perswaded, that a man maye haue a very good, an honeste, and a plesant lyuyng, in occupieng housebandry. But where ye sayde, that ye knewe the cause, that some dyd so vse and occupy housebandrye, that they had by it plentye of all maner of thynges that they neded: and some agayne, that so ordred them selves in it, that it auayled them nothing; these two thynges wolde I gladly here of you, to thentent we maye do that that is good, and eschewe that that is contrary.

But what if I do tel you, swete Critobu. sayd Socrates, euen from the beginnyng, what communication I had ones with a man, the whiche myghte be called truely, and in dede, a good honest man? That wolde I here very fayne, sayde Critobulus. For I my selfe do greatly desire, that I maye be worthy of that goodly name. Than wyll I tell you, howe I came fyrste to the consideration of this. For as touchyng good carpenters, good ioyners, good peynters, good ymagers, me thought that I myght in a littel time se and beholde their warkes most allowed and best accepted, that made them to be so called. But to thend I might se and beholde, howe they that hadde that goodly and honorable name of a good and an honeste man, dyd behaue them selves to be worthy of it, my mynde dydde coueyte greatly to talke with one of theym. And fyrste of all, for bycause good and honeste wente to gether, whan so euer I sawe any goodly man, I drewe to hym, and wente about to know of hym, if I myght se good and honest, in a goodly man. But it wolde not be. For me thoughte that I founde, that there were many with goodly bodies and fayre visages, that had but yuel disposed and vngratious fowles.

Than



Than me thought it best to enquire no further of goodli bodies, but to get me to one of them that were called good and honest men. And for bycause I harde that Ischomachus was generally, bothe of men, women, citezins, and strangers, called and taken for a good honest man, me thoughte I coude do no better, than to proue howe I myghte commune with hym. And vppon a tyme, whan I sawe hym sitting in a porche of a church, for bycause me thoughte he was at leyser, I came to hym, and sette me downe by him, and said, What is the cause, good Ischomachus, that ye, which be wont to be euer more occupied, sytte here nowe after this maner; for I haue seene you for the most part euermore doing somewhat, and lyghtly neuer ydell, except it were very lyttell? Nor ye shulde nowe haue seene me, good Socrates, sayde he, syttyng after this maner, if I had not apointed with certaine straungers to tary here for them. And if ye were not here, where wolde ye haue bene, or howe wolde ye haue ben occupied, sayd I to hym? For I wold knowe of you very fayne, what thyng ye do, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man? The good complection of your body sheweth well ynoughe, that ye dyde not alwaye slouggynge at home. And than Ischomachus laughing at that that I said, what do ye, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man, and reioysyng in his harte, as me thought by hym, sayd, I can not tell: if any man calleth me so, whan you and he talke of me, but whan I muste paye money, or for taxes, preastes, or subsidies, they calle me playnely by my name Ischomachus. And in dede, good Socs. I do not alwaye byde at home, for my wife can order well inoughe suche thynges as I haue there. Yea, but this wold I knowe of you very fayne, Dyd ye your selfe bring your wyfe to this:

or



or els, hadde her father and her mother brought her vp sufficiently to ordre an house afore she came to you? Ischomachus. Howe coude she haue ben so, whan she was but fiftene yere old whan I maryed her: and afore she hadde ben so negligently brought vp, that she hadde but very lyttell sene, very little harde, and very lytel spoken of the world. And I trowe ye wolde not thynke it sufficiente in her, if she coude do nothyng but spin and carde, and sette the hande maydens to worke. As for suche thynges as concerne the lower partes of the bely, good Socrates, sayde he, she had ben very well broughte vp, the whiche is no smalle poynte of good bringgynge vp, both in a man and in a woman.

And dyd ye teache your wyfe al the remenant, sayd I, so that she is able to take hede of al maner of thinges? Yes, said he, but not afore I had made my praiers to all mighty god, desiryng him, that he wold gyue me the grace to teache her so, and her to lerne that of me, that shuld be good and profitable to vs bothe. And dyd your wyfe make the selfe same prayer with you, sayde I? Yes mary, said Ischomachus, and it semed in a maner, that god dyd promyse euidently, and she likewise shewed with clere and manifeste tokens, that she wold very well regarde and take hede to that that she shulde be taught. For goddis sake, good Ischomachus, sayde I, what dyd ye begynne to teache her first: for I had leauer here you tell me suche a thyng, than if ye shuld dyscriue me a iustyng or a turnament, though it had ben neuer so triumphant. Mary I wyl tel you, Socrates, sayd he, Whan we were ones so wel acquainted, and so familiar, that we talked together, I examined her after this maner: Tel me, good bed-felowe, did ye euer cast in your mind, for what cause I haue taken you, and your father and your  
mother



mother deliuered you vnto me? I trowe ye knowe well inough, that I toke you not for nede that I had of a bedfelowe to lye with me; for I myghte haue had inowe at my commaundemente. But whan I hadde confydered in my mynde, and your father and your mother lyke wyfe, that it were well doone, to fynde out a good one, to be parte taker bothe of our howse, and of our chyldren. I chose you afore all other, and your father and mother lyke wyfe chose me. Wherfore if hereafter god gyue vs the grace, that we maye haue chyldren together, we shall take counsayle howe to brynge theym vppe and instructe theym in vertue. For it shall be for bothe oure profyttes to haue them, bothe to defende vs, and to helpe and nouryshe vs in our olde age. Nowe the house that we haue is common to vs bothe. For all that euer I haue, I haue shewed you, and delyuered it vnto you to kepe for bothe our behoues: and ye lyke wise haue done the same. And ye may not cast in your mynde, whiche of vs both broughte more. But this ye muste knowe for a suertie, that loke whiche of vs twayne doth behaue hym selfe, and dothe beste in this felowshyppe, that he bryngeth more, and his parte is the better.

Than my wyfe, good Socrates, answered here vnto after this maner: wherin can I helpe you, said she? or wherin may my littel power do you any good? For truly my mother told me, that al to gether lay in your handes, and that it belonged vnto me to be sobre, and lyue in chastitie. Mary soo it is, good wyfe, sayd I, and so my father tolde me to. But it is the poynt of a sobre housebande, and of a sobre wyfe, to do soo, that that the whiche they haue may be wel ordred and guyded, and to encrease and get more to it, by some good and rightful way. And what do ye see in me, sayde my wyfe, that I may encrease our house, if I do  
 applie



applie it? Mary, sayd I, if ye endeuour your self  
 to do those thinges to the best of your power, the  
 whiche both god willeth that ye shulde do, and the  
 lawe exhortethe you to it. And what thinges be  
 those, sayd she? Ueryly, sayd I, no small thynges,  
 excepte ye thynke, that that Bee doth but a lyttell  
 good, the which remaineth stil in the hiue, to  
 ouer see the warkes, whan the other go abroad to  
 gether floures. And forsooth me thynketh, that  
 god almyghty hath sette together for many good  
 causes and confyderations, that goodlye couple,  
 that is the housbande and the wyfe, to thentent  
 that they shuld be mooste profitable one to an other  
 in that good feloweshyp. Fyrste of all, to then-  
 tent that mankynde do not decay and fayle, this  
 ioly couple lieth together, and ingendreth chyl-  
 dren. Than agayne, by reason herof, they bringe  
 forthe chyl dren to helpe and succour them in theyr  
 olde age. Moreouer, the maner and lyuynge of  
 men, doth greatly dyffer from the lyfe of wylde  
 beastes, the whiche be alway abroad in the fieldes.  
 For it is mete for men to haue houses. Wherefore  
 it is conueniente that they, whiche wyll haue  
 somewhat to bringe into theyr houses, haue menne  
 with them to do those warkes, that muste nedes  
 be done abroad in the fieldes. For tyllynge of  
 the grounde, fowynge of the corne, setting of  
 trees, and kepyng of beaſtis at grasse and pas-  
 ture, be all done abroad. But agayne, it is nede-  
 full, whan those fruites be conueyed into the  
 hous, to ouer se and saue them, and to do al  
 suche thinges as must be done at home. Babis  
 and yonge children muste nedes be brought vppe  
 within the house. Breade muste be baked, and  
 the meate sod and dressed within the house. Also  
 spynnyng, cardynge, and weauynge muste be  
 doone within the house. And where that bothe  
 those thynges, that must be done abroad, and  
 those



those that be doone within the house, do require care and diligence: me thinketh that god hath caused nature to shewe plainly, that a woman is borne to take hede of all suche thynges as muste be doone at home. For he hath made man of body, hart, and stomacke, strong and mighty, to suffre and endure hete and cold, to iourney, and go a warfare. Wherefore god hath in a maner commaunded and charged hym with those thynges that be done abrode out of the howse. He also remembrynge, that he hath ordeined the woman to brynge vp yonge chyl dren, he hath made her farre more tender in loue towarde her children, than the housebande. And where he hath ordeined, that the woman shuld kepe those thynges, that the man getteth and bringeth home to her; and he knowynge very well, that for to kepe a thyng fuerlye, it is not the worste pointe to be doubtful and fearful, he dealed to her a greate deale more feare, than he dyd to the man.

And he also perceyuinge, that if any man doth hym wronge, the whiche labourethe and worketh without, he must defende him selfe, he distributed to the man a great dele more boldnes. And for because it behoueth, that both they do gyue and receyue, he hath gyuen them indifferently remembrance and diligence, in so moche, that it is hard to discerne, whether kynd hath more of them, either the man or the womanne. He hath also granted them indifferently, to refrayne them selves from such thynges, as is conuenient they do. And hath giuen the power and auctorite, that loke in what thyng the either of them doth the better, he bringeth the more away with hym. But bycause the natures and the dispositions of them both, be not egally soo perfecte in al these thynges, they haue so moche the more nede the one of the other. And this couple is so moch the more profitable,



fitable, the one to the tother, bycause that that the one lacketh, the tother hath. Wherefore good wife, seing we se that, which god hath ordeined for us both, we muste enforce, and endeavour our selves to do both our partis in the beste wyse. The lawe semeth to comforte us and exhort us to it, the which coupleth man and wyfe together. And lyke wyse, as god maketh them to come together to gette chyl dren, so the lawe wyll have them liue together, partakers one of anothers goodes in good flowshyppe. Lyke wyse, the lawe sheweth, and god commandeth, that it is beste for eche of them to do theyr parte. For it is more honestie for a woman to kepe her house, than to walke aboute. And it is more shame for a man to abyde sluggynge at home, than to apply his mynde to suche thinges as muste be done abroad. But if any man doth contrary to that that he is naturally borne to, parauenture god will remembre, that he breaketh his statutes and decrees, and wyl punishe hym, outh er for bicause he is negligent in that that he shuld do, or els bycause he taketh upon hym that that belongeth to the wife.

Me thynketh also, that the maisters that keepeth the hyve, dothe lyke wyse that that god hath ordeyned her unto. And what dothe the maystres bee, sayde she, whereby it may be likened to that that I must do? For bicause, sayde he, it bydeth alway in the hyve, and wyll not suffre no bees to be ydel: and they that shulde worke without, she sendeth them to their worke. And what so euer any of them bryngeth home, she marketh, receyuethe, and saueeth it, untyll the tyme come that it must be occupied. And whan the tyme comethe, that it must be occupied, than she distributeth e-uery thyng according as equitie requireth. And she causeth them that do bide within, to weaue and make the faire hony comes after the best wise, and  
taketh



taketh hede to the yonge bees, that they be well  
 fed and brought up. But whan they be come to  
 that age, and to that point, that they be able to  
 worke, she sendeth them out with one, the which  
 they folowe as their gyde and capitayne. And  
 must I do so to, sayde my wyfe? Ye, forsoth,  
 sayd I: for ye must alwaye byde within the house,  
 and those men, the whiche muste worke abrode,  
 ye must sende them to it: and they that muste  
 worke within, ye must commaunde them and be  
 ouer them, to se them do it. And that that is  
 brought in, ye must receiue it. And that whiche  
 muste be spente of it, ye must parte and deuide it.  
 And that that remaineth, ye must ley it vp and  
 kepe it safe, tyll time of nede. And beware, that,  
 that whiche was apoynted to be spente in a twelue-  
 monthe, be not spente in a monthe. And whan  
 the wol is brought in to you, ye must se that it be  
 carded and sponne, that clothe may be made of  
 it. Also ye muste see, that the corne, whiche is  
 brought in to you, be not so musty and dusty, that  
 it maye not be eaten. But one thyng specially a-  
 boue all other there is, that ye must be careful fore,  
 and that shall gette you greate fauour and loue, that  
 is, if any of our seruantes hap to fal sicke, that  
 ye endeuour your self, the beste that ye canne,  
 not onely to cheryshe them, but also to helpe, that  
 they may haue theyr helth agayne. By my feyth,  
 sayde my wyfe, it is a very gracious and a kynde  
 dede. For whan they be ones holpen, and eased,  
 thei wil cunne vs very good thanke, and be the  
 more louynge and feithfull vnto vs. And me  
 thoughte, sayde Ischomachus, that it was an aun-  
 swere of a good and an honeste wyfe. And by  
 the reason of this good prouision of this maystres  
 bee, sayde I, all the tother beare so good loue and  
 affection vnto her, that whan soo euer she goeth out  
 of



of the hyue, there will none tary behynde, but all wayte vpon her.

Than my wyfe answered me, I do greatly meruayle, whether suche thynges as ye saye the maystres bee dothe, doo not beelonge moche more to you than to me. For my kepinge and departyng within were but a lyttell worthe, excepte ye dyd your diligence, that somewhat myght by brought in. And my bryngyng in, sayde I, shulde auayle but a littel, excepte there were one, that kept and sau'd that that I brought in.

Do ye not see, sayde I, howe euery man hath great pite of them, the which, they say, that their punishment is to poure water into tubbes full of hooles, tyll they be full. And they pite them for nothing els, but because they seme to labour in vaine. By my fayth, sayd my wife, they be very miserable in dede, the whiche do so. There be other thynges that belonge to you to take hede of, the which must nedes be very pleasante vnto you, as whan ye haue taken one in to your seruice, that canne neyther spyn nor carde, if ye teache her to doo it, it shall be twyfe so moche more worthe vnto you.

And if ye haue a maide, the which is other negligent, or is not trewe of her handes, or that can not wayte, if ye make her diligent, trusty, and a good seruante, all shall be to your great profyte. And agayne, whan ye se your seruantes good and sobre felowes, and profytable for your house, ye muste do them good, and shewe them some gentilnes. But if there be any of them knauishe or frowarde, ye muste punishe theym. And this agayne shulde be moste pleasant of al, if ye coude make your selfe better than I, and make me as it were your seruant. And ye nede not feare, lest in proces of time, whan ye come to age, ye be lesse set by: but be ye sure of this,



if ye be diligent, louynge, and tendable to me, our chyl dren, and householde, the elder that ye waxe, the more honourable and better esteemed shall ye be.

For it is not the beautifulnesse, and goodly shappe, but the very vertue and goodnes that men regarde, and fauour.

I remembre, good Socra. that my fyrst communication with her was after this maner. And dyd ye perceyue, good Ischomachus, sayd I, that by the reason of this, she was any thinge moued to be more diligente? Yes, veryly, sayde Ischomachus. And I sawe her upon a time fore an angerd with her selfe, and greatly ashamed, that whan I asked her a thyng that I hadde brought home, she coulde not fette it me. And whan I sawe that it greued her very fore, I said vnto her, Take neuer the more thought for the matter, if ye can not gyue me that that I aske you. For it is a token of pouerte in very dede, whan a man lacketh a thyng that he can not haue. But this nede maye be suffered a great deale better, whan a man seketh a thyng, and canne not fynde it, than if at the begynnynge he doth not seke for it, knowing that he hath it not. But as for this ye be not to be blamed, said I, but I my selfe, seinge I haue not apointed you a place, where to leye euery thing, that ye myghte knowe, where ye shuld set it, and where to fette it agayne.

There is nothyng, good swete wife, so profitable and so goodlye amonge men, as is an order in euery thyng.

In playes and enterludes, where a great company of men is assembled to play theyr partes, if they shuld rashely do and say what so euer fell into theyr braynes, it wolde be but a trouble and a busyness, and no pleasure to beholde them. But whan they doo and speake euerye thyng in order, the  
audy-



audyence hath a very greate pleasure bothe to behold them, ye, and also to here theym.

And lykewise an army of men, swete wyfe, sayde I, that is out of order, and set out of good arraye, is a very great confusion in daunger, to be lightly overcome of theyr ennies, and a very pituous and myserable sight to theyr frendes, as whan there is to gether in a plumpe, asses, fotemen, cartes, baggage, and menne of armes. And howe shulde they go forward, whan they do let one an other? He that gothe, letteth hym that runneth; he that runneth, distourbeth hym that standeth still; the cart letteth the man of armes; the asse, the cart; the baggage, the foteman. And if they shulde come to the point, that they must fight, howe coude they fight being in that taking? For whan they be faine, by the feson of their il order, to flee theyr owne companye that letteth them, howe coude they, thus fleing, overcome them, that set vpon them in good order of battayle, and well weaponed. But the armye that is well ordred and kept in good array, is a very pleasant sight to their frendes, and greuous to theyr ennies.

What frend is there, but that he wil haue a very great pleasure to se the fotemen marche forward in good order and arraye?

What is that man, but he wil marueil, whan he beholdeth a great numbred of men of armes rydyng in good arraye and order?

And what enmie wil not be aferd, whan he seeth morispikes, billes, men of armes, crosbowes, and also archers, the which folowe their capitaynes in good arraye and order of battayle? And alsoo whan they marche forward in good array, if they be neuer so many thousandes, yet they walke as peasibly as though there wer but one man alone. And what maketh a galey, well



furnyſhed with men, feareful to the enimies, and pleaſaunte to beholde vnto friendes, but that it goth ſo ſwyftly? And what maketh them that be in it, that they do not trouble one an other, but that they do fytte in order, kepe and make ſignes in order, lye downe in order, ryſe in order, drawe the oores in order?

And as for confuſion and miſorder, me thynketh it is lyke, as if a man of the countrey ſhuld put together on a hepe, otes, wheate, barly, and peafe: and whan he had nede to occupie any of them, he ſhulde be fayne to trye it out, and put it by it ſelfe agayne.

Wherefore ſwete wife, ye ſhall lightly eſchewe ſuche confuſyon, yf ye put to your good wil, to ſet in good order that that we haue, and take to you that that ye haue nede of, and ſpare not: and giue to me that that I call for graciouſely. And let vs ſeke out and prepare a hanſome place to ſette euery thyng in, accordynge as euery thyng requireth. And whan we haue ſette it there, let vs ſhewe it the ſeruaunte, that he maye fetch it, and lay it vp agayne.

And thus we ſhall knowe, what we haue ſaued, and what we haue loſte. For the place it ſelfe ſhall lacke that that it ſhulde haue.

And the ſight wil ſerche out that that hath nede of helpe, and make vs to know anone, where lyeth euery thyng, ſo that we ſhall not be to ſeke, whan we haue nede of it.

I remembre, good Socrates, that vpon a tyme I wente a bourde a ſhyppes of Phenicia, where I beheld the goodlyeſt order, and the mooste perfecte, that euer I ſawe. I conſidered, howe great aboun-  
daunce of implimentes was in that ſmalle veſſell.

There were many oores, and many other thynges made of wodde; with the whiche they brynge the ſhype into, and out of the hauen. What a ſorte  
of



of shrowdes, halfers, cables, lines, and other makeling was there! With howe many ingins of warre, both to defend it selfe, and to greue an enemye, was it armed! What a fyghte of armour and weapons of the men, cary they about with them! Moreouer, they cary with them moche vitayle, and other necessaries, that men vse at home in theyr houses. Besyde al this, it was laded with suche stouffe and goodes, as the shyppe mayster getteth by the cariage therof. And all this geare that I speke of, was stowed in so litel a rowme, that a farre greater place wolde not haue receyued it, if it shulde haue ben remoued. And I marked howe euery thyng was so well sette in good order, that no one thyng dyd let an other, nor hadde no nede to be longe fought fore. Nor were not so scatered, and so yll compacte, that a man shulde tary longe for it, whan he shulde occupy it quickly. And he that wayted vppon the Patrone of the shyppe, that is to saye, he that standeth in the fore part of the shyp, I perceyued, that he had euery place so well in his mynde, that thoughe he were not there, he wolde tell you redily where euery thyng laye, none otherwyse thanne he that is lerned, can telle howe many letters go to this worde, Socrates, and in what place euery letter is sette. Moreouer I sawe hym, whan he was serchyng and castyng in his mynde, howe many thynges a shyppe hath nede of. Than I maruaylyng, wher on he mused and studied, asked hym what he meant. I consider and caste aforehand, good man, quod he, if any thing shulde chaunce, howe and in what redines euery thyng lyeth in his shippe, whether any thyng lyeth out of the place, or if euery thinge be not trymmed to the purpose.

For it is no tyme, whan god sendeth vs a storme on the sea, to be seking that that we nede of, nor to bringe forth that that is not hanfome and well



trymmed. For god thretneeth and punisheth them that be ydell and negligent. And we may be glad, if he doo not distroye vs, whan we do our duetie.

And if he saueth them that vse gret labour and diligence, they oughte to thanke hym greatly. Wherefore whan I perceyued and sawe that goodly and perfect order, I said vnto my wyfe, that it shuld be great slouth and negligence vnto ys, if they, whiche be but in lyttell shyppes and smalle vesselles, fynde feete places to stowe euery thyng in, that they carye with them. And though they be soore shaken and troubled, and continually in gret feare, yet they kepe a good order. And we that haue so goodly places, and a house standynge stedfastelye on the lande, coulede not fynde places meete and conuenient for to sette euerye thyng in, howe moche oughte we to be blamed of lewdenes and small wyisedome?

We haue sufficiently spoken, howe profitable it is to set al the implimentes of the house in good ordre, and to set euery thing in suche a redines, in places mete therfore, that it maye be easye to fynd and come by, whan nede requireth. But howe goodly a thinge is it to se fewtes of all a mannes apparell, lyenge by it selfe, keuerlettes, and counterpointes by them selfe, shetes, towels, and all naprye ware by them selves, pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of the ketchyn by them selfe, al that longeth to the table by it selfe, and so lyke wyse of all other thynges, that long to an house, wher at he that is vnwyse, and knoweth not good order, wyll laughe. And whether it be so or not, my swete wife, we may lightly proue without great cost, and with small labour.

And ye must not trouble youre selfe, as though it were an harde thing to fynd one, that coude lerne the places, and remembre where to set euery thyng.



thyng. For we knowe well, that in the citie there is a thousande tymes more ware thanne we haue: but yet what so euer seruant ye wyll commande, to go and bye you somewhat, in the market, he wyl not stand styll, as though he coude not tell what to do, but by the reason that he remembreth where he hath sene of it, he goth thither streyghte-waye, and fetchethe it.

And surely ther is none other cause of this, said I, but that there is a place determind where one shall haue it. But if one seketh a man, the whiche seketh hym to, may fortune he wyll often tymes be sooner werye than he can fynde hym. And of this lyke wyse, there is none other cause, but that there is no place apointed, where the tone shuld tary for the tother. As for settinge in order of the household stuffe, and of the vse of it, I remembre I spake vnto her after this maner. And howe thought ye by your wyfe, good Ischomachus, sayde I, Whether did she obey you in that thyng that ye taught her so busyly? Ischo. What shuld I say, but that she promised to apply her mynde vnto it. And me thought verily by her countinaunce, she was very gladde, that where afore she was in greate doubt and perplexitie, she had found a good way in it, and besought me, that I wolde make an order of euery thing, as I had said vnto her, as soone as was possible. And what order dyd you shewe her, good Ischomachus, sayde I? Ischo. What order shuld I shewe her but this. Fyrst me thoughte best to shewe her, what a house properlye was ordeyned fore. For it is not ordeyned to be gorgeously peynted with diuers faire pictures, but it is builded for this purpose and consideration, that it shulde be a profitable vessell for those thynges, that shulde be in it: wherefore in a maner it biddeth the dwellers to lay vp euery thyng, where it is moste mete to put it. The in-



ner priueye chambre, because it standeth strongeste of al, loketh for to haue the iewels, plate, and all suche thynges as be mooste preciouſe.

The drye places loke for the wheate. The colde for the wyne. And bryght places do deſyre ſuche workes and thynges, as require lightſomnes. Moreouer, I ſhewed her, howe parlors and dininge places, wel trymmed and dreſſed, for men to eate and drynke in, in ſommer ſhulde be colde, and in winter hotte. And I ſhewed her, howe all the ſituation of the houſe was very moche ſouthwarde, wherby it may be clerely vnderſtande, that in winter the ſonne lighteth well fauourdly ypon it, and in ſommer there is goodly ſhadowe in it. Further, I ſhewed her the nourcery and the womens lodgyng, diuided from the mens lodgyng, leſt there came out any thyng amyſſe, and our ſeruantes ſhulde get theym chyldren without our conſentment. For they that be good, if they haue chyldren throughe our permiſſion, they wil loue vs the better. And they that be noughte, if they come ones to couple with a woman, they wyl fynde the more wayes, and the more better ſhyfte to fulfill their vngratiouſnes. And after we had ſpoken thus, ſayde he, we went and deuided the houſeholde ſtuſſe, by ſewtes and ſortes after this maner. Fyrſt we dyd put to gether all maner of thinges longyng to ſacrifices. Nexte to that the good wyues apparell, both for holydayes and workyng dayes, and afterwarde the good mannes apparell, bothe for the holy dayes, and alſo for warre. Clothes for mens chambres and for the nourcery, mennes ſhowes, and womens ſhowes. Than we appoynted out the instrumentes that belonge to ſpinnyng and cardinge, and ſuche as perteyne to the bakehouſe, to the kechin, to the bathe, and to the boultynge houſe. We did ſeperate a ſonder thoſe thynges that ſhulde be occupied alwaye, from thoſe that be occupied



occupied but at dinner and supper. And we dyd se-  
 perate that that we shuld spend in a monethes space,  
 and that that was appointed to serue vs a twelue  
 monthe. For so it is the better knowen, in what  
 maner it is brought to an ende. And after we  
 hadde seperated all the householde stuffe in fewtis  
 and sortes, we dyd set euery thinge in a place con-  
 uenient. Afterwarde all the instrumentes that our  
 seruantes muste occupy dayly, as for the backe-  
 house, for the kytchin, for spynninge and cardynge,  
 and other lyke, we dydde shewe them the place,  
 where they shoulde put them agayn, and than de-  
 lyuered them, and bade theym kepe them safe.  
 And as for suche thynges, as shulde be occupied  
 but seldome, or vpon holy dayes, or whan there  
 came any straungers vnto vs, or at certayne other  
 times, in certayne busynes, we delyuered theym  
 vnto a womanne, that we made the keper of our  
 store house, and shewed her the place, where they  
 shoulde be sette. And whanne we had made a  
 rekenynge vnto her of all, and also written euery  
 thyng, we bade her, that she shulde deliuer them  
 forth as time and nede required, and that she  
 shulde remembre well, to whom she deliuered any  
 thyng. And whan she receiued it agayne, that  
 she shuld lay it vppe, where she had it before.  
 And to be keper of our storehouse, we appointed  
 her, that seemed vnto vs more sobre and tempe-  
 rate in eatynge, drinking, and sleping, and that  
 she coude very wel refrain the company of men,  
 and that seemed also to haue a verye good remem-  
 brance, and that wold beware to be founde in a  
 faute throughe her negligence, lest she shulde  
 displease vs with it, and seke the meane to do  
 that that shoulde please vs, that she myghte be  
 prayesed and rewarded for it. More ouer, we  
 taughte her to haue a good wyl toward vs, and  
 to loue vs; for bycause that whan there was any  
 thyng



thyng happened, that made vs ioyful and gladde, we made her partakar of it, and if we were sorowfull and heuy for any matter, we called her, and shewed her the same. Furthermore, we taughte her to set her good wyll and her good mynde to encrease our house, teaching her the way and the maner howe. And if any thyng fortunèd well to vs, we gaue her parte of it.

Also we taught her to be iust and trewe in her busynes, and to esteeme and set more by them, that were good and rightefull, than by them that were false and vntrewe. And we shewed her howe they lyued in more welthe and more libertie, thanne they that were false and vntruſtye. And so thus we dyd sette her in the rowme. And at the laste, good Socrates, sayde he, I sayde vnto my wyfe, that all this shulde auayle nothyng, excepte she toke diligent hede, that euery thyng might remaine styl in good order. I taught her also howe in comon welthes, and in good cities, that were wel ruled and ordred, it was not inoughe for the citezens and dwellers, to haue good lawes made vnto them, excepte that they besyde chose men to haue the ouersight of the same lawes, the whose ductie shuld be to se, that they the whiche do well, and accordyng to the lawe, maye be preyed, and he that doth the contrary, to be punysht. And soo I bad my wyfe, that she shulde thynke her selfe to be, as if it were the ouerseer of the lawes within our house: and that she shulde, whan she thought best, ouer se the stufte, vessel, and implementes of our hous, none otherwise thanne the capitaine of a garison ouerseeth and proueth the souldyours, howe euery thyng standeth: or like wyse as the Senate and the counsell of Athenes ouerseeth, and maketh a proſse bothe of the men of armes, and also of theyr hories. And that she shulde preise and rewarde



warde hym, that were worthy, to her power, as if she were a quene. And blame ye, and punyshe hym, that doth deserue it. Besyde al this, I taught her, that she shulde not be displeased, if I did put her to more busines, and charged her with mothynges to be done in the house, than any seruauant I had, shewynge her, that prentis and co-uenant seruantes haue no more of their maisters goodes, but as moche as they deliuer them, to do theyr maysters seruice with al, or to bestowe it in their behalfe, or to kepe it for them: and they may occupye none of it to theyr owne vse, excepte their maisters do gyue it them. But he that is the mayster, he hath al, and maye vse euery thing at his owne pleasure, wherfore he that hath most profytte by it, if his goodes be saufe, hath moste losse, if they be losse or perished. I shewed her, it wer reason he shuld be most dilygent, and take best hede about it. Than sayde I, Good Ischomachus, whanne your wyfe harde this, howe dyd she take it? What, wyll ye haue any more of it, good Socrates? but that she sayd, I knowe her not wel, if I thought it dyd greue her, that I shoulde teache her, to take hede to her goodes and substaunce. For it shulde haue ben more greuous vnto me a greate deale, sayd she, if ye had bade me to take no hede to my goodes, than to byd me to be dilygent about that that is mine owne. For me thinketh, that like wise, as it is naturally giuen to a good woman, rather to be dilygent about her owne chyl dren, thanne not to care for them. Lyke wyse it is more pleasure for an honest womanne to take hede to her owne goodes, than to set nought by them.

And whan I harde, sayd Socrates, that his wife gaue him such an answer, I said, By my Faith, Ischomachus, ye tell me of a ioly and a manly stomacke of a womanne. Ye, sayde he, ye shall  
here



here me telle you other thynges yet, that wyl well shewe her good lustye harte, that whan she had hard but ones speake of it, streyght way she dyd after me in it. Soc. I pray you tel me that, for surely I haue more pleasure a greatte deale, to lerne the vertue of a woman aliue, than if Zeufis, the excellent peynter, shuld shewe me the pycture and portrature of a fayre woman. Than sayde Ischom. whan I had sene her vppon a tyme, that she had peynted her face with a certayne oyntment, that she might seme whitter than she was, and with an other oyntment, that she might seme redder than she was in very dede, and that she had a peyre of high showes on her feete, to make her seme taller woman than she was, I sayde vnto her, Tell me, good wyfe, whether wolde ye iuge me worthier to be beloued, if our goodes and substance nowe beinge common one to an other, if I shulde shewe you that that I haue in very dede, and make nother more of it nor no lesse than it is in very dede, and kepte nothyng priuey from you: or if I went about to deceiue you, saying I had more than I haue, and shewinge you false money, cheines of brasse in stede of golde, counterfeyt precious stones, red in the stede of scarlet, false purple in the stede of pure and good?

Than she answered streyghte waye, God forbid ye shuld be such one. For if ye were suche one, I coude not fynde in myne hart to ioue you. I wyll tell you wyfe, We be come together, to thintent to haue plesure of the body one of an other, at the lest men say so. Whether than, seinge I must giue you my body to vse with you, were I better to be beloued after your iugement, if I studied and went about to make my bodye seme the lustier, the stronger, the better coloured, the better complectioned, and shuld noynte my face with certaine oyntmentes, and soo shewe me

vnto



vnto you, and lye with you, and gyue you these oyntmentes to se and to handle, in the stede of my coloure, and of myne owne face? Forsoth, sayd she, I shuld neuer haue more pleasure in handlynge any oyntemente in the stede of your face, nor delyte more in thyng counterfeted, than in your very eies and natural face. Thynke lyke wyfe by me, good wyfe, sayd Ischomachus, that I haue no more pleasure in oyntmentes, thanne I haue in your owne natural body and face. And like wise, as god hath made horses to haue pleasure with maares, bulles with kyne, rammes with ewes, so lyke wise menne doo thynke that body mooste pleasant, that is pure. And as for suche wyles and deceytes, they may paraduenture begyle straungers, soo that they shall neuer be spyed, but they that be dayly conuersant together, they shall lightly perceiue, if the tone go about to deceiue the tother. For they well be spyed, either whan they ryse out of theyr bedde, before they make them redy, or whan they sweate, or whan they wepe, or whan they washe and bath them. Socra. And I praye you, sayd I, what an aunswere made she to it? Ischo. What, sayde I, by my feyth she went neuer sens aboute no suche matters, but shewed her selfe alway pure, with as good comliness as myght be. And she asked me, whether I coude giue her any counsaile, howe she shulde be fayrer in dede, and not onely appere so. And than I gaue her counsaile, that she shulde not sit styll lyke a slaue or a bondeman, but go aboute the house lyke a maystres, and se howe the workes of the house wente forward: sometymes to the weauinge women, both to teche them that she can do better than they, and also to marke who doth better or worse: some tymes to loke vpon her that baketh the bread: some tymes to loke vpon her that kepeth the store house, to se her set vp  
and



and mette that that she weaueth: sometimes to bestir her selfe, lookinge if euery thyng be sette vp in his place. For I rekened, that this shulde be bothe alway, to take hede to the house, and also shulde serue for a good walke. Also I said, it were a good exercise to washe, to boulte, to bake, to shake keuerlettes, hangynges, tappeffary ware, and to sette them vp agayne in their place. For I said, if she did somewhat to exercise her selfe, she shoulde haue the more luste to her meate, she shulde be the more helthy, and get better fauored colour in very dede. And also the sight of the maistres, being more clenlier and far better apparayled, and setting her hand to worke, and in a maner striuyng with her seruantes, who shal do most, is a greate comforte vnto them, that be vnder her, specially whan it lieth in them, either to do her pleasure in doing of theyr worke with a good wyll, or to be compelled to do it againste theyr wylls. But they that alway do stande styl like quenes in their maiestie, they wil be onely iuged of those women that be triumphantly arayed, the whiche do deceyue them. And nowe, sayd he, good Socrates, be ye sure, she lyueth euen as I haue taughte her, and as I tell you.

Soc. Than sayde I, Good Ischomachus, me thinketh ye haue sufficiently spoken touchyng the behauour of your wyfe, and of you, to the greate prayse of you bothe: but now I pray you, tel me your owne dedes, that bothe ye may reioyce in tellyng suche thynges, the whiche do get you so good a name. And whan I haue harde and lerned the workes and dedes of a good honest man, I may giue you such thanks as ye deserue, and accordyng to my power. By my faith, sayde Ischomachus, I wyll be gladde to tell you all, what so euer I doo, to the entent ye may correcte me, if ye thynke I do not wel in some thyng. Socrates.



erates. Ye, but tel me, howe coude I correcte you, feinge that ye be come to this poynt, to be a good honest man, specially whan I am the man that is taken for a trisler, that occupieth him selfe in nothyng, but in measuryng of the aire? And that that is a very fore rebuke, and a token of most great folly, I am called a poore man. And I assure you, that name wold haue troubled me very fore, if I had not met the tother daye by chance one Nicias hors, and sene moch people that came after to beholde him, and harde very moch talkyng of hym. And in very dede I came to the horse-keeper, and asked him, whether the horse had moch money or not? And he loked vpon me, as though I had ben mad, to aske hym suche a piuishe question, and said, Howe shuld a horse haue any money? And so I turned me euen backe again, whan I harde it was lafull for a poore horse to be good, if he had a good fre harte and stomacke with him. And therfore I praye you, feinge it is lyke wise laful for a poore man to be good, that ye wyll tell me your maner of lyuyng to the vttermost poynte, to thentent that whan ye haue tolde me, I maye endeuous my selfe to lerne it, and from this day forward to begyn to folowe you, and do after you. For that maye be called a very good day, on the whiche a man beginneth to be good and vertuous. I know well ye iest with me, good Socrates, sayde Ischomachus, But yet I wyll tell you as farforth as I canne, the holle course of my lyfe, the whiche I purpose to folowe styl tyll the laste daye of my lyfe.

After that I had wel perceiued, that excepte a man knoweth what is to be done, and wyll sette and applye his mynde and dylygence to performe the same, god granteth no man to do well. And vnto them that be both wise and diligent, god fendeth welth and good fortune. Wherefore fyrste  
of



of all I began to honour and worshype god, and to call vpon hym with my prayers, that he wold vouchesafe to send me the grace, that I might haue my helth, strength of body, honour in my citie, good wyll of my frendes, to returne home agayn safe from war fare, with the increase of my ryches and goodes. Socra. And whan I harde that, I said, And care ye so moch to waxe riche, feinge that whan ye be ryche, ye haue the more trouble in studienge howe to order and kepe your goodes? Yes, mary, sayde Ischo. I haue no small care of that that ye aske me. For me thynketh it is great pleasure both to worshippe god honorably, and to helpe my frendes, if they be in nede, and to se that the citie be not de pryued of the ornamentes of ryches, as moche as lyeth in me. Socra. By my fayth, that that ye say, good Ischomachus, is good, and also very honorable, and longynge to a man of great power and substance. Ischo. It muste nedes be thus. For there be somme men, the whiche can not liue, but they must be holpen of other men. And there be many agayne, that reken it sufficient, if they canne get that, that is necessary for them.

But those that wyll not onely order and gyde theyr houses, but also haue so greate aboundaunce, that they do both honour to the citie, and also helpe and ease their frendes: why shulde not they be called and taken for men of profound wisdom, of gret power, and of stout stomacke? Socrates. Surely there be many of vs, sayde I, that may well praise suche maner of men. But for goddis sake tell me euen fro the place, where ye beganne, howe ye go aboute to maintein your helth, and also the strength of your body, howe it may be lawful to retourne honourably home agayn safe from the warre. For as touchynge the encreasynge of goodes, we shall here of it afterwarde



warde sufficiently. But me thynketh, said Isc. that these things be linked together, and come one after an other. For whan a man hathe meate and drynke sufficiently, if he do labour well, he shall haue his helthe the better and the longer. And he that is well exercised in war, he shal returne home safe agayne, and with more honour. And he that is diligent, and doth not coker him selfe, nor gyue him selfe to slouth and idelnes, he is the more lykely to encrease his house. Socra. Forsoth, good Isch. I grant you all this euen hytherto, where ye saye, that he that laboureth, taketh payne, vseth diligence, and exerciseth him selfe, cometh the rather to goodes. But what labour ye vse to meinteine a good complection, and to get you strength, and howe also ye exercise your self for the war, and howe ye studye to get so moch substance and goodes, that ye may bothe helpe your frendes, and make the citie more honorable and stronger by it: that wold I very fayne here? Uerily, good Socrates, sayde Ischoma. I ryse in the mornynge out of my bed so yerely, that if I wold speke with any man, I shal be sure to fynde hym yet within. And if I haue any thyng ado in the citie, I go about it, and take it for a walke. And if I haue no matter of great importance to do within the citie, my page bryngeth my horse afore in to the fieldes, and so I take the way to my ground for a walke, better perauenture, than if I dyd walke in the galleries and walking places of the citie. And whan I come to my grounde, and if my tenantes be eyther settynge of trees, or tylling or renewyng the grounde, or sowyng, or caryenge of the fruite, I beholde howe euerye thyng is done, and caste in my mynd, how I might do it better. And afterwarde for the most parte, I gette me a horsebacke, and ride as nere as I can, as though I were in warre constrained to do the same,



wherefore I do not spare nother croked wayes, nor  
 neo shroude goinges vp, no ditches, waters,  
 hedges, nor trenches, takynge hede for al that,  
 as nere as can be possible, that in this doing, I  
 do not maim my horse. And whan I haue thus  
 doone, the page leadeth the horse trottyng home  
 agayne, and caryeth home with him into the cite,  
 out of the cuntrey, that that we haue nede of.  
 And so than I get me home againe, somtimes  
 walkyng, and sometyme runnyng. Than I  
 washe my handes, and so go to dyner, good Soc.  
 the which is ordeyned betwene bothe, soo that I  
 abyde al the daye nother voyde, nor yet to full.  
 Socrates. By my trouth, good Ischomachus, ye  
 do these thynges wonders pleasauntely. For in  
 dede to vse and occupye at ones all maner of  
 thynges, that be ordeined for helth, for strength,  
 for exercise of war, for study and conueiaunce,  
 howe to get goodes, and all in one time, me  
 thinketh a maruailous thyng. For ye do shewe  
 euident tokens, that ye applie your mynde well  
 and trewely to al this. For we se you commonly,  
 thanked be god, for the moste parte helthfull,  
 stronge and lustye. More ouer, we know that ye  
 be called one of the beste horse men, and one of  
 the rycheft men of the cite. Ischomachus. And  
 thoughe I thus do, as ye haue harde, yet can not  
 I eschewe detraction: ye thought paraduenture  
 that I wolde haue sayde, I am therefore called a  
 good honeste manne. Soc. And forsoth so I was  
 aboute to say, good Ischoma. But this I thought  
 fyrste to enquire of you, whether ye do studye  
 and set your mynde, howe to answer these detrac-  
 tours, and speake in a cause, whether it be your  
 owne or an other mans, or to iuge it, if nede be?  
 Isch. Thinke you that I do not sufficiently my part  
 in this matter, if I thynke by my good dedes to  
 defende my selfe, and do no wronge, and as moche  
 as



as I may helpe and do pleasure to many men? And moreouer, thinke ye that it is not wel done to accuse suche men, that do wronge bothe to priuate men, and also to the citie, and that wyll do no man good? Socrat. But yet if ye set your mynde to suche thynges, I praye you shewe it me? Ischomachus. Forsooth I neuer stint, but am alway exerceyng my selfe in retoricke and eloquence. For whan I here one of my seruantes complayne on an other, or answere in his owne cause, I seke to knowe the truthe. Again, I either blame some man to my frendes, or els prayse him, or els I go about to bringe at one some men of mine acquaintance, that be at variaunce, endeuorynge my selfe, to shewe them, howe it is more for theyr profytte to be fryendes, than yll wyllers and enmies. And before the hygh rulers I vse both to commend and defende hym, that is oppressed by wronge and iniury, and before the lordes of the counsaile I accuse hym, that I see promoted vnworthyly, and I preyse that that is done by counsaile and deliberation, and the contrarye I discommende. But I am now broughte to this point, that either it behoueth me to suffre, or to punishe. Socra. Of whome, I praye the, Ischo. For that do not I yet knowe? Ischoma. Mary of my wyfe. Soc. But in what maner do ye stryue in your quarel? Ischom. Whan she happeth to say trouth, it is very gentilly done. But whan she lyeth, and erreth in her wordes, forsooth So. I can not reforme her. Soc. May chance that that is false, ye can not make it trewe. But peraduenture ye wold begon, Ischo. and I do let you. Truely I wolde be lothe to tary you, if it please you to go hense.

Ischomachus. No in good faythe, good Socrates, I wil not go hence til the court breake vp. Socrates. By my faythe, ye be right circumspect, and take good hede, that ye lose not that honorable



name, to be called a good honest man. For where paraenture ye haue many great businesse and thynges to take hede to, that require gret dylygence: yet bycause ye promysed those strangers to tary for them here, ye wil not deceiue them. Ischo. As for those my businesse that ye speke of, Socrates, I haue prouided for them wel inough. For I haue in the fieldes my baillies of housbandry, and my deputies. Socr. But fins we be fall in this communication, I pray you Ischomachus tell me, whan ye haue nede of a good baylye, doo ye inquere, whether there be any that canne do it welle, and so fynde the meane to haue him: lyke wyse as whan ye haue nede of a carpenter, whan ye knowe where is one, that can good skylle therof, ye wil desire to haue him, or els do ye make your baylies and deputies your selfe, and teache them to do it? By my fayth, I indeuour me to teache and instruct them my selfe. For he that shulde be sufficient to do those thynges for me in myne absence that he is put to, what nedeth he to knowe any thyng, but that that I doo my selfe? For if I be sufficient to sette men a worke, and commaunde theym what they shall doo, I trow I am able to teach an other man that that I can do my selfe. Socrat. Than he that is a baily of housbandry must owe you good wyll and fauour, and also to al yours, if he, being present, shal be sufficient in your absence. For without loue and good wyl, what good can a baylye do, if he be neuer so experte and connyng? By my faythe, said Ischomachus, neuer a whit: but as for me, the fyrste thyng that euer I do, I go aboute to teache him to loue me and mine, and to loue my goodes. And I pray you, for goddis sake, tell me howe do ye teache him to loue you and yours, who so euer he be that ye do this benefitte vnto? By my fayth, sayd he, by gentil and liberal dealing, whan god sendeth



sendeth me plenty of any maner thinge. Socra. This ye meane I trowe, that they, the whiche be eased and holpe by your goodes or money, do loue you, and desyre that ye maye do well? Surely, good Socrates, sayd he, that is the beste instrument that can be, to allure and get a mans good wyll withal. Socrat. And whan he beareth you good wyll, good Ischomach. is he therfore sufficient to be a baylye? For we may see, that al men loue theym selves, and yet through slouggishenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the which for the moste parte they comeyt right moch to haue, as goodes. Ischo. Ye, but whan I wol make suche men as loue me, my bailies and ouer seers of my busynes, I instructe and monishe them before, howe they shuld ouer se euery thyng dyligently. Socrate. Can ye brynge that to passe? Forsothe me thinketh it is vnlykely, that any man coude be taught, to gide an other mans busines a ryght. Isch. In very dede it is impossible, good Socrates, to instruct and teach euery man diligently to do it. Socr. And who be they, that ye thinke mete to be taught and instructed? For that I desyre very greatly to knowe. Ischo. Fyrste of all, they that can not refrain them selves from dronkennes, are excluded from this care. For dronkennes bringeth in with it forgetfulnes of all maner of thynges that a man shulde do. Soc. Whether than is it impossyble, but onely in them, that can not refrayne them from dronkennes, to make them diligente, or be there any other besyde? Yes, mary, sayde Ischomachus, and they also that can not refraine them selfe from slepe. Socra. Be there any mo besyde those? Me thinketh, sayde Ischomachus, that they, the whiche do sette theyr myndes soore to the pleasure of the fleshe, that it is impossible to teache them to haue more mynde to any thyng than to that: for they can



find nother hope nor study more pleasant to them then of theyr louers. And whanne they haue any thyng to do, it is harde to imagyne a forer punisshemente, than that is to them to be kept from them they be in loue with. Therfore I let suche maner of men go, nor neuer go about to teache theym to be more diligent. Socr. Ye, but they that do set theyr mynd fore to lucre, be not they apte to be taught that diligence, the which shuld be vsed and occupied in your ground? Ischoma. Yes, mary they, there can none be soner brought to this diligence. For ye nede no more but only to shewe them, that dilygence is very profitable. Wherfore if I chaunce to haue suche one, I commende hym moch. Soc. And as for other men, the whiche do refrayne them frome suche thinges as ye do command, and haue a merely good mynde towarde lucre, howe do ye teche them to be as diligent as ye wold haue them? Ischoma. Mary very well, good Socr. For whan I se them diligent, I do bothe preyse and rewarde them. And agayne, whanne I see them neglygent and rechelesse, I both do and say al that euer I can to anger and vexe them with. Socrat. Ye, but Ischomachus, sauing your tale that is of them, that be all redy instructed to be diligent: tell me this, touching the instruction of them, whether it be possyble for a man, that is naturally negligente, to make other dylygent? Ischo. No, by my faith, no more than he that hath no skil in musike can make other men musicians. For it is harde for a scholar to lerne that thing wel, that his maister teacheth yl. And it is hard for a seruante to vse any diligence, whan his mayster gyueth hym example of negligence. And shortely to speake and in general, I do not remembre, that euer I hard, that any yll mayster had any good seruantes. Mary, this haue I sene, that a good diligente mayster,



ter, by his chaſtyſing of dull heded ſeruauntes, hath lyghtly inſtructed them. But he that wyll go aboute to make other dilygent in theyr worke, he moſt ſpecially oughte to be a prouident and a ware man, and ouer ſe and marke theyr workes. And whan there is any thyng wel and dilygently done, he muſte cunne hym greate thanke that dyd it, and he muſte not ſtycke to punyſhe hym ſharply, according as he deſerueth, that is negligent in his buſynes. And forſoth me thinketh to this purpoſe it is a ryght goodly aunſwere that the Perſian made. For whan the kynge of Perſe asked hym, rydyng vppon a ryghte fayre horſe, what thing did ſoneſt make an horſe fat, he ſaid his maiſters eies. Some thinke lyke wiſe, good Socrates, by al other thinges, that the maiſters eie mooſte ſpecially maketh them to be in farre better plite.

Socrat. But whan ye haue tolde and ſhewed him very wel, and with great inſtance, that he muſte take hede to ſuche thynges, as ye wyll haue hym, and that he is verye dilygent, is he than mete to be your bayly or ſtewarde, or els muſt he lerne ſomwhat beſyde to make hym fyt for that purpoſe? Iſchomachus. No, I wiſ man. For it behoueth hym yet to lerne, what he muſt do, and whan, and howe he ſhall order euery thyng. For elles, what auayleth a bailye or a ſtewarde more withoute this, than a phifycion, the whiche nyghte and daye, yerly and late, taketh hede to a fycke man, and yet he woteth not what is profytable for the ſame pacient. Socrat. And whan he knoweth what is to be doone, ſhall he nede any thyng elles, or ſhall he than be a perfecte bayly or ſtewarde? Iſcho. Me thynketh, that he ſhulde lerne alſo to rule the worke men. Socra. And do ye teache your bayly or ſtewarde to be able to rule? I go about it at leaſte, ſaid



Ischom. Soc. And I pray you, for goddis sake,  
 howe do ye teache men to haue the science to rule  
 and commande? Ischoma. Uery easly, good So-  
 cra. in so moch, that I thynke ye shall laugh at it,  
 whan ye here it. Soc. Forsoth, good Isch. sayd  
 I, it is no matter to laugh at, but he deserueth  
 and ought rather to be hyghly lauded, that hath  
 the wit to teache that. For he that can teache  
 men howe to rule, he can also make them maif-  
 ters; and he that can make them maifsters, can  
 make them princelyke, and able to be kinges.  
 Isch. Surely al maner of beastes, good Socrat. do  
 lerne to obey by the reason of these two thinges,  
 that is to say, whan they do striue, and will not  
 be obedyente, they be punysshed: and whan they  
 do quickly that that a man byddeth them, they  
 be cherished and well intreated. Coltes and yonge  
 horses lerne to obeye theyr brekers and tamers:  
 for whan they do obeye theym, they haue som-  
 what done to them for it, that is to their pleasure  
 and ease. But whan they wyl not obey, they  
 beate and handel them very sore and roughly for  
 it, vntyll the time they serue the breker at his wyll.  
 And yonge spaynels lyke wise, the whiche be worse  
 than men a greate deale, for lacke of reason, and  
 for lacke of speche, yet they lerne to ren about,  
 to fetch or cary, to go into the water after the  
 same maner. For whan they obey, they haue  
 somewhat giuen them, that they haue nede of, and  
 whan they wyl not, nor care not for it, they be  
 punished. But as for men, they maye be well  
 perswaded and brought to obedience, if a man  
 wyll shewe them, howe it shall be for theyr pro-  
 fyte, if they do obey. Neuertheles, vnto bond-  
 men and vile persons, that way that is vsed and  
 occupied towarde beastes, wyll very well induce  
 them for to lerne to obeye. For if ye do som-  
 what for theyr bealye, and make them fare well,  
 ye



ye shall gette very moche done of them. But ioly stomackes and noble natures be mooste moued and styrred with prayse. For there be some natures, that doo desyre as moche laude and prayse, as other do meate and drynke. And whan I haue taught him, that I wil make my baily or my stewarde, suche thinges, the whiche whan I do them my selfe, me thynketh I shall make men more obedient vnto me, I do ioyne this vnto it besyde. For as touchynge hosen and shoues, and other rayment, the whiche I muste gyue my labourers, I make them not alyke. For there be some better and some worse: to the entent that the best workmen may haue the pre-eminence to haue the better, and the worst may be giuen to the worst. For me thynketh, it greueth good seruauntes verrey soore, whan they se that the worke that they haue done, and how those haue euen as moch as they, that wyll not labour nor take payne, whan it behoueth to do it: wherfore nother I my selfe wyl not suffre, that they that be worst, and they that be beste, shulde be serued al a lyke. And whan I se that my baylies and deputies doth gyue the mooste and the best to them that do beste, I do preyse him for it. But and I se him prefer any man afore other, because of his flatteryng, or for some other puiushe cause, I do not suffre it soo to passe, but I blame and rebuke him greatly therfore, and I goo about to teache hym also, that that the whiche he doth, is not for his profite nother. Socrat. And whan he is sufficient thus to rule and guyde, good Ischomachus, so that he can make them to obey hym, do ye thynke that bayly perfecte on euery syde, or hathe he nede of any other thyng elles? Yes mary, sayde Ischomachus, for it behoueth hym to kepe his handes clene from his maisters goodes, and beware that he steale nothing therof. For if he, that hath  
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the fruites in his handes, wold be so bolde to conuey so moche out of the waye, that that whiche remayned were not suffycyente to maynteyne the worke and fynde the labourers, what profytte shulde we haue by his bayelyshyppe, and by his dilygence? Socrates. And do you in dede take vpon you to teach them that iustice and ryghtefulnes? Yes mary, sayd Ischomachus: but I fynd that euery manne dothe not obeye and folowe this teachynge and instruction of myne.

Neuerthelesse, I take here a pece of Dracons lawes, and here a piece of Solons, and so endeuour my selfe to brynge my seruantes to folowe iustyce. For me thynketh that these men haue made many lawes to teache men iustice. For they haue written, that he muste be punished that steleth, and he that robbeth must be put in prison, and put to death. Wherefore it may be clerely sene, that they haue written those thinges to the intente that they, the whiche do gette any goodes foule and shamefully, contrary to reason and equitie, shuld haue no vantage nor no profit by it. And whan I haue this do, I brynge in beside somme lawes of the kynge of Perse, to make my seruauntes to deale rightfully in that they be put to. For as touchinge Dracons and Solons lawes, they do no more but punyshe them that do amyffe, but the kynge of Perses lawes doo not onely punyshe them that do wronge and vniustly, but also thei do them good that be rightfull, and deale iustly. Whereby it appereth, that many, the whiche be very couetous, and care not what they do, soo that they may wyn, when they se that they, the whiche be ryghtefull and good, waxe rycher than they, the whiche doo other men wronge, they continue and prospere well in this that they do no man wronge. And whan I perceyue, that any of theym, vnto the which I haue benne good, and shewed



shewed pleasure vnto them, wyll not leaue, but go about styll to do wronge, and deale vniustely, than whan I perceyue that he is past al remedy, I put hym out of his rounge, and wyll not let hym occupye it no more. But whan I perceyue, that any of them setteth his mynde and courage to be good, a iuste and a true seruant, and doth it not so moch bycause they thynke to haue somme vauntage by it, but for the desyre that they haue to please me, and to be praised of me, though they be bounde men, I vse them as fre men; and for their ioly fre harte, I do not onely promote them in goodes and ryches, but also prayse and commende theym as good and honeste men. For me thynketh that an honest manne, that is desyrous of honour, doth differ in this poynte from a couetous man, that for prayse and honour wyll take payne, and put hym selfe in ieopardy, whan it is nedefull: and yet kepe him selfe cleane from foule lucre. And thus, whan ye haue ones ingendred and fastned this affection in a man, that he oweth you good wyl, and bereth you good loue and fauour, and that ye haue brought hym to this point, that he wyll applie his mynde and diligence to do euen as ye wold your selfe; and beside that, ye haue gotten him the science, howe euery worke that is done shal be most profitable, and made him also sufficient and able to rule, and that he will, beside this, bring and shewe you the frutes of the grounde, none other wise thanne ye wolde to your selfe: whether nedeth he any thyng els or not, I wyl speke no more, for me thynketh, that such a man shuld be a very good and a profitable stewarde and deputie. Socra. But I praye you, good Ischomachus, doo not leaue behynde that parte, whiche we haue so lyghtly runne ouer. And what is that, sayd Ischomachus? Socrates. Mary ye sayde, that the greatestt poynte of all was, to  
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lerne howe euery thyng shulde be done, to the ende that profyte therby shulde ryse vnto vs, for other wyse ye sayde, that dilygence coulde auayle nothyng, excepte a man knewe what and howe to do. Ischo. Do ye byd me to teache you the science of housbandry? Forsoth it is it, sayde I, that maketh them riche, that can wel occupy it: and they that can not, thoughe they take neuer so moch peine, they liue wretchedly. Ischo. Now than fyrst of all ye shall here howe gentil a science it is. For seynge it is mooste profitable and pleafante to occupie, most goodlyest, best beloued of god and of men, and besyde that, mooste easye to lerne, howe shulde it nat be a ientyll science? For we call al these beaustis gentyll, the whiche be goodly, great, and profitable, and be not fierse, but tame among men. Socra. But me thynketh, good Ischoma. that I haue very wel perceyued, that where ye sayde, howe a man muste teache a stewarde, and a deputy, and that ye taught him to owe you good loue and good wyll, and lyke wyse, that ye went about to make hym diligente, able to rule, and also ryghtfull: but where ye sayde, that he, whiche wil be diligent in dede in husbandry, must lerne what is to be done, howe, and in what season, me thynketh we haue ouer passed it some what to quickly and to negligently. Lyke wyse as if ye sayd, that he, the which wil write that that a man speaketh, and rede that that is written, muste knowe his letters. For he that did here this, hath harde nothing els, but that he must lerne to know his letters. But whan he perceyuet, that he is neuer the nerer to knowe what letters do meane. And nowe lyke wise I beleue verye well, that he, the which wil vse diligence in husbandry, must lerne to know wel husbandry; but though I beleue and knowe that well, yet am I neuer the wyser howe to occupy husbandry. And  
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if I were euen now determined to fal to housbandry, I wold thinke I were lyke a physicion, the whiche gothe about and loketh vpon sicke men, yet can he not tel what is good for them. And therefore, to thend I be not suche one, teche me the very point and cast of husbandry. Forsothe, good Socrates, sayde he, it is not by this as by other craftes and sciences, that he which lerneth them must be a long time about them, and bestowe moch payne and labour in them, er he can do any thyng to get his liuing by. Housebandry is nothing so harde to lerne: for ye shall lerne it euen anone loking vpon the labourers, and partly by heryng speke of it, so that if ye wyl, ye may teach it vnto other. And truely other artificers and craftes men do hide and kepe priuey to theym selfe the beste poyntes of theyr sciences, the good housebande men, he that setteth trees best, he wyll haue very great pleasure, if any man beholde hym, and he that soweth after the same maner.

And if ye aske him of any thing that is wel wroughte, I am sure he wyll neuer kepe from you, howe he dyd it. And soo, good Socrates, housebandry techeth them that be conuersant in it, to be of gentyll maners and disposition. Socrates. Forsothe, this is a good begynnynge; and nowe I haue harde you tell this moch, it is vnpossible to stoppe me from inqueringe of you further therof. And therefore feinge ye saye it is a thyng so easy to lerne, do the rather shewe it me. For it is noo shame to you to teache that that is easye: but it is rather a greate shame to me, if I can it not, specially whan it is so profytable.

And therefore I wyl shewe vnto you first of all, sayde Ischomachus, that that whyche is the diffusest point of al housbandry, as they say, whiche dispute of it mooste exactly in wordes, and in dede occupie



occupie it neuer a whit, is nothyng harde at all. For they say, that he that wyll be a good housebande man, muste fyrste knowe the nature of the grounde. Socrates. In dede they seme to say wel. For he that doth not know what the grounde wyll brynge forth, I trowe he can not knowe nother what sede he shuld sowe, nor what trees is best to set. Ischomachus. And therefore a man maye knowe by an other mannes grounde, what it wyll brynge forth, and what it will not, when he seeth both the frutes and also the trees. And whan he knoweth it ones, it is not for his profytte to stryue agaynste god and nature. For if a man doth either sow or sette that that he hath nede of, he is neuer the nerer to haue that that is necessary for him, except the grounde do in a maner delite and take pleasure both to bring it forth and to norishe it. But if he can not knowe the goodnes and fertilitie of the grounde, by reason of the idelnes and negligence of them that haue it in hande: he shal oftentymes better knowe it by some grounde that is not farre from it, than of the neyghbour that dwellethe by it. And althoughe the grounde be vntilled and vnlaboured, yet it sheweth his owne nature. For that ground, that bereth good wild fruites and wedes, wyl bring forth, if it be taken hede to, and well tyllled, other good fruites and herbes as wel as them. So that they that be not al of the beste seene in housebandry, can wel discerne the nature of the grounde. Socrates. Forsothe, good Ischomachus, I maye be bolde to byde by this, that a man nedeth not to absteyne from housebandry, for feare lest he knowe not the nature of the grounde. For I do remembre, that fishers, whiche be alwayes occupied in the see, the which comme not to beholde the grounde howe it is, nor walke not fayre and softly, but runne euen through it, whan they se the fruites  
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on the grounde, they wil not stycke to shewe their opinion of the ground, whiche is good, and whiche is badde, and preyse this, and dispreyse that. And I se they wyll be communynge often times with men, that can very good skyll in housebandry, and shewe them verye many thynges touchynge a good ground. Ischomachus. Where than will ye haue me to begyn, good Socrates, to declare housebandry vnto you, lest I reherse somwhat that ye know alredy; for I perceyue ye be right expert therin? Socrates. This me thynketh bothe profitable, and a very gret pleasure to lerne; and also it belongeth specially to a philosopher, to knowe howe I myght, if I wold, by tyllynge and labourynge the grounde, haue very moch plenti of barley, rie, whete, and other corne. Ischomachus. This I trowe ye knowe well inoughe, that falowynge and stirryng of the grounde, helpeth very moche to the sowynge. Socrates. Forsoth, so I do. Ischoma. And what if we shulde begynne to falowe and plowe the ground in winter? Soc. That were nought. For than the erthe shulde be all slimy. Isc. And what thynke ye in somer? Socrates. Than it wolde be to harde to plough it.

Ischomachus. Well, than we must nedes begin in the springe of the yere. Socr. Ye mary, for then it is mooste lykely, that the grounde openeth and spredeth his owne strength and vertue aboute, whan it is falowed and tilled in that tyme. Ischo. Yea, and beside that, good Socrates, the yonge wides turned vp so downe at that tyme, be as good to the ground as any doungeynge: and they be not yet come to that strength, that the fede of them caste adowne canne growe vp agayne. And I trowe ye knowe this wel inough, that if the falowinge, and the tyllinge of the grounde shuld be good, the grounde must be cleane kepte and deliuered from wides, and wel fauourdly heated  
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and warmed of the son. So. Me thinketh in very dede it shulde be so. Isch. And do ye thinke, that that can be better brought to passe by any other meane, thanne if the grounde be often times stirred in the sommer? Socrates. I knowe very well, that the wides can neuer better wyther awaye and drye vp, nor the ground be better heated throughe the heate of the sonne, than if the grounde be ploughed and stirred in the middes of sommer, and in the myddes of the daye. And if any man doo falowe, or digge the grounde with his owne handes, is it not clere inough, that he also muste seperate asonder the wides fro the ground, and caste the wides abrode, that they may dry vp, and turne vp so downe, and styr the grounde, that the soorenes and the rawe watrisshenes of it may be warmed and wel dried vp. Ischom. Than ye se well, good Socra. howe we be bothe in one opinion, touchynge falowinge and styrring of the grounde. Socrates. So me thynketh. And touchyng sowing, haue ye any other knowlege or opinion, but that is the season to sowe, the whiche bothe men of olde antyquitie, approuinge it by experience, and al they, that be nowe, takynge it of them, do iudge it beste of all? For whan the sommer is ones past, and Septembre cometh in, all men that be in the worlde do loke vpon almyghty god, that whan it shal be his pleasure to sende somme rayne, and make the grounde wete and moystie, that they maye fall to sowyng euen as he commandeth it. Socrates. And forsooth, good Ischoma. all the men in the worlde haue determined by one assente, that they wyl not sowe, whan the ground is drye. And it is clere to euery man, that they take great losses and damages, that wyl goo aboute to sowe afore god byddeth them. Ischomachus. Than in these thinges all we men do agre. Socr. For in that that god teacheth, it foloweth, that



that euery man agreeth in it. As for a similitude, Euery man thynketh best to weare good furred and well lyned gowes in winter, if he be able, and also to make good fire, if he haue wodde. Ischomachus. Yea, but there be many, the whiche do vary in this, touchinge sowinge, whether it be beste to sowe in the beginninge, in the myddes, or at the latter ende. Socra. And god dothe not sende euery yere of one like temperatnes of weather. For some tymes it is beste to sowe in the begynnyng, some tymes in the myddes, some tymes at the latter end. Ischomachus. But what thynke ye beste, gentyll Socrates, whanne so euer a manne hathe chosen his sowyng tyme, or euer more in this tyme, or nowe in this, and now in that, whether is it beste to sowe moche feede or lyttel? Socrates. Me thinkethe best of al, good Ischomachus, to distribute the feede well, full, and trewelye. For I suppose it is a greatte deale better, to take corne inough euer more, than some tymes to moche, and some tymes to lyttell. And in this poynt also, good Socrates, sayd he, you beinge the lerner, do agre with me the teacher, and you haue shewed your opinion afore me. Socrates. But what of that, said I, for in the castynge of the feede, there is moche counnyng. Ischomachus. In any case, good Socrates, lette vs loke vppon that. For ye knowe well, that it muste be caste with a mannes hande. Socrat. Forsoth I haue sene it done so. Ischomachus. But some can cast it euen, and some can not. Socrates. Wel than, it lackethe nothyng els but to exercyse the hande, as harpers and luters do, that it may folowe the mind. Ischomachus. It is very well sayde. But what if the grounde be thinner or grosser? Socrates. What meane you by that? Do ye not take the thynner for the weaker, and the grosser for the stronger? Ischomachus. That same



meane I. Socrates. And this wolde I fayne knowe of you, whether ye wyl gyue as moche feede to the tone as to the tother, or elles whiche of them wil ye gyue more vnto? Ischo. In the wyne that is stronge, me thinketh it behoueth to put the more water, and the man that is stronger must beare the gretter burthen, if ther be any thyng to be caried, and some men are fed and nourished with sklender fare, and the same herin muste be obserued. Socrates. Thynke you not that the grounde waxeth stronger, if a man do put more fruit in it: likewise, as moiles and horses do waxe stronger with cariage, that wolde I desire you to teache me. Whan Ischomachus hard that, he sayd, What, Socrates, ye iest with me. But yet, sayde he, take this for a very suretye, that whan a manne hathe sownen any feede in the grounde, loke whanne the grounde hath mooste comforte of the ayre with wete and moystenes, if the corne bee grene newly ryfen out of the erthe, if he styre and turne it in ageyne, it is as if it were a sustinauce to the ground, and getteth as moche strength by it, as if it hadde ben donged. But if ye suffre the grounde continually to bring forth fruite of the fede, it is harde for a weake grounde to brynge forthe moche fruite styll: lyke wyse, as it is harde for a weake sowe to gyue sucke and sustinance to many pigges, and kepe them fat and in good plite whan they waxe gret. Socrates. Ye say, good Ischomac. that ye must sowe lesse fede on a weaker grounde. Ischo. So I do indede, good Socra. and ye also did graunt it vnto me a lyttel afore, whan ye said, that ye thought that the weakest shuld be least charged. Socr. But for what reason, good Ischomac. do ye make diches in the corne fieldes? Ischoma. Ye wotte well, that in wynter are many showers. Socra. What therof? Ischomachus. Mary therof chaunce many hurtes:



hurtes: for a gret part of the felde is furrounded with water, and the corne couered in mud, and the rootes of moche of the corne ar worne and washed away with the water; and further, often times by reason of the great abundaunce of water, there cometh moche wides, and other harlotry, that suppreffeth and distroyeth the corne. Socrates. It is lyke inough, that all this shuld be. Ischo. And thynke ye than, that the corne beinge in that takynge, hath not nede to be holpe? Socrates. Yes, mary. Ischomachus. Than if the corne be couered with mud, what shal we do to helpe it? Socrates. Mary ease the ground, and make it lyghter. Ischo. But what if the rootes be waxed thyn, and almoste worne away? Socrates. Than ye muste cast to more erthe, that it maye take roote, and growe agayne. Ischoma. But what if the wides, and other harlotry, suck vppe the moyfure from the corne, lyke as the drone bees, the whiche beinge theym selves vnprofitable, do robbe away and eate vp the bees vitayles, that they had set vp for to worke with? Socrates. Mary the wides and harlotrye muste be pluckte and cut away, lyke wyse as the drone bees are voided out of the hiues. Ischoma. Thinke you than that we do not make the dyches and sloughes in the feldes for a good cause? Socrates. Forsothe so it is; but I thynke nowe in my mynde, good Ischoma. what a thyng it is to brynge in similitudes and likenesses. For ye haue moued me more a gret deale, and made me more displefed ageinst these wides, whan ye spake of the droone bees, than whan ye spake of the wides them selves. But nowe after this, sayde I, haruest season wyl come, wherfore I pray you tell me, if ye haue any thyng to teache me in this matter. Ischoma. So I wyll, if ye do not shewe your selfe, that ye know it as well as I. This ones ye know, that the corne must



alway be reaped. Socr. What els? Ischom.  
 Whether than must ye stand to reape it with the  
 wynde, or agaynste the wynde? Socrates. Not  
 agaynst the wind, for it wolde be a great peyne, as  
 I thinke, both for the eies, and also for the handes,  
 to reape agaynste the eares blowen downe with the  
 wynde. Ischoma. And howe wyl ye cutte it, at  
 the very toppes, or euen by the grounde? So-  
 crates. If the stalke be short, I wyll cut it alowe,  
 that there maye be strawe inough. But if it be  
 very hye, I thynke better to cutte it in the myd-  
 dell, to thentent that nother the threshers nor the  
 fanners shal take more peyne in vayne than nedeth,  
 and that that remayneth, I thynke if it be burned,  
 it wyl do the grounde very moch good; and if it  
 be laid with the donge, it wyl fyl and encrese it.  
 Ischomachus. Do ye see nowe, frende Socrates,  
 how ye be taken in the very deede doynge, that  
 ye knowe as well as I, what longeth to reapyng?  
 Socrates. In faythe I am aferde, leste it be soo in  
 dede. And nowe wyl I se lyke wyse, whether I  
 can thresh or not. Ischomachus. This ye knowe  
 well, that horses do thresh corne. Socr. Why  
 shuld I not, and not onely horses, but also moyles,  
 and oxen lykwyse. Ischomachus. But howe canne  
 these beastes stampe well, and thresh the corne  
 euen as they shuld, good Socrates? Socrates. It  
 is clere, that it is by the reason of theym, whiche  
 haue the charge of the threshynge. For they  
 do euermore turne and stir, and put vnder their  
 fete that that is vnthreshed; and soo they must  
 nedes make it euen, and make an ende of it as  
 quykely as may be. Ischomachus. Than as for  
 thys busynes, ye knowe it as wel as I. Socrates.  
 Now after this, good Ischomachus, let vs clense  
 the corne, and wynnowe it. Ischomachus. Tell  
 me than, good Socrates, do ye knowe this, that  
 if ye beginne to wynnowe it in that part of the  
 wynnow-



wynowyng place, where the wynde is agaynst you, that the chaffe wyl be scatered abroad throughe al the winowinge place? Soc. It muste nedes. Isch. Than it muste nedes as wel fal vpon the corne. So. Ueryly it is no small poynt to make the chaffe to go beyonde the corne in a voyde roume of the winowyng place. But if a man begyn to winowe vnder the wind, or a fyde halfe of it, than it is clere, that all the chaffe will voyde to the place that is ordeyned for it. Ischomachus. But whan ye haue clenfed the corne euen to the myddell of the wynowyng place, whether than, the corne being thus scatered abroad, wyll ye wynowe the remanant, or wyll ye put fyrst to gether on a heape, as narrowly as can be, al that euer is cleane? Socrates. Forsothe I wyll fyrste put to gether on a heape al that is cleane, lest parauenture the chaffe be caried about the wynowyng place, wherby I shoulde be fayne to wynowe twyse one thyng. Ischomachus. Nowe than, gentyl Socrates, ye may teache an other man, if ye wyll, howe he shall sonest get his corne clenfed. Socrates. In good faythe I had almost forgot, that I coude all this a gret whyle ago. And nowe I cast in my minde, whether I haue forgotten my selfe, that I can play on the harpe, playe vppon recorders, peynte and carue, and other sciences. For there was neuer man, that taught me these no more than to be a housebande man. And I see as well other men work in theyr sciences as housebande men laboure the grounde. Ischomachus. And dyd not I tel you but a litel afore, that this science of housebandry is wonders pleasure and very easy to lerne. Socrates. I knowe very well, good Ischomachus, that I vnderstode and coude all maner of thynges, that do longe to sowyng; but I haue forgotten my selfe, that I coude theym. But the settinge of trees, sayde I,



is that any point of housebandry? Ischomachus. Yes, mary.

Socrates. Howe happeneth than, that I knewe well all suche thynges as longe to earynge and sowyng, and am ignoraunte in that that longeth to plantinge of trees? Ischomachus. Be ye ignoraunte in dede? Socrates. I must nedes be, seing I know not in what grounde a man shulde set a tre, nor howe depe, nor of what lengthe, nor what breade it be sette in, nor whan it is in the grounde, howe it shal beste growe and come vppe. Ischoma. Wel than, lerne that that ye knowe not. I am sure ye haue sene, what pittes they make for trees that do set them? Socrates. That I haue very many tymes. Ischoma. And dyd ye neuer se any of them deper than thre fote? Socrates. No, mary I; nor yet deper than two fote and a halfe. Ischoma. And as for the brede, did you euer se any broder than thre fote? Socrates. Forsoth and god, I neuer sawe none past two fote and a halfe brode. Isch. Now aunswere me this agayn, Dyd ye euer se any of lesse altitude than two fote? Soc. In very dede, I neuer sawe none of lesse altytude than two foote and a halfe. For if the plantes were but shalowe sette, they wold sone be wrythed vp. Ischomac. Than it is apparant inoughe to you, good Socrates, that they dygge the pyttes to set in trees, no dyper than two fote and a halfe, nor no broder than two fote and a halfe. Socr. It muste nedes be so, seinge it is so clere. Isc. But touchynge the grounde, do ye knowe whiche is dry, and which is wete, if ye se it? Socrates. Me thinketh the ground that lyeth about Licabectus, or any other that is lyke vnto it, is drye grounde. And that is called a wete grounde, the whiche lyeth about Phalericus, full of maris all about, and any other lyke vnto it. Isch. Whether than wyll ye dygge vp a depe pitte



pitte to set in trees in the drye grounde or in the wete?

Socra. In the dry ground verily. For if ye shuld make a dype pyt in the wete ground, ye shulde fynde water: and than ye coulde not set it in the water. Ischoma. Me thynketh ye say very well. And whan the pittes be dygged vp, ye know what trees be mete for bothe groundes? Socrates. Uery wel. Ischo. And if ye wolde that the tree, whiche ye do sette, shulde growe and come vp well fauourdly, whether thynke ye it wyll better springe and wax mighty and strong, if ye sette vnderne the erthe that hathe ben labored and occupied afore, or els suche as hath ben alway vnoccupied? Socrates. It is clere inoughe, sayd I, that it wyll growe and come vppe better by the reason of the erthe occupied, than of the grounde vnoccupied. Ischoma. Than there muste some erthe be put vnderne. Soc. Why shuld it not? Isch. But whether thynke ye, that the vyne braunche, the whiche ye sette, wil gether rotes better, if ye sette it streyghte vpryght, or if ye sette it croked vnder the ground, so that it be lyke this greke letter,  $\chi$ , turned vp set downe? Socr. Mary euen so. For than there shall be the more rootes in the erthe, wherby the plant shall stande the faster, and soo many the mo braunches shal sprynge vp. Ischoma. Wel than, in this matter wee haue bothe one opinion. But whether wyl ye no more but cast the erthe to the plant that ye set, or els wil ye treade and ramme it harde downe? So. Forsoth I wil treade and stampe it harde to; for els it were ieoperdy, lest the raine wold lightly perce in, and so rotte and marre the rotes, or els the sonne dryinge the erthe away from the rootes of the plante, shulde lewse and vnfasten it, and so kyl it. Isch. Wel than, good Socrates, we be bothe of one opinion touchynge settinge



tynge of vines. Socrates. And shal I sette a fygge tree after the same maner? Ischoma. Yes, I trowe, and all other trees lyke wyse. For if ye can sette vynes well, what other setting is there but that ye may take it vpon you lyke wise? Socrates. But howe shulde we set olyue trees, good Ischomachus. I pray you proue afore any thyng, whether I can any skille therin? Ischo. Ye se how there is a good depe pytte digged for an olyue tree; I wote wel ye coude not chose but se it, seinge they be digged euen by the highe waies syde. Also ye se howe the very stockes of the olyues be sette in the setting place. And farther, ye se how there is clay laide vpon the toppes of them. And how of all trees that be planted, there are none couered aboue, but onely the same. Socrates. All this I se well, Ischomach. And whan ye se it, what shulde be the let, that ye shulde not knowe it: excepte parauenture ye canne not tell howe to clappe a shell fast to the clay, that is set on the toppe therof? Socrates. By my faythe, of all this that ye haue spoken, there is nothyng but I knowe it. And nowe I caste in my mynde agayne, what is the cause, that whan ye asked me but a lyttell afore in generall, whether I coude set trees, I sayd no. For me thought I coude not tell, howe a man shuld sette trees. But after ye beganne to enquire of me euerye thyng by it selfe, I aunswered you accordyng to your mynde, and to your own opinion, the whiche is called the moste perfecte houseband man, that is nowe at this day aliue. Is not my chaunce, good Isch. sayde I, askinge a maner of teching? For I haue lerned, and canne well nowe euerye thyng by it selfe, what so euer ye haue demaunded of me. For ye leade me by suche thynges, as I am skilled in and vnderstand, vnto suche thynges as I perceyued not: and soo ye per-



perswade and make me beleue, that I knowe them as well as the tother. Ischomachus. Well, thynke ye, that if I asked you after the same maner, touchinge syluer or golde, whiche is good, and whiche is badde, that I coude perswade you, that ye be a good finer of golde and siluer? And agayne, I coude not perswade you, if I asked you neuer so moch, that ye canne playe vpon recorders, or that ye can peint, or do any suche thynges. Socra. Paraduenture yes. For ye haue perswaded me, that I haue well the science of housebandry: and yet I knowe well, that there was neuer any body, that taught me that science. Ischomachus. It is not so, good Socrates. For I haue tolde you a prety whyle agoo, that housebandry is so pleasante and soo famyliar a science, that they, the whiche doo eyther se it, or here tel of it, be euen by and by wel lerned in it. And also it sheweth many thynges it selfe for a man to lerne, howe to order it beste. For euen at the fyrste the vine, the which crepeth vpon the trees, if there be any neere hande, sheweth, that it woulde be holpen vppe and susteined. And whanne it spredeth abrode, his leaues and braunches, the grapes beinge yet but very tender, it shewethe, that in that season, it woulde haue shadowe made there vnto it, where as the heate of the sonne lyeth fore vp on it. And whan it is tyme for the grapes to wax ripe and swete, the whiche is caused onely by heate of the sonne, it letteth the leaues falle, to teache the houseband men, that it woulde be lyghtned and eased, that the fruite maie the better waxe ripe. And whan that by the reason it hath brought forth moch fruite, and some ar ripe, and some not, it sheweth, that those clousters that be ripe, must be gathered, like as on fygge trees they must be taken downe, that be ripe and redy to be gathered. Socrates. Howe can this be, good Ischomachus, if  
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housebandry be so easy to lerne, and euery man knoweth what is to be done, as well one as another, that they haue not a lyuing by it all a lyke? For some haue gret plenty, and lyue welthylye; and other some haue scantly so moche as they nede, and be in dette to other men. Ischomachus. Mary I wyll tell you, good Socrates, it is nother the knowlege, nor lacke of knowlege of housebande menne, that makethe some of them ryche, and some poore. For ye shal not lyghtly here suche a tale go about, that suche a mannes house is vndoone, bycause he hath not sowed euen: or bycause that he hath not well sette or planted his trees: or bycause he knewe not what grounde was good for vines, he hath set his in a naughty grounde: or bycause he knewe not, that it was good to falowe the grounde before he dydde sowe it: or bycause he knewe not, that it was good to dounge it: But this ye may here often tymes very wel. This man getteth no crop on his grounde this yere. For he hath made no prouisyon to gette it sowed, or to get it doused. And agayne. This man getteth no wyne. For he nother careth to plante any vines in his grounde, nor seeth nothyng to those that be alredy planted, to make them brynge forthe some fruite. This man hath no oyle. This man hath no fygges. For he wyll take no peyn, nor apply his minde to haue any. These be the causes, good Socrates, that make one housebande man to differ from another, and to be also vnlyke in substance and in riches, a great deale more, than yf any of theym seemed to be experter in his workes and busineses. And of the capytaynes of war lyke wyse, there be many, the which haue egally good wytte, and very good fyghte in suche thynges as do longe to warre; and yet there be some of theym better, and somme worse: and that is through the diuersity of takynge  
hede



hede and of dilygence. For suche thynges as all capytaynes do knowe, and also the mooste parte of theym, that were neuer in that dignitie, some capytaynes do them, and some not. As thus. Al they know, that it is better for them, that shall leade an armye throughe theyr ennemyes lande, to marche forward in good order and array: that they may be alway redy to fyghte, yf nede be. And yet some of them that knowe this very wel, do it, and some do not. Also, all they knowe, that it is best to kepe watches and scoutwatches both by nyght and by daye. And yet some of them se well to, that it be surely kepte, and some do not. Agayne, whanne they leade theyr armye throughe narrowe places, ye shal al mooste fynde none, but that he knoweth, it is better to preuente theyr ennemyes be tymes, than to late. And yet some of them do their dilygence, that they maye so do, and some do not. And lyke wyse of doungyng. Euery man saieth, it is very good and necessary for the grounde to dunge it. And they se, howe men maye haue it bothe of beastes in his owne kynde, and also finde other meanes to haue it, and make easily a very gret deale therof. And yet some take hede that it be gethered, and some lette it passe, and care not for it. Yet god sendeth rayne from aboue, and all maner of holowe grounde receyueth it, and kepeth it, and waxeth a pouddell with it. The grounde bryngeth forth all maner of wydes and naughty harlotry. And he that wyll sowe, muste fyrste rydde and purge the grounde, and suche wydes and thinges as he gethereth out of the lande, if he caste them into the water, in proces of tyme, it woll be as good, and as holsome to the grounde, as any doungyng. For what wydes be there, or what grounde is it, that wyll not become donge in very dede, if it be caste in to standyng water?

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More ouer, what remedy is there, if the ground be to weete to sowe in it, or to sowe to set trees in it? Euery man knoweth, that the water muste be voyded out by making of dytches and sloughes pourposely therfore: and howe the sourenes is minished and mitigated, if al maner of thinges, the whych be not sowe, whether they be drye or wete, be myngled there with.

And some housebandes take good hede to this, and some regarde it not. But if a man knowe neuer a whit, what the ground wyll bryng forth, nor can se nother fruit nor tre in it, nor speke with no man, that shall tell hym the trouth of it: is it not farre a great deale easyer to haue a proffe of it, than eyther of a hors or a man? For that that it sheweth, it is not shewed falsely and colorably but tilled, it sheweth the very trouth, without any fayninge, what it can brynge forth, and what not. And forsothe me thynketh, that the ground doth best examine, which be good, and which be vnthryfty housebandes, in that that it setteth forth al maner of thyng so easy to be lerned, and so soone to be knowen. For it is not in housbandry as it is in other craftes, that they, the whiche do not worke, may excuse them selves, and say, that they can not skyl to do it: but euery man knoweth, that if the ground be wel tyllled and housebandly handled, it sheweth vs pleasure agayn for it. And surely housbandry is it, that beste moueth a mans vnlusty corage and sluggishe disposition. For there is no man can perswade hym selfe, that a man can lyue without suche thynges as be necessary. But he that hath no science, wherby he maye gette his lyuyng, nor wyl not fal to housebandry: it is clere, he is eyther a starte foole, or els he purposeth to gette his lyuyng by robbyng and stelyng, or els by beggyng. More ouer, sayde he, it made gretly to the matter, concerning the  
get-



gettynge or losynge by housebandry, that whan they haue many laborers and seruantes, that the tone taketh good hede, that his worke men be set to their worke in due season and tyme, and the tother dothe not. For that man is better than ten other, that falleth to his worke in season. And that man is farre worse than an other, the which suffreth his workemen to leaue their worke, and go theyr way ouer tymely. And as for betwene hym, that suffreth his worke men and labourers to tryfyll awaye the daye, and hym that wyll not, there is as greatte difference, as betwene the holle worke finished, and the haffe of it. Lykewyse, as in iourneying by the way in fyfty myle space, two men, whiche go bothe one waye, and thoughe they be bothe as swyfte, as hole, as yonge, and as lusty, the tone as the tother: yet the tone shall ouer go the tother xxv myle in a day, if the tone goth on his iourney lustyly, and the tother for slouth and cherisshynge of hym selfe, resteth by the way, besydes springes and fountaines, and seketh for shadowes and softe windes to refreshe hym with. Lyke wyse, in workynge there is greate oddes, whan a man dothe applye lustyly his worke, and whan he dothe not, and rather fyndeth excuses, why he shulde not worke, and suffereth his folke euery daye to trifle forth the tyme.

And as for to worke well and diligently, or to worke naught and negligently, there is as greate dyfference betwene these two thynges, as is betwene hym that worketh, and hym that worketh neuer a whytte. For whan they go about to clense the vines from wydes and harlotry, if they digge in suche wyse, that therby growe vp mo and greater wides than didde before, why maye it not be said, that they were idle, and wrought neuer a whytte. And therefore these be the thynges, by the whiche many mens householdes be a great deale rather vndone,



done, than for lacke of science, or of great knowledge. For a man that is at great costes and charges in his house, and can not gette as moche, nother by his rentes, nor by his housbandry, as wyll fynde hym and his meyny, it is no maruayle, if in the stede of greatte plenty and riches, he fall into extreme pouertie. But vnto suche men as wyll dylygentlye apply them selfe to housebandry, and increase theyr substaunce, and shortely waxe riche therby, my father shewed some tyme a good precepte, the whiche also he taught vnto me. He counsayled me, that I shulde neuer bye that ground, the whyche hath benne well laboured and tyllled, but suche a grounde, as remayned vnlaboured and vntilled, either throughe theyr negligence that owed it, or elles bycause they were not able to do it. For the ground that is well tyllled and dyght, wyll coste moche more money, and yet it is than euen at the beste. And the grounde, that can waxe no better, can not make a man to haue so moche pleasure, and to reioyce soo moche, as the tother doth, whiche waxeth better and better. For he thought, that all maner of goodes, whether it be lande or cattell, the whyche do encrease and waxe better, causeth a man to haue more pleasure and ioye in it. And there is nothyng, that increaseth more than doth that grounde, the whiche laye before vntyllled and vndyght, and now is waxed good and frutefull. And be ye sure of this, good Socra. that we haue often tymes made moche lande, that we haue boughte, a greatte deale more worth than the price that it was bought for at the fyrste. And this caste, that is not so notable, and so profitable, is so easy to lerne, that now ye haue ones harde it: ye canne it as well as I, and maye teache it vnto other, if ye lyst. But as for my father, he neuer lerned it of none other man, nor neuer spent great study to fynde it oute.

But



But bycause his mynd was greatly fet vpon housebandry, and also he had a pleasure to laboure, he sayd, he desyred to haue suche a ground, that both he myght haue somewhat to do, and also that the profytte commynge of it, might reioyce him. For me thinketh, good Socrates, that of al the Atheniens, my fathers minde was moſte ſet vpon houſbandry, euen of his owne nature. Socrates. And whan I hard that, I asked him, whether dyd your father kepe ſtyll to hym ſelf any of it, if he coulde get moche money for it? Iſchomachus. Yes, mary, he did ſel ſom of it nowe and than: and immediately after he wolde bye an other piece, that lay vntilled and vndyghte, bycause his mynde was ſo moche ſet to laboure and to houſebandrye. Socrates. Forſothe, good Iſchomachus, ye ſhewe me here a maruaylous deſire and affection, that your father hadde to houſebandry, none otherwiſe as me thynkethe, than ſome marchauntes myndes be ſet vpon wheate. For marchaunte men, by the reaſon that theyr hartes is fore fixed vpon wheate, where ſo euer they here that ther is moſte wheate, thither wyll they in anye wyſe reſorte, and wyll not ſtycke for daunger to paſſe any ſce what ſo euer it be. And whan they haue bought vp as moche ther of as they can get, they ſhype it in the ſelfe ſame ſhyppes, that they ſayle in them ſelfe, and ſo bryng it home. And whan they haue nede of money, I trowe they do not ſel it a way raſhly, not caryng in what place, as though they deſyred to be lightly diſpatched therof: but they brynge it thither to ſell, where they here, that wheate is at a great price, and where as men wolde very fayne haue it. Iſcho. Wel, Socrat. ye ieſte with me: but yet me thinketh he loueth the maſons craſte neuer the worſe, that buyldeth houſes and ſelleth them, and maketh newe agayne afterwarde. Socrates. By my faythe I ſwere to you, good Iſcho-

ma.



## XENOPHON'S TREATISE

ma. I beleue you very well, in that ye thynke, that euery manne loueth beste, and setteth his mynde moste vpon that thyng, wherby he thynkethe to gette any great profyt. But nowe I consider in my mynde, howe well al your communication hath serued to the purpose and grounde of this matter.

For youre grounde and begynnynge was, that the science of housebandry is sooneste and best lerned of all other sciences. And now by the reason of that that ye haue said, I am vtterly perswaded that it is so. Forsothe, sayde Ischomachus, it is so in verye dede. But as for that thyng that is egally common to all mens dedes, whether it be in the exercyse of housebandrye, or in the orderynge of an house, or in the gouerning of a citie, or in the knowledge and science of feates of warre, I graunt you very wel, that there be somme men, that haue a farre better wytte, a farre better caste and policy, and knowe better howe to rule and comaunde, than somme other doo. Lyke as in a galey, whan they be on the se, and must dryue as farre with oores in a daye as they shoulde sayle, there be some that be sette to comforte and courage them, the whiche haue so good grace bothe in their wordes and in theyr dedes, that they so quicken and encourage men, that they laboure with all theyr verye hartes. And there be other some so grosse and so rude, that they wyll be twyse as longe in makynge of theyr viage, as the tother were. And as for the tother, they come downe russhynge meryly, sweatynge and preysynge one an other.

And as for these felowes, they come downe layserly, and they neuer sweate for the matter, they hate the mayster of the galey, and he agayn hateth them. And after the same maner there be some Capytaynes, that do differ one from an other. For  
there



there be some that can not bryng it to passe, to make their souldiours gladde to take peine, nor to put them selfe in ieopardy, but euen very than whan they can not chuse, but they wil rather boist them selfe, and take it for a gret preise, that they maye contrarye the Capytaynes mynde, nor the capitaynes can not instruct them to be asshamed, if any thyng misfortune, that is worthy of rebuke. But there be other, whyche be goode, wyse, and polytyke capytaynes, the which if they take in hande the selfe same men, or paraduenture other, as they do often tymes, they wyll make them to be asshamed to do any thyng, that shoulde turne to theyr rebuke, and to thynke that it is beste for theym, bothe to be obediente euery one of them by him selfe, and whanne nede requireth to take peyne, gladdely to do it all to gether with a verye good wyl. And lykewyse, as there be some pryuate men, the whyche of theyr own nature, be gladde to take laboure and peyne, so a good capytayne engendreth this affection in all his hostis mynde, that they be gladde to be put to peyne, and they coueyt nothyng els so moche, as to be preised for some greatte and notable acte, done in the syght of theyr capitaine. And what so euer capytaynes they be, that haue such men of warre vnder theym, beryng to them ward so good mynde and fauour; I saye they in very dede be myghty and stronge: and not they, the whyche haue a great mighty body, and can throwe a darte, and shote very well. Nor they that haue good horses, and can runne with a speare, and iuste afore any man: but they that can brynge theyr souldiours in to suche affection and beleue, that they wolde gladly folowe theym through fyre and water, and throughe all maner of daunger. Suche men maye well be called hardy and valyaunte, that haue soo manye bolde men redy and preste to do what soo euer they commaunde. And it may well be sayde, that he goth forward with a myghty stronge hande,

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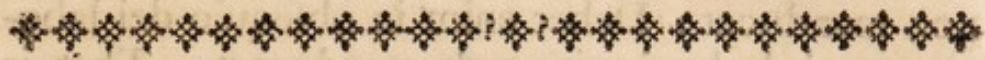
that



that hath soo many handes folowyng hym ready at his pleasure. And he maye be called a very greatte man in dede, the whiche doth very great actes, more by prudence and wysedome, thanne throughe the strength of his body. More ouer, whether he be a debytie or a ruler, that can make men redy and gladde to applye theyr worke, and bryng them to contynue well in it, they be those, that shal soneste gette goodes, and growe to greatte substaunce. And as for the mayster, if he be suche a man, that can well punyshe the labourers, that do nought, and reward them that do very well, yet whan he cometh to the workes, if the labourers do make noo shewe of it, I wyll not set greatly by him: but he, the whiche whan they do se hym, they be all moued and stirred vp, and haue a gret courage and desire one to do better than an other, and a feruente mynde to be preysed aboue al; I say that that man hath somme thyng of the disposition longynge to a kynge. And me thynkethe it is a very great poynt in al maner of thinges, that be done by the helpe of men, as well as it is in housebandry. And to obteyne it, verily I wyll not saye, as I haue dooen in housebandry, that a man shall lerne it, if he ones seeth it, or hereth it tolde. But I saye, he that wyll be able to do it, hadde nede to be very well instructe, and eke to be of a good gentyll nature, and that is mooste of al, to haue a very great grace and gyfte of God. For me thynketh, this grace cometh not all of man, to rule and gouerne so, that men very gladly wyl be obedient; but it is rather a speciall gyfte of almyghty God: and graunteth it vnto them that be indowed with vertue and temperaunce. But to rule men tyrannously agaynst their wylls, he putteth them vnto it (as me semeth) that he jugeth worthy, as they say, that Tantalus dryveth forthe the tyme in helle, beinge alwaye aferd to dye twise.



2 I T is the duty of a husband to provide for his family, and to be industrious and laborious in his own calling. That is to say, a man is obliged to be so, as a bird is obliged to fly. And the apostle saith, Qui non laborat, non comest.



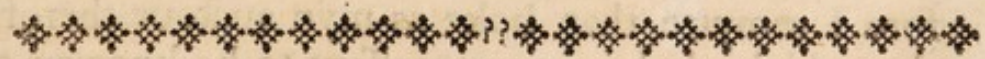
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T H E

# B O O K

O F

# HUSBANDRY.



It is the duty of a husband to be industrious and laborious in his own calling, and to provide for his family. That is to say, a man is obliged to be so, as a bird is obliged to fly. And the apostle saith, Qui non laborat, non comest.



## THE AUCTHOR'S PROLOGUE.

**S**IT ista questio. This is the questyon, wher-  
vnto is euerye manne ordeyned. And as Iob  
saythe, Homo nascitur ad laborem, sicut auis ad  
volandum. That is to saye, a man is ordeyned  
and borne to do labour, as a bird is ordeyned to  
flye. And the apostle saythe, Qui non laborat,  
non manducet: Debet enim in obsequio dei labo-  
rare, qui de bonis eius vult manducare. That is  
to saye, he that laboureth not, shulde not eate,  
and he ought to labour and doo goddes warke,  
that wyll eate of his goodes or gyftes. The whiche  
is an harde texte after the lyterall sence: For by  
the letter, the kynge, the quene, nor all other  
lordes, spirituall and temporal, shuld not eate,  
without they shuld labour, the whiche were vn-  
comely, and not conuenyente for suche estates to  
labour. But who that redeth in the boke of the  
moralytes of the chesse, shal therby perceyue, that  
euerye man, from the fyrst degree to the lowest,  
is set and ordeyned to haue labour and occupa-  
tion, and that boke is deuyded in vi degrees; that  
is to saye, the kynge, the quene, the byshops, the  
knightes, the iudges, and the yomenne. In the  
whiche boke is shewed theyr degrees, theyr auc-  
torytyes, theyr warkes, and theyr occupations,  
and what they ought to do. And they so doynge  
and executynge theyr auctorytyes, warkes, and  
occupatyons, haue a wonders great study and la-  
bour; of the whiche auctorytyes, occupations, and  
warkes, were at this tyme to longe to wryte: wher-  
fore I remytte that boke as myn auctour therof;  
the whiche boke were necessary to be knowen of  
euery degree, that they myghte doo and ordre  
them selfe accordynge to the same. And in so  
moche the yomen in the sayde moralytyes and  
game of the chesse be set before to labour, de-  
fende, and maynteyne all the other hyer estates,  
the whiche yomen represent the common people  
as husbandes and labourers; therefore I purpose to  
speake fyrste of husbandrye.





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# H U S B A N D R Y.

*Here begynneth the Boke of Husbandry, and fyrste  
whereby Husbande men do lyue.*

**T**HE mooste generall lyuyng that husbandes can have, is by plowyng, and sowyng of theyr cornes, and reryng or bredyng of theyr cattell, and not the one without the other. Thanne is the ploughe the mooste necessary instrumente, that an husband can occupye, wherefore it is convenient to be knowen howe a plough shoulde be made.

## *Dyuers Maners of Plowes.*

There be Plowes of dyuers makyngs, in dyuers countrys, and in lyke there be plowes of dyfacious. And that is bycause there be many maners of groundes and foyles. Some whitte clen, some redde cley, some grauel, or chylturn, some sande, some meane erthe. Some medled with marle, and in many places heeth grounde, and one plowe will not serue in all places. Wherefore it is necessary, to have dyuers maners of plowes. In Sommersetshyre, about Zaleester, the shar-beame, that in many places is called the ploughe hedde, is foure or fyve foote longe, and it is brode and thynne. And that is bycause the lande is very toughe, and wolde foke the ploughe into the erthe, yf the shar-beame were not long, brode and thynne. In Kente they have other maner of plowes, somme goo with wheles, as they do in many other places, and some

B

wyll



wyll tourne the fheld bredith at every landes ende, and plowe all one way. In Buckynghamshyre, are plowes made of another maner, and also other maner of ploughe yrons, the whiche me semeth generally good, and likely to serve in many places, and specially if the ploughbeame and sharbeame be four ynches longer, betwene the shethe, and the plough tayle, that the shel brede myght come more aslope: for these plowes gyve out to sodeinly, and therefore they be the worse, to drawe and for no cause elles. In Leycestershire, Lankefshyre, Yorkefshyre, Lincoln, Norefolke, Cambrydgeshyre, and manye other countreyes, the plowes be of dyvers makinges, the whiche were to longe processe to declare howe, &c. But howsoever they be made yf they be well tempered, and goo well, they maye be the better suffered.

*To knowe the Names of all the Parties of the Plowe.*

Men that be no husbandes, maye fortune to rede this boke, that knowe not whiche is the plowebeame, the sharebeame, the plowe shethe, the plowe tayle, the stelte, the rest, the shesdbrede, the fenbrede, the roughe staues, the plowe fote, the plowe eare or cocke, the share, the culture, and plowe mas. Perauenture I gyue them these names here, as is used in my country, and yet in other countreys they have other Names. Wherefore ye shall knowe, that the plowebeame is the longe tree above, the whiche is a lyttel bente. The sharbeame is the tre underneth, whereupon the share is set, the plowe sheth is a thin pece of dry woode, made of oke, that is set fast in a morteyes in the ploughbeame, and also into the sharebeame, the whiche is the keye, and the chiefe bande of all the plough. The plough tayle is that the husbande holdeth in his hande, and the hynder ende of the ploughe beame is put in a long slyt, made in the  
same



same cayse, and not set faste, but it may rise up and go downe, and is pynned behynde, and the same ploughe tayle is set fast in a morteyes, in the hynder ende of the sharebeame. The plough styte is on the righte syde of the ploughe wherupon the rest is set, the rest is a lyttell pece of woode, pynned fast upon the nether ende of the styte, and to the sharebeame in the ferther ende. The sheldbrede is a brode pece of wodde, fast pinned to the ryghte syde of the shethe in the ferther ende, and to the utter syde of the styte in the hender ende. The fenbrede is a thyn borde, pynned or neyled mooste commonly to the lyft side of the shethe in the ferther ende, and to the ploughe tayle in the hynder ende. And the sayde sheldbrede wolde come ouer the sayde shethe and fenbrede an inche, and to come past the myddes of the share made with a sharpe edge, to receyve and turne the erthe, whan the culture hath cut it. There be two roughe staves in every ploughe in the hynder ende, set aslope betwene the ploughe tayle and the styte, to hold out and kepe the plough abroad in the hynder ende, and the one lenger than the other. The plough fote is a lyttell pece of wodde, with a croked ende set before in a morteyes in the ploughe beame, sette faste with wedges, to dryve uppe and downe, and it is a staye to order, of what depenes the ploughe shall go. The ploughe eare is made of thre peces of yron, nayled faste unto the ryght syde of the ploughe beame, and poore men have a croked pece of wodde pynned faste to the plough beame. The share is a pece of yren sharpe before, and brode behynd, a fote longe made with a socket to be set on the further ende of the share beame. The culture is a bende pece of yren sette in a morteyes in the myddes of the plough beame, fastned with wedges on euery syde, and the backe thereof is halfe an inche thicke and



more, and three inches brode, and made kene before to cutte the erthe clene, and it must be well steeled, and that shall cause the easyer draughte, and the yrens to faste moche lenger. The plough mal is a pece of harde woode, with a pynne put throughe set in the plough beame, in an augers bore.

*The empyng of Plowes.*

Nowe the plowes be made of dyvers maners, it is necessarye for an husbände to know howe these ploughs shoulde be tempered, to plowe and turne clene, and to make no reste balkes. A reste balke is where the plough byteth at the poynte of the culture and share, and cutteth not the grounde clene to the furowe, that was plowed laste before, but leaueth a lyttell rydge standynge betwene, the whiche dothe brede thistyls, and other wedes. All these maner of plowes shoulde have one maner of temperyng in the yrens. Howe be it a man maye temper for one thyng in two or thre places, as for depens. The fote is one: the setting of the culture of a depnes, is another: and the third is at the ploughetayle, where the two wedges, that be called flote wedges: the one is in the flote above the beame, the other in the saide flote, under the ploughe beame, and other whyle he wyll set bothe above, or bothe underneth, but alway let hym take good hede, and kepe one generall rule, that the hynderende of the sharebeame alway touche the erth, that it may kyll a worde, or elles it goth naturally. The temperyng to go brode and narowe is in the setteing of the culture: and with the dryuinge of his fyde wedges, forewedge and kelewedge, whiche wolde be made of drye woode, and also the setting on of the share helpeth well, and is a connyng poynt of husbandry, and mendeth and payreth moch plowing: but it is so narowe a point  
to



to know, that it is harde to make a man to understande it by wrytynge, without he were at the operation therof to teache the practyce, for it muste leane moche into the forowe, and the poynt may not stande to moche up nor downe, nor to moche in the lande, nor into the forowe. Howe be it, the settinge of the culture helpeth moche. Somme plowes have a bende of yron tryanglewise, sette there as the plough eare shoulde be, that hath thre nickes on the further syde. And yf he will have his plough to go a narowe forowe, as a fede forowe shoulde be, than he setteth his fote teame in the nicke nexte to the plowe beame, and yf he will go a meane breadth, setteth it in the middle nyck, that is best for furringe. And yf he would go a brode forowe, he setteth it in the uttermoste nyck, that is beste for falowynge: the whiche is a good waye to kepe the bredthe, and soone tempered, but it serueth not the deepnesse. And some men have insteade of the plough fote, a piece of yron set up-ryght in the farther end of the ploughe beame, and they call it a coke, made with ii or thre nyckes, and that serveth for depenes. The plowes that go with wheles, have a streyghte beame, and maye be tempered in the yron, as the other be, for the bredth, but theyr most special temper, is at the bolster, whereas the plowebeame lyeth, and that serueth both for depnes and for bredth. And they be good on even grounde that lyeth lyghte, but mesemeth, they be farre more costly than the other plowes. And thoughe these plowes be well tempered for one manner of grounde, that temper will not serve in an other maner of grounde, but it muste reste in the dyseration of the husbande, to knowe whanne it goth well.



*The necessary Thynges, that belonge to a Ploughe;  
Carte, and Wayne.*

But or he beyn to plowe, he muste have his ploughe, and his plough yren, his oxen or his horsfefs, and the geare that belongeth to them, that is to say, bowes, yokes, landes, flylkynges, wrethynges, and or he shall lode his corne, he muste have a wayne, a copyoke, a payre of pleues, a wayne rope, and a pykforke. This wayne is made of dyvers peces that wyll have a greate reparation, that is to saye, the wheles, and those be made of nathes, spokes, fellyes, and dowles, and they muste be well fetter'd with wood or yron. And if they be yron bounden, they are moche the better, and thoughe they be derer at the fyrste, yet at lengthe they be better cheape, for a payre of wheles yren bounde, wyl weare vii or viii payre of other wheles, and they go rounde, and lyght after oxen or horses to draw. How be it, on marreis ground, and soft ground, the other wheles be better, bycause they be broder on the soule, and wyll not go so depe. They must have an axiltre stout, with viii wainclouts of yron, ii lypynnes of yren in the axiltre endes, ii axilpinnes of yren, or els of tough harde wodde. The body of the wayne of oke, the staues, the nether rathes, the over rathes, the crosse somer, the keys and pikstaues. And if he go with a hors ploughe, then must he have his horses or mares, or bothe his hombers, or collars, holmes whyted, tresses, swynletrees, and togwith. Alsoo a carte wade of ashe, bycause it is lyghte, and lyke stuffe to it as is to a wayne, and also a cart fadel, back bandes, and bellybandes, and a carte ladder behinde, whan he shall cary eyther corne or kyddes, or suche other. And in many countreys theyr waynes have carte ladders bothe behynde and before. Also an husbnde muste have an axe a hatchet, a hedgynbyll,  
a pyn



a pyn awgur, a rest augur, a flayle, a spade, and a shouell. And howe be it that I gyue them these names, as is most commonly used in my countrey, I knowe they have other names in other countreys. But hereby a manne may perceye many thinges, that belonge to husbandry, to theyr greate costes and charges, for the meynenance and upholdynge of the same. And many moo thynges are belongynge to husbandes than these, as ye shall well perceyve, er I have made an ende of thyse Tretyse. And if a yonge husbände shoulde bye all these thynges, it wold be costely for hym, wherefore it is necessarye for hym, to learne to make his yokes, oxe bowes, stooles, and all maner of plough geare.

*Whether is better a Plough of Horses, or a Plough of Oxen.*

It is to be known, whether is better a plough of horses, or a plough of oxen, and therin mesemeth oughte to be made a distinction. For in somme places, a horse plough is better, that is to say, in every place, whereas the husbände hath several pastures, to put his oxen in, whan they come fro theyr warke, there the oxe ploughe is better. For an oxe maye not endure his warke, to labour all daye, and than to be put to the commons, or before the herdman, and to be sette in a foulde al nyghte without meate, and go to his labour in the mornynge. But and he be put in a good pasture all nyghte, he will labour moche of all the daye dayely.

And oxen wyl plowe in tough cley and upon hylly grounde, whereas horses wyl stande styll. And whereas is now fuerall pastures, there the horse plowe is better, for the horses may be teddered, or tyed upon leys, balkes, or hades, whereas oxen may not be kept: and it is not used to tedder them,



but in fewe places. And horses wyl goo faster than oxen on euen grounde or lyghte grounde, and be quicker for carriage, but they be farre more costly to kepe in wynter, for they must have bothe hey and corne to eate, and strawe for lytter, they must be well shodde on all foure fete, and the gere that they shall drawe with is more costly than for the oxen, and shorter whyle it wyll last. And oxen wyll eate but straw, and a lyttel hey, the whiche is not halfe the coste that the horses must have, and they have no shoes as the horses have. And if any forance come to the horse, or waxe olde, broysed or blynde, than he is lyttel worthe, and if any forance come to an oxe, waxe olde, broysed or blynde, for iis. he may be fedde, and than he is mannes meate, and as good or better than ever he was. And the horse, whan he dythe, is but caryen. And therefore mesemeth, all thynges consydered, the ploughe of oxen is much more profitable than the ploughe of horses.

*The Dylygence and the Attendance that a Husbande shoulde gyve to his Warke, in Manner of an other Prologue, and the speciall Grounde of all this Trea-tyse.*

Thou husbande, that intendeste to gette thy ly-vynge by husbandry, take hede to the syenge of the wyse philosopher, the which sayeth. Adhibe curam, tenemenfuram, et eris diues. That it is to say, Take hede to thy charge, kepe measure, and thou shall be ryche. And nowe to speake of the fyrste artycle of these iiii f, Adhibe curam. He that wyll take upon hym to do any thinge, and be slouthefull, recheles, and not diligent, to execute and to per-forme that thyng, that he taketh upon hym, he shall never thryue by his occupation. And to the same intente saythe our Lorde in his gospell, by a parable.



parable. Nemo mittens manum suam ad aratrum respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei. The spirituall construction of this texte, I remitte to the doctours of dyuynitie, and to the grate clarkes, bute to reduce and brynge the same texte to my purpose, I take it thus, there is noo man, puttynge his hande to the plough lokinge backwarde, is worthy to have that thyng that he oughte to have, for if he go to the plowe, and loke backwarde, he seeth not, whether the plough go in rydge or in rayne, make a balke, or go overthwoarte. And if it so doo, there wyll be lyttel corne. And so if a man attende not his housebandry, but goo to sporte or playe, tauerne or alehouse, or slepynge at home, and suche other ydel warkes, he is not than worthy to have any corne. And therefore, fac quod venisti, Do that thou comest fore, and thou shalte fynde that thou sekest fore, &c.

*Howe a Man shulde plowe all Maner of Landes all Tymes of the Yeare.*

Nowe these plowes be made and tempered it is to be knowen, howe a man should plowe all tymes of the yeare. In the begynnyng of the yeare, after the feaste of the Epiphany, it is tyme fore the husbände to go to the ploughe. And if thou have any leys to falowe or to sowe otes upon, fyrste plowe them, that the grasse and the mosse may rotte, and plowe them a depe square forowe. And in all maner of plowyng, se that thy eye, thy hande, and thy fote do agree, and be alwaye redy one to serve another, and to turne up moche molde, and to lay it flat, that it rere not an edge, for if it rere on edge, the grasse and mosse wyll not rotte. And if thou sowe it with winter corne, as wheate or ry, as moche corne, as toucheth the mosse, wyll be drowned, the mosse dothe kepe such wete in itselfe.

And



And in some countreys, if a man ploughe depe, he shall passe the good grounde, and have but lyttel corne: but that countrey is not for men to kepe husbandry uppon, but for to rere and brede cattel or shepe, for else they muste go beate theyr landes with mattockes, as they do in many places of Cornewayle, and in some places of Devonshire.

*To plowe for Pease and Beenes.*

Howe to plowe for pees and beanes were necessarye to knowe. Fyrste thou muste remember, whiche is mooste cley grounde, and that plowe fyrst, and lette it lye a good space, er thou sowe it; by cause, the froste, the rayne, the wynde, and the sonne may cause it to breake smalle, to make moche molde, and to rygge it. And to plow a square forowe, the bredthe, and the depnes allone, and to lay it close to his fellow. For the furowes, the more corne, for a generall rule of all maner of cornes. And that may be proved at the comynge up of all maner of corne, to stande at the landes ende, and loke towarde the other ende. And then may ye se, howe the corne groweth.

*Howe to sowe bothe Pease and Beanes.*

Thou shalt sowe thy peas upon the cley grounde, and thy beanes upon the barley grounde: for they woulde have ranker grounde than peas. Howebeit, some husbandes holde opynion, that bygge and styffe grounde, as cley wolde be sown with bigge stuffe, as beanes; but me thynke the contrary: for if a dry somer come, his beanes will be shorte. And if the grounde be good, putte the more beanes to the peas, and the better shall they yelde, whan they be threshed: and if it be very ranke grounde, as is moche at every towne syde, where  
catel



catel doth resort, plowe not that lande, tyll ye wyll sowe it, for if ye do, there wyll come uppe kedlokes and other wedes. And then sowe it with beanes, for if ye sowe pees, the kedlokes wyll hurte them, and whan ye see seasonable time, sow both pees and beanes, so that they be sown in the begynnyge of Marche. Howe shall ye knowe seasonable tyme, go upon the lande that is plowed, and if it synge or crye, or make any noyse under thy feet, than it is to wete to sowe, and if it make no noyse, and wyll beare thy horses, thanne sowe in the name of God, but howe to sowe? Put thy pees into thy hopper, and take a brode thonge of ledger, or of garthe webbe of an elle longe, and fasten it to bothe endes of the hopper, and put it over thy heed, lyke a leyshe; and stande in the middes of the lande, where the sacke lyethe, the whiche is mooste conveniente for the fyllynge of thy hopper, and set thy lefte foote before, and take an handfull of pees; and whan thou takeste up thy righte foote, than caste thy pees fro the all a-brode, and whan thy lefte fote ryseth, take another handfull, and whan thy right fote ryseth, than cast them fro the. And so at every ii paces, thou shalte sowe an handful of pees; and so se that the fote and the hande agree, and than ye shall sowe even, and in your castynge, ye muste open as well your fyngers, as your hande, and the hyer, and farther that ye caste your corne, the better shall it sprede, excepte it be a greate wynde. But if the lande be very good, and wyll breake small in the plowynge, it is better to sowe after the ploughe thanne tarye any longer.

*Sede of Discretion.*

There is a fede that is called discretion, and if a husband have of that fede, and myngle it amonge his  
other



other cornes, they wyl growe moche the better, for that fede wyl tel hym, how many castes of corne every lande ought to have. And a yonge husbände, and many fortunesome of the husbandes, hath not sufficiente of that fede, and he that lackethe, let hym borowe of his neyghbours that have, and his neyghbours be unkynde, if they wyl not lend this yonge husbände parte of this fede. For this fede of discretion hath a wonders property; for the more that it is taken of or lente, the more it is. And therefore me semeth, it shoulde be more spyrituall than temporall, wherin is a greate diversity. For a temporall thyng, the more it is diuided, the more it is verbi gratia. For en saumple, I put case a wyfe brynge a lose of breade to the churche, to make holy breade of, whan it is cut in many small peces, and holy breade made therof, there may be so many men, women, and children in the churche, that by that tyme the priest hath delte to every one of them a lyttel pece, there shall never a crume be leste in the hamper. And a spirituelle thyng, as a Pater noster, or a prayer, that any man can say, let hym teach it to xx a C. or to a M. yet it is a prayer neverthelesse, but moche more. And so this fede of discretion is but wisdom and reason, and he that has wisdom, reason, and discretion, may teche it, and informe other men as he is bounde to do, wherein he shall have thanke of God: and he doth but as God hath commanded hym in his gospell, Quod gratis accepistis, gratis date: that thyng that ye take frely, gyve it frely again, and yet shall ye have neverthelesse.

*Howe all maner Corne shoulde be sowed.*

But yet me thynketh it necessary to declare, howe all maner of corne shuld be sowed, and howe moch upon an acre most commonly, and fyrst of  
pease



pease and beanes. An acre of ground by the statute, that is to say, xvi fote and an halfe to the perche or pole, foure perches to an acre in breadth, and fortye perches to an acre in lengthe, may be metelye well sown with two London bushelles of pease, the whyche is but two stryckes in other places. And if there be the fourthe parte beanes, then wylle it have halfe a London bushelle more: and if it be halfe beanes, it wylle have thre London bushells: and if it be all beanes, it wylle have foure London bushelles fullye, and that is half a quarter, bycause the beanes be gret, and grow up streight, and so not sprede, and go abroad as pease do. An acre of good beanes is worth an acre and a half of good peas, bycause there wylle be more bushelles, and the best propertie that belongeth to a good husband is, to sowe all maner of corne thicke ynough, and specially beanes, and barley, for commonly they be sown upon ranke ground, and good ground wylle have the burthen of corne or weede, and as much plowynge, and harrowynge hath an acre of ground, and sowe thereupon but one bushelle, as if he sowed iiij bushelles. And undoubtedly i bushell may not gyue so moche corne agayne as the iiij bushels, though the iii bushels, that be sowed more, be alowed and set aparte. And i bushell and a halfe of white or green pees, wyl sowe as moche ground, as two bushels of gray pees: and that is bycause they be so small, and the husband nedeth not take so great a handfull. In some countreyes they begyn to sowe pees soone after Christmesse, and in some places they sowe bothe pees and beanes under forowe: and those of reson must be sown betyme. But mooste generally, to begyn sowe after Candelmasse, is good season, so that they be sown, ere the begynnyng of Marche, or sone upon. And specially let them be sown in the olde of the mone. For the opinion of old husbandes is, that  
they



they shoulde be better codde, and the sooner be ripe. But I speke not of hasty pees, for they be sown before Christmasse, &c.

*To sowe Barley.*

Every good husbände hath his barley falowe well dounced, and lyenge rygged all the depe and colde of wynter, the whiche ryggyng maketh the lande to be drye, and the dongyng maketh it to be melowe and ranke. And if a dry season come before Candlemasse, or sone after, it wolde be caste downe and water forowed betwene the landes, that the wete rest not in the raine: and in the begynnyng of Marche, ryge it up agayn, and to sowe it in euery acre fyue London bushelles, or foure at the leaste, and some yeres it maye so fortune, that there cometh no seasonable wether before Marche, to plowe his barley erthe. And as soone as he hath sown his pees and beans, than let hym cast his barley erthe, and shortly after rydge it agayne: soo that it be sown before Aprill. And if the yere tyme be paste, than sowe it upon the castyng.

It is to be knowen that there be thre maner of barleys, that is to say, sprot barleye, longe eare, and bere barley, that somme men call bigge. Sprot barley hath a flat eare most commonly, thre quarters of an inche brode, and thre inches long, and the cornes be very great and white, and it is the best barley. Long ear hath a flatte eare, halfe an inche brode, and foure inches and more of length, but the corne is not so greate nor so whete, and sooner it will turne and growe to otes: bere barleye or bigge, wolde be sown upon lyghte and drye grounde, and hath eare thre ynches of lengthe or more, sette foure square pycke whete, small corne and lyttel floure, and that is the worste barley, and foure London bushels are sufficient for an acre.

And



And in some countreys, they do not sowe theyr barley tyll May, and that is mooste commonly upon gravel or sandy ground. But that barley generally is never so good, as that that is sown in Marche: for if it be very drye weather, after it be sown, that corne that lyeth above, lyeth drie, and hath no moysture, and that that lyeth underne, cometh up; and whan rayne cometh, than spoutteth that that lyeth above, and often tymes it is grene whan the other is ripe: and whan it is threschen, there is moche lyght corne, &c.

*To sowe Otes.*

And in Marche is tyme to sowe otes, and specially upon lyght ground and drie, howe be it they wylle growe weter ground, than any corne els: for wete ground is good for no maner of corne, and thre London bushels wyl sowe an acre.

And it is to be knowen, that there be iii maner of otes, that is to saye, redde otes, blacke otes, and roughe otes. Red otes are the beste otes, and whan they be threshed they be yelow in the bushell, and very good to make otemele of. Blacke otes be as gret as they be, but they have not so moche flower in them, for they have a thycker huske, and also they be not so good to make otemele. The roughe otes be the worste, and it quiteth not the coste to sow them; they be very lyghte, and have longe tayles, whereby they will hange ech one to another. All these maner of otes weare the ground very sore, and make it to beare quycke. A yong husbnde oughte to take hede howe thycke he soweth all maner of corne, two or three yeres, and to se how it cometh up, and whether it be thycke ynoughe or not: and if it be thinne, sowe thycker thenexte yere: and if it be well, holde his hande thre other yeres: and if it be too thynne, let hym remember



member hymselfe, whether it be for the unseasonableness of the wether, or for thyn fowynge: and so his wisdom and discretion muste discerne it.

*To harrowe all Maner of Cornes.*

Nowe these landes be plowed, and the cornes sown, it is convenient that they be well harrowed, or else crowes, doves, and other birds wyll eate and beare awaye the cornes. It is used in many countreyes, the husbandes to have an oxe harrowe, the whiche is made of fixe smal peces of timber, called harowe bulles, made eyther of ashe or oke, they be two yardes longe, and as moche as the small of a man's legge, and have shotes of wode put through them lyke lathes, and in every bull are fyxe sharpe peces of yron, called harowe tyndes, set somewhat aslope forward, and the formes fiote muste be bygger than the other, bycause the fote teame shall be fastened to the same with a shakyll or a withe to drawe by. This harrowe is good to breake the greatte clottes, and to make moche molde, and than the horse harowes to come after, to make the clottes smaller, and to laye the ground even. It is a great labour and payne to the oxen, to goo to harowe, for they were better to go to the plowe two dayes, thanne to harowe one day. It is an old sayinge, The oxe is never wo, tyll he to the harowe goo: and it is, bycause it goeth by twytches, and not alwayes after one draughte. The horse harowe is made of fyue bulles, and passe not an elne of lengthe, and not soo muche as the other, but they be like floted and tinded. And whan the corn is well covered, than it is harowed ynough. There be horse harowes that have tyndes of wodde, and those be moch used about Ryppon, and suche other places, where be many bulder stones, for these stones would weare the yron too soone, and those  
tyndes



tyndes be mooste commonly made of the grounde ende of a yonge ashe, and they be more thanne a fote longe in the begynnyng, and stande as moche above the harowe as benethe. And as they weare or breake, they dryue them downe lower, and they woulde be made longe before, ere they be occupied, that they maye be drye, for than they shall endure, and last moche better, and sticke the faster. The horses that shall drawe these harowes, muste be well kepte and shodde, or elles they will soone be tyred, and sore beate, that they may not drawe. They must have hombers, or collars, holmes whyted about theyr necks, tresses to drawe by, and a swyngletre to holde the tresses abroad, and a togewith, to be betwene the swyngletre and the harowe. And if the barley grounde wyll not breke with harowes, but be clotty, it wolde be beaten with malles, and not streyght down, for than they beate the corne into the erthe; and if they bete the clot on the syde, it wyll the better breake, and the clot wyll lye lyghte, that the corne maye lyghtely come up. And they use to role theyr barley grounde after a shoure of rayne to make the grounde even to mowe, &c.

*To Falowe.*

Nowe these housbandes have sowne theyr pees, beanes, barley, and otes, and harowed them, it is the beste tyme to falowe in the latter ende of Marche and Apryll, for whete, rye, and barley, and lette the husbande doo the beste he can, to plowe abroad forowe and a depe, soo that he turne it cleane, and lay it flat, that it rere not on the edge; the whiche shall destroy all the thistles and wedes: for the deper and the broder that he gothe, the more new molde, and the greater clottes shall he have, and the greater clottes the better wheate, for the clottes kepe the wheate warme all wynter,



and at Marche they wyll melte and breake, and fal in manye small peces, the whiche is a newe dongynge and refresshynge of the corne; and also there shal but lyttle wedes growe upon the falowes that are so falowed: for the plough goth undernethe the rootes of all maner of wedes, and tourneth the roote upwarde, that it maye not growe. And yf the lande be falowed in wynter tyme, it is farre the worse, for thre principal causes, one is, all the rayne that commeth shal walsh the lande, and dryue awaye the donge, and the good moulde, that the lande shal be moche the worse. Another cause is, the rayne shal beate the lande so flat, and bake it so hard togyther, that if a drye May come, it will be too harde to stere in the moneth of June; and the thirde cause is, the wedes shal take suche roote er sterynge tyme come, that they wyll not be cleane toured undernethe, the which shal be great hurte to the corne, whan it shal be sown, and specially in the weding tyme of the same; and for any other thyng, make depe holowe forowe in the rydge of the lande, and loke well, thou rest balke it nat, for if thou do, there wyll be many thistles: and than thou shalte not make a cleane rydge at the fyrste sterynge, and therefore it muste nedes be depe plowed, or elles thou shalt nat tourne the wiedeꝝ cleane.

*To cary out Donge or Mucke, and to sprede it.*

And in the later ende of Apryll, and the begynnyng of Maye, is tyme to cary out his donge or mucke, and to lay it upon his barley ground. And where he hath barley this yere, sowe it with whete or rye the next tyme it is falowed, and so shal he mucke all his landes over at every secunde falowe. But that husbnde, that can finde the meanes to cary oute his donge, and to laye it  
upon



upon his lande after it be ones styrrred: it is moche better, than to lay it upon his falowe, for divers causes; one is, if it be layde upon his falowe, all that fallethe in the holowe rygge shall do lyttel good, for whan it is rygged agayne, it lyeth soo depe in the erthe, that it will not be plowed up agayne, excepte that whan he hath spreade it, he wyll with a shovell, or a spade, caste out all that is fallen in the rygge: and if it be layde upon the sturryinge, at every plowynge, it shall medle the donge and the erthe togyther, the whiche shall cause the corne moche better to growe and encrease. And in somme places they lode not theyr donge, tyll harvest be done, and that is used in the farther fyde of Darbyshire, called Scarsdale, Halomshyre, and so northward towarde Yorke and Ryppon: and that I calle better thanne uppon the falowe, and specially for barley: but upon the firste styrrynge, is beste for wheate and rye, and that his dunge be layde upon small hepes nygh together, and to sprede it euenly, and to leue no dounge there, as the mucke hepe stode, for the moystnes of the donge shall cause the grounde to be ranke ynoughe. And if it be medled with erthe, as trolinges and fuche other, it will laste the longer, and better for barley than for wheate or rye, because of wedes. Horse donge is the worst donge that is: the donge of all manner cattel, that chewe their cudde, is very good; and the dounge of doues is best, but it must be layde upon the grounde verye thynne.

*To set out the Shepe Folde.*

Also it is tyme to set out the shepe folde in May, and to sette it upon the rye grounde, if he have any, and to flyte it every mornynge or nyght, and in the mornynge, whan he cometh to his folde, let not his shepe out anone, but reyse thym up, and let



them stande styll a good season, that they maye longe and pyffe. And go amonge them to se whether any of them have any mathes, or be scabbed; and se them thre or foure tymes on the one syde, and as ofte on the other syde. And whan the kelles begone besyde the grounde, than lette theym out of the folde, and dryue theym to the foundeste place of the felde. But he that hath a falowe felde, several to hymselfe, let hym occupie no folde. For foldynge of shepe maketh them scabbed, and bredeth mathes, and whanne a storme of yll wether cometh in the nyght, they can nat flee nor go awaye, and that appeyareth them fore of their fleshe. But lette that man that hath such a feveral falowe felde, driue twentye, thirty, or forty stakes, accordinge to the nombre of his shepe upon his falowe, where he wolde sette his folde, and specially in the farthest parte of the fyelde, from thense as they comme in, for the goynge upon dothe moche good: and lette the shepherde brynge his shepe to the stakes, and the shepe wille rubbe them on the stakes; and lette the shepherde goo aboute them, tyll they be sette; and thus serue them two or thre nyghtes, and they wyll folowe those stakes, as he flytteth them, and syt by them; and if any yll wether come, they will ryse up, and go to the hedge. And this maner of foldinge shall brede noo mathes nor scabbe, nor appeyareth them of theyr fleshe, and shall be a greate sauegarde to the shepe for rottyng; and in the mornynge put them out of theyr pasture, and thou shalte not nede to bye any hurdles, nor shepe flekes; but howe ye shall salue them, or dresse them, ye shall understande in the chapter of shepe after.

*To cary Wodde and other Necessaryes.*

And in May whan thou hast falowed thy grounde, and sette out thy shepe folde, and caryed oute thy dounge



dounge or mucke; if thou haue any wodde, cole or tymbre to cary, or fuche other bufiness that must nedes be doone, with thy carte or wayne, than is it tyme to do it; for than the waye is like to be fayre and drye, and the days longe, and that tyme the husbände hath leeste to doo in husbandry. Perauenture I sette one thyng to be done at one tyme of the yere, and if the husbände shulde do it, it shulde be a greater losse to him in another thyng. Wherefore, it is moste conuenient to do that thyng fyrst that is moste profytable to hym, and as soone as he can do the other labour.

*To knowe dyuers Maner of Wedes.*

In the later ende of Maye, and the begynnynge of June, is tyme to wede thy corne. There be diuers maner of wedes, as thistles, kedlokes, dockes, cocledrake, darnolde, gouldes, haudoddes, dog-fenell, mathes, ter, and diuers other small wedes; but these be they that grewe mooste: the thistle is an yll wede, roughe and sharpe to handle, and freteth away the cornes nigh it, and causeth the sherers or reapers not to shere clean. Kedlokes hath a leafe lyke rapes, and beareth a yellowe floure, and is an yll wede, and groweth in al maner corne, and hath small coddies, and groweth lyke mustard-fede. Dockes haue a broad leafe, and diuers high spyres, and very small fede in the toppe. Cockle hath a longe small leafe, and wyll beare fyve or vi floures of purple colour, as brode as a grote, and the fede is rounde and blacke, and maye well be suffered in breede corne, but not in fede; for therin is moche floure. Drake is lyke unto rye till it begynne to fede, and it hath many fedes lyke fennell-fedes, and hangeth downewarde, as it may well be suffered in brede, for there is moche floure in the fede; and it is an opy-



nion that it cometh of rye, &c. Dernelde groweth up streyght lyke an hye grasse, and hath longe fedes on eyther side the stert, and there is moche floure in that fede, and growethe moche amonge barley; and it is sayde it cometh of small barley. Golds hath a shorte iagged lese, and groweth halfe a yarde hyghe, and hathe a yelow floure, as brode as a grote, and is an yl wede, and groweth commonlye in barleye and peas. Hawdod hath a blewe floure, and a fewe lyttel leues, and hath vor fyxe braunches floured in the toppe, and groweth commonly in rye upon leane grounde, and dothe lyttel hurte. Dogge-fennell and mathes is bothe one, and in the commynge up is lyke fennel, and beareth many whyte floures, with a yelow floure, and it is the worste wede that is, excepte terre, and it cometh mooste commonly, whan great wheate commeth shortly after the corne is sown. Terre is the worste wede, and it neuer dothe appere, till the moneth of June, and speciallye whanne there is great wete in that mone, or a lytel before, and groweth mooste in rye, and it groweth lyke fytches, but it is moche smaller, and it wyll growe as hyghe as the corn, and with the weyght thereof, it pulleth the corne flatte to the erth, and freteth the ears away. Wherefore I have seene housbandes mowe downe the corne and it together: and also with sharp hokes to reap it, as they do pees, and made it drye, and than it wyll be good fodder.

There be other wedes not spoken of, as dee nettylles, dodder, and fuche other, that doo moche harme.

#### *Howe to wede Corne.*

Nowe it wolde be knowen howe these cornes shulde be weded: the chyefe instrument to wede with is a paire of tonges made of wode, and in the farther ende it is nycked, to holde the wed faster,



faster, and after a shoure of raine, it is beste wed-  
 ynge, for than they maye be pulled up by the  
 rootes, and than it cometh neuer agayne. And if it  
 be drye wether, than muste he haue a wedynge  
 hoke, with a socket set upon a lyttel staffe of a  
 yarde longe, and this hoke wolde be well steeled,  
 and grounde sharpe bothe behynde and before.  
 And in his other hande he hath a forked stycke,  
 a yarde longe, and with this forked stycke,  
 he putteth the wede from hym, and he putteth  
 the hoke beyonde the rote of the wede, and pul-  
 leth it to hym, and cutteth the wede fast by the  
 erthe, and with his hoke he taketh up the wede,  
 and casteth it in the reane; and yf the reane be  
 full of corne, it is better it stande styll whan it is  
 cutte, and wyddre: but let hym beware, that he  
 treade not too moche upon the corne, and speciall-  
 ye after it is shotte, and whan he cutteth the wede,  
 that he cut not the corne; and therefore the hoke  
 wolde not passe an inche wyde. And whanne the  
 wede is soo shorte that he cannot with his forked  
 stycke put it from hym, and with the hoke pull it  
 to hym, thanne muste he sette his hoke upon the  
 wede, fast by the erthe, and put it from hym, and  
 so shall he cutte it cleane; and with these two in-  
 strumentes, he shall neuer stoupe to his warke.  
 Dog-fenell, golde, mathes, and kedlokes ar yll  
 to wede after this maner, they growe upon so  
 many braunches, harde by the erthe, and therefore  
 they use most to pull them uppe with their handes,  
 but loke well that they pull not uppe the corne  
 with all, but as for terre, there wyll noo wedynge  
 ferue.

*The fyrst Sturrynge.*

Also in June is tyme to rygge uppe the fallowe,  
 the whiche is called the Fyrst Sturrynge, and to  
 plowe it as depe as thou canste, for to tourne the



rotes of the wedes upwarde, that the sonne, and the drye wether may kyll them. And an husbände cannot conuenientelye plowe his lande, and lode out his dounge bothe upon a daye, with one draughte of beastes: but he maye well lode oute his dounge before none, and lode heye or corne at afternone: or he maye plowe before none, and lode heye or corne at afternone with the same draughte, and noo hurte to the cattell; bycause in lodynge of hey or corne, the cattell is alwaye eatynge or beytynge; and soo they cannot doo in lodynge of dounge and plowyng.

*To mowe Grasse.*

Also in the later ende of June is tyme to begyn to mowe, if thy medowe be well growen: but howsoever they be growen, in July they muste nedes mowe, for dyuers causes. One is, it is not conuenient to have heye and corne bothe in occupation at one tyme: another is, the yonger, and the grener that the grasse is, the softer and the sweter it wyll be, whan it is heye, but it wyll have the more wyddryng; and the elder the grasse is, the harder and dryer it is, and the worse for all maner of cattell: for the sedes be fallen, the whiche is in maner of prouander, and it is the harder to eate and chowe. And another cause is, if dry wether come, it wyll drye and burne upon the ground, and waste away. Take hede that thy mower mow cleane, and holde downe the hynder hand of his sith, that he do not endent the grasse, and to mowe his swathe cleane thorowe to that that was laste mowen before, that he leave not a mane bytwene, and speciallye in the common medowe: for in the feuerall medowe it maketh the lesse charge, and that the moldywarpe hilles be spredde, and the styckes cleane pycked out of the medowe in Aprill, or in the beginnyng of Maye.

*How*



*Howe Forkes and Rakes shulde be made.*

A good husbände hath his forkes and rakes made redye in the wynter before, and they wolde be gotte bytwene Mighelmasse and Martylmasse, and beyked, and sette euen, to lye upryght in thy hande: and than they wyll be harde, styffe, and dry. And whan the housbände fytteth by the fyre, and hath nothyng to do, than maye he make theym redye, and tothe the rakes with drye wethy wode, and bore the holes with his wymbel, bothe aboue and under, and driue the tethe upwardefaste and harde, and than wedge them aboue with drye woodde of oke, for that is harde, and wyl driue and neuer come out. And if he get them in sappe tyme, all the beykyng and dryinge that can be had, shall not make them harde and styffe, but they woll alwaye be plyenge: for they be mooste commonly made of hasell, and withee, and these be the trees that blome, and specially hasell: for it begynneth to blome as sone as the lefe is fallen. And if the rake be made of greene woode, the heed wyll not abyde upon the stele, and the tethe will fall out, whan he hath mooste nede to them, and let his warke and lose moche heye. And se that thy rake and forke lye upryghte in thy hande, for and the one ende of thy rake, or the syde of thy forke, hang downwarde, than they be not handsome nor easie to worke with.

*To tedde and make Hey.*

Whan thy medowes be mowed, they wolde be well tedded, and layde euen upon the ground: and if the grasse be very thycke, it wolde be shaken with handes, or with a shorte pykforke, for good teddyng is the chiefe poynte to make good hey;



hey; and than shall it be widdred all in lyke, or elles not: and whan it is well wyddred on the ouer fyde, and dry, than turne it clene before noone, as soone as the dewe is gone: and yf thou dare truste the wether, lette it lye so all nyghte, and on the nexte daye, tourne it agayne before none; and towarde nyghte, make it in wyndrowes, and than in small hey cockes, and so to stande one nyghte at the leaste and sweate; and on the nexte fayre daye, caste it abrode agayne, and tourne it ones or twyce, and than make it in greater heye cockes, and to stande so one nyghte or more, that it may ungiue and sweate, for and it sweate not in the hey cockes, it wyll sweate in the mowe, and than it will be dustye, and not holsome for hors, beastes, nor shepe: and whan it standeth in the cockes, it is better to lode, and the more hey may be loded at a lode, and the faster it wyll lye. Ruyche hey commeth of a grasse called Crofote, and groweth flatte, after the erthe, and beareth a yelow floure, halfe a yarde hygh and more, and hath many knottes towarde the roote, and it is the beste hey for horses and beastes, and the swetest, if it be wel got. But it will haue moch more wyddrynge than other heye, for els he wyll be pyffe hymselfe and waxe hote, and after dustye. And for to knowe whanne it is wyddred ynough, make a lyttell rope of the same, that ye thynke shulde be moste greneste, and twyne it as harde together bytween your handes as ye canne, and soo beyng harde twon, let one take a knyfe, and cut it faste by your hande, and the knottes wyll be moyste, yf it be not dry enough. Shorte hey and leye hey is good for shepe, and all maner of catel, if it be well got. A man maye speke of makynge of hey, and gettynge of corne, but God disposeth and ordereth all thyng.



*Howe Rye shulde be shorne.*

In the later ende of July, or in the begynnyng of Auguste, is tyme to shere rye, the which wolde be shorne cleane, and faste bounden. And in somme places they mow it, the whiche is not soo good to the housbandes profytte, but it is the sooner done. For whan it is mowen, it will not be so faste bounden, and he cannot gather it so cleane, but there wyll be moche losse, and taketh more rowme in the barne than shorne corne dothe. And also it will not kepe nor save itselfe from rayne or yll wether, whan it standeth in the cover, as the shorne corne wyll do.

*Howe to shere Wheate.*

Wheate woulde be shorne clene, and harde bounden in lyke maner; but for a generall rule, take good hede, that the sherers of all maner of whyte corne, cast not up theyr handes hastily, for thanne all the lose corne, and the strawes, that he holdeth not faste in his hande, flieth ouer his heed, and are losse; and also it wyll pull off the eares, and speciallye of the cornes that be verye ripe. In somme places they wyll shere theyr cornes hyghe, to the intente to mowe theyr stubble, eyther to thacke, or to bren; if they so do, they haue greate cause to take good hede of the sherers: for if the eares of the corne croke down to the erthe, and the sherer take not good hede, and put up the eare, er he cut the strawe: as many eares as be under his hoke or sicke, fall to the erthe, and be losse, and whan they mowe the stubble, it is a great hyndraunce to the profytte of the grounde. And in Somerssetshire, about Zelcestre and Martok, they do shere theyr wheate very lowe, and all the wheate strawe that they pourpose to make thacke of, they do not threshe



threshe it, but cute off the eares, and bynde it in sheues, and call it Rede; and therewith they thacke theyr houses. And if it be a newe house, they thacke it under their fote; the whiche is the beste and the surest thackynge that can be of strawe, for crowes and douues shall neuer hurte it.

*To mowe or shere Barley and Otes.*

Barley and otes be moste commonly mowen, and a man or woman folowyethe the mower with a hande rake halfe a yarde longe, with vii or viii tethe, in the lyfte hande, and a fyckle in the ryghte hande, and with the rake he gathereth as moche as wyll make a shefe. And thanne he taketh the barley or otes by the toppes, and pulleth out as moche as will make a band, and casteth the band from hym on the land, and with his rake and his fyckle, taketh up the barley and otes, and layeth them upon the bande, and so the barley lyeth unbounden iii or iiii days, if it be fayre wether, and than to bynde it. And whan the barley is ledde away, the landes muste be raked, or els there wyll be moche corne losse, and if the barley or otes lye, they muste nedes be shorne.

*To repe or mowe Pees and Beans.*

Pees and beans be moste commonly laste reaped or mowen, of dyuers maners, some with sickles, some with hokes, and some with staffe hokes; and in somme places they lay them on repes, and whan they be drye, they laye them together on heapes, lyke heye cockes, and neuer bynde them. But the best way is, whan the repes be drye, to bynde them, and to set them on the rydge of the landes, thre sheues together, and loke that your sherers, repers,  
or



or mowers, geld not your beanes ; that is to saye, to cutte the beanes so hye, that the nethermoste codde growe styll on the stalke; and whan they be bounden, they are the more redyer to lode, and unlode, to make a reke, and to take from the mowe to threshie ; and soo be not the repes.

*Howe all Maner of Cornes shulde be tythed.*

Now that all these cornes before specyfyed, be shorne, mowed, reaped, bounden up, and layde upon the rydge of the lande, lette the housbande take hede of Goddes commaundemente, and let hym goo to the ende of his lande and bygynne, and tell iv sheues, and let him cast out the v shefe in the name of God, and so to peruse from lande to lande, tyll he haue trewely tythed all his corne. And beware, and take hede of the sayinge of our Lorde, by his prophete Malachias ; the whiche saythe : Quia michi non dedisti decimas et premitias, id circo in fame et penuria maledicti estis. That is to saye, bycause ye have not given to me your tythes, and your fyrste frutes, therefore ye be cursed, and punished with hunger and penury. And accordinge to that Sainte Austyne saythe, Da decimas, alioqui incidis in decimam partem angelorum qui de celo corruerunt in infernum. That is to say, Gyue thy tythes truely, or elles thou shalt fall amonge the tenthe parte of aungelles, that felle from heaven into hell, the whiche is an harde worde to euery man, that oughte to gyue tythes, and doth not gyue them truely. But Saynte Austyne saythe a comfortable worde again, to them that gyue theyr tythes truely ; that is to saye, Decime sunt tributa egentium animarum : tythes are tributes or rewardes to neyde soules. And ferther he saythe : Si decimam dederis, non solum abundantiam fructum recipies, sed etiam sanitatem corporis et animæ consequeris ;



consequeris; that is to saye, If thou haue gyuen thy tythes truly, thou shalt not all only receyue the profite, and the abundaunce of goodes, but also healthe of bodye and soule shall folowe. Wolde to God, that euerye man knewe the harde worde of our Lorde by his prophete Malachias; and also the comfortable wordes of the holy Saynte Austyn. For than wolde I truste verely, that tythes shulde be truly gyuen.

*Howe all Maner of Corne shulde be covered.*

Nowe these cornes be shorne and bounden, and the tythes cast out, it is tyme to couer them, shoke theym, or halfe throue them, but coverynge is the beste waye of all maner of whyte corne. And that is, to set foure sheues on one syde, and iiii sheues on the other syde, and two sheues aboue, of the greatteste, bounden harde nyghe to the nether ende, the whiche must be set upwarde, and the top downwarde spredde abroad to couer all the other sheaues. And they will stande beste in winde, and saue themselfe beste in raine, and they wolde be set on the rydge of the lande, and the sayde sheues to leane together in the toppes, and wide at the grounde, that the winde may go through, to drye them. Pees and beanes wolde be set on the rydge of the lande, thre sheues together, the toppes upwarde, and wrythen together, and wydde benethe, that they maye the better wyddre.

*To lode Corne, and mowe it.*

Whanne all these cornes be drye and wyddred ynoughe, than lode them into the barne, and laye euerye corne by itselfe. And if it be a whete harvest, make many mowes: and if thou haue not housynge ynoughe, thanne it is better to laye thy  
pees



pees and benes without upon a reke, than other corne, and it is better uppon a scaffolde, than upon the grounde, for than it muste be well hedged for swine and catel, and the grounde wyll rotte the bottom, and the scaffolde saueth both hedgyng and rottyng; but they must be well couered bothe. And the husbände may sette shepe or catel under the same scaffold, and wyll serue hym in stede of an house, if it be well and surely made, &c.

*The second Sturryinge.*

In August, and in the begynnyng of September, is tyme to make his seconde sturryinge, and most commonly it is cast downe and plowed a meane forowe, not too depen or too ebbe, so he turne it clene. And if it be caste, it wolde be water forowed bytwene the landes, there as the rayne shulde be, and it wyll be the dryer whan the lande shall be sown. And if the landes lie hygh in the rydge, and high at the reane, and lowe in the myddes of the fyde, that the water maye not ronne easely into the reane, as I se dayly in many places: than let the husbände set his plough iii or iiii fote from the rydge, and cast all the rydge on both fydes, and whan the rydge is cast, set his plough there as he began, and rydge up the remenant of the lande, and so is the land bothe cast and rydged, and all at one plowyng. And this shall cause the lande to lye rounde whan it is sown at the next tyme, and than shall it not drowne the corne.

*To sowe Wheate and Rye.*

About Myghelmasse it is tyme to sowe both wheate and rye. Wheate is mooste commonlye sown under the forowe, that is to saye, caste it uppon the falowe, and than plowe it under. And in some places



places they sowe their wheate upon theyr pees stubble, the whiche is neuer soo good, as that that is sown upon the falowe: and that is used where they make falowe in a felde euery fourthe yere. And in Effex they use to haue a chylde, to go in the forowe before the horses or oxen, with a bagge, or a hopper full of corne; and he taketh his hande full of corne, and by lyttle and lyttle, casteth it in the sayde forowe. Me semeth, that chylde oughte to haue mochedyscretion. Howbeit, there is moche good corne, and rye is mooste commonlye sowne aboute, and harrowed, and two London busshelles of wheate, and rye, wyll sowe an acre. Some grounde is good for wheate, some for rye, and some is good for bothe: and upon that grounde sowe blend cone, that is both wheate and rye, the whiche is the surest corne of growynge, and good for the husbandes housholde. And the wheate that shall be medled with rye, must be suche, as wyll soone be ripe, and that is flaxen wheate, polerde wheate, or whyte wheate. And ye shall understande, that there be dyuers maners of wheates. Flaxen wheate hath a yellowe eare, and bare without anis, and is the bryghtest wheate in the bushell, and wyll make the whitest breed, and it wyll weare the grounde fore, and is small strawe, and wyll growe very thycke, and is but small corne. Polerde wheate hath noo anis, thycke sette in the eare, and wyll soone fall out, and is greater corne, and wyll make whytte breed. Whyte wheate is lyke polerde wheate in the bushell, but it hath anis, and the eare is foure square, and wyll make whyte breed: and in Effex, they call flaxen wheate, whyte wheate. Red wheate hath a flat eare, an inche brode, full of anis, and is the greatest corne, and the brodeste blades, and the greatest strawe, and will make whyte breed, and is the rudeste of colour in the bushell.

Englyshe



Englyshe wheate hath a dunne eare, fewe anis or none, and is the worste wheate, saue peeke wheate. Peeke wheate hath a red eare, ful of anis, thyn set, and oft tymes it is flyntered, that is to saye, small corne wrynkeled and dryed, and wyll not make whyte breade, but it wyl growe upon colde grounde.

*To threshe and wynowe Corne.*

This wheate and rye, that thou shalte sowe, ought to be very cleane of wede, and therfore, er thou threshe thy corne open thy sheues, and pyke oute all maner of wedes, and than threshe it, and wynowe it cleane, and so shault thou haue good cleane corne, an other yere. And in some countreys, aboute London specyallye, and in Effex and Kente, they do fan theyr corne, the whiche is a verye good gife, and a great sauegarde for shedinge of the corne. And whan thou shalte sell it, if it be well wynowed or fande, it wyll be folde the derer, and the lyghte corne wyll serue the husbnde in his house.

*To seuer Pees, Beanes, and Fytches.*

Whan thou haste threshed thy pees, and beanes, after they be wynowed, and er thou shalte sowe or felle them, let theym be well reed, with syues, and seuered in thre partes, the great from the small, and thou shalte gette in euerye quarter a London busshell, or there about. For the smalle corne lyeth in the holowe and voyde places of the greate beanes, and yet shall the greate beanes be folde as dere, as if they were all together, or derer, as a man maye proue by a famylier ensample. Let a man bye C. hearynges, two hearynges for  
D a peny,



a peny, and an other C. hearynges, thre for a peny, and let hym sell these CC. hearinges agayne, v herynges for ii d. nowe hath he losse iiiii d. For C. hearinges, ii for i d. cost v s. and C. hearynges, iii for a peny, coste iii s. and iiiii d. the whiche is viii s. and iiiii d. and whan he selleth v herynges for ii d. xx heringes cometh but to viii d. and there is but vii score heringes, and that is but vii grotes, and vii grotes, and that cometh but to viii. s. and so he hath lost iiiii d. and it is bicause there be not so many bargeins, for in the bienge of these CC. heringes there be v score bargeins; and in the felling of the same there be but xlviii bargeyns, and so is there lost x hearinges, the whiche wolde haue ben ii bargeyns moo, and than it had ben euen and mete. And therefore he that byeth grosse sale, and retayleth, must nedes be a wyner, and so shalt thou be a loser, if thou sell thy pees, beanes, and fytches together: for than thou sellest grosse sale. And if thou seuer them in thre partes, than thou doest retayle, wherby thou shalt wyne.

*Of Shepe, and what Tyme of the Yere the Rammes shulde be put to the Ewes.*

An housbande can not well thryue by his corne, without he haue other cattell, nor by his cattell, without corne, for els he shall be a byer, a borrower, or a begger. And bycause that shepe in myne opynyon is the mooste profytablest cattell, that any man can haue, therefore I pourpose to speake fyrst of shepe. Than fyrst it is to be known, what tyme thou shalt put thy rammes to thy ewes, and therin I make a distinction, for euery man maye not put to theyr rammes all at one tyme: for if they doo, there wyll be greate hurte and losse, for that man, that hath the best shepe pasture for wynter, and soone spryngynge in the beggynyng



gynnyng of the yere, he maye suffre his rammes to goo with his ewes all tymes of the yere, to blyssomme or ryde whan they wyll: but for the common pasture, it is tyme to put to his rammes at the exaltation of the holye crosse: for than the bucke goth to the rut, and so wolde the ramme. But for the common husbände, that hath noo pasture but the common fieldes, it is tyme ynoughe at the feste of saynt Mychaell the Archangel. And for the poore housbände of the peeke, or suche other, that dwell in hylly ane hyghe groundes, that haue no pastures, nor common fieldes, but all onely the comon hethes, Symon and Jude daye is good tyme for theym, and this is the reason why. An ewe goth with lambe xx wekes, and shall peane her lambe in the xxi weke, and if she haue not conueniente newe grasse to eate, she maye not gyue her lambe milke: and for wante of milke, there be manye lambes peryshed and losse: and also for pouertye, the dammes wyll lacke mylke, and forsake theyr lambes, and soo often tymes they dye bothe in suche harde countreys.

*To make an Ewe to loue her Lambe.*

If thy ewe haue mylke, and wyll not loue her lambe, put her in a narowe place made of bordes, or of smoth trowse, a yarde wyde, and put the lambe to her, and socle it, and yf the ewes smyte the lambe with her heed, bynde her heed with a heye rope, or a corde, to the fyde of the penne: and if she wyl not stande fyde longe all the ewe, than gyue her a lyttell hey, and tye a dogge by her, that she maye se hym: and this wyll make her to loue her lambe shortely. And if thou haue a lambe deed, whereof the damme hath moche mylke, slei that lambe, and tye that skynne upon an other lambes backe, that hath a sory damme with lyttell mylke, and



put the good ewe and that lambe together in the penne, and in one houre she wyll loue that lambe, and than mayst thou take thy fore weyke ewe awaye, and put her in an other place: and by this meanes thou mayste fortune to saue her lyfe, and the lambes bothe.

*What Tyme Lambes shulde be wayned.*

In some places they neuer feuer their lambes from their dammes, and that is for two causes: one is, in the beste pasture where the rammes goo alwaye with theyr ewes, there it nedeth not, for the dammes wil waxe drye, and wayne theyr lambes theym selfe. An other cause is, he that hath noo feuerall and founde pasture, to put his lambes vnto, whan they shoulde be wayned, he muste eyther sell them, or let theym sucke as long as the dammes wyll suffre theym, and it is a common sayinge, that the lambe shall not rotte, as long as it souketh, excepte the damme want meate. But he that hath feuerall and founde pasture, it is tyme to wayne theyr lambes, whanne they be xvi wekes olde, or xviii at the farthest, and the better shall the ewe take the ramme agayne. And the poore man of the peeke countreye, and suche other places, where as they vse to mylke theyr ewes, they vse to wayne theyr lambes at xii wekes olde, and to mylke theyr ewes fiue or fyxe wekes, &c. But those lambes be neuer soo good as the other that sucke longe, and haue meate ynoughe.

*To drawe Shepe, and feuer them in dyuers Places.*

Than thou grasier, that hast many shepe in thy pastures, it is conuenient for the, to haue a shepe-folde made with a good hedge or a pale, the whiche wyll receyue all thy shepe easyly that goo in one pasture,



pasture, sette betwene two of thy pastures, in a drye place, and adioynynge to the ende of the same, make an other lyttell folde, that wyll receyue lxxxx shepe or moo, and bothe those foldes must haue eyther of them a gate in to eyther pasture, and at the ende of that folde make an other lyttell folde, that wyll receyue xl shepe or mo, and betwene euery folde a gate. And whan the shepe are in the grate folde, let xl of them or there about, come into the myddle folde, and steke the gate. And than let the shepeherde turne them, and loke them on euery fyde, and if he se or fynde any shepe, that nedeth any helpynge or mendinge for any cause, lette the shepeherde take that shepe with his hoke, and put hym in the lyttell folde. And whan he hath tyken all that nedeth any mending, than put the other into whether pasture he wyll, and let in as many out of the greate folde, and take those, that nede any handling, and put them into the lyttell folde. And thus peruse them all tyll he haue doone, and than let the shepeherde go belte, grese, and handel all those that he hath drawen, and than shall not the great flocke be taryed nor kepte from theyr meate: and as he hath mended them, to put them into theyr pasture.

*To belte Shepe.*

If any shepe raye, or be fyled with dounge about the taylor, take a payre of sheres, and clyppe it awaye, and cast dry muldes therupon: and if it be in the heate of the summer, it wolde be rubbed euer with a lyttell tarre, to kepe awaye the flies. It is necessarye, that a shepeherde haue a borde, set fast to the fyde of his lyttell folde, to laye his shepe vpon, whan he handeleth theym, and an hole bored in the borde with an augur, and therein a grayned staffe of two fote longe, to be set fast, to hang



his terre boxe vpon, and than it shall not fall. And a shepeherde shoulde not go without his dogge, his shepe hoke, a payre of sheres, and his terre boxe, eyther with hym, or redye at his shepe folde, and he muste teche his dogge to barke, whan he wolde haue hym, to ronne whan he wold haue hym, and to leue ronning, whan he wolde haue hym, or els he is not a cunnynge shepeherd. The dogge must learne it, whan he is a whelp, or els it wyl not be: for it is harde to make an olde dogge to stoupe.

*To grease Shepe.*

If any sheepe be scabbed, the shepeherde maye perceyue it by the bytynge, rubbyng, or scratchynge with his horne, and mooste commonly the woll wyll ryse, and be thyn or bare in that place: than take hym, and shede the woll with thy fyngers, there as the scab is, and with thy fynger laye a lyttell terre therupon, and stroke it a lengthe in the bottom of the woll, that it be not seen aboue. And soo shede the woll by and by, and laye a lyttell terre thervppon, tyll thou passe the fore, and than it wyll go no farther.

*To medle Terre.*

Let thy terre be medled with oyle, gose grease, or capons grease, these three be the beste, for these wyll make the terre to ronne abrode: butter and swynes grease, whan they be molten, are good, soo they be not salte, for terre of hym selfe is to kene, and is a fretter, and no healer, without it be medled with some of these.

*To*



*To make Brome salve.*

A medicine to salve poore mennes shepe, that thynke terre to costely: but I doubt not, but and riche men knowe it, they wolde vse the same.

Take a shete ful of brome croppes, leaues, blofomes, and all, and chop them very smal, and than sethe them in a pan of xx gallons with rynnynge water, tyll it begyn to waxe thycke lyke a gelly, than take two pounce of shepe suet molten, and a pottell of olde pyffe, and as moche bryne made with salte, and put all in to the sayde panne, and styre it aboute, and than streyne it thorowe an olde clothe, and putte it in to what vessel ye wyll, and yf your shepe be newe clypped, make it luke warme, and then washe your shepe there with, with a sponge or a pece of an olde mantell, or of faldynge, or suche a softe cloth or woll, for spendynge to moche of your salve. And at all tymes of the yere after, ye may relent it, and nede require: and make wyde sheydes in the woll of the shepe, and anoynt them with it, and it shal heale the scabbe, and kyll the shepe lice, and it shal not hurte the woll in the sale thereof.

And those that be washen, wyll not take scabbe after (if they haue sufficient meate) for that is the beste grease that is to a shepe, to grease hym in the mouthe with good meate: the whiche is also a greate sauegarde to the shepe for rottyng, excepte there come myldewes, for he wyll chose the beste, if he haue plenty. And he that hath but a fewe shepe moderate this medicine accordynge.

*If a Shepe haue Mathes.*

If a shepe haue mathes, ye shal perseyue it by her bytyng, or fryfkyng, or shakynge of her tayle,  
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and



and mooste commonlye it is moyft and wete: and if it be nyghe vnto the tayle, it is ofte tymes grene, and fyled with his dounge: and than the shepeherde muſte take a payre of ſheres, and clyppe awaye the woll bare to the ſkynne, and take a handfull of drye moldes, and caſt the moldes thervpon to drye vp the wete, and than wpe the muldes away, and laye terre there as the mathes were, and a lyttell farther. And thus loke them euery daye, and mende theym, if they haue nede.

*Blyndenes of Shepe, and other Dyſeaſes, and Remedies therfore.*

There be ſome ſhepe that wyll be blynd a ſeaſon, and yet mende agayn. And if thou put a lytel terre in his eye he will mende the rather. There be dyuers waters, and other medicyns, that wolde mende hym, but this is the mooste common medicyne that ſhepeherdes uſe.

*The Worme in the Shepes Fote, and helpe therfore.*

There be ſome ſhepe, that hath a worme in his foote, that maketh hym halte. Take that ſhepe and loke betwene his cleſe, and there is a lyttell hole, as moche as a greatte pynnes heed, and therein groweth fyue or yxe blacke heares, like an inche long and more, take a ſharpe poynted knyfe, and ſlytte the ſkynne a quarter of an inche long aboue the hole and as moche benethe, and put thy one hande in the holowe of the fote, vnder the hynder cleſe, and ſet thy thombe aboue almooste at the ſlytte, and thruſte thy fyngers vnderneath forward, and with thy other hand, take the blacke heares by the ende, or with thy knyues poynte, and pull the heares a lyttell and a lyttell, and thruſte after thy other hande, with thy fynger and thy thombe,



thombe, and theyr wyll come out a worme lyke a pece of fleshe, nygh as moche as a lyttell fynger. And whan it is out, put a lyttell tarre into the hole, and it wyll be shortely hole.

*The Blode, and Remedy if one come betyme.*

There is a sicknes among shepe, and is called the bloude, that shepe, that hath that, wil dye sodeinly, and er he dye, he wil stande still, and hange downe the heed, and other while quake. If the shepeherde can espye hym, let him take and rubbe hym about the heed, and specyally about his eares, and vnder his eyen, and with a knyfe cut off his eares in the middes, and also let hym blode in a veyne vnder his eien: and if he blede wel, he is lyke to lyue; and if he blede not, than kil him, and saue his fleshe. For if he dye by hym selfe, the fleshe is losse, and the skyn wyll be ferre ruddyer, lyke blode, more than an other skinne shall be. And it taketh mooste commonly the fattest and best lykyng.

*The Pockes, and Remedy therfore.*

The pockes appere vppon the skyn and are lyke reed pymples, as brode as a farthyng, and therof wyll dye many. And the remedy therfore is, to handle all thy shepe, and to loke on euery parte of theyr bodyes: and as many as ye fynde taken therwith, put theym in freshe newe gras, and kepe them fro theyr felowes, and to loke thy flocke ofte, and drawe theym as they nede. And if it be in sommer tyme, that there be no froste, than washe them. Howe be it some shepeherdes haue other medycines.



*The Wode Euyll, and Remedy therfore.*

There is a sickenes among shepe, and is called the wodge euyll, and that cometh in the sprynge of the yere, and takethe them moſte commonly in the legges, or in the necke, and maketh them to halt, and to holde theyr necke awry. And the moſte parte that haue that ſicknes, wyl dye ſhortely in a day or two. The beſt remedy is, to waſhe theym a lyttell, and to bryng them to lowe ground and freſhe graſſe. And that ſycknes is moſte commonly on hylly grounde, ley grounde, and ferny grounde. And ſome men uſe to let them bloude vnder the eye in a vaine for the ſame cauſe.

*To waſhe Shepe.*

In June is tyme to ſhere ſhepe, and er they be ſhorne, they muſte be verye well waſhen, the whiche ſhall be to the owner great profyte in the ſale of his woll, and alſo to the clothe maker. But yet beware, that thou put not too many ſhepe in a penne at one tyme, neyther at the waſhing, nor at the ſhering, for feare of murtheryng or ouer preſſyng of their fellowes; and that none go away tyll he be cleane waſhen; and ſe that they, that hold the ſhepe by the heed in the water, holde his heed hye ynoughe for drownynge.

*To ſhere Shepe.*

Take hede of the ſherers, for touchynge the ſhepe with the ſheres, and ſpecially for pryckynge with the poynte of the ſheres, and that the ſhepeherde be alway redy with his tarboxe to ſalue them. And ſe that they be well marked, both eare marke, pitche marke, and radel marke; and let the wol  
be



be well folden or wounden with a woll wynder, that can good skyll therof, the whiche shal do moche good in the sale of the same.

*To drawe and seuer the badde Shepe from the good.*

Whan thou haste all shorne thy shepe, it is than best tyme to drawe them, and soo seuer theym in dyuers sortes, the shepe, that thou wylte fede by them selfe, the ewes by them selfe, the share hogges and theyues by them selfe, the lambes by them selfe, wedders and the rammes by theym self, if thou haue soo many pastures for them: for the byggest wyll beate the weikeste with his heed. And of euery sorte of shepe, it may fortune there be some, that like not and be weike, those wolde be put in freshe grasse by theym selfe: and whan they be a lyttel mended, than sel them, and ofte chaunge of grasse shal mend all maner of cattell.

*What Thynges rotteth Shepe.*

It is necessary that a shepeherde shoulde knowe, what thyng rotteth shepe, that he myghte kepe theym the better. There is a grasse called spere-wort, and hath a longe narowe leafe, lyke a spere heed, and it wyll growe a fote hyghe, and beareth a yelow floure, as brode as a peny, and it groweth alwaye in lowe places, where the water is vsed to stande in wynter. An other grasse is called peny grasse, and groweth lowe by the erthe in a marshe grounde, and hath a leafe as brode as a peny of two pens, and neuer beareth floure. All maner of grasse, that the lande floudde renneth ouer, is verye ylle for shepe, bycause of the sande and fylthe that stycketh vppon it. All marreys grounde, and marshe grounde is yll for shepe. The grasse that groweth vppon falowes is not good  
for



for shepe: for there is moche of it wede, and ofte tymes it commeth vppe by the rote, and that bryngeth erthe with it, and they eate both, &c. Myldewe grasse is not good for shepe, and that ye shall knowe two wayes. One is, by the leaues on the trees in the mornynge, and specially of okes, take the leaues, and putte thy tonge to them, and thou shalt fele like hony vppon them. And also there wyll be many kelles vppon the grasse, and that causeth the myldewe. Wherefore they may not well be let out of the folde, tyll the sonne haue domynation to drye them awaye. Also hunger rotte is the worst rotte that can be, for there is neither good fleshe nor good skynne, and that cometh for lacke of meate, and so for hunger they eate suche as they can fynde: and so will not pasture shepe, for they selden rot but with myldewes, and than wyll they haue moch talowe and fleshe, and a good skyn. Also white snailes be yll for shepe in pastures, and in falowes there is an other rotte, whiche is called pelter rotte, and that commeth of greatte wete, specyally in woode countreyes, where they can not drye.

*To knowe a rotten Shepe dyuers maner Wayes,  
wherof some of them wyll not sayle.*

Take bothe your handes, and twyrle vpon his eye, and if he be ruddy, and haue reed stryndes, in the white of the eye, than he is sounde; and if the eye be white, lyke talowe, and the stryndes darke coloured, thanne he is rotten. And also take the shepe, and open the wolfe on the fyde, and yf the skynne be of ruddy colour and drye, than is he sounde; and if it be pale coloured and watrye, thanne is he rotten. Also whanne ye haue opened the woll on the fyde, take a lyttell of the woll bytweene thy fynger and thy thombe, and pull  
it



it a lyttel; and if it sticke faſte, he is founde, and if it comme lyghtely off, he is rotten. Also whan thou haſte kylde a ſhepe, his belly wyll be full of water, if he be ſore rotten, and alſo the fatte of the fleſhe, wyll be yallowe if he be rotten. And alſo if thou cut the lyuer, therin wyll be lyttell quikens lyke flokes, and alſo the lyuer wyll be full of knottes and whyte blyſters, yf he be rotten; and alſo ſet the lyuer, if he be rotten it wyll breke in peces, and if he be founde, it wyll holde together.

*To bye leane Cattell.*

Theſe houſbandes, if they ſhall well thryue, they muſte haue bothe kye, oxen, horſes, mares, and yonge cattell, and to rere and brede euery yere ſome calues and fools, or els ſhall he be a byer. And yf thou ſhalte bye oxen for the ploughe, ſe that they be yonge, and not gowty, nor broken of heare, neyther of tayle, nor of pyſell. And yf thou bye kye to the payle, ſe that they be yonge and good to mylke, and fede her calues wel. And if thou bye kye or oxen to feede, the yonger they be, the rather they wyll fede, but loke well, that the heare ſtare not, and that he lycke hym ſelfe, and be hoole mouthed, and want no tethe. And though he haue the goute and be broken, bothe of tayle and pyſell, yet wyll he fede. But the gouty ox wyll not be dryuen ferre, and ſe that he haue a brode ryb, and a thycke hyde, and to be loſe ſkynned, that it ſtycke not harde nor ſtreyte to his rybbes, for than he wyll not fede.

*To bye fatte Cattell.*

If thou ſhalte bye fatte oxen or kye, handel them, and ſe that they be ſoft on the forecroppe, behynde  
the



the shulder, and vpon the hindermofte rybbe, and vpon the hucbone, and the nache by the taylor. And fe the oxe haue a greate codde, and the cowe great nauyll, for than it fhulde feme, that they fhuld be wel talowed. And take hede, where thou byefte any leane cattel or fat, and of whom, and where it was bred. For if thou bye out of a better grounde than thou hafte thy felfe, that cattell wyll not lyke with the. And alfo loke, that there be no maner of fycknes amonge the cattel in that towneshyp or pasture that thou byeft thy catel oute of. For if there be any murren or longe fought, it is great ieoperdy: for a beaft maye take fycknes ten or xii dayes or more, ere it appere on hym.

*Dyuers Sycknesfes of Cattell, and Remedies therfore,  
and fyrft of Murren.*

And yf it fortune to fall murren amonge thy beaftes, as God forbede, there be men ynough can helpe them. And it cometh of a ranknes of bloudde, and appereth moſte commonly fyrſte in the heed: for his heed wyll ſwell, and his eyen waxe greate, and ronne of water and frothe at the mouth, and than he is paſte remedy, and wyl dye ſhortely, and wyll neuer eate after he be fycke. Than flee hym, and make a depe pytte faſte by, there as he dyeth, and caſte hym in, and couer hym with erthe, that noo dogges maye come to the caryen. For as many beaftes as feleth the ſmelle of that caryen, are lykely to be enſecte: and take the ſkynne, and haue it to the tanners to ſell, and bryng it not home, for peryll that maye fall. And it is commonly vſed, and cometh of a greate charytie, to take the bare heed of the ſame beaſte, and put it vpon a longe pole, and ſet it in a hedge, faſte bounden to a ſtake, by the hyghe waye ſyde, that euerye man, that rydethe or goeth that waye,  
maye



maye fe and knowe by that signe, that there is fyck-  
nefs of cattell in the towneshyp. And the hus-  
bandes holde an opynyon, that it shall the rather  
cease. And whanne the beaste is flaine, there, as  
the murren dothe appere bytwene the fleshe and  
the skynne, it wyll ryse vppe lyke a ielly and frothe  
an inche depe or more. And this is the remedy  
for the murren. Take a smalle curteyne corde,  
and bynde it harde aboute the beastes necke, and  
that wyll cause the bloudde to come in to the necke,  
and on eyther fyde of the necke there is a vayne  
that a man may fele with his fynger: and than  
take a bloud yren, and set it streight vppon the  
vayne, and smyte hym bloudde on bothe fydes,  
and let hym blede the mountenaunce of a pynte,  
or nyghe it, and than take awaye the corde, and it  
wyll staunche bleding. And thus serue all thy cat-  
tell, that be in that close or pasture, and there shall  
no mo be sicke by Goddes leue.

*Longe sought, and Remedy therfore.*

There is an nother maner of fyckenesse among  
beastes, and it is called longe sought, and that  
sickenes wyl endure long, and ye shall perceyue  
it by his hoystyng, he wyl stand moche, and eate  
but a littel, and waxe very holowe and thin. And  
he wyl hoyft xx times in an houre, and but fewe of  
them do mende. The best remedy is to kepe thy  
cattell in fondrye places, and as many as were in  
companye with that beast, that fyrst fell fycke, to  
let them a lyttel bloude. And there be many  
men, that can seuer theym, and that is to cutte the  
dewlappe before; and there is a grasse, that is  
called feitergrasse; take that grasse, and broyse it a  
lyttell in a mortar, and thanne put thereof as  
moche



moche as an hennes egge in to the fayd dewlappe, and se it fall not oute. Thus I haue seen vsed, and men haue thought it hath done good.

*Dewbolue, and the harde Remedy therfore.*

An other dysease amonge beastes is called dewbolue, and that commeth, whan a hungry beaste is put in a good pasture full of ranke grasse, he wyll eate soo moche, that his fydes wyll stande as hygh as his backe bone, and other whyle, the one fyde more thanne the other, and but fewe of them wyll dye, but he maye not be dryuen hastely, nor laboured, being so swollen, and the substaunce of it is but wynde: and therfore he wolde be softly dryuen, and not fytted downe. Howe be it I haue seen a manne take a knyfe, and thruste hym thorowe the skynne and the fleshe two inches depe, or more, vi. inches or more from the ridge bone, that the wynde maye come out. For the wynde lyeth bytwene the fleshe and the greate paunche.

*Rysen vpon, and the Remedy therfore.*

An other dysease is called risen vpon, and no man can tell howe, nor wherof it cometh: but ye shall perceyue, that by swellynge in the heed, and speciallye by the eyen, for they wyll ronne on water, and close his syghte, and wyll dye shortly, within an houre or two, if he be not holpen. This is the cause of his dysease. There is a blyster risen vnder the tounge, the whiche blyster must be slytted with a knyfe a crosse. Whan ye haue pulled out the tounge, rubbe the blyster well with salte, and take an hennes egge, and breake it in the beastes mouthe shell and all, and cast salte to it, and holde vp the bestes heed, that all maye be swallowed downe into the body. But the breakynge of  
the



the blyfter is the great helpe, and dryue the beaſte a lyttel aboute, and this ſhall ſaue hym, by the helpe of Jeſu.

*The Turne, and Remedy therfore.*

There be beaſtes that wyll turne about, whan they eate theyr meate, and wyll not fede, and is great ieoperdy for fallynge in pyttes, dyches, or waters: and it is bycauſe that there is a bladder in the foreheed bytwene the brayne panne and the braynes, the whiche muſt be taken out, or els he ſhal neuer mende, but dye at lengthe. And this is the remedy, and the greateſt cure that can be on a beaſt. Take that beaſt, and caſt him downe, and bynde his foure fete together, and with thy thombe, thruſte the beaſt in the foreheed, and where thou fyndeſt the ſoſteſt place, there take a knyfe, and cut the ſkyn three or foure inches on bothe ſides bytwene the hornes, and as moche benethe towarde the noſe, and ſley it, and turne it up, and pyn it faſte with a pyn, and with a knyfe cut the brayne-pan ii. inches brode, and thre inches longe; but ſe the knyfe go no deper than the thыcknes of the bone for peryſhyng of the brayne, and take away the bone, and than ſhalt thou ſe a bladder full of water two inches longe and more, take that out, and hurte not the brayne, and thanne let downe the ſkynne, and ſowe it faſte there as it was before, and bynde a clothe two or thre folde upon his foreheed, to kepe it from colde and wete x. or xii. dayes. And thus haue I ſeen many mended. But if the beaſte be fatte, and any reaſonable meate vpon hym, it is beſt to kyll hym, for than there is but lyttell loſſe. And if the bladder be vnder the horne, it is paſt cure. A ſhepe wyll haue the turne as well as a beaſt, but I haue ſeen none mended.



*The Warrybrede, and the Remedy therfore.*

There be beastes that wyll haue warrybreds in dyuers partes of theyr body and legges; and this is the remedy. Cast hym downe, and bynde his foure fete together, and take a culture, or a payre of tonges, or fuche an other yren, and take it glowing hote: and if it be a longe warrybrede, fere it off harde by the body, and if it be in the beginninge, and be but flatte, than lay the hot yren vpon it, and fere it to the bare skyn, and it will be hole for euer, be it horse or beast.

*The Fowle, and the Remedy therfore.*

There be bestes, that wyl haue the foule, and that is betwene the cleese, sometyme before, and sometyme behynde, and it wyll swell, and cause hym to halt; and this is the remedy. Cast hym downe, and bind his foure fete together, and take a rope of heare, or a hey rope, harde wrythen together, and put it betwene his cleese, and drawe the rope to and fro a good season, tyll he blede well, and than laye to it softe made terre, and binde a cloute aboute it, that noo myre nor grauell come betwene the clese: and put hym in a pasture, or let hym stande styll in the house, and he wyll be shortly hole.

*The Goute without Remedy.*

There be beastes, that wyll haue the goutte, and mooste commonly in the hynder fete, and it wyll cause them to halt, and go starkely. And I knewe neuer manne, that coulde helpe it, or fynde remedye therfore. But all onely to put hym in good grasse, and fede hym.



*To rere Calues.*

It is conueniente for a housbande to rere calues, and specially those that come bytwene Candelmasse and Maye, for that season he may spare mylke beste, and by that tyme the calfe shall be wayned, there wyll be grasse ynoughe to put hym unto. And at winter he wyll be bygge ynoughe to saue hym selfe amonge other beastes, with a lyttel fauoure. And the damme of the calfe shall bull agayne, and brynge an other by the same time of the yere: and if thou shalt tary tyll after May, the calfe wolde be weyke in wynter, and the damme wolde not bull agayne: but ofte tyme go bareyn. And if thou shalte rere a calfe, that commeth after Myghelmasse, it wyll be costly to kepe the calfe all the wynter season at hey, and the damme at harde meate in the house, as they vse in the playne champyon countrey. And a cowe shall gyue more mylke with a lyttel grasse and strawe, lyenge without in a close, thanne she shall doo with hey and strawe, lyenge in an house, for the harde meate dryeth vp the mylke. But he that hath no pasture, muste do as he may. But yet is it better to the housbande, to sell those calues, than to rere them, bycause of the cost, and also for the profytte of the mylke to his house, and the rather the cowe wyll take the bull. If the husbande go with an oxe plough, it is conuenient that he rere two oxe calues, and two cowe calues at the least, to upholde his stocke, and if he maye do moo, it wyll be more profyte. And it is better, to wayne thy calues at grasse before. And that man, that maye haue a pasture for his kye, and an other for his calues, and water in them both, maye rere and brede good beastes with lyghte coste. And if thou waine thy calues with hey, it wyl make them haue great



belyes, and the rather they wyll rotte, whan they come to grasse, and in wynter they wolde be put in a house by them selfe, and gyuen hey on the nyghtes, and put in a good pasture on the day, and they shall be moche better to handell, whan they shall be kye or oxen.

*To gelde Calues.*

It is tyme to gelde his oxen calues in the olde of the mone, whan they be x. or xx. days olde, for than it is leaste ieoperdye, and the oxen shall be the more hyer, and the lenger of body, and the lenger horned: and that maye be well proued, to take two oxen calues, bothe of one kynde, of one makynge, and both of one age, gelde one of them, and let the other goo forthe and be a bull, and put theym bothe in one pasture, tyll they be foure or fyue yere olde: and than shall ye se the oxen calfe, ferre greater euery waye, than the bull, there is noo cause, but the geldynge: and yf thou gelde them not, tyll they be a yere olde, there is more ieopardye, he shall be lesse of bodye, and shorte horned.

*Horses and Mares to drawe.*

A husbände maye not be withoute horses and mares, or bothe, and specially if he go with a horse ploughe he muste haue both his horses to drawe, and his mares to brynge coltes, to upholde his stocke, and yet at manye times they maye drawe well, if they be well handled. But they maye not beare sackes, nor be rydden upon noo iourneys, whan they be with foole, and specially whanne they haue gone with foole xx or xxiii wekes, for than is the greatteste ieopardy. For yf she be rydden upon, and sette up hotte, or tourned out, and take cold, she wil caste her foole, the whiche wolle be a. greatte losse to the housbände.

For



For she wyll labour, and beare whan she hath fooled, and drawe whan she is with foole, as well as the horse. It is conuenient for the husbände to knowe, whanne his mare wolde be horsed. It is the common sayenge, that she wyll take the horse within ix or x dayes, nexte after that she hath fooled: but that saying I holde not with, for and she so do, she wyll not holde therto, for the horse dothe dryue her to it. But xx days after, is tymely ynoughe to brynge her to a horse, for she wyl not holde to it, excepte she be kene of horsyng, and that shall ye knowe by her shap, for that wyll twyrle open, and close agayne many times in an houre; and than brynge her to a horse, and let her be with hym a day or a nyght, and that is suffycient. For it is better to kepe the horse from the mares, than to go with them, for dyuers causes, and specially he shall be more lusty, and the moo horse coltes shall he gete. But he that hath very many mares, maye not alway attende them, but let them go to gether, and take as God fendes it. Some men holde an opinion, that if the horse be put to the mare in the begynnyng of the moone, after it be prime, he shall gete a horse foole. And some men saye the contrary: that if he be putte to the mare in the olde of the mone, he shoulde gete horse fooles. And I saye, it maketh noo matter, whether: for this cause I haue proued. I haue my selfe, lx. mares and more, able to beare the horse, and from Maye daye unto saynte Barthylmewes daye. I have v or vi horses goynge with them bothe daye and nyghte, and at the foolynge tyme I haue upon one daye a horse sole, and on the nexte day, or seconde, a mare sole, and on the thirde or fourth day next after, a horse sole agayne, and soo euery weke of bothe fortes, and by theyr opynyon or reason, I shulde haue xiiii dayes together horse fooles, and other xiiii



dayes together mare foles. And me femethe, that those men, that holdeth that opinyon, speke sophysticallye, that if soo be, they layde any wagers thereuppon, that they shoulde bothe wyne in theyr owne conceyte by this reason. Whether it were gette in the newe of the mone or in the olde of the mone, it is a horse foole, bycause a horse gate it, though it be a felly fole, and it is a mare fole, bycause a mare fooled it, though it be a horse colte. And so (*Diuerfis respectibus*) theyr opynions maye be trewe. But of one thyng I am certayne, that some one horse wyll gette more horse fooles, than other horse wyll doo, and lyke wyse, a mare wyll beare moo mare fooles than some other mare wyll do, though they be horsed bothe with one horse. Me semeth, there is no reason why, but the lustynes of the nature of bothe partes, whether of them shall haue the domination. But and ye haue mares of dyuers colours, than do as I do, seuer them in diuers parcells, and put to your white mares a grey horse, or a whyte horse, that hath noo whyte rathe in the foreheed, and to your grey mares a white horse, so that he be not al white skynned aboute the mouthe. And to your mares of colour, that haue no white upon them, a coloured horse, that hath moch white on hym, and to your coloured mares of mayne whyte, a horse of colour of mayn whyte. And thus shall ye haue well coloured coltes. It maketh noo mater, of what colour the horse be, soo he be neyther whyte nor grey. For if ye put a whyte horse to a coloured mare, she shall haue moste commonly a sandy colte, lyke an yren grey, neyther lyke fyre nor damme. Howe be it I haue seen and known many mares, that wyl haue theyr colte lyke the horse that gate it, the whiche is agaynste kynde of mares,



mares, for a manne maye rather gette one good horse, than many good mares.

*The Losse of a Lambe, a Calfe, or a Foole.*

It is lesse hurte to a man, to haue his cowe caste her calfe, thanne an ewe to caste her lambe. For the calfe wyll foucke as moche mylke, er it be able to kyll, as it is worthe, and of the ewe cometh noo profytte of the mylke, but the lambe. Howe be it they vse in some places to mylke theyr ewes, whan they haue wayned theyr lambes: but that is great hurte to the ewes, and wyll cause them, that they wyll not take the ramme at the tyme of the yere for pouertye, but goo barreyne.

And if a mare caste her foole, that is thryse soo great a losse, for yf that foole be comen of good brede, as it is necessary euery man to prouyde, for as moche costes and charges hath a badde mare as a good, in shorte space the foole, with good kepyng, may be solde for as moche money as wolde bye many calues and lambes.

*What Cattell shulde go to gether in one Pasture.*

Beastes alone, nor horses aloone, nor shepe alone, excepte it be shepe vppon a verye hyghe grounde, wyll not eate a pasture euen, but leaue many tuftes and hygh grasse in dyuers places, excepte it be ouer layde with cattell. Wherfore knowe that horses and beasts wyll agree well in oone pasture, for there is some maner of grasse, that a horse wyll eate, and the beast wyl not eate, as the fytches, flashes, and lowe places, and all the holowe bunnnes and pypes that growe therin. But horses and shepe wyll not so well agree, excepte it be shepe to fede, for a shepe wyll go on a bare pasture, and wyll eate the sweeteste grasse: and soo wyll a horse, but he wolde haue it lenger. Howe be it he wyll eate as nyghe the erthe as a



shepe, but he can not so sone fyll his belly. To an hundred beastes ye maye put xx horses, if it be lowe ground, and if there be grasfe ynoughe, put in an hundred shepe, and so after the rate, be the pasture more or lesse. And after this maner they may fede and eate the close euen, and leue but fewe tuftes. And if it be an hyghe ground, put in moo shepe, and lesse bestes and horses. Melch kye, and draught oxen, wyll eate a close moche barer than as many fatte kye and oxen. And a melche cowe may haue to moch meate: for if she waxe fatte, she wyll the rather take the bull, and gyue lesse mylke, for the fatnes stoppeth the poores and the vaines, that shuld brynge the mylke to the pappes. And therefore meane grasfe is beste to kepe her in a meane estate. And if a cowe be fatte, whan she shall calue, than is there great ieopardy in her, and the calfe shall be the lesse: but ye can not gyue your draught oxe to moche meate, excepte it be the aftermath, of a late mowen medowe, for that wyll cause hym to haue the gyree, and than he maye not well labour. And there be to moche grasfe in a close, the cattel shall fede the worse, for a good bytte to the erthe is sufficyente, for if it be longe, the beaste wyll byte of the toppe and noo more, for that is swetest, and the other lyeth styll vppon the ground, and rotteth, and no beaste wyll eate it but horse in wynter, but these beastes, horses and shepe, maye not be fodered to gether in wynter, for thanne they wolde be feuered: for els the beastes with theyr hornes, wyll put bothe the horses and the shepe, and gore them in theyr belyes. And it is necessarye to make standynge cratches, to caste theyr fodder in, and the staues set nyghe ynough togyther, for pullynge theyr fodder to hastely out, for shedyng. And if it be layde vppon the erthe, the fourthe parte therof  
wyll



wyll be losse: and if ye laye it upon the erthe, laye it euerye tyme in a newe place, for the olde wyll marre the newe.

*The Properties of Horses.*

Thou grafyer, that mayst fortune to be of myne opynyon or condytion, to loue horses and yonge coltes or foles, to go amonge thy cattel, take hede that thou be not begyled, as I haue ben an hundred tymes and more. And first thou shalt knowe, that a good horse hath liiii propertyes, that is to say, ii of a man, ii of a baufon or a badger, iv of a lyon, ix of an oxe, ix of a hare, ix of a foxe, ix of an asse, and x of a woman.

*The two Properties, that a Horse hath of a Man.*

The fyrste is, to haue a proude harte, and the seconde is, to be bolde and hardy.

*The ii Propertyes of a Baufon.*

The fyrste is, to haue a whyte rase or a ball in the foreheed, the seconde, to haue a whyte fote.

*The iv Properties of a Lyon.*

The fyrste is, to haue a brode breste, the seconde, to be styffe docked, the thyrde, to be wyld in countenaunce, the fourthe, to haue foure good legges.

*The ix Propertyes of an Oxe.*

The fyrste is to be brode rybbed, the ii to be lowe brawned, the thyrde to be shorte pasturned, the iv to haue greatte fenewes, the fyfte to be wyde betwene the challes, the fixte is, to haue great nosethrylles, the vii to be bygge on the chyn, the viii to be fatte and well fedde, the ix to be up-ryghte standynge.

*The*



*The ix Propertyes of an Hare.*

The fyrste is styffe eared, the seconde, to haue greate eyen, the thyrde, rounde eyen, the fourthe, to haue a leane heed, the v to haue leane knees, the fyxte, to be wyght on foote, the vii to turne upon a lyttell grounde, the viii to haue shorte buttockes, the ix to haue two good fyllettes.

*The ix Propertyes of a Foxe.*

The fyrste is, to be prycke eared, the seconde, to be lyttell eared, the thyrde to be rounde fyded, the fourthe to be fyde tayled, the fyfte to be shorte legged, the fyxte to be blacke legged, the vii to be shorte trottynge, the viii to be well colour-ed, the ix to haue a lyttell heed.

*The ix Propertyes of an Asse.*

The fyrste is to be small mouthed, the seconde, to be longe rayned, the iii to be thyn creffed, the fourthe to be streyght backed, the fyfth to haue small stones, the fyxte to be lathe legged, the vii to be rounde foted, the eyght to be holowe foted, the ix to haue a toughe houe.

*The x Properties of a Woman.*

The fyrst is, to be mery of chere, the seconde, to be well paced, the thyrde to haue a brode forehead, the fourth, to haue brode buttockes, the fyfthe, to be harde of warde, the fyxte, to be easye to lepe vppon, the vii to be good at a longe iourneye, the viii to be well sturrynge vnder a man, the ix to be alwaye besye with the mouthe, the tenth, euer to be chowyng on the brydell.

It myght fortune I coude shewe as many defaultes of horses, as here be good propertyes, but than I shuld breake my promyse, that I made at  
Crombalde



Crombalde brydge, the first tyme I went to Ryp-  
pon for to bye coltes.

But it is to suppose, that if a horse want any  
of these good propertyes, that he shulde have a  
defaute in the same place. And this is sufficient  
for this tyme.

*The Diseases and Sorance of Horses.*

Nowe it is to be knowen, the sorance and dyf-  
eases of horses, and in what partes of theyr bo-  
dyes they be, that a man maye the rather pereeyue  
them. And howe be it, that it may be against  
my profyt, yet I wil shewe you suche as cometh  
to my mynde.

*The Lampas.*

In the mouthe is the lampas, and is a thicke  
skyn full of bloude, hangynge ouer his tethe  
aboue, that he may not eate.

*The Barbes.*

The barbes be lyttell pappes in a horse mouth,  
and lette hym to byte: these two be sone holpen.

*Mournynge of the Tonge.*

Mournynge of the tonge is an yll dysease, and  
harde to be cured.

*Purisy.*

Purisy is a dysease in an horses bodye, and  
maketh hym to blowe shorte, and appereth at his  
nosethrilles, and commeth of colde, and may be  
well mended.

*Broken wynded.*

Broken wynded is an yll dysease, and cometh  
of rennyng or rydynge ouer moche, and speci-  
ally shortely after he is watred, and appereth at  
his nosethryll, at his flanke, and also at his tuell,  
and



and wyll not be mended, and wyll moche blowe and coughe, if he be fore chafed, and it wyl leaste appere, whan he is at grasse.

*Glaunders.*

Glaunders is a disese, that may be mended, and commeth of a heate, and a fodeyne colde, and appereth at his nosethrylles, and betwene his chall bones.

*Mournynge on the Chyne.*

Mournynge on the chyne is a dysease incurable, and it appereth at his nosethryll lyke oke water. A glaunder, whan it breaketh, is lyke matter. Broken wynded, and purysfnes, is but shorte blowynge.

*Stranguellyon.*

Stranguelyon is a lyght dysease to cure, and a horse wyl be very fore fycke therof, and cometh of a chafynge hote, that he swete, and after it wyll ryse and swell in dyuers places of his body, as moche as a mannes fyfte, and wyll breake by it selfe, if it be kepte warme, or els is there ieoperdy.

*The Hawe.*

The hawe is a forance in a horse eye, and is lyke a gristell, and maye well be cutte oute, or els it wyll haue out his eye, and that horse that hath one, hath commonly two.

*Blyndnes.*

A horse wyll waxe blynde with laboure, and that maye be cured betyme.

*Viues.*

The viues is a forance under a horse eye, bytwene the ouer ende of the chall bones and the necke,



necke, and are rounde knottes bytwene the skyn and the fleshe lyke tennes balles, and if they be not kilde, they wyl waxe quicke, and eate the rotes of the horse eares, and kill hym.

*The Cordes.*

The cordes is a thyng that wyll make a horse to stumple, and ofte to fall, and appereth before the forther legges of the body of the horse, and may well be cured in ii places, and there be but fewe horses, but they haue parte therof.

*The Farcyon.*

The farcyon is an yll forauce, and maye well be cured in the begynnyng, and wyll appere in dyuers places of his bodye, and there wyll ryse pymples as moche as halfe a walnut shell, and they wyll folowe a veyne, and wyll breake by it selfe. And as manye horses as do playe with him, that is fore, and gnappe of the matter that renneth out of the sore, shall haue the same forance within a moneth after, and therefore kepe the fycke frome the hole. And if that forance be not cured betyme, he wyll dye of it.

*A Malander.*

A malander is an yl forance, and may wel be cured for a tyme, but with yl keping it wyl comme agayne, and appereth on the forther legges, in the bendynge of the knee behynde, and is like a scabbe or a skal: and some horses wyll haue two vppon a legge, within an inche together, and they wyl make a horse to stumple, and other whyle to fall.

*A Selander.*

A selander is in the bendynge of the legge behynde, lyke as the malander is in the bendynge of  
the



the legge before, and is lyke a malander, and may be well cured.

*A Serewe.*

A ferewe is an yll foraunce, and is lyke a splent, but it is a lyttell longer and more, and lyeth vppe to the knee on the inner fyde. And some horses haue a throughe ferewe on bothe fydes of the legge, and that horse must nedes stumple and fall, and harde it is to be cured.

*A Splent.*

A splent is the leaste foraunce that is, that alwaye contynueth excepte lampas. And many men take vpon them to mende it, and do payre it.

*A Rynghbone.*

A rynghbone is an yll foraunce, and appereth before on the foote, aboue the houe, as well before as behynde, and wyll be swollen three inches brode, and a quarter of an inche or more of heyghte, and the heare wyll stare and waxe thyn, and wyll make hym to halte, and is yll to cure, if it growe longe.

*Wyndgalles.*

Wyndgalles is a lyghte forance, and commeth of great labour, and appereth on eyther fyde of the ioynte, aboue the fetelockes, as wel before as behynde, and is a lyttell swollen with wynde.

*Morfounde.*

Morfounde is an yll forance, and cometh of rydyngge faste tyll he swete, and than sette vp so-deynely in a colde place, without lytter, and take cold on his fete, and specially before, and appereth vnder the houe in the hert of the fote, for it wyll growe downe, and waxe whyte, and cromely lyke a pomis. And also wyll appere by processe by  
the



the wryncles on the houe, and the houe before wyll be thycker, and more bryckle, than and he had not benne morfounde, nor he shall neuer trede so boldly vpon the harde stones, as he dydde before, nor wyll not be able to beare a man a quarter of a yere or more, and with good paryng and shoyng, as he oughte to be, he wyll do good seruyce.

*The Coltes Euyl.*

Coltes euyl is an yll diseafe, and commeth of ranknes of nature and bloudde, and appereth in his scote, for there wyl he swel great, and wyll not be harde, and soone cured in the begynnyng.

*The Bottes.*

The bottes is an yll dyseafe, and they lye in a horse mawe, and they be an inche long white coloured, and a reed heed, and as moche as a fyngers ende, and they be quycke, and stycke faste in the mawe fyde, it apperethe by stampyng of the horse, or tomblyng, and in the beginninge there is remedy ynoughe, and if they be not cured betyme, they wyll eate thorowe his mawe, and kyll hym.

*The Wormes.*

The wormes is a lyght dyseafe, and they lye in the greatte paunche, in the belye of the horse, and they are shynyng, of colour lyke a snake, fyxe inches in lengthe, greate in the myddes, and sharpe at bothe endes, and as moche as a spyndell, and wyll sone be kylde.

*Affreyd.*

Affreyd is an yll diseafe, and commethe of great labour and rydyng faste with a contynuall sweate, and thanne sodeynly to take a great colde,  
his



his legges wyll be styffe, and his skyn wyll stycke fast to his fydes, and may be well cured.

*Naulygall.*

Naulygall is a foraunce, hurte with a faddle, or with a buckle of a croper, or suche other, in the myddes of the backe, and maye be lyghtely cured.

*A Spauen.*

A spauen is an yll foraunce, whervppon he wyll halte, and specyally in the begynnyng, and appereth on the hynder legges within, and agaynste the ioynte, and it wyll be a lyttell swollen and harde. And some horses haue throughe spauen, and appereth bothe within and without, and those be yll to be cured.

*A Courbe.*

A courbe is an yll forance, and maketh a horse to halte fore, and appereth vppon the hynder legges streyght behynde, vnder the camborell place, and a lyttell benethe the spauen, and wyll be swollen, and yll to cure, if it growe longe vpon hym.

*The Stryng Halte.*

The stryng halte is an yll disease, and maketh him to twyche vp his legge sodeynly, and maketh hym to halte, and cometh ofte with a colde, and doth not appere outwarde.

*Enterfyre.*

Enterfyre is a forance, and cometh of yll showyng, and appereth ofte both behynde and before, betwene the fete agaynst the fetelockes, there is no remedy but good showyng.



*Myllettes.*

Myllettes is an yll forance, and appereth in the fetelockes behynde, and causeth the heare to sheede thre or foure inches of length, and a quarter of an inche in brede, lyke as it were bare and yll to cure, but it maye be perceiued, and specially in wynter tyme.

*The Peynes.*

The peynes is an yll foraunce, and appereth in the fete lockes, and wyl swel in wynter tyme, and oyse of water, and the heare wyll stare and be thyn, and yl to cure, but it wyl be seen in wynter.

*Cratches.*

Cratches is a foraunce that wyl cause a horse to halte, and commeth of yl kepynge, and appereth in the pasturnes, lyke as the skyn were cut ouerthwarte, that a man maye laye a white strawe, and it is sone cured.

*Atteynt.*

Atteynt is a forance, that commeth of an ouer rechynge, yf it be before, and if it be behynde, it is of the tredynge of an other horse, the whiche maye be soone cured.

*Grauelynge.*

Grauelynge is a hurte, that wyll make a horse to halte, and commeth of grauell and lyttel stones, that goth in betwene the shough and the herte of the fote, and is sone mended.

*A Cloyed.*

A cloyed is an hurte, that commeth of yll shoynge, whan a smyth dryueth a nayle in to the quycke,



the which wyll make hym to halt, and is sone cured.

*The Scabbe.*

There is a disease amonge horses, that is called the scabbe, and it is a skorfe in dyuers places of his body. And it commeth of a pouertie and yll kepynge, and is most commonly amonge olde horses, and wyll dye thervpon, and maye be well cured.

*Lowfy.*

There be horses that wyll be lowfy, and it cometh of pouertie, colde, and yll kepynge, and it is moste commonly amonge yonge horses, and menne take lyttel hede vnto it, and yet they wyll dye thervppon, and it maye be soone cured.

*Wartes.*

There is a defeaute in a horse, that is neyther forance, hurte, nor disease, and that is, if a horse wante wartes behynde, benethe the spauen place, for than he is noo chapmannes ware, if he be wylde, but if he be tame, and haue ben rydden vpon, than Caueat emptor, beware the byer, for the byer hath bothe his eyen to se, and his handes to handell. It is a sayenge, that suche a horse shoulde dye sodeynely, whan he hath lyued as many yeres as the mone was dayes olde, at suche tyme as he was foled.

*The Sayinge of the Frenche man.*

These be forauce, hurtes, and dyseases, that be nowe comme to my mynde, and the Frenche man saythe, Mort de langue, et de eschine, sount maladyes faunce medicine. The mournynge of the tongue, and of the chyne, are diseases without remedy or medicine. And ferther he saythe, Gardez bien, que il soyt cler de vieu, Que tout trauayle



trauayle ne soit perdue. Be wel ware, that he be clere of fyghte, lest all thy trauayle or iourneye be lost or nyght. And bycause I am a horse master my selfe, I haue shewed you the foraunce and dyseases of horses, to the entent that men shulde beware, and take good heede what horses they bye of me or of any other. Howe be it I saye to my customers, and those that bye any horses of me, and euer they wil trust any horse master or corser, whyle they lyue, trust me.

*The Diuersitie bytwene a Horse-mayster, a Corser, and a Horse Leche.*

A horse mayster is he, that bieth wylde horses, or coltes, and bredeth theym, and selleth theym agayne wylde, or breaketh parte of them, and maketh theym tame, and than selleth them. A corser is he, that byeth all rydden horses, and selleth them agayne. The horse leche is he, that takethe vppon hym to cure and mende all maner of diseases and foraunce that horses haue. And whan these three be mette, if ye hadde a potycarye to make the fourthe, ye myghte haue suche foure, that it were harde to truste the best of them. It were also conuenient to shew medicynes and remedies for al these diseases and forances; but it wolde be to longe a processe at this tyme, for it wolde be as moche as halfe this boke. And I haue not the perfyte connyng, nor the experyence, to shewe medicynes and remedies for theym all.

And also the horse leches wolde not be content therwith, for it myghte fortune to hurte or hynder theyr occupation.

*Of Swyne.*

Nowe thou husbande, that haste bothe horses and mares, beastes and shepe: it were necessary



also, that thou haue bothe swyne and bees; for it is an olde sayinge; he that hath bothe shepe, swyne, and bees, slepe he, wake he, he maye thryue. And that sayinge is, bycause that they be those thinges, that mooste profyt riseth of in shortest space, with least coste. Than se howe manye swyne thou art able to keepe, let them be bores and sowes all, and no hogges. And if thou be able to rere vi pigges a yere, than let two of them be bores, and foure of them sowes, and so to continue after the rate. For a bore will haue as lyttell kepyng as a hogge, and is moche better than a hogge, and more meate on hym, and is redy at all tymes to eate in the wynter season, and to be layde in soufe. And a sowe, er she be able to kyl, shall bryng forth as many pygges or moo, as she is worth, and her bodye is neuer the worse, and wyll be as good baken as a hogge, and as lyttel kepyng, but at suche tyme as she hath pygges. And if thy sowe haue moo pygges than thou wilt rere, sel them, or eate them, and rere those pygges, that come about lenten time, specially the begynninge of somer, for they can not be rered in winter, for cold, without great coste.

### *Of Bees.*

Of bees is lyttell charge, but good attendaunce at the tyme that they shall cast the swarme, it is conuenient, that the hyue be set in a garden, or an orchyarde, where as they may be kepte from the northe wynde, and the mouthe of the hyue towarde the sonne. And in June and July, they do most commonlye caste, and they wolde haue some lowe trees nyghe vnto them before the hyue that the swarme maye lyght vpon, and whan the swarme is knytte, take a hyue, and splente it within with three or foure splentes, that the bees maye knytte



knytte their combes therto, and annoynte the splentes, and the fydes of the hyue, with a lyttell honnye. And if thou haue no honnye, take swete creame, and than set a stole or a forme nyghe vnto the swarme, and laye a clene washen shete vpon the stole, and thanne holde the smalle ende of the hyue downewarde, and shake the bees in to the hyue, and shortely sette it vppon the stole, and turne vppe the corners of the shete ouer the hyue, and to leue one place open, that the bees may come in and out: but thou mayst not fight nor stryue with theym for noo cause, and to laye nettyls vppon the bowes, where as they were knytte, to dryue them from that place, and soo watche them all that daye, that they go not away, and at nyght, whan al be goone vp into the hyue, take it away, and set it where it shall stande, and take awaye thy shete, and haue claye tempered to laye aboute it vppon the borde or stone, where it shall stande, that noo wynde comme in, but the borde is better and warmer. And to leaue an hole open on the south fyde, of three inches brode, and an inche of heyghte, for the bees to come in and out. And than to make a couerynge of wheate strawe or rye strawe, to couer and house the hyue about, and set the hyue two fote or more from the erthe vpon stakes, soo that a mouse can not come to it, and also neyther beastes nor swyne. And if a swarme be caste late in the yere, they wolde be fedde with honnye in wynter, and layde vppon a thynne narowe borde, or a thynne sclarre or leade, put it into the hyue, and an other thynne borde wolde be set before euery hyues mouth, that no wynde come in, and to haue foure or fyue lyttell nyckes made on the nether fyde, that a bee maye comme out, or go in, and so fastened, that the wynde blowe it not downe, and to take it vp whan he wyll. And that hyue that is fedde, to stoppe



the mouthe cleane, that other bees come not in, for if they doo, they wyll fyghte, and kyll eche other. And beware, that noo waspes come in to the hyue, for they wyll kyl the bees, and eate the honny. And also there is a bee called a drone, and she is greater than another bee, and they wyll eate the honny, and gather nothyng; and therefore they wolde be kylde, and it is a sayenge, that she hath losse her styng, and than she wyl not labour as the other do.

*Howe to kepe Beastes and other Cattell.*

If a housbande shall kepe cattell well to his profytte, he musse haue feuerall closes and pastures to put his cattell in, the which wolde be wel quickefettered, diked, and hedged, that he maye feuer the byggeste cattell frome the weykeste at his pleasure, and specyallye in wynter tyme, whan they shall be fodered. And thoughe a man be but a farmer, and shall haue his farme xx yeres, it is lesse coste for hym, and more profyte to quickefetter, dyche, and hedge, than to haue his cattell goo before the herdeman. For let the housbande spende in thre yeres as moche money as the kepyng of his beastes, swyne, and shepe, doth cost him in iii yeres, than alwaye after, he shal haue all maner of cattell with the tenthe parte of the coste, and the beastes shal lyke moche better. And by this reason. The herdeman wyll haue for euery beast ii d. a quarter, or there aboute: and the swyneherde wyll haue for euery swyne, i. d. at the leaste. Than he must haue a shepeherde of his owne, or elles he shal neuer thryue. Than reken meate, drinke, and wages for his shepeherde, the herdmans hyre, and the swyneherdes hyre, these charges wyll double his rent or nyghe it, excepte his farme be aboue xl s. by yere. Nowe  
see



see what his charges be in iii yerres, lette hym ware as moche money in quickefettyng, dychyng, and hedgyng, and in thre yerres he shall be discharged for euermore, and moche of this labour he and his seruantes maye do with theyr owne handes, and saue moche money. And than hath he euery fyelde in feueraltie. And by the assente of the lordes and the tenauntes, euery neyghbour may exchaunge landes with other. And than shall his farme be twyse so good in profytte to the tenaunte as it was before, and as moche lande kepte in tyllage, and than shall not the ryche man ouer eate the poore man with his cattell, and the fourth parte of heye and strawe shall serue his cattell better in a pasture, than iiii tymes soo moche wyll do in a house, and lesse attendaunce, and better the cattell shall lyke, and the chiefe fauegarde for corne bothe daye and nyghte that can be.

*To get Settes and set them.*

And if thou haue pastures, thou muste nedes haue quyckesettyng, dychyng and plashyng. Whan it is grene, and commeth to age, than gette thy quyckesettes in the woode countreye, and let theym be of whyte thorne and crabtree, for they be beste, holye and hasell be good. And if thou dwelle in the playne countreye, than mayste thou gete bothe ashe, oke, and elme, for those wyll encrease moche woode in shorte space. And set thy oke settes and the ashe x or xii fote a sonder, and cut them as thou dost thy other settes, and couer theym ouer with thornes a lyttell, that shepe and cattell eate them not.

And also wede them clene in mydsomer mone or soone after: for the wedes, if they ouer growe, wyl kyl the settes. But get no blacke thorne for nothyng, for that wyl grow outwarde into the



pasture, and doth moch hurte in the grasse, and tearyng the woll of the shepe. It is good tyme to set quickefettes, fro that tyme the leaues be fallen, vnto oure lady daye in lente, and thy sandye grounde or grauell set fyrste, than clay grounde, and than meane grounde, and the medowe or marreys grounde laste, for the sande, and grauell wyll drye anone, and than the quickefet wyll take no rote, except it haue greate weate, for the muldes wyll lye lose, if it be dyched in February or Marche, and lyke wise clay ground. And make thy fettes longe ynough, that they maye be set depe ynough in the erth, for than they wyll growe the better. And to stande halfe a foote and moore aboue the erthe, that they maye sprynge oute in many braunches. And than to take a lyne, and sette it there as thou wylte haue thy hedge, and to make a trenche after thy lyne, and to pare awaye the grasse there the quickefettes shall be set, and caste it by, where the erthe of the dyche shall lye, and dygge vp the muldes a spade grasse depe, and to put in thy fettes, and dygge vp more molde, and laye vppon that set, and so peruse, tyll thou haue set all thy fettes, and let them lene towarde the dyche. And a foote from that make thy dyche. For if thou make it to nyghe thy fettes, the water maye fortune to weare the grounde on that syde, and cause thy fettes to fall downe.

*To make a Dyche.*

If thou make thy dyche foure foote brode, than wolde it be two foote and a halfe depe. And if it be v fote brode, than iii fote depe, and so accordynge, and if it be fyue fote brod, than it wolde be double sette, and the rather it wolde fence it selfe, and the lower hedge wyll serue.



*To make a Hedge.*

Thou muste gette the stakes of the harte of oke, for those be best, crabtree, blacke thorne, and ellore be good. Reed wethy is beste in marshe grounde, ashe, mayle, hasel, and whyte thorne wyl serue for a time. And set thy stakes within ii foote and a halfe together, excepte thou haue very good edderynge, and longe, to bynde with. And if it be double eddered, it is moch the better, and gret strength to the hedge, and moche lenger it will last. And lay thy small trouse or thornes, that thou hedgeste withall, ouer thy quickefettes, that shepe do not eate the sprynge nor buddes of thy fettes. Let thy stakes be well dryuen, that the poynt take the hard erthe. And whan thou hast made thy hedge, and eddered it well, than take thy mall agayne, and dryue downe thy edderinges, and also thy stakes by and by. For with the wyndynge of the edderinges thou doost leuse thy stakes, and therefore they muste nedes be dryuen newe, and hardened agayne, and the better the stake wil be dryuen, whan he is wel bounden.

*To plashe or pleche a Hedge.*

If the hedge be of x or xii yeres growing fythe it was first set, thanne take a sharpe hatchet, or a handbyll, and cutte the fettes in a playne place, nyghe vnto the erthe, the more halue a sonder, and bende it downe towarde the erthe, and wrappe and wynde theym together, but alwaye se that the toppe lye hyer than the rote a good quantytie, for elles the sappe wyll not renne in to the toppe kyndely, but in proesse, the toppe wyll dye, and than set a lyttel hedge on the backe fyde,  
and



and it shall nede noo more mendynge manye yeres after. And if the hedge be of xx, xxiiii or xxx yere of age, fythe it was fyrst sette, than wynde in first al the nethermoste bowes, and wynde them together, and than cutte the fettes in a playne place, a lyttel from the erth, the more halfe a sonder, and to lette it slaue downewarde, and not vpwarde, for dyuerse causes: than wynde the bowes and braunches therof in to the hedge, and at euery two fote, or iii. fote, to leaue one set growyng not plasshed, and the toppe to be cut off foure fote hygh, or there aboute, to stande as a stake, if there be any fuche, or els to set an other, and to wynd the other that be pleched about them. And if the bowes wyll not lye playne in the hedge, than cut it the more halfe a sonder, and bynd it to the hedge, and than shal he not nede for to mende the hedge, but in fewe places, xx yeres after or more. And if the hedge be olde, and be great stubbes or trees, and thyn in the bottome, that beastes may go vnder, or betwene the trees: thanne take a sharpe axe, and cutte the trees or stubbes, that growe a fote from the erthe, or there about, in a plaine place, within an inche or two inches of the side, and let them slaue downward, as I sayd before, and let the toppe of the tree lye ouer the rote of an other tree, and to pleche downe the bowes of the same tree, to stoppe the holowe places. And if all the holowe and voyde places wyll not be fylled and stopped, than scoure the olde dyche, and cast it vp newe, and to fyll with erthe al the voyde places. And if soo be these trees wyll not reche in euerye place, to make a sufficyent defence, than double quicke set it, and diche it new in euery place, that is nede ful, and set a hedge thervpon, and to ouerlay the fettes, for eatynge of shepe or other cattel.



*To mende a Hye waye.*

Me semeth, it is necessarye to shewe mine opinion, howe an hye way shulde be amended. And fyrste and princypally, see that there be noo water standynge in the hye waye, but that it be alwaye currante and rennyng, nor haue none abydyng more in one place thanne in an other. And in somer, whan the water is dried vp, than to get grauell, and to fyll vp euery lowe place, and to make theym euen, somewhat dyscendynge or currante, one waye or other. And if there be noo grauell, nor stones to gette, yet fyll it vp with erthe in the begynnynge of somer, that it maye be well hardened with caryage and treadynge vpon, and it shall be well amended, if the water maye passe away from it, the whiche wolde be well consydered, and specially aboute London, where as they make moche more coste than nedeth, for there they dyche theyr hye wayes on bothe sydes, and fyll vp the holowe and lowe places with erthe, and than they caste and laye grauell a losse. And whan a greatte rayne or water commeth, and synketh thorowe the grauell, and commeth to the erthe, than the erthe swelleth and bolneth, and waxeth softe, and with treadynge, and specyally with caryage, the grauell synketh, and gothe downwarde as his nature and kynde requyreth, and than it is in maner of a quicke sande, that harde it is for any thyng to goo ouer. But yf they wolde make no dyche in sommer tyme, whan the water is dried vp, that a man may se all the holowe and lowe places, than to cary grauell, and fyll it vp as hygh as the other knolles be, than wold it not bolne ne swell, nor be no quicke sande, and euery man may go beside the hie way with theyr cariage at theyr pleasure. And this  
me



me semeth is lesse coste, and lenger wyll last with a lyttell mendynge, whan nede requyreth. Therefore me thynketh, yf this were well looked vpon, it shuld be bothe good and necessarye for that purpose: for soo haue I seen done in other places, where as I haue ben, &c.

*To remoue and set Trees.*

If thou wylte remoue and sette trees, get as manye rotes with them as thou canste, and breake them not, nor bryse theym, by thy wyll. And if there be any rote broken and fore brused, cut it of harde by there as it is brused, with a sharpe hatchet, elles that roote wyll dye. And if it be ashe, elme, or oke, cut of all the bowes cleane, and saue the toppe hole. For if thou make hym ryche of bowes, thou makeste hym poore of thryfte, for two causes. The bowes causeth theym to shake with wynde, and to leuse the rotes. Also he can not be soo cleane gete, but some of the rotes muste nedes be cut, and than there wyll not come soo moche sappe and moystenes to the bowes, as there dyd before. And if the tree be very longe, cut of the top, two or thre yardes. And if it be an apple tree, or peare tree, or suche other as beareth fruyte, than cut away all the water bowes, and the small bowes, that the pryncypall bowes may haue the more sap. And if ye make a marke, which syde of the tree standeth towarde the sonne, that he may be set so agayne, it is soo moche the better.

*Trees to be set without Rotes, and growe.*

There be trees wil be set without rotes, and growe well, and sprynge rotes of them selfe. And those be dyuerse apple trees, that haue knottes in the bowes, as casses, or wydes, and suche other,  
that



that wyll growe on flauynges, and lykewyse popeler and wethy; and they must be cut cleane besyde the tree, that they growe on, and the toppe cut cleane of viii or x fote of lengthe, and all the bowes betwene, and to be set a fote depe or more in the erthe, in good grounde. And ye shall vnderstande, that there be foure maner of wethyes, that is to say, white wethye, blacke wethy, reed wethy, and osyerde wethy. Whyte wethye wyll growe vppon drye grounde, yf it be sette in the begynnyng of wynter, and wyll not gwroe in marshe grounde: blacke wethy wyll growe better on marshe grounde, and redde wethy in lyke maner: and osyerde wethy wyll growe beste in water and moyste grounde. And they be trees that wyll soone be nourysshed, and they wyll beare moche woode, and they wolde be cropped euery vii or viii yere, or els they wyll dye, but they maye not be cropped in fappte tyme, nor no tree els. And in many places, bothe the lordes, freeholders, and tenauntes at wyll, sette fuche wethyes, and popelers, in marshe grounde, to nouryshe wodde, &c.

*To fell Wodde for Housholde, or to sell.*

If thou haue any woddess to felle, for thy householde to brenne or to sell, than fell the vnder wodde fyrste in wynter, that thy cattell or beastes maye eate and brouse the toppes, and to fell noo more on a daye, but as moche as the beastes wyll eate the same daye, or on the morowe after. And as soone as it is well eaten or broused, thanne kydde it, and set them on the endes, and that wyll saue the bandes from rottyng, and they shall be the lyghter to carye, and the better wyll they brenne, and lie in lesse rowme. And whan thou shalt bryng them home to make a stacke of them,

set



set the nethermoste course vpon the endes, and the seconde course flat vppon the fyde, and the endes vpwarde, and the thyrde course flatte on the fyde ouerthwart the other. And so to peruse them, tyll thou haue layd all vp. And whan thou shalte brenne them, take the ouermoste fyrste.

*To shrede, lop or croppe Trees.*

If thou haue any trees to shrede, loppe, or croppe for the fyre wodde, croppe them in wynter, that thy beastes maye eate the brouse, and the mosse of the bowes, and also the yues. And whanne they be broused and eaten, dresse the wodde, and bowe it clene, and cutte it at euery byghte, and rere the greatte wodde to the tree, and kydde the smal bowes, and set them on ende. And if thou shalte not haue sufficyent wodde, excepte thou heed thy trees, and cut of the toppes, than heed theym thre or foure fote aboue any tymbre: and if it be noo tymbre tree, but a shaken tree, or a hedge rote full of knottes, thanne heed hym thyrty foote hyghe, or twenty at the leaste, for soo ferre he wyll beare plentye of woode and bowes, and moche more, thanne if he were not heeded. For a tree hath a propertye, to growe to a certayne heyght, and whan he cometh to that heyghte, he standeth styll, and groweth noo hyer, but in brede: and in conclusion, the toppe wyll dye and decrease, and the body thryue. And if a tree be heeded, and used to be lopped and cropped at euerye xii or xvi yeres ende, or there about, it wyll beare moche more woode, by processe of time, than if it were not cropped, and moche more profyte to the owner.

*Howe a Man shulde shrede, loppe, or croppe Trees.*

It is the comon gyse, to begynne at the top of the tree, whan he shall be shred or cropped, by-  
cause



cause eche bough shulde lye vppon other, whan they shall fal, so that the weight of the bowes shall cause theym to be the rather cut downe. But that is not beste, for that causeth the bowes to slaue downe the nether parte, and pulleth awaye the barke from the bodye of the tree, the whiche wyll cause the tree to be holowe in that place in tyme commynge, and many tymes it shall hynder hym. And therfore lette hym begynne at the nethermoste bough fyrste, and with a lyght axe for an hande, to cut the bough on bothe sydes, a foote or two foote from the bodye of the tree. And specially cut it more on the nether syde, than on the ouer syde, soo that the bough fall not streyght downe, but turne on the syde, and than shall it not slaue nor breke no barke. And euery bough wil haue a newe heed, and beare moche more woode; and by thy wyll, without thou must nedes do it, crop not thy tree, nor specyallye heed hym, whan the wynde standeth in the northe, or in the east. And beware, that thou crope hym not, nor heed hym (specially) in sappe tyme, for than wyll he dye within fewe yeres after, if it be an oke.

*To sell Woode or Tymber.*

If thou haue any woode to selle, I aduyse the, retayle it thy selfe, if thou mayste attende vppon it: and if not, thanne to cause thy baylye, or somme other wyse or dyscrete man, to do it for the. And if it be small wode, to kydde it, and sel it by the hundredes, or by the thousandes. And if there be ashes in it, to sell the smalle ashes to cowpers for garches, and the gret ashes to whele wryghtes, and the meane ashes to plowe wryghtes, and the crabbe trees to myllers, to make cogges, and ronges. And if there be any okes, bothe gret and smal, sel them, and pyl them, and sel the



the barke by it selfe, and than sorte the trees, the polles by them selfe, the myddel shorte by them selfe, and the greattest by them selfe, and than sel them by scores, or halfe scores, or C. as thou maist, and to sel it hard by the erth, for i fote next vnto the erth, is worthe ii fote in the top, and to cut thy tymber longe ynoughe, that thou leue no timber in the toppe. And to sell the toppes as they lye a greatte, or elles dresse them and sel the great wodde by it selfe, and the kyd wodde by it selfe, and to fal the vnder wode fyrst, at any tyme betwene Martilmas and holyrode day. And al the ashes, bytwene Martylmasse and Candelmas, and all okes, as soone as they wyl pyl, vntyl May be done, and not after. Perauenture the greattest man hath not the beste prouisyon. And that is bycause the seruantes wyll not enfourme hym these wayes, and also may fortune they wold bye suche woodes theym selfe, or be partener of the same, and to auyse his lorde to sel them. It is not conuenient, that the salesman, that selleth the wod, shuld be partener with the bier.

*To kepe sprynge Wodde.*

In the wynter, before that thou wilt sel thy wodde, make a good and a sure hedge, that no maner of cattell can get in. And as shortly as it is fallen, let it be caryed away, or the sprynge come vp, for els the cattell, that doth cary the wodde, wyll eate the sprynge; and whan the top is eaten, or broken, it is a great lette, hurte, and hynderance of the goodnes of the sprynge, for than where it is eaten, it burges oute of many braunches, and not soo fayre as the fyrst wolde haue ben. A parke is best kept, whan there is neyther man, dogge, nor foure foted beast therin, except dere. And so is a spryng beste kepte, where there



is neyther manne nor foure foted beastes within the hedge. But if there be moche grasse, and thou were lothe to lose it, than put in calues, newly wained and taken from theyr dammes, and also waynyng coltes, or horses not paste a yere of age: and let thy calues be taken awaye at Maye, the coltes may go lenger, for eating of any wodde; but there is ieoperdy bothe for calues soles, and coltes, for tyckes, or for beinge lowfy, the whiche wyl kyl them, if they be not taken hede vnto. And vii yeres is the lest that it wil saue it selfe, but x yeres is best. And than the under bowes wolde be cutte awaye, and made kyddes therof, and the other wyll growe moche the better and faster. And if the vnder bowes be not cutte awaye, they wyll dye, and than they be losse, and greatte hurte to the sprynge, for they take awaye the sappe, that shoulde cause the sprynge to growe better.

*Necessary Thynges belongynge to Graffynge.*

It is necessarye, profytable, and also a pleasure, to a housbande, to haue peares, wardens, and apples of dyuerse fortes. And also cheryes, filberdes, bulleys, dampsons, plummes, walnuttes, and suche other. And therefore it is conuenient, to lerne howe thou shalte grasse. Than it is to be knowen, what thynges thou must haue to grasse withall. Thou muste haue a graffynge sawe, the whiche wolde be very thynne, and thycke tothed, and bycause it is thynne, it wyll cut the narrower kyrse, and the cleaner for brusynge of the barke. And therefore it is sette in a compasse pece of yren, fyxe inches of, to make it styffe and bygge; thou muste haue also a graffynge knyfe, an inch brode, with a thycke backe, to cleue the stocke with all. And also a mallet, to dryue the knyfe and thy wedge in to the tree; and a sharpe knife, to pare the stockes heed, and an other sharpe  
G
knyfe,



knyfe, to cutte the graffe cleane. And also thou muste haue two wedges of harde wood, or elles of yren, a longe small one, for a small stocke, and a broder, for a bygger stocke, to open the stocke, whan it is clouen and pared: and also good tough claye and mosse, and also bastes or pyllinge of wethy or elme, to bynde them with, &c.

*What Fruite shuld be fyrste grafted.*

Peares and wardens wolde be grafted before any maner of apples, bycause the sappe commeth sooner and rather into the peare tree and warden tree, thanne in to the apple tree. And after saynt Valentynes daye, it is tyme to graffe bothe peares and wardens, tyll Marche be comen, and thanne to graffe appels to our lady daye. And than graffe that that is gette of an olde apple tree fyrste, for that wyll budde before the graffe get off a yonge apple tree late grafted. And a peare or a warden wolde be grafted in a pyrrre stocke; and if thou canst get none, than graffe it in a crabbe tree stocke, and it wyll do well; and some men graffe theym in a whyte thorne, and than it wyll be the more harder and stonye. And for all maner of appels, the crab tree stocke is beste.

*Howe to graffe.*

Thou muste get thy graffes of the fayrest lances, that thou canste fynde on the tree, and see that it haue a good knotte or ioynte, and an euen. Than take thy sawe, and sawe in to thy crabbe tree, in a fayre playne place, pare it euen with thy knyfe, and thanne cleaue the stocke with thy greatte knyfe and thy mallet, and set in a wedge, and open the stocke, accordynge to the thyckenesse of thy graffe, thanne take thy smalle sharpe knyfe, and cutte the graffe on bothe sydes in the ioynte, but passe not the myddes therof for nothyng, and let the inner syde, that shall be set in to the stocke,



stocke, be a lyttel thynner than the vtter fyde, and the nether poynte of the graffe the thynner: than proferre thy graffe in to the stocke, and if it go not close, than cut the graffe or the stocke, tyll they close cleane, that thou canste not put the edge of thy knyfe on neyther fyde betwene the stocke and the graffe, and sette them so, that the toppes of the graffe bende a lyttel outwarde, and see that the wodde of the graffe be set mete with the wodde of the stocke, and the sappe of the stocke maye renne streyght and euen with the sappe of the graffe; for the barke of the graffe is neuer soo thicke as the barke of the stocke. And therefore thou mayste not sette the barks mete on the vtter fyde, but on the inner fyde: than pull awaye thy wedge, and it wyl stand moche faster. Than takeoughe cleye, lyke marley, and ley it vppon the stocke heed, and with thy fynger laye it close unto the graffe, and a lyttel under the heed, to kepe it moyst, and that no wynde come into the stocke at the cleauynge. Than take mosse, and laye therupon, for chynynge of the claye: than take a baste of whyte wethy or elme, or halfe a bryer, and bynd the mosse, the clay, and the graffe together, but be well ware, that thou breake not thy graffe, neyther in the clayenge, nor in the byndynge, and thou muste set some thinge by the graffe, that crowes, nor byrdes do not lyght vpon thy graffe; for if they do, they wil breake hym, &c.

*To graffe bytwene the Barke and the Tree.*

There is an other maner of graffinge than this, and soner done, and soner to growe: but it is more ieoperdy for winde whan it begynneth to growe. Thou muste sawe thy stocke, and pare the heed therof, as thou diddest before, but cleue it not: than take thy graffe, and cut it in the ioynt to the



myddes, and make the tenaunte therof halfe an inche longe, or a lyttel more, all on the one fyde, and pare the barke awaye a lyttel at the poynt on the other fyde; than thou muste haue made redy a ponch of harde wood, with a stop and a tenaunte on the one fyde, lyke to the tenaunte of the graffe. Than put the tenaunt of the ponche betwene the barke and the woode of the stocke, and pull it out agayne, and put in the graffe, and se that it ioyned close, or els mende it. And this can not fayle, for now the sappe cometh on euery fyde, but it wyl spring soo faste, that if it stande on playne grounde, the wynde is lykelye to blowe it besyde the heed, for it hath no fastnes in the wodde. And this is beste remedy for blowynge of, to cutte or clyppe awaye somme of the nethermooste leaues as they growe. And this is the beste waye to graffe, and specyally a greate tree: than claye it, and bynde it as thou dydest the other, &c.

*To nourishe all maner of Stone Fruite, and Nuttes.*

As for cheryes, dampsons, bulleys, plummes, and suche other, maye be sette of stones, and also of the scyences, growynge aboute the tree of the same, for they wyl sooneste beare. Fylberdes and walnuttes maye be set of the nuttes in a gardeyne, and after remoued and sette where he wyl. But whan they be remoued, they wolde be set vpon as good a grounde, or a better, or els they wyl not lyke.

*A shorte Information for a yonge Gentyelman, that entendeth to thryue.*

I auyse hym to gette a copy of this presente boke, and to rede it frome the begynnynge to the endynge, wherby he maye perceyue the chapters and contentes of the same; and by reason of  
ofte



ofte redyng, he maye waxe perfyte, what shulde be doone at all seasons. For I lerned two verses at grammer scole, and they be these: *Gutta cauat lapidem non vi, sed sepe cadendo: Sic homo fit sapiens non vi, sed sepe legendo:* A droppe of water perseth a stoone, not al onely by his owne strengthe, but by his often fallynge. Ryghte so a man shall be made wyse, not all onely by hymselfe, but by his ofte redyng. And soo maye this yonge gentyllman, accordynge to the season of the yere, rede to his seruantes what chapyter he wyll. And also for any other maner of profyte conteyned in the same, the whiche is necessary for a yonge husbände, that hath not the experyence of housbandrye, nor other thynges conteyned in this presente boke, to take a good remembraunce and credence therunto, for there is an olde sayinge, but of what auctorytie I can not tell: *Quod melior est practica rusticorum, que scientia philosophorum,* It is better the practice or knowlege of an husband man well proued, than the science or connyng of a philosopher not proued, for there is nothyng touchyng husbandry, and other profytes conteyned in this presente booke, but I haue hadde the experyence therof, and proued the same. And ouer and beside all this boke, I wil aduise him to ryse betime in the morning, according to the verse before spoke of. *Sanat, sanctificat, et ditat surgere mane:* And to go about his closes, pastures, fieldes, and specially by the hedges, and to haue in his purse a payre of tables, and whan he seeth any thing, that wolde be amended, to wryte it in his tables: as if he fynde any horses, mares, beastes, shepe, fwyne, or geese in his pastures, that be not his owne: and perauenture thoughe they be his owne, he wolde not haue them to goo there, or to fynde a gap, or a sherde in his hedge, or any water standynge in his



pastures uppon his grasse, wherby he maye take double hurte, bothe losse of his grasse, and rotting of his shepe and calues. And also of standynge water in his corne fieldes at the landes endes, or sydes, and howe he wold haue his landes plowed, donged, sturred, or sowed. And his corne weded or shorne, or his cattell shifted out of one pasture into another, and to loke what dychyng, quicsettyng, or plashing, is necessary to be had, and to ouersee his shepeherd, how he handleth and ordreth his shepe, and his seruantes howe they plowe and do theyr warkes; or if any gate be broken down, or want any staues, and go not lyghtly to open and tyne, and that it do not traife, and that the windes blowe it not open, with many more necessary thynges that are to be looked upon. For a man alwaye wanderynge or goinge aboute somewhat, fyndeth or seeth that is amysse, and wolde be amended. And as soone as he seeth any suche defautes, than let hym take oute his tables, and wryte the defautes. And whan he commeth home to diner, supper, or at nyght, than let hym call his bayly, or his heed seruaunte, and soo shewe hym the defautes, that they may be shortly amended. And whan it is amended, than let him put it out of his tables. For this used I to doo x or xii yeres and more; and thus let hym use dayely, and in shorte space he shall sette moche thynges in good order, but dayely it wyll haue mendynge. And yf he canne not wryte, lette hym nycke the defautes vppon a stycke, and to shewe his bayely, as I sayde before. Also take hede bothe erly and late, at all tymes, what maner of people resorte and comme to thy house, and the cause of theyr commynge, and specially if they brynge with them pytchers, cannes, tancardes, bottles, bagges, wallettes, or busshell pokes. For if thy seruantes be not true, they maye doo the  
great



great hurte, and them selfe lyttel auauntage: Wherefore they wolde be well looked vppon. And he that hath ii true seruantes, a man seruante, and an other a woman seruante, he hath a great treasure; for a trewe seruante wyl do iustly hym selfe, and if he se his felowes do amysse, he wyl byd them do no more so, for if they do, he wyl shewe his master therof: and if he do not this, he is not a trewe seruant.

*A Lesson made in Englishe Verses, to teache a Gentrymans Seruant, to saye at euery Tyme, whan he taketh his Horse for his Remembraunce, that he shall not forget his Gere in his Inne bekynde hym.*

Purse, dagger, cloke, nyght cap, kerchief, shoyng horne, boget, and shoes. Spere, male, hode, halter, fadelclothe, spores, hatte, with thy horse combe. Bowe, arrowes, sworde, bukler, horne, leishe, gloues, stringe, and thy bracer. Penne, paper, inke, parchemente, reedwaxe, pomes, bokes, thou remember. Penknyfe, combe, thymble, nedle, threde, poynte, leste that thy gurthe breake. Bodkyn, knyfe, lyngel, gyue thy horse meate, se he be showed well. Make mery, synge and thou can, take hede to thy gere, that thou lose none.

*A Prologue for the Wyues Occupation.*

Nowe thou husbände, that haste doone thy diligence and labour, that longeth to an husbände, to get thy lyuynge, thy wyues, thy chyldrens, and thy seruantes: yet are there other thynges, that muste nedes be done, or elles thou shalte not thryue. For there is an olde common sayenge, that seldom doth the housbände thryue, withoute the leue of his wyfe. By this sayenge it shoulde seme, that there be other occupations and labours, that be moste conuenient for the wyues to do. And



howe be it that I haue not the experyence of al theyr occupations and warkes, as I haue of husbandry, yet a lyttell wyl I speke, what they ought to do, though I tel them not howe they shulde doo, and exercyse theyr labours and occupations.

*A Lesson for the Wyfe.*

Bvt yet er I begynne to shewe the wyfe, what warkes she shall do, I wyll firste teche her a lesson of Solomon, as I did to her husbände a lesson of the philosopher, and that is, that she shulde not be ydle at noo tyme: for Solomon saythe, *Ociosus non gaudebit cum electis in celo: sed lugebit in eternum cum reprobis in inferno*: That is to say, The ydle folke shall not ioye with the chosen folkes in heuen, but they shall sorowe with the reproued and forsaken folkes in hell. And saynt Jherom saythe, *Semper boni operis aliquid facito, vt te diabolus inueniat occupatum: Quia sicut in aqua stante generantur vermes: sic in homine ocioso generantur male cogitationes*: That is to say, Alwaye be doinge of some good warkes, that the dyuell may fynde the euer occupied: for as in standynge water are engendred wormes, ryghte soo in an ydle body are engendred ydle thoughtes. Here mayste thou se, that of ydelnes commeth damnation, and of good warkes and labour cometh saluation. Nowe arte thou at thy lyberty, to chose whether waye thou wylt, wherein is a great diuersitie. And he is an vnhappy man or woman, that god hath giuen bothe wyt and reason, and putteth hym in chose, and woll chose the worst parte. Nowe thou wyfe, I trust to shewe to the dyuers occupations, warkes, and laboures, that thou shalt not nede to be ydle no tyme of the yere.

*What*



*What Thynges the Wyfe is bounden of Ryght to do.*

First and pryncypally the wyfe is bounde of ryghte to loue her housbande, aboue father and mother, and aboue all other men. For our lorde saythe in his gospels, Relinquet patrem et matrem, et abherebit vxori sue: A man shulde leue father and mother, and drawe to his wyfe: and the same wyfe a wyfe shulde do to her husbande. And are made by the vertue of the sacrament of holy scripture, one fleshe, one bloude, one body, and two soules: Wherefore theyr hartes, theyr myndes, theyr warkes, and occupations, shulde be all one, neuer to seuer nor chaunge, duryng their natural lyues, by any mannes acte or dede, as it is sayde in the same gospel, Quod deus coniunxit, homo non separet: That thyng, that god hath ioyned to gether, noo man maye seuer nor departe. Wherefore it is conueniente, that they loue eche other as effectually, as they wolde doo theyr owne selfe, &c.

*What Warkes a Wyfe shulde do in generall.*

First in a mornyng whan thou arte waked, and purposede to ryse, lyfte up thy hande, and blesse the, and make a sygne of the holy crosse, In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, Amen. In the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy gooste. And if thou saye a Pater noster, an Aue, and a Crede, and remember thy Maker, thou shalte speede moche the better. And whan thou arte vp and redy, than first swepe thy house, dresse vp thy dysheborde, and sette all thynges in good order within thy house: milke thy kye, secle thy calues, fye vp thy mylke, take vppe thy chyl-dren, and araye theym, and prouyde for thy hus-bandes brekefast, dynner, souper, and for thy chyl-dren and seruantes, and take thy parte with theym.



theym. And to ordeyne corne and malte to the myll, to bake and brue withall whanne nede is. And meete it to the myll, and fro the myll, and se that thou haue thy measure agayne besyde the tolle, or elles the myller dealeth not truely with the, or els thy corne is not drye as it shoulde be. Thou must make butter, and chese whan thou maist, serue thy swyne bothe mornynge and euenynge, and gyue thy poleyn meate in the mornynge, and whan tyme of the yere commeth, thou must take hede howe thy hennes, duckes, and geese do ley, and to gather vp theyr egges, and whan they waxe brodye, to sette them there as noo beastes, swyne, nor other vermyn hurte them. And thou muste knowe, that all hole footed fowles wyll fytt a moneth, and all clouen footed fowles wyll fytt but three wekes, excepte a peyhenne, and greatte fowles, as cranes, bustardes, and fuche other. And whan they haue broughte forth the byrdes, to see that they be well kepte from the gleyd, crowes, fullymartes, and other vermynne. And in the begynnyng of Marche, or a lyttell afore, is tyme for a wyfe to make her garden, and to gette as many good fedes and herbes as she canne, and specially fuche as be good for the potte, and to eate: and as ofte as nede shall requyre, it muste be weded, for els the wedes wyl ouergrowe the herbes. And also in Marche is tyme to sowe flaxe and hempe; for I haue harde olde houswyues saye, that better is Marche hurdes, than Apryll flaxe, the reason appereth: but howe it shulde be sown, weded, pulled, repeyled, watred, washen, dryed, beaten, braked, tawed, hecheled, spon, wounden, wrapped, and wouen, it nedeth not for me to shewe, for they be wise ynough, and therof may they make shetes, bordclothes, towels, shertes, smockes, and fuche other necessaryes, and therefore let thy  
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distaffe be alwaye redye for a pastyme, that thou be not ydle. And vndouted a woman can not gette her lyuynge honestely with spynnyng on the distaffe, but it stoppeth a gap, and muste nedes be had. The bolles of flaxe, whan they be ripeled of, must be rideled from the wedes, and made drye with the son, to get out the fedes. Howe be it, one maner of linsede, called loken fede, wyll not open by the son: and therfore, whan they be drye, they muste be fore bruised and broken, the wiues knowe howe, and than winowed and kepte drye, tyll yere tyme come agayn. Thy female hempe must be pulled from the churle hempe, for that beareth no fede, and thou must do by it, as thou dydest by the flax. The churle hempe beareth fede, and beware that byrdes eate it not, as it groweth: the hemp therof is not soo good as the female hempe, but yet it wyll do good seruyce. May fortune somtime, that thou shalt haue so many thynges to do, that thou shalt not well knowe where is best to begyn: Than take hede, which thing shulde be the greatestt losse, if it were not done, and in what space it wold be done; than thinke what is the greatestt losse, and there begyn. But in case that thyng, that is of greatestt losse, wyll be longe in doynge, and thou myghteste do thre or foure other thynges in the meane whyle, thanne loke well, if all these thynges were sette together, whiche of them were the greatestt losse, and if all these thynges be of greater losse, and may be all done in as shorte space as the other, than doo thy many thynges fyrste.

It is conueniente for a housbande, to haue shepe of his owne for many causes, and than maye his wife haue part of the woll, to make her husbande and her selfe some clothes. And at the leaste waye, she maye haue the lockes of the shepe, eyther to make clothes or blankettes, and couerlettes, or bothe: and if she haue no woll of her owne,  
she



she maye take wol to spynne of clothe makers, and by that meanes she maye haue a conuenient luyngge, and many tymes to do other warkes. It is a wyues occupation, to wynowe all maner of cornes, to make malte, to washe and wrynge, to make heye, there corne, and in time of nede to helpe her husbände to fyll the mucke wayne or dounge carte, dryue the ploughe, to loode hey, corne, and suche other. And to go or ride to the market, to sel butter, chese, mylke, egges, chekyns, capons, hennes, pygges, gese, and all maner of cornes. And also to bye all maner of necessarye thynges belongynge to housholde, and to make a trewe rekenynge and accompte to her housbände, what she hath receyued, and what she hath payed. And yf the housbände go to the market, to bye or sell, as they ofte do, he than to shewe his wife in lyke maner. For if one of them shoulde vse to deceyue the other, he deceyueth hym selfe, and he is not lyke to thryue; and therefore they muste be trewe eyther to other. I coulde peraduenture shewe the housbandes dyuerse poyntes, that the wyues deceyue them in: and in lyke maner, howe husbandes deceyue theyr wyues: but if I shulde do so, I shulde shewe mo subtyll poyntes of deceipt, than eyther of them knewe of before; and therefore me semeth beste to holde my peace, least I shoulde do as the knyght of the toure dyd, the whiche had many fayre doughters, and of fatherly loue that he ought to them, he made a boke, to a good entente, that they myghte eschewe and flee from vyces, and folowe vertues. In the whiche boke he shewed, that if they were wowed, moued, or styred by any man, after suche a maner as he there shewed, that they shulde withstande it. In the whiche boke he shewed so many wayes, howe a man shoulde atteyne to his purpose, to brynge a woman to vice, the whiche wayes were so naturall,



rall, and the wayes to come to theyr purpose were soo subtylly contryued, and craftely shewed, that harde it wold be for any woman to resyste or deny theyr desyre. And by the sayd boke hath made bothe the men and the women to knowe more vyces, subtyltye, and crafte, than euer they shulde haue knowen, if the boke had not ben made: in the whiche boke he named hym selfe the knight of the towre. And thus I leue the wyues to use theyr occupations at theyr owne discreation.

*To kepe Measure in Spendynge.*

Nowe thou husbände and huswyfe, that haue done your diligence, and cure, accordynge to the fyrste artycle of the philosopher, that is to saye, Adhibe curam. And also haue well remembred the sayeng of wyse Solomon, Quod ociosus non gaudebit cum electis in celo: sed lugebit in eternum cum reprobis in inferno: Thanne ye must remembre, obserue, and kepe in mind, the seconde article of the sayinge of the philosopher, that is to saye, Tene mensuram. That is to saye, in englyshe, holde and kepe measure. And accordynge to that sayenge, I lerned two verses at grammer schole, and they be these, Qui plus expendit, quam rerum copia tendit: Non admiretur, si pauper tare grauetur: He that dothe more expende, thanne his goodes wyll extende, meruayle it shall not be, thoughe he be greued with pouertee. And also accordynge to that sayenge, speketh sayncte Paule, and saythe, Iuxta facultates faciendi sunt sumptus, ne longi temporis victum, breuis hora consumat. That is to saye, After thy faculty or thy hanoure make thyne expences, leste thou spende in shorte space, that thyng, that thou shouldest lyue by longe. This texte toucheth euery manne, from the hyest degree to the loweste: wherfore it is necessary to e-  
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uery manne and womanne to remembre and take good hede there vnto, for to obserue, kepe, and folowe the same; but bycause this texte of sayncte Paule is in latyn, and hvsbandes commonely can but lyttell laten, I fere, leaste they can not vnderstande it. And thoughe it were declared once or twyfe to theym, that they wolde forgette it: wherefore I shall shewe to theym a texte in englyshe, and that they maye well vnderstande, and that is this, Eate within thy tedure.

*To eate within the Tedure.*

Thou husbande and huswife, that intend to folowe the sayinge of the philosopher, that is to saye, kepe measure, you muste spare at the brynke, and not at the bottom, that is to vnderstande, in the begynnyng of the yere, fellynge of thy cornes, or spendyng in thy house, vnto the tyme that thou haue sowne agayne thy wynter corne, and thy lente corne, and than se what remayneth to serue thy house, and of the ouerplus thou mayste sell and bye suche other necessaryes, as thou must nedes occupie. And if thou spende it in the begynnyng of the yere, and shall want in the hynder ende, than thou doste not eate within thy tedure, and at the laste thou shalte be punyshed, as I shal proue the by ensample. Take thy horse, and go tedure him vpon thyne owne lees, flytte hym as ofte as thou wylte, no manne wyll saye wronge thou doste; but make thy horse so longe a tedure, that whan thou haste tyed hym vppon thyne owne lees, his tedure is so longe, that it recheth to the middes of an other mans lees or corne: nowe haste thou gyuen hym to moche lybertye, and that man, whose corne or grasse thy horse hath eaten, wyll be greued at the, and wyll cause the to be amerced in the court, or elles to make hym amendes, or bothe. And if thy horse breake his tedure, and  
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go at large in euery man's corne and grasse, than commeth the pynder, and taketh hym, and putteth hym in the pynfolde, and there shall he stande in prison, without any meate, vnto the tyme thou hast payde his raunsome to the pynder, and also make amendes to thy neyghbours, for distroyenge of theyr corne. Ryght so, as long as thou eatest within thy tedure, that thou nedest not to begge nor borowe of noo man, soo longe shalte thou encrease and growe in rycheffe, and euery man wyll be content with the. And if thou make thy tedure to longe, that thyne owne porcyon wyll not serue the, but that thou shalte begge, borowe, or bye of other: that wyll not longe endure, but thou shalte fall in to pouertye. And if thou breake thy tedure, and ren ryot at large, and knowe not other mennes goodes frome thyne owne, than shall the pynder, that is to saye, the sheryffe and the bayly areste the, and putte the in the pynfolde, that is to say, in prison, there to abyde tyll the truth be knownen: and it is meruayle if thou scape with thy lyfe; and therfore eate within thy tedure.

*A shorte Lesson for the Husbände.*

One thinge I wyl aduise the to remembre, and specially in wynter tyme, whan thou sytteste by the fyre, and hast supped, to consyder in thy mynde, whether the warkes that thou, thy wyfe, and thy seruantes shall do, be more auantage to the, than the fyre and candell lyghte, meate and drynke that they shall spende, and if it be more auantage, than syt styll: and if it be not, than go to thy bedde and slepe, and be vppe betyme, and breake thy faste before day, that thou mayste be all the shorte wynters day about thy busynes. At grammer scole I lerned a verse, that is this, Sanat, sanctificat, et ditat surgere mane. That is to say, Erly rysyng maketh a man hole in body, holer in soule,



soule, and rycher in goodes. And this me semeth shuld be sufficient instruction for the husbande to kepe measure.

*Howe Men of bye Degree do kepe Measure.*

To me it is doubtfull, but yet me semeth, they be rather to lyberall in expences, than to scarce, and specyally in three thynges. The fyrste is prodigalytie in outragious and costely aray, fer aboue measure: the seconde thyng is costely charge of delycyous meates and drynkes: the thyrde is outragious playe and game, ferre aboue measure. And nowe to the fyrste poynte.

*Prodigalite in outragious and costely Aray.*

I haue seen bokes of accompte of the yomen of the wardropes of noble men, and also inuentorys made after theyr decease of their apparell, and I doubte not, but at this daye, it is xx tymes more in value, than it was to fuche a man of degree as he was L. yere a go: and many tymes it is gyuen away, er it be halfe worne, to a symple man, the whiche causeth hym to weare the same: and an other symple man, or a lyttell better, seynge him to weare fuche rayment, thynketh in his mynde, that he maye weare as good rayment as he, and so causeth hym to dye fuche other, to his great coste and charge, aboue measure, and an yll ensample to all other: and also to see mens seruantes so abused in theyr aray, theyr cotes be so fyde, that they be fayne to tucke them vp whan they ryde, as women do theyr kyrtels whan they go to the market or other places, the whiche is an ynconuenient fyght. And ferthermore, they haue fuche pleytes vpon theyr brestes, and ruffes vppon theyr sleues, aboue theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayster, or theym selfe, hadde neuer so greatte nede, they coude not shoote one shote, to hurte  
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theyr ennemyes, tyll they hadde caste of theyr cotes, or cut of theyr sleues. This is fer aboue measure, or common weale of the realme. This began fyrste with honour, worship, and honesty, and it endeth in pryde, presumption, and pouertye, wherof speketh saint Austin, *Quemcunque superbum esse videris, diaboli filium esse ne dubites*: That is to say, who so euer thou seeest, that is proude, dout the not, but he is the diuels chylde: wherfore agaynst pryde he byddeth the remembre, *Quid fuisti, quid es, et qualis post mortem eris*: That is to say, what thou were, what thou art, and what thou shalte be after thy death. And S. Bernarde saythe, *Homo nihil aliud est, quam sperma fetidum, faccus stercoreum, et esca vermium*: That is to saye, A man is nothyng but stynkyng fylthe, a sacke of dounge, and wormes meate. The whiche sayinges wolde be remembred, and than me semeth this is sufficient at this time for the first point of the thre.

*Of delycyouſe Meates and Drynkes.*

Howe costely are the charges of delycious meates and drynkes, that be nowe most commonly vsed, ouer that it hath ben in tymes paste, and howe fer aboue measure: for I haue seen bokes of accompte of householde, and brumentes vpon the same, and I doubte not, but in delycious meates, drinkes, and spyces, there is at this daye foure tymes so moche spent, as was at these dayes to a lyke man in degree, and yet at that tyme there was as moche bese and mutton spent as is nowe, and as many good housholdes kept, and as many yomenne wayters therin, as be nowe. This began with loue and charytye, whan a lorde, gentylman, or yoman, desyred or prayed an other to come to dyner or soupper, and bycause of his commynge, he wolde haue a dyshe or two mo

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than he wolde haue had, if he had ben away. Than of very loue he, remembrynge howe longely he was bydden to dynner, and howe well he fared, he thynketh of very kyndnes he muste nedes byd hym to dyner agayne, and soo ordeyneth for hym as manye maner of fuche dysshes and meates, as the other man dyd, and two or iii mo; and thus by lyttel and litell, it is comen fer aboue measure. And begon of loue and charyte, and endeth in pryde and gloteny, wherof saynte Jerome saythe, *Qui post carnem ambulans, in ventrem et libidinem proueniunt, quasi irrationalia iumenta reputantur.* That is to say, They that walke, and be redy to fulfill the lust of the fleshe and the bely, are taken as vnreasonable beastes; and saynte Gregory sayth, *Dominante vicio gula, omnes virtutes per luxuriam et vanam gloriam obruuntur:* That is to saye, where the vice of glotony hath domination, all vertues by luxury and vayneglory are cast vnder: the whiche sayynges wold in lykewise be remembred, and this me semeth sufficient for the ii poynte of the thre.

*Of outrageous Playe and Game.*

It is conueniente for euerye man, of what degree that he be of, to haue playe and game accordynge to his degree. For Cato sayth, *Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis:* Amonge thy charges and busynes thou muste haue some tyme ioye and myrthe, but nowe adayes it is doone ferre aboue measure. For nowe a poore man in regarde wyll playe as great game, at all maner games, as gentylmen were wont to do, or greater, and gentylmen as lordes, and lordes as prynces, and ofte tymes the great estates wyll call gentylmen, or yomen, to play with them at as great game as they do, and they call it a disport, the whiche me semeth a very trewe name to it, for it displeaseth some  
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of them er they departe, and specyall god, for myspendynge of his goodes and tyme. But if they played smalle games, that the poore man that playeth myght beare it thoughe he losse, and bate not his countenance, than myght it be called a good game, a good playe, a good sporte, and a pastyme. But whan one shall lose vpon a day, or vpon a nyght, as moche money as wold fynde hym and all his house meate and drynke a moneth, or a quarter of a yere or more, that maye be well called a disporte, or a displeasure, and ofte tymes by the meanes therof, it causeth theym to sell they landes, dysheryte the heyres, and may fortune to fall to thefte, robbery, or suche other, to the great hurte of them selfe, and of theyr chyldren, and to the displeasure of god: and they so doinge, lyttel do they pondre or regarde the saying of saynt Paule, *Iuxta facultates faciendi sunt sump-tus, ne longi temporis victum breuis hora consu-mat*: This play begun with loue and charite, and oft times it endeth with couetous, wrath, and enuy. And this me thynketh shoulde be a sufficient instruction for kepyng of measure.

*A Prologue of the thyrde Sayinge of the Philosopher.*

Nowe thou housbande and houswife, that haue done your diligence and cure about your husbundrye and huswyfry, accordynge to the fyrste sayenge of the philosopher, *Adhibe curam*. And also haue well remembred and fulfilled the seconde sayinge of the sayde philosopher, *Tene mensuram*: I doubte not but ye be ryche accordyng to the thyrde sayinge of the sayde philosopher, *Et eris diues*. Nowe I haue shewed you the sayinge of the philosopher, wherby you haue gotten moche worldely possession, me semeth it were necessary to shewe you howe ye maye gette heuenly possessions, accordynge to the sayinge of our lorde



in his gospel, *Quid prodest homini, si vniuersum mundum lucretur, anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur*: What profyteth it to a man, though he wyn all the worlde, to the hyndraunce and losyng of his soule. Howe be it, it shoulde seme vnconuenient for a temporall man, to take vpon hym, to shewe or teache any suche spirytuall matters: and yet there is a great diuersytie betwene predication and doctrine.

*A Diuersitie betwene Predication and Doctrine.*

As sayncte Jherome saythe, there is greate difference or diuersitie, betwene preachinge and doctrine. A preachyng or a sermon is, where a conuocation or a gatherynge of people on holye dayes, or other dayes, in churches or other places, and times sette and ordeyned for the same. And it belongeth to theym that be ordeyned there vnto, and haue iurisdiction and auctorytie, and to none other. But euery man may lawefully enforme and teache his brother, or any other, at euery tyme and place behouable, if it seme expedient to hym, for that is an almes dede, to the whiche euery man is holden and bounde to do, accordyng to the sayenge of saynt Peter, *Vnusquisque, sicut accepit gratiam in alter utrum illam administrare debet*. That is to saye, as euery man hath taken or receyued grace, he oughte to mynyster and shewe it forthe to other. For as Chrisostome saythe, great merite is to hym, and a great reward he shall haue in tyme to come, the which writeth or causeth to be writen, holy doctrine, for that entent, that he may se in it, howe he may lyue holylye, and that other maye haue it, that they maye be edyfyed or sanctyfyed by the same; for he saythe surely, knowe thou, that howe many soules be saued by the, soo many rewardes thou shalte haue for eyther. For saynt Gregory saythe, *Nullum sacrificium ita placet deo,*



deo, sicut zelus animarum: There is no sacrifice that pleaseth god so moche, as the loue of soules. And also he saythe, Ille apud deum maior est in amore, qui ad eius amorem plurimos trahit: He is greateste in fauour with god, that draweth moste men to the loue of god. Wherefore me semeth, it is conuenient to enforme and shewe them, how they maye gette heuenly possessions, as well as I haue shewed them to get worldly possessions. Than to my purpose, and to the poynt where I lefte, nowe thou art ryche.

*What is Rycheffe.*

It is to be vnderstande what is rycheffe, and as me semeth, rycheffe is that thyng, that is of goodnes, and can not be taken awaye from the owner, neyther in his temporall lyfe, nor in the lyfe euerlastyng. Than these worldly possessions, that I haue spoken of, is no richesse, for why, they be but floures of the worlde. And that may be wel consydered by Job, the whiche was the rycheft man of worldely possessions, that was lyuynge in those daies, and sodeynely he was the pooreft man agayne that coulde be lyuynge, and all the whyle he toke pacyence, and was content, as appereth by his sayenge, Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit: sicut domino placuit, ita factum est, sit nomen domini benedictum: Our lorde hath gyuen it, our lorde hath taken it awaye, and as it pleaseth our lorde, so be it, blessed be the name of our lorde. The whiche Job may be an ensample to euery true chrysten man, of his pacyence and good liuing in tribulation, as appereth in his storye, who that lyst to rede therein. And saynte Austyne saythe, Qui terrenis inhiat, et eterna non cogitat, vtrisque in futuro carebit: He that gathereth in worldly thynges, and thynketh not vppon euerlastyng thynges, shall wante bothe in tyme to come. For



sayncte Ambrose saythe, Non sunt bona hominis, que secum ferre non potest: They are not the goodes of man, the whiche he can not beare with him. And saynte Bernarde saythe, Si vestra sint, tollite vobiscum: Yf they be yours, take them with you. Than it is to be vnderstande, what goodes a man shall take with hym. And these be the good dedes and warkes that thou doste here in this temporall lyfe, wherof speketh Crysofome: Fac bene, et operare iustitiam, vt spem habeas apud deum, et non desperabis in terra: Doo well, and worke ryghtwyfly, that thou mayste haue truste in god, and that thou be not in despayre in this worlde. Accordynge to that saythe the prophete Dauyd: Iunior fui, etenim senui, et non vidi iustum derelictum, nec semen eius querens panem: I haue ben yonge, and I haue waxen olde, and I haue not seen a ryghtwyse man forsaken, nor his chyldren sekynge theyr breade.

*What is the Propertie of a riche Man.*

In myne opynyon the propertie of a ryche manne is, to be a purchaser; and if he wyll purchase, I counsell hym to purchase heuen. For sayncte Austyne saythe, Regnum cœlorum nulli clauditur, nisi illi, qui se excluderit: The kyngedome of heuen is to noo man closed, but to hym that wyll putte oute hym selfe; wherfore this texte maye gyue the a courage to prefixe thy mynde, to make there thy purchase. And Salomon saythe, Quod mali carius emunt infernum, quam boni cœlum: Ill men bye hell derer, thanne the good men bie heuen; and that me semeth maye well be proued by a common ensample: As if I had a M. shepe to sell, and dyuers men come to me, and bye euery manne a L. of the shepe, all of one price, to paye me at dyuers dayes. I am agreed, and graunt them these dayes; some of the  
menne



menne be good, and kepe theyr promesse, and paye me at theyr dayes, and some of theym doo not paye me: wherfore I sue theym at the lawe, and by course of the common lawe, I doo recouer my duetie of them, and haue theyr bodyes in pryson for execution, tyll they haue made me payment. Nowe these men, that haue broken me promesse, and payed not theyr dewetye, bye theyr shepe derer thanne the good menne bought theyrs. For they haue imprysonment of theyr bodyes, and yet must they pay theyr dueties neuer the lesse, or elles lye and dye there in pryson: the whiche sheepe be derer to them, than to the good men, that kepte theyr promes. Righte so euery man chepeth heuen, and god hath sette on it a pryce, and graunted it to euery man, and giuen to them dayes of payment: the pryce is all one, and that is, to kepe his commaundementes duryng theyr lyues: the good men kepe his commaundementes, and fulfyll theyr promesse, and haue heuen at theyr decease. The yll men breake promesse, and kepe not his commaundementes; wherfore at theyr decease they be put in pryson, that is to say in hell, there to abyde his ryghtuoufenes. And soo the yll men bye hell derer, than the good menne bye heuen. And therefore it is better, to forgoo a lyttell pleasure, or fuker a lyttell payne in this worlde, than to suffer a moche greater and a lenger payne in an other worlde. Nowe sythe helle is derer than heuen, I aduyse the specyally to bye heuen, wherin is euerlastyng ioye without ende.

*What Ioyes or Pleasures are in Heuen.*

Saynt Austyn saythe, Ibi erunt quecunque ab hominibus desiderantur, vita et salus, copia glorie, honor, pax, et omnia bona: That is to saye, There shall be euery thyng that any man desy-  
reth, there is lyfe, helth, plenty of ioye, honour,



peace, and all maner of goodnes : what wolde a man haue more. And saynt Paule sayth, *Occulus non vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparauit deus diligentibus se* : That is to say, The eye hath not seene, nor the eares hath herde, nor the herte of a man hath thought of so goodly thynges, that god hath ordeyned for theym that loue hym. O what a noble acte that were for an husbände or houswyfe, to purchase suche a royall place in heuen, to whiche is no comparyson. Than it is to be knowen, what thyng pleaseth god most, that we myght do it.

*What Thynges pleaseth God most.*

By the texte of sayncte Paule, before sayd, loue pleaseth god aboue al thinge, and that maye be well proued by the sayinge of our lorde hym selfe, where he saythe, *Da mihi cor tuum, et sufficit mihi* : Gyue me thy harte, and that is sufficiente for me ; for he that hath a mannes harte, hath all his other goodes : what is this mans harte : it is nothyng elles but very trewe loue. For there can be no true loue, but it commeth meryly and immediately from the harte : and if thou loue god entyerlye with thy harte, than wylte thou do his commaundementes. Than it wolde be vnderstande and knowen, whiche be his commaundementes, that a man may obserue and kepe them.

*What be Goddes Commaundementes.*

There be in all x commandementes, the which were to long to declare, but they be all concluded and comprehended in two, that is to say, *Diliges dominum deum tuum super omnia : Et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum* : Loue thy lorde god aboue al thing, and thy neyghboure as thy selfe. These be lyghte commaundementes, and nature byndeth a man to fulfyll, obserue, and kepe them, or els he



is not a naturall man, remembryng what god hath doone for the. Fyrste he hath made the, to the symylytude and lykenes of his owne ymage, and hathe gyuen to the in this worlde dyuerse possessions, but specyally he hath redemed thy soule vpon the crosse, and suffered great payne and passion, and bodelye deathe for thy sake: what loue, what kyndenes was in hym, to doo this for the? what couldest thou desyre hym to do more for the? and he desyreth nothyng of the agayne, but loue for loue: what can he desyre lesse?

*Howe a Man shulde loue God and please hym.*

Svrelve a man maye loue god, and please hym very many wayes: but fyrste and principally, he that wyll loue god, and please hym, he muste doo as it is sayde in Symbalo Athanasii: Quicumque vult saluus esse, ante omnia opus est, vt teneat catholicam fidem: Who so euer wyll be saued, aboue all thyng he must nedes be stedfast in the faythe of holy churche. And accordyng to that, saythe sayncte Paule, Sine fide impossibile est placere deo: Without faythe, it is impossible to please god. And Seneca sayth, Nichil retinet, qui fidem perdidit: There abydeth no goodnes in hym, that hath losse his faythe. And soo thou mayste wel perceyue, that thou canst not loue nor please god, without perfyte fayth. And ferther more thou mayste not presume to study, nor to argue thy faithe by reason. For saynte Gregory saythe, Fides non habet meritum, vbi humana ratio prebet experimentum: Faythe hath noo meryte, where as mannes reasone proueth the same. This faythe is a pryncypall sygne, that thou loueste god. Also thy good dedes, and thy warkes, is a good sygne, that thou loueste god. For saynt Iherome saythe, Vnusquisque, cuius opera facit, eius filius appellatur: Whose warkes euerye man dothe, his son or

fer-



seruaunt he is called. And sayncte Bernarde saythe, Efficacior est vox operis, quam vox sermonis : The dedes and the warkes of a man is more euydente profe, than his wordes. The fulfyllinge of the vii workes of mercye is an other specyall sygne, that thou louest god : and many mo there be, which were to longe to reherse them all.

*Howe a Man shulde loue his Neyghbour.*

Thou must loue thy neyghboure as thy selfe, wherein thou shalt please god specially ; for if thou loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe, it foloweth by reason, that thou shalte do nothyng to hym, but suche as thou woldest shulde be done to the. And that is to presume, that thou woldest not haue any hurte of thy body, nor of thy goodes, done vnto the, and lykewyse thou shuldest none do vnto hym. And also if thou woldest haue any goodnes done vnto the, eyther in thy bodye, or in thy mouable goodes, lykewyse shuldest thou do vnto thy neyghbour, if it lye in thye power, accordyng to the sayinge of saynte Gregorie, Nec deus sine proximo, nec proximus vere diligitur sine deo : Thou canste not loue god, without thou loue thy neyghbour, nor thou canst not loue thy neyghbour, without thou loue god : wherefore thou muste fyrste loue god pryncypallye, and thy neyghbour secondarily.

*Of Prayer that pleaseth God very moche.*

Prayer is honour and laude to god, and a specyall thyng that pleaseth hym moche, and is a greate sygne, that thou louest god, and that thou arte perfyte and stedfaste in the faythe of holy churche : and that it is so, it maye be well considered by our fore fathers, that haue for the loue and honour of god made churches : and a man muste dayly, at some conueniente tymes, exercyse  
and



and vse prayer hym selfe, as he oughte to doo. For saynt Ambrose sayth, Relicto hoc, ad quod teneris, ingratum est spiritui sancto quicquid aliud operatis: If thou leaue that thyng vndone, that thou arte bounde to doo, it is not acceptable to god, what so euer thou dooste elles. Than it is necessarye, that thou do praye, and a poore manne doynge his labour trewely in the daye, and thinketh well, prayeth well: but on the holye daye, he is bounde to come to the church, and here his diuine seruyce.

*What Thyng letteth Prayer.*

There be two impedimentes, that lette and hynder prayer, that it maye not be herde. And of the fyrste impedimente spekethe Ysaye the prophete; Quia manus vestre plene sunt sanguine, i. peccato ideo non exaudiet vos dominus: Bycause your handes be full of bloude, that is to saye, full of synne; therefore our lorde dothe not graciously here you. And also prouerborum tertio. Longe est dominus ab impiis, et orationes iustorum exaudiet: Our lorde is ferre fro wycked men, and the prayers of ryghtewyse men he graciously hereth. And saynte Bernarde saythe, Quia preceptis dei auertitur, quod in oratione postulat non meretur: He that dothe not goddes commaundementes, he deserueth not to haue his prayer harde. The seconde impediment saythe Anastasius is, Si non dimittis iniuriam, que tibi facta est, non orationem pro te facis, sed maledictionem super te inducis: If thou forgyue not the wronge done vnto the, thou doste not praye for thy selfe, but thou enducest goddes curse to fall vppon the. And Hodorius saythe, Sicut nullum in vulnere proficit medicamentum, si adhuc ferrum in eo fit: ita nihil proficiat oratio illius, cuius adhuc dolor in mente vel odium manet in pectore: Lyke as the  
playster



playster or medycyne can not heale a wounde, if there be any yren styckinge in the same; ryghte soo the prayer of a man profyteth hym not, as longe as there is sorowe in his mynde, or hate abydyng in his breste. For sayncte Austyne saythe, Si desit charitas, frustra habentur cetera: If charitie wante, all other thynges be voyde. Wherefore thou muste se that thou stande in the state of grace, and not infecte with deedly synne, and than praye if thou wylt be harde.

*Howe a Man shulde praye.*

It is to be vnderstande, that there be dyuers maner of prayinges, Quedam publica, et quedam priuata: That is to saye, some openlye, and some priuately. Prayer openly muste nedes be done in the church by the mynystratours of the same people: for it is done for all the comynaltye, and therefore the people in that oughte to conferme theym selfe to the sayde mynystratours, and there to be presente to praye vnto god after a dewe maner. Oratio priuata. The prayer pryuatly done, oughte to be doone in secrete places, for two causes; for prayer eleuateth and lyfteth vp a mannes mynde to god. And the mynde of man is sooner and better lyfte vppe whan he is in a pryue place, and separate frome multytude of people. An other cause is to auoyde vaynglory that myghte lyghtely ensue or ryse thervppon, whan it is doone openly; and therof spekethe our sauour, where he sayth, Cum oratis, non eritis sicut hypocritæ, qui amant in sinagogis, et in angulis platearum stantes orare: That is to saye, whan ye praye, be not you as the hypocrytes, the whiche loue to stande in theyr synagoges and corners of hyghe wayes to praye. Also som folkes pray with the lyppes or mouthe, and not with the herte; of whome spekethe our lorde by his prophete, Hic labiis



labiis me honorant, cor autem eorum longe est a me: They honour me with theyr mouthe, and theyr hertes be ferre frome me. And sayncte Gregory saythe, Quid prodest strepitus labiorum vbi mutum est cor? What profyteth the labour of the mouthe, where the herte is dombe? And Isodore saythe, Longe quippe a deo est animus, qui in oratione cogitationibus seculi fuerit occupatus: His soule is far from god, that in his prayer his mynde is occupied in warkes of the worlde. There be other that pray both with the mouth and hart; of whom speketh sayncte John, x. Veri adoratores, adorabunt patrem in spiritu et veritate: The true prayers wyll worshyp the father of heauen in spirite and with trouthe. Isodorus saythe, Tunc veraciter oramus, quando aliunde non cogitamus: Than we praye truely, whan we thynke on nothyng elles. Richardus de Hampole. Ille deuote orat, qui non habet cor vacabundum in terrenis occupationibus, sed sublatum ad deum in cœlestibus: He prayeth deuoutly, that hath not his harte wauerynge in worldelye occupations, but alwaye subleuate and lyfte vppe to god in heuen. There be other that praye with the harte, vi. Mat. vi. Tu autem cum oraueris, intra cubiculum tuum, i. in loco secreto et clauso hostio, ora patrem tuum: Whan thou shalte praye, entre into thy chambre or oratory, and steke the doore, and praye to the father of heuen. Isodorus, Ardens oratio est non labiorum sed cordium, potius enim orandum est corde quam ore: The hotter prayer is with the harte than with the lypes: rather pray with thy herte than with thy mouth. Regum primo. Anna loquebatur in corde: Anne spake with the harte.



*A Meane to put away ydle Thoughtes in Prayinge.*

And to auoyde wauerynge myndes in worldlye occupations whanne thou shalte praye, I shall shewe vnto you the beste experience that euer I coulde fynde for the same, the whiche haue benne moche troubled therwith, and that is this: He that can rede and vnderstande latyne, let hym take his booke in his hande, and looke stedfastely vppon the same thyng that he readeth and seeth, that is no trouble to hym, and remembre the englyshe of the same, wherin he shall fynde greatte swetenes, and shall cause his mynde to folowe the same, and to leaue other worldly thoughtes. And he that canne not reade nor vnderstande his Pater noster, Aue, nor Crede, he muste remembre the passyon of Christe, what payne he suffered for hym, and all mankynde, for redemyng of theyr soules. And also the miracles and wonders that god hath doone, and fyrste what wonders were doone the nyghte of his natyuitie and byrthe. And howe he turned water in to wyne, and made the blynde to se, the dombe to speake, the deafe to here, the lame to go, the fycke to be hole. And howe he fed fyue thousande with two fyshe, and fyue barley loues, wherof was leste xii coffyns or skypes of fragmentes. And howe he reised Lazare from deathe to lyfe, with manye moo myracles that be innumerable to be reherfed. And also to remembre the specyall poyntes of his passion, howe he was solde and betrayed of Judas, and taken by the iewes, and broughte before Pylate, than to kynge Herode, and to byshoppe Cayphas, and than to Pylate agayne, that iudged hym to death, and howe he was bounde to a piller, and how they scourged, bobbed, mocked hym, spytte in his face, crowned hym with thornes, and caused hym to beare the crosse to the mounte of Caluary, wher-



whervppon he was nayled both handes and fete, and wounded to the harte with a sharpe spere, and soo suffered deathe. And howe he sette out the foules of our forefathers forthe of hell; howe he rose frome deathe to lyfe, and howe ofte he appered to his discyples, and other moo. And what myracles he wroughte afterwarde, and specyallye what power he gaue to his dyscyples, that were noo clerkes, to teache and preche his faythe, and worke many myracles, and specyally whan they preached before menne of dyuers nations and languages, and euerye man vnderstode them in theyr own language, the whiche is a sygne that god wolde haue euery manne saued, and to knowe his lawes, the whiche was a myracle able to conuerte all the infydeles, heretykes, and lollers in the worlde.

*A Meane to auoyde Temptation.*

It is ofte tymes seen, that the holier that a man is, the more he is tempted, and he that soo is, maye thanke god therof; for god of his goodnes and grace hath not gyuen to the dyuell auctoritie nor power, to attempte any man ferther and aboue that, that he that is so tempted, maye withstande. For sayncte Gregory sayth, Non est timendum hostis, qui non potest vincere nisi volentem: An ennemye is not to be dradde, the whiche maye not ouercome, but if a manne be wyllynge. And it is to presume, that he that is soo tempted, standeth in the state of grace. For sayncte Ambrose saythe, Illos diabolis vexare negligit, quos iure hereditario se possidere sentit: The dyuell despyfeth to vexe or trouble those, the whiche he felethe him selfe to haue in possessyon by ryght inheritance. And if thou be so tempted, vexed, or troubled, I shall shewe vnto the two verses, that if thou do thereafter, thou shalte be eased of thy temp-



temptacyon, and haue greatte thanke and laude of god, and rewarde therfore; these be the verses:

Hostis non ledit, nisi cum temptatus obedit.

Est leo si fedit, si stat quasi musca recedit.

That is to say, The gostly enemy hurteth not, but whan he that is tempted obeyeth to his temptation. Than his ghostly enemy plaieth the lyon, if that he that is so tempted syt styll and obey to hym. And if he that is tempted, stande styfly agaynste hym, the ghostlye ennemye flyeth away lyke a flye. This me semeth maye be wel proued by a famylier ensauple. As if a lorde had a castell, and deliuered it to a capytayne to kepe, if there come ennemies to the castell, and call to the capytayn, and byd hym delyuer them this castell. The capytayne cometh and openeth them the gates, and delyuereth the keyes. Nowe is this castell soone wonne, and this capytayne is a false traytour to the lorde. But lette the capitaine arme hym selfe, and steke the gates, and stande styfly vpon the walle, and commaunde them to auoyde at theyr peryll, and they wyll not tary to make any assaut. Ryght so euery man is capytayne of his owne soule, and if thy gostly ennemy come and tempte the, and thou that arte capytayne of thyne owne soule, wyll open the gates, and delyuer hym the keyes and let hym in, thy soule is soone taken prysoner, and thou a false traytour to thy soule, and worthy to be punysshed in pryson for euer. And if thou arme thy selfe, and stande styfly agaynste hym, and wyll not consente to hym, he wyll auoyde and fle away, and thou shalt haue a great reward for withstandynge of the sayde temptation.

*Almes*



*Almes Dedes pleseth God moche.*

Almes dedes pleseth god very moche, and it is great fygne that thou loueste bothe god and thy neyghboure. And he of whome almes is asked, oughte to consyder thre thynges, that is to saye, who asketh almes, what he asketh, and whervnto he asketh. Nowe to the fyrste, who asketh almes, Deus petit. God asketh. For saynte Jerome sayth, Quia deus adeo diligit pauperes, quod quicquid fit eis propter amorem suum, reputat sibi factum. That is to saye, bycause that god loueth poore men soo moche, what someuer thyng is gyuen vnto theym for the loue of hym, he taketh it as it were done to hym selfe, as it is sayde in his gospels, Quod vni ex minimis meis fecistis, michi fecistis. That thyng that ye gyue or do to the least of those that be myne, ye do it to me. Thanne to the seconde: what asketh god? Non nostrum, sed suum. He asketh not that thyng that is ours, but that thyng that is his owne. As saythe the prophete Dauid, Tua sunt domine omnia: Et que de manu tua accepimus, tibi dedimus. Good lorde, all thynges be thyne, and those thynges that we haue taken of the, of those haue we gyuen the. Thanne to the thyrde: where vnto dothe god aske? He asketh not to gyue hym, but all onely to borowe, Non tamen ad triplas, filicet, immo ad centuplas. Not all onely to haue thryse soo moche, but forsothe to haue an hundred tymes soo moche. As saynt Austyn saythe, Miser homo quid veneraris homini, venerare deo, et centuplum accipies, et vitam eternam possidebis? Thou wretched manne, why doste thou worshyp or dreade man: worshyp thou god and dreade hym, and thou shalte receyue an hundred tymes so moche, and haue in possessyon euerlastyng lyfe, the whiche many folde passeth all



other rewardes. Prouerbiorum xiiii. Veneratur dominus, qui miseretur pauperibus. He worshypeth our lorde, that hath mercye and pytye on poore folkes. And the glose therof sayth, Centuplum accepturus. And thou shalte receyue an L. tymes so moche. And it is to be vnderstande, that there be thre maner of almes dedes, that is to saye, Egenti largire quicquid poteris: dimittere eis a quibus leſus fueris: Errantem corrigere, et in viam veritatis reducere. That is to saye, to gyue to the nedy what thou well mayſte, to forgyue theym that haue trespaced to the, and to correcte them that do amyſſe, and to brynge them into the waye of ryghte.

*The fyrſte Maner of Almes.*

Egenti largire quicquid poteris. Gyue to the nedye what thou well maye; for our lorde ſaythe in his goſpell, Date elemosinam, et omnia munda ſunt vobis. Et alibi. Date, et dabitur vobis. Gyue almes, and all worldly rycheſſe is yours: gyue, and it ſhall be gyuen to you. Almes dede is a holy thyng, it encreaſeth a mans welthe, it maketh leſſe a mannes ſynnes, it lengtheth a mans lyfe, it maketh a man of good mynde, it delayeth yll tymes, and cloſeth all thynges, hit delyuereth a manne from deathe, it ioyneth a manne with aungelles, and ſeuereth hym from the dyuell, and is lyke a wall vnable to be foughten agaynſt. And ſaynt James ſaythe, Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosina peccatum. As water ſlecketh fyer, ſoo dothe almes dede ſlake ſynne. Salomon ſaythe, Qui dat pauperi, non indigebit. He that giueth vnto a poore man, ſhal neuer haue nede. And alſo he ſayth, Qui obturat aurem ſuam ad clamorem pauperis, et ipſe clamabit, et non exaudietur. He that ſtoppeth his eare at the clamoure or crie of a pore man, (he ſhall crye) and  
he



he shall not be graciously herde. There maye no manne excuse hym from gyuyng of almes, though he be poore. And let hym doo as the poore wydowe dyd, that offered a farthyng; wherfore she hadde more thanke and rewarde of god, thanne the ryche men that offered golde. And if thou mayste not gyue a farthyng, gyue lesse, or gyue fayre wordes, or good information, ensauple and token: and god shall rewarde the bothe for thy dede and for thy good wyll. And that thou dooste, do it with a good wyll. For saynte Paule saythe, *Hilarem datorem diligit deus*. God loueth a glad gyuer, and that it be of true begotten goodes. For Salomon saythe, *De tuis iustis laboribus ministra pauperibus*. Of thy trewe labours mynystre and gyue to the poore folkes. For Isodorus saythe, *Qui iniuste tollit, iuste nunquam tribuit*. He that taketh wrongfully, can not gyue trewelye. For it is wrytten, *Ecclesiastici xxxv. Qui de rapinis, aut vsuris, aut de furto immolat: et quasi qui coram patre victimat filium*. He that offereth of the goodes that he getteth by extortyon, usurye, or thefte, he is lyke as a man slewe the sonne in the presence of the father. Thou mayste ryghte well knowe, the father wolde not be well contente. Noo more wolde god be pleased with the gyfte of fuche begotten goodes.

*The seconde Maner of Almes.*

*Dimittere eis, a quibus lesus fueris*. To forgyue theym that haue trespaced to the, wherin thou shalte please god moche. For it is in the gospell of sayncte Marke, xii, *Si non dimiseritis aliis, nec pater vester celestis dimittet vobis peccata vestra*. If you forgyue not, your father of heuen wyll not forgyue you your synnes. Also, if thou doo not forgyue other, thou shalte be founde a lyer, as ofte as thou sayeste thy Pater



noſter, where thou ſayſte, Et dimitte nobis debita noſtra, ſicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus noſtris. And forgyue to vs our dettes, as we forgyue to our detters. By theſe dettes maye be vnderſtande the thynges that we oughte to do to god, and doo not them. And alſo the trespaces, and the ſynne that we haue offended to god, in that we aſke mer-cye of. And if thou wylte not forgyue, thou mayſt not aſke mercy of ryght. Eadem menſura, qua menſi fueritis, remetietur vobis. The ſame meaſure that ye meate other men by, ſhall be meten vnto you. Dimittere autem rancorem et maliciam omnino neceſſitatis eſt, dimittere vero actionem et emendam opus eſt conſilii. To for-gyue all rancour and malyce, that a manne oweth to the in his harte, thou arte bounden of neceſſitie to forgiue all the hole trespac, or to leaue thyne actyon, or a reaſonable mendes. Therfore it is but a dede of mercye if thou ſo do, and no ſynne though thou ſue the lawe with charytie. But and a manne haue done to the a trespac, and that thou arte gladde that he hathe ſoo doone, that thou mayſte haue a quarell, or a matter, or an accyon agaynſte hym, and nowe of malyce or yll wyll thou wylte ſue hym, rather than for the trespac, nowe thou ſynneſt dedely, bycauſe thou doeſt rather of malyce than for the trespac, and than haſte thou loſte thy charitie, Prouerbiorum xxxii. Qui pronus eſt ad miſericordiam, benedicetur. He that is redy to forgiue, ſhall be bleſſed.

*The thyrde Maner of Almes.*

Errantem corrigere, et in viam veritatis redu-cere. To correcke a miſdoer, and to brynge hym into the waye of ryghte. It is to be vnderſtand, that there be thre maner of corrections.

The fyrſte correction is of an ennemye, the ſe-conde is of a frynde, and the thyrde correction is  
of



of a Iustyce. The fyrste saythe Chrysostome, Corripe non vt hostis expetens vindictam, sed vt medicus instituens medicinam. Correcke not as an enemye doinge vengeaunce, but as a phisicyon or surgyon, mynistringe or gyuyng a medicyne. To the seconde saythe Salomon, Plus proficit amica correctio, quàm correctio turbulenta. A frendelye correction profyteth more than a troublous correction. For yf thou speke courteysly to a man that hath offended, and with sweete wordes of compassion, he shall rather be conuerted by theym, than with hye wordes of great punysshement. And Isidorus saythe, Qui per verba blanda castigatus non corrigitur, acrius necesse est, vt arguatur. He that wylle not be chaastyfed by fayre wordes, it is necessary that he be more hardlyer and straytlyer reproued or punysshed. To the thyrde saythe sayncte Jerome, Equum iudicium est, vbi non persona sed opera considerantur. There is an eyn Iugemente, where the personne is not regarded, but the warkes are confydered. And alsoo hit is wrytten, Reddet vnicuique iuxta opera sua. He shall yelde vnto euery manne after his workes. And sayncte Augustyne saythe, Sicut meliores sunt, quos corrigit amor, ita plures sunt quos corrigit timor. As those be better, that be chaastyfed by loue, soo there be many moo that be chaastyfed by feare. For and they feared not the punysshement of the lawe, there wolde be but a fewe chaastyfed by loue. And saynte Gregory sayth, Facientis procul dubio culpam habet, qui quod potest corrigere negligit emendare, et illicita non prohibere consensus erroris est. He that maye correcke, and dothe not, he taketh the offence to hym selfe of the dede; and he that dothe not forbede vnlawefull thynges, consenteth to the same, &c.

*What*



*What is the greattest Offence that a Manne may doo  
and offende god in.*

In myne opynyon, it is to be in despayre of the mercye of god. And therfore what soo euer thou haue doone or offended god, in worde, warke, thought, or dede, be neuer in despayre for it; for Isodorus saythe, *Qui veniam de peccato desperat, plus de desperatione peccat quam de culpa cadit.* He that despayreth to haue forgyuenes of his synnes, he synneth more in despayrynge than he dyd in the synne doyng. For saynte Iherome sayth, *Magis offendeat Iudas deum in hoc quod suspendebat, quàm in hoc, quod eum tradidit.* Iudas offended god more in that that he hanged hym selfe, than he dydde whanne he betrayed god. For god sayth in his gospell, *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis vt conuertatur et viuat.* I wyll not the deathe of a synner, but rather that he maye be conuerted and lyue. And also he saythe, *Non veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores ad penitentiam.* I am not comen to call ryghtwyse men, but to call synners to do penaunce. For thou canste not so soone crye god mercy with thy harte, but he is as redye to chaunge his sentence, and to graunte the mercy and forgyuenes of all thy synnes. For saynt Austyne saythe, *Sicut scintilia ignis in medio maris, sic omnis impietas viri ad misericordiam dei.* As a sparke of fyer is in comparison able to drye vppe all the water in the se, noo more is all the wyckednes of man vnto the mercyfulnes of god. And therfore it is conuenient that a manne shulde be penytent, contryte, and aske god mercye and forgyuenesse of his synnes and offences that he hath done; wherof speketh Chrysostme, *Nemo ad deum aliquando flens accessit quod non postulauerit accepit.* No man hath gone any tyme wepyng to god, but he hath taken or had that thyng that he hath asked.



asked. And sayncte Bernarde saythe, Plus cruciant lacrimæ peccatoris diabolum quàm omne genus tormentorum. The teares of a synner tourmenteth the deuyll more, than all other kyndes of tormentes. And sayncte Austyne saythe, Acriores dolores demonibus non inferrimus, quàm cum peccata nostra penitendo et confitendo plangimus. We canne not doo more sharper forowes to the dyuell, than whan we wayle or wepe in confesyon, and doynge of penaunce. And that maye be well proued by Mary Magdaleyn, whanne she kneled downe and cryed god mercye, and kyste his fete, and wasshed theym with the teares of her eyen, and wyped them with the heare of her heed, to whom our lorde sayde, as in his gospels, Dimittuntur tibi peccata tua. Thy synnes are forgynen to the: And also he sayde to her, Fides te saluam fecit, vade in pace. Thy saythe hath saued the, goo thou in peace. To the whiche mercy and peace I besech almyghty Iesu brynge all chrysten soules. Amen.

Be it knowen to all men, bothe spirytuall and temporall, that I make protestacion before god and man, that I entende not to wryte any thyng that is or maye be contrary to the saythe of Chryste, and al holy churche. But I am redye to reuoke my sayenge, if any thyng haue passed my mouthe for wante of lernynge, and to submytte my selfe to correction, and my boke to reformatyon. And as touchynge the poyntes of husbandry, and of other artycles conteyned in this present boke, I wyll not saye that it is the beste waye, and wyll serue beste in all places: but I say, it is the beste way that euer I coude proue by experyence; the whiche haue been an householder this xl yeres, and more. And haue assaied many  
and



and dyuers ways, and done my dyligence, to proue by experyence which shuld be the beste waye.

### THE AUCTOUR.

Go lyttel quere, and recomende me  
To all that this treatyse shall se, here, or rede;  
Prayenge them therewith content to be,  
And to amende it in places, where as is nede:  
Of eloquence, they may perceyue I want the fede,  
And rethoryke, in me doth not abounde,  
Wherefore I haue sowne such fedes as I found.

### F I N I S.

Thus endeth this ryghte profytable boke of husbandry, compyled sometye by mayster Fitzherbarde, of charytie and good zeale that he bare to the weale of this mooste noble realme, whiche he dydde not in his youthe, but after he had exercysed husbandry, with greate experyence, 40 yeres.

Imprynted at London in Flete-strete, in the house of Thomas Berthelet, nere to the Condite, at the sygne of Lucrece. Cum privilegio.



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To the R. E. D. R.

W. H. A. V. I. had placed the book belonging to  
a friend of the party, together with other

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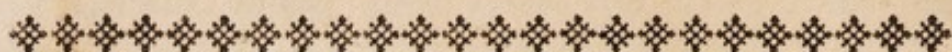
# SVRVEYING.

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AN. M. D. XXXIX.

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To the R E D E R.

**W**HAN I had printed the boke longyng to  
a iustice of the peace, together with other  
small bokes very necessary, I bethought me vpon  
this boke of Surueyenge, compyled sometyme by  
Master Fitzherbarde, how good and howe profytable  
it is for all states, that be lordes and possessioners of  
landes, and for the holders or tenauntes of the  
same landes, to haue dayly in hande, to knowe,  
and beare awaye the contentes of the same boke,  
and also how well it agreeth with the argument of  
the other small bokes, as Court Baron, Court  
Hundred, and Chartuary, I went in hande, and  
printed it in the same volume that the other be, to  
bynde them al together, and haue amended it in  
many places.

THE





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## T H E A U T H O U R.

Go thou lytell queare, with due reuerence  
And with an humble hert, recommend me  
To all those, that of theyr beneuolence  
This lytell Treatyse doth rede, heare, or se,  
Wherwith I praye them contented to be,  
And to amende it, in places behouable,  
Where as I haue fauted, or be culpable.

For herde it is, a man to attayne  
To make a thinge perfyte, at the first sight;  
But whan it is red, and well ouer seyne  
Fautes maye be founde, that neuer came to lyght,  
Though the maker do his diligence and might,  
Prayeng them to take it, as I haue entended,  
And to forgyue me, yf that I haue offended.

F I N I S.

T H E



THE  
P R O L O G U E  
OF THE  
A U T H O U R,  
FOR THE

Declaration of this present Treatyse.

**S**ALOMON sapientie primo. Omnis sapientia, virtus, honor, dignitas, et queque scientia a domino deo sunt. This is to say: all wysdom, uertu, honour, dignitie, and connynge, are of our Lord God. Than, syth Almighty God, our redemer and creatour, by highe wysdom, goodnes, liberalitie, and prouidence in this transitorye worlde and miserable lyfe hath ordeyned dyuers estates and degrees in his people and creatures, and some of them as well hath endowed with ghostly and heuenly wysdome, and distinct graces, as with gret honour, possessions, and ryches, with great gyftes and graces, as well spirituall as temporall; his hygh commaundement chargeth euery person, that is partaker of the sayd gyftes or graces, charitably and discretely, the same to distribute and deuide among his poore creatures. That euery poore persone, that is willinge to laboure duly for his lyuing, may haue therby conuenient helpe and sustynance. And in as moche as the great estates, rulers and governours of this realme, whome oure fauour hathe so largely and bounteously rewarded with all suche gyftes, possessions, and ryches, have according to his pleasure and commandement, demysed, dytributed, and granted to the creatures of God, and to their fermours



and tenauntes, theyr feuerall possessions and inheritaunces, reseruing to them for the same certayne rentes, customes and seruyces, to susteyne and upholde theyr honours and estates, as to them appertayneth, accordynge to their high gyftes and graces, wherewith they be so largely endowed. And for the great zeale, loue and comforte that I beare to the sayde fermours and tenauntes, and to all other goddis creatures, that they maye more surely, easily, and profytably encrease and susteyn their poore housholde, wyues and chyldren, and also truely to pay theyr rentes, customes and seruices unto theyr lordes, and the honoures of theyr fermes and tenauntrice;

Of late by experience I contriued, compiled, and made a Treatyse for the same poore fermers and tenauntes, and callyd it the booke of husbundrye: the which me semed was very necessary for husbande menne, that use tyllage, and for many other of dyuers degrees and occupations. And whereas, in the Prologue of the sayde booke, I demaunded and asked a question, and that was this; whereunto is euery man ordeyned, as plainly it doth appeare in the Prologue of the same? In lyke maner in the Prologue of this Treatyse, the whyche I intende by the sufferance and helpe of our Lord Jesu to contriue, compyle and make to the profytte of all noblemen and women, both spirituall and temporalle, I demaunde another question, and that is this: howe and by what maner doo all these great estates and noblemen and women lyue, and maynteyne theyr honour and degree? And in myne opynion, their honour and degree is upholden and maynteyned, by reason of theyr rentes, issues, reuenewes, and profyttes, that come of their maners, lordshyps, landes and tenementes to theym belongynge. Than it is necessary to be knowen, howe all these maners, lordes-



lordeshyps, landes, and tenementes shulde be extended, surueyed, butted, bounded, and ualued in euery parte: that the sayd estates shulde nat be deceyued, defrauded, nor dysherited of theyr possessions, rentes, customes, and seruices, the which they have to theym reserued, for mayntenaunce of theyr estates and degrees, and that there be no parcell thereof losse nor imbeselde, and than may the lorde of the said maners, lordeshyppes, landes, and tenementes, have perfite knowlege, where the lande lyeth, what euery parcell is worth, and who is his freeholders, coppeholders, customarye tenant, or tenaunt at his will. And what rentes, customes, and seruyce he ought to have of theym, with many moore articles, as hereafter shall be declared.

Wherefore it is necessary, that euery great estate, both men and women of worshippe, that have great possessions of landes, and tenementes, shuld haue a surueyor, that can extende, butte, and bound, and ualue them; and thereof to make a booke in parchemente, bearynge a certayne date, after the maner and fourme as I shall make an intitulynge, and to amend it where he seemeth conuenient. *Quia facilius est addere quam de nouo facere*, that is for to say, it is lyghter to adde, refourme, or correcte, than for to make new and perfyte. And the surueyor to leaue the sayde booke, made by hym, with his lorde, in maner of a regyster, whereunto the same surueyor, or any other officer, may alway haue resort, whan nede shall requyre, to loke upon. And that booke so truly made maye be a regyster and sure euydence, that the lorde, his freeholders, copyholders, nor tenauntes, shall neuer lose landes, nor rentes, customes, nor seruices, but euerye man that readeth the booke, shall perfite knowe where the landes ly, whose it was at the day of the makynge of the



sayd boke, and whose it is. Than if the owner make a true peedegre, or conueiance, by discent, or by purchase, unto the sayd landes or lordeshyps, and specially if the names of the lordes, and tenauntes that occupye, might be renewed ones in forty or threescore yeres. For than it would be as a perpetual and sure euidence for euer, to put away all stryfe and varyance between lorde and lorde, lorde and tenante, tenante and tenante in good quietnesse and peace.

But of one thing I pronounce and declare, and take God to my recorde: that I make this boke (all only) to thentent that the lordes, the freeholders nor theyr heires shulde not be disherited, nor have their landes losse nor imbesfeld, nor encroched by one from another: and to none other intent. And for that, I aduertise and exhorte on goddis behalfe, all maner of persones, as well lordes as other: that whan the lordes or freeholders knowe where theyr landes lye, and what euery pasture or parcell is worthe by the yere: that the lordes nor the owners thereof, doo nat heyghten theyr rentes of theyr tenantes, or to cause them to pay more rente, or a greater fyne, than they haue bene accustomed to do in tyme past. For, as me semeth, a greater charitie nor almes dede a man may nat well do, than upon his owne tenauntes; and also to the contrary, a greater bribery nor extortion a man cannot do, than upon his owne tenantes, for they dare not say nay, nor yet complayne, and therefore on their sowles go it, that so do, and not on myn.

Parauenture the lorde wyll saye, it is nat his dede, it was his surueyour's, but that cannat be so, for saynte Auguptyne sayeth, Qui per alium facit, per seipsum facere videtur: that is to saye, He that commaundeth another man to do a thinge, he dothe it hymselfe. And there be two principals



## THE PROLOGUE. ♣

pals in one act doinge, and also he saythe. *Con-*  
*senficientes et agentes pari poenâ puniantur*, that  
is to say, the consentours and the doers, shall be  
like punished. At grammer schole I learned a  
verse, and that is this. *Dum poteris, quid vis,*  
*possis cognoscere quid sis.* That is to saye, whan  
thou mayest do what thou wylt, thou mayst knowe  
what thou arte. That is to wytte, good or yuelle.  
But for a grounde of this Treatyse, the whiche I do  
note, and calle the Boke of Surueying and of im-  
prouementes, I do take an olde Statute named *Ex-*  
*tenta manerii*, as a principal ground thereof; as  
hereafter ensueth.



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# SURUEYENG E.

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## CHAP. I.

*Of Castels and other Buyldynges, what the Walles, Tymber, Stone, Lead, Sclate, Tyle, or other of Couerynges is warth; as well within the Walles as withoute. And also of Gardens, Cartylages, Doue Houses, and all other Profytes be worthe by the Yere, &c.*

**I**NQUIRENDUM est de castris, & etiam aliis edificiis fossatis circumdatis quantum muri & edificia ligna & lapidia plumbo et alio modo cooperta valent, et pro quanto appreciari poterunt secundum verum valorem eorundem murorum & edificiorum. Et quantum edificia extra fossatis appreciari possunt, & quantum valeant una cum gardinis, curtilagiis, columbare, & omnibus aliis exitibus cure per annum. This is to saye in Englyshe: it is to be enquired of castelles, and also of other buyldynges, tymber, stone, lead, and other manner of couerynges is worthe. And howe they may be solde, after the uerye ualue of the same walles and byldynges. And how moche the byldynges without the dyche may be solde for, and what they may be worth, with the gardens, curtylages, doue houses, and all other issues of the courte by the yere. To the declaration and construction of this statute, me semith there ought to be made a distinction, for the statute goth generally. De castris & aliis edificiis fossatis & circumdatis & extra fossatis.



foffatis. These wordes go as well to those castelles and other byldynges, that be well upholden and inhabited, as well as of those that be fallen in decay, and not inhabited; and to those that be inhabited it is nat necessary to be extended nor ualued in any parcell: for let a man make a castell, towre, or any maner of new byldynges, and finishe it clerely, if he shulde go take it downe, and selle euery thinge by itselfe ageyne, he shuld lose the more halfe of his money. And therefore in myn opinion, this statute was made sone after the barons warre, the whyche ended at the battayle of Euesham, or sone after, in the tyme of kynge Henry the thyrde, where as many noblemen of bloud were slayne, and many fled, that afterward were attaynted for the treason they did to the kynge. And by reason thereof, their castelles and manours were seased into the kynge's handes. And so for want of reparations, the castelles, and the maners fell to ruine and in decaye. And whan the kynge and his counsaile saw that, they thought it was better to extende them and make the mooste profyte that they coude of them, than to lette them falle to the grounde, and come to no manne's helpe and profyte. Wherefore kynge Edward the first ordeyned this statute to be made the fourth year of his reigne, wherein is contayned many and dyuers chapters and articles, the which at that tyme was but instructions, how and what they shuld do that were commissioners or surueyours in the same.

First, it is most necessary and conuenient to retayle and to sell euery thyng by itselfe, and not all in grosse, some to one man, and some to another. For that that is good for one man is nat good for another, and every thyng to be praised and solde by itselfe, that is to say, the stone wall of one house by itselfe, the tymber of the same house by itselfe, the couering by itselfe, the tyle, sclate,



or leade by itfelfe, the glaffe by itfelfe, the yron ware, as barres, bandes, hokes, boltes, staples, or latches, and all fuche other by theymfelfe, doores, wyndowes, bourdes, and al other thinges by themfelfe, and to go from house to house, and fell euery thyng by itfelfe, and than fhall the true ualue be beft knowen.

And it is conuenient, that thefe thynges be offered to be folde to dyuers men, and to fee who wyl gyue moft, and fpecially to fell whan men defyre to bye. Also to ualue, what the graffe of the gardens, curtiliges, courtes, and houfe places, that be within the dycheffe or withoute, be worthe by the yere. A curtylage is a lyttle croft or court or place of eafement to put in cattel for a time, or to lay in wodde, cole, or tymber, or fuch other thinges neceffary for household. Also to ualue the profyte of the doue houfe, if any be there, if it be replenifhed with doues.

## C H A P. II.

*How many Feldes are of the Demaynes, and how many Acres are in euery Felde, and what an Acre is worthe by the Yere, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est, quot campi funt in dominico, & quot acre funt in campo, & quantum ualet quelibet acra per fe per annum. It is to be enquired, how many feldes are of the demayns, and howe many acres are in euery felde, and what euery acre is worth by the yere. This is a light letter, and nedeth but lyttell declaration, for by thefe wordes, quot campi funt in dominico, it must nedes be taken of feldes, that be in tyllage or plowing, but it wolde be underftande, whether the demeyne landes lye inthe commyn feldes among other mens landes, or in the feldes by themfelf.

And



And if they lye in the commyn fieldes, it is convenient that they be plowen and sowen, and than is not an acre so moche worthe, as and it were in feueraltie inclosed, or in feueralle pasture. For and the felde be inclosed about; than it is at the lordes pleasure, whether they shall lye to pasture or to tyllage, and though it lye in tyllage, yet hath the lorde the edishe and aftermath hymself, for his owne cattel. And therefore an acre is at the more ualue; and if it lye in pasture, the pasture may be suche, that it is at double or treble the ualue of the errable lande. Wherefore the acres are to be praysed accordyng, and if they be great flattes or furlonges in the common fieldes, it is at the lordes pleasure to enclose them, and kepe them in tillage or pasture, so that no nother man have commyn therein.

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### C H A P. III.

*How many Acres of Medowe are of Demaynes, and how much euery Acre is worth, and to what Maner of Cattele it is most necessary unto, and how many Beastes it will fynde, and what the Pasture of a Beast is worth by the Yere.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est quot acre prati sunt in dominico, & quantum quelibet acra valet ad locandum per se per annum, & ad cuius modi bestias & animalia pastura illa fuerit magis necessaria, & quot & quales possit sustinere, & quantum valet pastura cuius libet bestie & animalis ad locandum per annum.

It is to be enquired, how many acres of medowe are of the demayns, and how moche euery acre is worthe to set by the yere, and to what maner of beastes or cattell it is most necessary unto, and how many it wyll fynd, and of what maner, and what the pasture of oone beaste is worthe by the yere.



yere. And in myn opinion, it wolde be understand, whether the medowes lye in common medowes, pastures, or common pasture, at large or in feueraltie: for and it lye at large in the common medowes, an acre is no better worthe than the grasse that the hey is made of is worthe, for after it is comen and of lyttel ualue. And if it lye in feueraltie, it is worthe halfe as moch ageyne, as of the grasse was worthe. And that hyghe ground and dry, is most conuenient for shepe, wodde ground and bushe for bestes, and specially in wynter tyme. Lowe groundes, medowe groundes, and maryshe groundes, for hey, and after for fatte cattell, and in winter for horses and mares, and meane groundes that is both hylly and daly, as lease and lowe groundes, is good for all maner of cattell, if the grasse be goode and fyne, and specially for fatte cattell, or fatte shepe, horses, mares, and yong coltes, for that grasse that one maner of cattell wyl nat eat, an other wyl. And therefore it is good to have a large close, that dyuers maner of cattell may go together in it, and to know what a beaste's grasse is worth by the yere, that is as the pasture is, that he gothe in is worthe, and not overcharged with cattell, and the fynenesse of the grasse, and the goodnesse of an acre. For some acre of ground is nat worthe a peny by the yere, and some acre is worthe forty pens, or fyue shyllynges, and so a beaste's grasse may be dere ynough twelue pens in the yere, and it may be worthe forty pens or fyue shillings; and a horse's grasse, or a mare's grasse may be dere ynough twelue pens or twenty pens by the yere, and it may be worthe fyue shyllynges or a noble, accordinge to the goodnesse of the pastures.

But howe these maners, landes, medowes and pastures shall be uiewed, butted, bounded and ualued, shall be reherfed, after the statute be ones declared.



## C H A P IV.

*Of forren Pastures that be commen, how many and of what maner of Cattell the Lorde may haue in the same, and what the Pasture of a Beast is worthe by the Yere.*

**I**TEM inquirend est de pasturis forinſicis, que est communis, quot & quas bestias & animalia dominus habere poſſit in eadem, & quantum valet paſtura per annum ad locand. It is to be enquired of forrein paſtures that is commen, how many and what beaſtes and cattell, and what the lorde may haue in the ſame, and what the paſture of a beaſt is worthe by the yere to ſet. This is a dark letter to be well underſtande without a better declaration, for where he ſaythe, De paſturis forinſicis que est communis, that may be underſtande three ways; for there is in many townes where as their closes and paſture lye in ſeueraltie, there is commonlye a commune close taken in, out of the commen or feldeſ by tenauntes of the ſame towne, for theyr oxen or kyne, or other cattell, in the which close euery man is ſtynted, and ſet to a certaintie, how many beaſtes he ſhall haue in the ſame, and of what maner of beaſtes they ſhall be. And if the lorde ſhall haue any cattell therein, he ſhulde be put to a certayntie, and of what maner of cattell, and this paſture may be well ualewed. And alſo the beaſtis graſſe, what it is worth therein. But than it ought to be ſhewed, how many acres be contained in the ſayed paſture, and what euery acre is worthe one with another. Another maner of commyn paſture is moſt commonly in playne champyon countreyes, where their cattel goth dayly before the herdmen, and lyeth nygh adioynynge to their commyn feldeſ, and it may lye in two or thre places or moore. And in theſe



it is also conuenient, that euery man be stinted to a certentie, other by yardes, landes, organges, rentes, or suche other customes, as the tenantes use, and the lorde in lyke maner. These commen pastures may be extended, how many acres be in euery parcell by itselfe, and what an acre is worthe by itselfe, but it cannot be so well knowen, what a beastes grasse is worthe yerelye, for they lye most commonly with the falowe felde, and some falowe felde be better than some, and so a beastes grasse may be better or worse. The thirde maner of commen pasture is in the lordes out wodes, that lye commen to his tenantes, as commen moores or heathes, the which were neuer errable landes. In these maner of commens, me semeth the lorde shulde not be stynted, nor set at no certaintie, but put his cattell upon such maner of commen pasture at his pleasure; bycause all the hole commen is his owne, and his tenantes haue no certayne parcell thereof layde to their holdinges, but all onely bytte of mouthe with their cattell; and it were ageyne reason to abrydge a man of his owne righte. But his tenantes and euery mannes tenantes, me semeth ought of ryghte to be stynted, what euery man ought to haue, goynge upon all maner of commens, for els wolde the ryche men in the begynning of sommer, bye shepe and other maner of cattell, and eat up the commens, and selle them ageyne at wynter, or put them in their pastures that they haue spared all the sommer, and so ouerpresse the poore men, that haue no money to bye nor able to reire.



## CHAP. V.

*Of Parkes and demein Wodes, the which the Lorde may asserre and to do his Profit, and how many Acres they conteyne, and what the Vesture of an Acre is worthe, and what the Ground is worthe whan the Vesture is fallen, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirend est, de percis & dominicis boscis, que ad voluntatem suam possunt asserre, & excolere, et quot acre in se continentur. Et quantum vestura cuius libet acre possit appreciari, et quantum fundus in se contineat & valeat quando prostratus fuerit & quantum valeat quolibet acra per se per annum. It is to be enquired of parkes and of demayne wodes, the which at the lordes wyll may be asserred and plucked up, or fallen down, and how many acres are conteyned in them, and for how moche the vesture of euery acre may be solde, and howe moche the grounde in hymselfe conteyneth, whanne the wode is fallen, and how moche euery acre is worth by itselfe by the yere. This is to be understand of parkes and demayn woddes, that be in feueraltie, whereof the lorde at his pleasure, may asserre, stocke up by the rootes, or falle by the erthe, plowe and sowe to his moste profytte as he will; and how many acres of wodde are conteyned in the same. For in a parke or wodde may be two hundred acres and more, and yet not past an hundred acres thereof wode, lyttel more or lytel lasse, and what the vesture (that is to say) the wodde of euery acre is worthe by himself, for one acre may be worth 20s. or 40s. and another acre dere inough 2s. 6s. or 10s. and how moche the whole grounde conteyneth whan the wodde is fallen. And that is to be understand, all the grounde within pale or hedge, as well the lande ground as of the wod ground, where the wod growed; and what euery  
acre



acre is worthe by the yere, as well of the one manner as of the other.

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### CHAP. VI.

*Of forren Woddes where other Men haue commen; where the Lorde may improve hymselfe thereof, and of how many Acres, and what the Vesture of an Acre is worthe, and what the Ground is worthe whan the wodde is fallen, and how many Acres they conteyne, and what an Acre is worthe.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est, de boscis forinficis ubi alii communicant, quid de eisdem boscis dominus se appropriare, & de quot acris & pro quanto vestura cuiuslibet acre communiter possit appreciari, & quantum fundus valet postquam prostratus fuerit boscus, & quot acre iste contineant, & quantum quelibet acra valet per annum. It is to be enquired of forren woddes where they and other commyn together, and what of those woddes the lorde may improve hymselfe, and of howe many acres, and for how moch the esture, that is to say, the wodde of euery acre may be sold, and how moche the grounde is worth after the wode be fallen downe, and howe many acres it conteyneth, and what euery acre is worth by the yere. The declaration of this statute is doubtful, because of the none certente thereof, what is sufficient commen: for it is clerely ordeyned by the statute of Merton, and after confirmed by the statute of Westminster secunde, That the lorde shall improve hymselfe of their wastes, whereby is understande of their commen moores, hethes, and waste groundes, as well as of wodes, though the statute speake but of woddes only leauyng their tenautes sufficient commen, the whiche in  
mya



myn opinion be those tenantes that have commen appendaunt, and holde their landes of him. It is necessary to be knowen what is sufficient of commen, and that me semeth by reson shuld be thus. To see howe moche cattell the hey and the strawe that a husband getteth upon his owne tenement, will fynde sufficiently in wynter, if they lye in house, and be kept therewith all the wynter season, for soo moche cattel shulde he have commen in sommer, and that is sufficient. Ye shall understande, that there be four maner of commens, that is to wyt: commen appendant, commen appurtenant, commen in grose, and commen per cause de vicinage, scil. neighbourship. Commen appendaunt is where a lorde of olde tyme hath granted to a man a meseplace, and certeyne landes, medowes, and pastures, with their appurtenances to holde of hym. To this meseplace, landes, and medowes, belongeth commen, and that is called commen appendant.

But and a man graunt to another certayne landes or pastures, the which ly in feueraltie, enclosed with the appurtenaunce in fee, to hold of the chiefe lordes, to these landes me semeth belongeth no commen, without he haue suche special wordes in his dede. Commen appurtenant is where a man hath had commen to a certayne number of beaustis or without number, belongynge to his meseplace in the lordes wastes, this is commen appurtenaunt by prescription, bycause of the use out of tyme of mynde. Commen in grosse, is where the lorde hath graunted by his dede, commen of pasture to a straunger, that holdeth no landes of hym, nor oughte to have any commen, but by reason of that graunte by dede. Nowe the lorde maye nat improve hymselfe of any parcell, for it is contrary to his graunt, though there be sufficient of commen. And in lyke case, if the lorde graunt com-  
men



men to a man by dede, and to lymytte hym a certayne noumber of beastes, see what was comen at that tyme, and of that the lorde shal nat improue hymselfe, for and he shulde, the goodes of the comen to that certheyne nomber shuld be abridged that they shuld not fare so well, and euery mannes dede shal be taken strongest agaynst hymselfe. And in lyke maner, if the lorde graunt a man comen with his catell, within certayne meires, limites, and boundes, the lorde shall nat improue hymselfe, within those meires and boundes. Comen per cause de vycynage is where the waste ground of two townships lye together, and nother hedge nor pale betweene to kepe their catel asonder, so that the catel of one township goth ouer his meire or bounde into the waste ground of the other towne, and likewise the catel of the other township to them. And also, if their comen felde lye together unclosed, in open tyme whan harvest is in, their catell wyll go out of the one fylde into the other fylde, and this is callid commens, because of neighborship, and is not used nor lawfull to pin their cattel so going, but in good maner to dryue and chase besyde suche comen. And as for that maner of commens, me semeth the lorde may improue himself of their waste groundes, leauying their own tenantes sufficient comen, hauing no regard to the tenantes of the other township. But as for all errable landes, meadowes, leise, and pastures, the lordes may improue themselves by course of the comen law, for the statute speketh nothing but of waste groundes, and ye shall understand, that how be it that a lorde may nat improue himselfe of his waste groundes, yet may he lawfully fal and fell all the wode, brome, gorse, fyrs, braken, ferne, bushis, thornes, and such other, as free stone, lyme stoone, chalke, turues, claye, sande, lead, ore, or tynne, to his owne



owne use, for the tenauntes may have nothinge by reason of commen, but all onely bytte of mouthe with their cattel. And ye shall knowe, that swyne and geese have no commen, but by sufferance, without special wordes in their charter. Also the lorde shal haue his fre warren for all maner beastis and foules of warren in his wast groundes, as wel as in his feuerall groundes, and as longe as the beastis or fowles of warren be upon the lordes ground, they be the lordes if he have warren, and the lorde may have an action of trespass against any man, that chaceth or killeth any of them in his commen, as well as in his feuerall. And if they go or flye out of the lordes warren, than is the propertie chaunged, and the lorde hath lost his action for takeynge of them whan they be out of his warren, without they come into his warren ageyn; there is no man that hath warren but by special graunt of the kyng by charter, except it haue ben used tyme out of mynd, and alowed before iustice in Eire. And as for the articles conteyned in this present chapit, the letter therof is playn inough, and also touched before.

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### C H A P. VII.

*Whether the Lorde may giue or sell the Residue of his forren Woddes, and what suche Gyfte or Sale is werthe by the Yere, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est utrum dominus de residuo boscorum predictorum forinsecorum, dare possit, et quantum valet talis donatio vel venditio per annum. It is also to be enquired, whether the lorde may gyue or selle the residue of his forren woddes aforesayed, and what suche gifte or sale is worth by the yere. This letter is playne ynough,

C

and,



and, as me semeth, no doubte but that the lord may giue or selle the residue of the sayde woddess, or waistes. Except that a manne haue comen of Estovers. But what that gyfte or sale is worth, is to be understand and knowen, and as me semeth the donee or the byour, shall be in lyke cause, as the lorde shuld have ben, if he had not gyuen it nor sold it. Than the lorde hath improued hym self of as moche woddess and waistes as he can lawfully, and when he hath gyuen or sold the residue of that, he can not improue hym self of it. In like maner the donee nor the byoure can nat improue them selfe of any part thereof. For they can nat be in no better case, than he of whom they had it. How be it that they that of right ought to haue their commens, be nat their tenants, but their title and interest grew by inheritance, longe time before the gyfte or sale made by the lorde. And it followeth by reason, that the gyfte or sale of a stranger shall nat hurte another man's inheritaunce. But this donee or this purchasour, shall take to their profite all the vesture standing upon, or being within the sayd ground, as woddess, and such other, as is sayd before in the next Chapiter.

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#### C H A P. VIII.

*Of Panage and herbage of the Town, and of all other Profites of Pooles, Meires, and rynnynge Waters, of Moores, Heythes, and Wastes, what they be worth by the Yere, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est de panagio et herbagio ville et omnibus aliis exitibus viuariorum morarum bruerum et vastorum quantum valent per annum.

Also it is enquired of panage, and herbage of the same town, and of all other profites, of pools, meires,



meires, and runnyng waters, of mores, hethes and waistes, what they be worthe by the yere. And where this statute speaketh de panagio, that is, to be understande, whan there is anye mast growynge in the lordes woddis, whereby mens swyne may be fedde, and releued, what profyte that may be to the lord. For there is no man that can clayme of right to haue the mast, the which is a frute, but the lorde: except his free tenaunt haue it by special wordes in his dede, *Quod sit quietus de panagio*. And the lorde shall haue it in his foren out woddis, as well as in his parkis or feuerall wodes, and as the quantitie of the mast is, so the lordes bayly of right ought to lay mens swyne therunto from Myghelmas to Martylmas, and to make a true accompt thereof at the lordes audite, what he takith for euery swyne. And in many places the tenantes goo fro panage in the forren woddes by custome, and that is moste commonly where as the tenantes pay tacke swyne by custome, if he haue to a certayne nombre, or else to paye yerely at Myghelmas, 1 d. or an half peny for euery swine, as the custome is used. The statute speaketh, *De herbagio ville*. That is to be understande of the commen pasture that belongeth to the towne, whereupon the herdeman kepeth the tenauntes cattell, it may be so good, that the tenauntes nede nat to haue any feuerall pasture, but that their commen pasture shuld be able to fynde al theyr cattel both horses, mares, beestis, and shepe, and so it was of olde tyme that all the landes, meadowes, and pastures, lay open and unclosed. And than was their tenementes moche better cheape than they be now, for the most part of the lordes haue enclosed their demeyn landes and meadowes, and kepe them in feueraltie, so that their tenauntes haue no commyn with them therein. And also the lordes haue enclosed a greate parte of theyr



waste groundes and streytened theyr tenauntes of theyr commyns therein, and also have given licence to divers of theyr tenauntes to enclose parte of their errable landes, and to take in new intackes or closes out of the commens, payenge to theyr lordis more rent therefore, so that the common pastures waxen lasse, and the rentes of the tenauntes waxen more and more. And that is, bycause the tenauntes waxen more polytike in wisedome to improue their tenementes, holdynges and fermes, and at thende of the terme, an other man that made no coste of the sayde improuements, offreth the lorde certayne money for a fine to haue it, or to heighten the rent of the same, so that he that made the coste or his children, shall not haue the sayd ferme, without he wyl gyue as moche or more as is offerd to the Lord, and so throw the enuy of his neighbour, and the covetousnesse of the lorde and his offycers, the poore tenant hath a great losse, or els utterly undone, god amende it. And the lordes haue a greater losse than they wene, for their tenauntes se how their neighbours that have bilded their houses improued their landes and be put out, except he make a fyne or pay more rente, causeth them nother to bylde nor otherwise to improue their holdynges, to the lordes great losse at length. And where the statute sayth, *De omnibus aliis exitibus viuariorum morarum bruerum et vastorum.* And of al profites that shal come of the lordes standynge waters, mores, hethes, and wastes. Viuarium is a pole, or a meyre, that fyshe encreaseth and lyeth in. Some rynning waters be as free, and feueral to the lordes, as their poles, meyres or standing waters. And as they be stored with fyshe, so doth the profite rise to the lordes, whether they go by way of improuement or set to ferme; whereof the bayly shal make accompt. Moores, hethes, and wastes, go in lyke manner  
as



as the herbage of the townes, for the lordes tenants haue commen in all fuche out groundes with their cattel, but they shall haue no wodde, thornes, turues, gorse ferne, and such other, but by custome, or els special wordes in his chartour.

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C H A P. IX.

*Of Mylnes, seuerall Fishyng, and commen Fishyng, what they be worth in the Yere.*

**I**TEM de molendinis, piscariis separalibus et communibus, quantum valent. Also of mylnes, seuerall fyshynges, and commen fyshynges, what they be worth. In this short article many things are to be remembred, for where he sayeth, De molendinis, the which is the plurell number, it is to be understand, that there be many maner of mylnes, as corne mylnes, wynd mylnes, horse mylnes and quernes that goo with hande; fullynge mylnes, sythe mylnes, cutler mylnes, smythe mylnes, and all other as the whele gothe by drift of water to blow the belows, or to dry any water like a pompe, as there be in Cornwall and dyuers other places. Though they be no mylnes, properly to grinde corne, yet it is a profyte to the lorde, the which a surueyour may not forget to put in his boke, and to but, and bound them as they lie, and who be the fermers, and what rentes they pay. And to the corne mylnes to the most part of them belongeth Socone, that is to say, custom of the tenants is to grynde theyr corne at the lordes mylne, and that is as me semeth, all fuche corne as groweth upon the lordes grounde, that he spendeth in his house. But yf he bye his corne in the market or other places, he is than at libertie to grynde where he may be best served,



that maner of grynding is called loue Socone, and the lordes tenants be called bonde Socon. And if they grinde nat theyr corne at the lordes mylne, the lorde maye amerce them in his court, or els he may sue them at the commen lawe, *De secta molendini facienda*. But whan he shall make his declaracyon in the debet, and whan in the solet, I remytte that to menne of lawe, that have experience thereof. It is also to be knowen how the tolle should be taken, but there be so many dyuers grauntes made by the lorde, some men to be grounden to the twentie parte, and some to the xxiiii. part, tenaunt at wyll to the xvi. parte, and bondmen to the xii. parte, some men to be tolle free, and some to be hopper free, that is to wyt, that his corne shal be put into the hopper and grounde next to the corne that is in the hopper, at the tyme of his comming; and in some place to take the tolle after the strength of the water; that foloweth by reason, for that mylne that hath a bygge water, and may dryue a great brode stone, the which wyl make moch more meale, than that mylne that goth with a lyttell stone, he is moch better worthy to haue the more tolle, and yet shall the owner of the corne have the more profite.

And soo there be soo many diuersities of taking of tolle, that I wyll not take uppon me to telle howe, but also remytte it to men of lawe, to shew the diuersities. But doubt ye not, the mylners wyll be no losers, and of mylnes there shall more be spoken of in the chapter of waters, among the improvmentes, *De piscariis et separalibus*: that is to be understande, in the lordes standing waters as pooles and meynes: and alsoo rynnynge waters that be feuerall, as be very many in dyuers countreys, sette to ferme frome oone place of the ryuer to another, for certayne rente. And if any man fyshe in the lordes pooles or meynes, the lorde maye haue  
his



his action upon the statute westmynster primer. And yf he fyshe in the rynnyng waters the lorde may have his action at the commen lawe, and in lyke wise the lordes tenant, if any man fyshe in his ferme hold, be it standyng waters, or runnyng waters. And where he saythe, De omnibus, of commen fyshynges, that is lyttell profyte to the lorde, but to his tenautes, excepte he dwelle nyghe the sei, and wyl cause his seruant to fyshe there for him, for that is the beste commen water that any man can fyshe in. And some rounnyng waters be commen, as lyttell brookes and dytches, and in some runnyng waters, the lordes tenautes haue lybertie by custome, to fyshe with shoue nettes, trode nettes, small pytches, and suche other.

## C H A P. X.

*Of free Tenantes, the whiche dwell without as well as within, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est de libere tenentibus quibusque forinsecis et extrinsecis.

Also it is to be enquired of freholders, the which dwell without as wel as within. By this letter it is to be understande, that a freeholder may dwell out of the procincte of the lordes manowr, and yet hold his lande of the sayd maner. For one manour may stretch in to dyuers shires, as the honor of Cutbury, Walyngforde, Pountfret, Tyckell, and such other: And in that case the lorde of the honour or manour, may take a distresse for his rentis, homagis, relifes, customes, and seruices, and to brynge the same distresse oute of that shyre, where he was taken, into that shire, where the manour is, of whome these sayde landes be holden. And if the tenant wyl sewe Repleuy, the sheriffe where the



cattell is, shal make and serue the repleuy, and not the sheriffe where the goodes or the catel was taken, nor returne upon his repleuy, *Quod aueria elongata sunt.* And the lorde may haue a freholder that holdeth his land of him, and payeth him chiefe rentes and other seruice, and nat by the reason of any maner. And thus if a man purchase a parcell of lande before the making of this statute, *Quia emptores terrarum,* and gyue the same landes ageyne to a straunger before the makynge of the sayde statute, to holde of hym by certayne rente and seruyce.

This may be called a foren free holder, for it is no parcell of any maner, and it is no maner itself. For to euery maner belongeth two thynges, that is to say, parcell in demayne, and parcell in seruice, that is landes in demayne belongynge to the maner, and seruyce, customes, or rentes, and this freholder I spake of before, hath demayne, but he hath no seruice ; also a man maye have both rent and seruice of a freholder, and yet he holdeth not his landes of him that he payeth his chiefe rent unto. As and a man purchase landes fyth the making of the sayde statute, and gyue it to a stranger, reseruyng fealtie and certain rente : this free holder holdeth his landes of the chief lorde next aboue and yet shall he pay his rentes and seruices reserued to hym that gave it to hym, and yf the gyfte were in the tayle, and no remainder in fee over, now the reuercion resteth styl in the donor. I could speake more of the gyftes and remainders, but I remyt them to men of lawe that be learned, for it is nat the matter that I intend to speake of. How be it, it is very necessary for euery surueyour to haue insight and experience of the common lawe, or els at some season he shall deceyue his lorde or his tenant, and speciallye his owne soule, for saynt Isodours sayth, *Quod ignorantia crassa vel affectata non*



non excusat peccatum. That is to say, ignorance of cunnyng or of the facultie in hym that taketh upon hym as a master or teacher of the science or cunnyng, excuseth nat a man's offence, for euery man that god hath sende wytte and reason unto, is bounden to knowe, whether he do well or yuel. And therefore it is necessary, that euery man lerne and do his dilygence to knowe, what he ought to do, or he take upon him any such office or rowme.

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C H A P. XI.

*Who be fre Tenantes, and what Landes and Tenementes and what Fees they holde, and by what Seruice whether by Socage or by Knight Seruice or other, and what Rent of Assise they giue by the Yere, and who holdeth by Charter, and who by auncient demayn, and who by new feoffement.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est, qui sunt liberi tenantes, et quæ et quas terras et tenementa, et quæ feoda teneant, et per quod seruitium, utrum per foccagium, vel per seruitium militare, vel alio modo, et quantum reddant per annum de redditu assise, et qui tenent per cartam, et qui non, et qui per antiquam tenuram, et qui per nouum feoffamentum. Also it is to be enquired, who be free tenautes, and what maner landes and tenementes, and what fees they hold, and by what seruice, and whether it be by socage or knight's seruice or of any other maner, and what they yelde by the yere of rent of assise, and who holdeth by charter and who nat, and who by the old tenure, and who by the newe feoffement. It appeareth by this article, that there be many maner of fre holders, and holde their landes and tenements in diuers maner, and by many maner of rentes, cus-  
tomes



tomes and seruices, as tenauntes in fee symple, tenauntes in tayle, tenauntes by coppe of court role, tenauntes by the curtesy, tenauntes in dower, and tenauntes for terme of lyfe by special grant, and many other. And all these tenauntes may holde their landes by dyuers tenures, customes, and seruices, as by homage, fealte, escuage, foccage, knyghtes seruyce, graunt sergentie, petyte sergentie, franke almoynes, homage auncetrell, burgage tenures, and tenure in villenage. But to declare the diuersytie of these, tenures it woulde be to longe a processe, and therefore I remitte it to the first booke of the comen lawe, called the Tenures. But the diuersitie of these tenures, what rentes, fees, customes, and seruices, the lorde ought to haue of his tenants, can nat be knowen, but be the lordes euidence courte rolles, rentayles, and suche other presidentes, and specially be the originall dedes of their tenants. And ye shall knowe, that the lordes may nat distrayne their tenauntes, nor cease their landes into their handes, to cause their tenauntes to shewe their euidence, whereby they holde their landes. But if the lorde haue any euidence, rentales, or court rolles, or any maner of rentes, customes or seruices, that he hath nat, and can proue a possession of the same in his ancestors, by the limitation expressed in the statute of Westmynster seconde, in the seconde chapter, than he may lafully distrayne for the same. And than muste the tenant shewe a discharge by sufficient writynge, and nat by wordes, or els to pay the same: for matter in writynge, maye nat be discharged by a nude parol. sc. bare wordes. The statute speaketh, *Qui tenent per cartam et qui non.* The tenants in fee symple, and the tenants in tayle, that haue euidence and dedes made and sealed, and possession deliuered of their lordes or by their attourney, from one to another, they holde  
their



their landes by charter, be it newe made, or olde. And also there be tenauntes in fee symple, and tenauntes in tayle, they holde by no charter, and those be tenauntes by copy of court role. As and a lord haue a manour, and within the sayde maner there is a custome, that hath been used tyme out of minde, that certayne tenauntes within the sayd manour, haue used to haue theyr landes and tenementes, to hold to them and theyr heyres, in fee symple, fee tayle, or for terme of lyfe, at the will of the lorde after the custome of the maner. And fuche a tenaunte may nat gyue nor sell his lande by dede, for and he do, the lorde maye entre as in landes forfayte to hym. For if fuche a tenaunt wyll gyue or selle fuche maner of landes to another, he must surrendre the same landes, in the lordes court, into the lordes handes, unto the use of hym that shoulde haue it, in fee symple, fee tayle, or for terme of lyfe. And he that shall haue the lande, must come into the court and take it of the lorde, as here after followeth. *Ad hanc curiam venit I. B. et sursum reddidit in eadem curia unum messuagium, &c. in manus domini, ad usum A. D. et hered suorum vel hered de corpore suo existentium, vel pro termino vite sue. Et super hoc venit prædictus A. D. et cœpit de domino in eadem curia predictum messuagium, &c. habendum et tenend sibi et heredibus suis, vel sibi et hered de corpore suo existentibus, vel sibi ad terminum vite sue ad voluntatem domini secundum consuetudinem manerii, faciendo et reddendo inde reddit. seruicia et consuetudines inde prius debita et consueta, et dat domino de fine, &c. et fecit domino fidelitatem et admissus est inde tenens.*

And these maner of tenauntes shall nat plede nor be impled of their tenementes by the kynges writte, but and they will implede ech other for their



their tenementes, they shall haue their playnt made in the lordes courte, after this forme or effecte.

A. de B. queritur versus. C. de D. de placito terre videlicet de uno messuagio, decem acris terre tribus acris prati, &c. cum pertinen.

And shall make protestation to sue his plaint in the nature of the kyngs writte of form done in descender at the Comen Law, or of the kynges wrytt of affize of novel diffcison, or of affize of mortanceter, or of any other writ at the comen law. Plegii de prosequend. G. F. et G. H. but how the declaration, the answer, replication, and reioynder shuld be made: and also an action of dette, detinue, couenaunt, trespas, and such other, I remyt that to men of lawe, that haue experience thereof. But one thing wotte I well, that many an erronious processe the stewardestes make in theyr courte rolles, wherefore men of honour and of worshippe, and abbottes, priours, and such other, shulde make men of lawe theyr stewardestes, and to cause them to exercise the offyce hymself, with his clerke sufficiently instructed by his master, that there maye be made due proues, without favour, bribery, or extorcion, on peyne of forfayture of his office. But it is a comen use in some countreys: that lordes, knyghtes, squyers, and gentylmen, that knowe but lytel of the lawe, be made stewardestes, and they come to the court or sende their clerkes, that can as litel law as their maister or lasse, but that he understandeth a lytel latyn. And if there be a fine to make for a tenement, house or close that be to set: the stewarde shall have a rewarde for his good wyll, that he may have it before an other man, and the clerke must have an other rewarde for to entreat his maister to the same, so that the lordes fyne must nedes be the lasse, or elles the poore man shal be at a greater charge. Whereof speaketh Salomon, Prouerbiorum xvii. Melius est parum



rum cum iustitia, quam multifructus cum iniquitate. It is better to haue a lyttel ryghtuoufely, than to haue moche profytte wyckedly. But nowe to my mattier, that I spake of before, there may be one maner or lordshyppe, bothe charter lande, and copy lande, and eche of theym well knownen from other, and one man haue and holde them bothe. Also there be other tenauntes by copy of courte roll, and are callyd tenantes per le verge. sc. by the yarde. And they be called so, bycause when they wodde surrender their tenementes into the lordes handes, to the use of an other, they shall haue a lyttell yarde in their hand by custome of the court, and that they shall delyuer unto the stewart, if he be there present, or to the bayly or reue, or to other two honest men of the lordshyppe. And at the next court he that shall haue the sayde landes shall take it in the courte, and his takynge shall be entred in the role, and the steward or bayly, as the custome is used, shall deliuer to hym that shall haue the lande, the same yarde, or an other in the name of season, and hath none other euydence but the copy of the courte rolle, and it may be made in fee symple, or fee tayle, or for terme of life. And all maner of customes that be not again reson, may be admitted and alowed for a custome. And how be it that these maner of copy holders haue an estate of inheritance, after the custome of the maner, yet haue they no franke tenement, bycause of the common lawe, and therefore they be called tenauntes of base nature. Me semeth it were necessary and convenient, to shewe dyuers dyuersities howe copies shoulde be made, for feare least euery man, that taketh upon hym to kepe a courte, hath nat perfectly the experience thereof, as hereafter ensueth,



*Fyrst of Surrenders of Landes holden by the Yarde.*

He shall take a yarde in his hand by thend, and delyuer the steward the other end in his hand, and saye to the stewarde. Here I, A. B. doe yelde up, or surrender my landes callyd D. the which I holde of this lordshyp at the lordes wyl, after the custome of this maner, to the behoue of John Browne and his heires.

*Howe the Stewarde shall delyuer Season.*

The stewarde shall delyuer him an ende of the yard in his hande, that shall haue this lande, and he shall say thus to hym. My lorde graunteth you season of this land that was A. B. the which ye take here in the court to you and to your heires, to hold at my lordes wyl, after the custome of this maner, and than he shall be sworne, &c.

*The Maner of the Othe of the Tenaunte.*

I shall beare faythe and trouthe to my lorde of this manour, as for the landes and tenementes that I haue taken of him, and truly do and pay the futes, customes, rentes, and seruices that belongeth thereto, as for the terme that I shall occupie it, soo help me god, &c. and kyffe the boke, and lay down a peny, as the custome is.

*Howe the Copy shuld be made of Landes holden by the Yarde.*

Ad hanc cur. dominus concessit extra manus suas per I. F. capitalem sen suum T. D. et M. uxori eius unum mess. et sex acras terre cum pertinen. iacent. apud B. quibus dominus per senescallum suum concessit seisinam habend. sibi et heredibus suis de domino per virgam ad voluntatem domini secundum consuetudinem manerii, et dant domino de fine pro ingressu inde habendum  
prout



prout patet in capite et fecit domino fidelitatem, et  
admissus est inde tenens.

*An other Forme for certayne Rent, for all Maner of  
Service.*

Ad hanc cur. dominus concessit per I. F. fene-  
scallum suum T. B. et M. uxori sue unum mess,  
sex acr. terre, ii. acr. prati, et unum acram bosci  
cum pertin. prefatis T. et M. hered. et assignatis  
suis ad voluntatem domini secundum consuetu-  
dinem manerii, redd. inde annuatim domino, et  
hered. suis, vel successoribus suis, si dominus sit  
religiosus v. s. vi. d. pro omnibus et singulis ser-  
uiciis ad duos anni terminos videlicet. &c. equis  
portionibus, et dat domino de fine, &c. et fecit  
fidelitatem.

The common course is to put in certeyntie all  
their rentes, customes, and seruyces, in theyr  
copeys, and that is in auncient demayn, and in all  
places where their tenants haue their landes by  
coppe to them and their heirs, after the custome  
of the manour: for there they have or ought to  
have a customary role, wherein is euery man's lande  
conteyned, and what rent, customes, and seruices  
euery man ought to pay, and do: and in many  
places, theyr lawes, and theyr customes be put in  
wrytynge, and remayne in their owne kepynge, to  
put them in a readinesse, whan nede shall require.  
But and there shall be made any newe incroche-  
ments or intackes inclosed or taken in, out of the  
comens, or any myne newe found, as lead or tyn,  
cole, yron, stone or such other, if a copy shall be  
made thereof, it is than necessary and conuenient,  
that the rent thereof be put in the copy, for it is  
a newe thyng, that hath not goone by custome,  
and also it wolde be put in the customary role,  
for this newe approuement may fortune to en-  
crease of rent or decrease in rent, and therefore  
the



the rentes must alway be expressed. Also where a man hath a lordshyp, wherein be many tenants that holde for terme of yeres, or for terme of lyfe, where they have no state of inheritance: in all such copies it is conuenient, that the rentes be expressed in the same copies, causa patet.

*A Recognition of the Tenant what he holdeth of the Lorde.*

Ad hanc cur. venit R. T. coram S. E. senescallo huius manerii, et cognouit se tener. de dno unum mess. decem acr. terr. tres acr. prati cum pertin. in L. voc. C. libere per cartam in focagio per redditum xii. d. vel unam libram piperis, et sextam cur. bis per annum. Et etiam dictus R. T. cognouit se tenere de domino alium messuagium cum crofto adjacente, et sex acras terre, et ii. acras prati cum pertin. ad voluntatem dni. secundum consuetudinem manerii, et per redd. duorum foli-dorum, et fecit, fidelitatem, et admissus est tenens.

*The Forme of a Copy in auncient Demayn, where the Proclamations shulde be had.*

Ad hanc cur. tent ibidem tali die et anno, &c. venit. A. B. filius et heres I. B. et sursum redd. in manus domini vnum messuagium x. acr. terr. tres acr. prati cum uno crofto in D. infra iurisdictionem huius cur. ad opus E. F. hered. et assignum suorum imperpetuum virtute barganie inter eos fact. Et super hoc publica proclamatio in ead. cur. fact. fui et si quis aliquod ius seu titulum ad eadem messuag. terr. prat. et croft, vel in aliquâ eorum percella pretendere voluit, vel haberet, veniret, et audiretur, et nullus venit ad hanc cur. per quod secundum consuetudinem manerii, messu. predict. terræ, prata et croft. predict. remanerent in manus domini usque ad tertiam proclamac. super eisdem fact, et super hoc dies dat est partibus predictis essendi ad proximam cru, manerii



manerii predicti, ad audiendum inde iudicium suum super premissis, et ad hanc cur. tent. ibidem tali die. &c. tam predictus A. B. quam predictus E. F. venire, et super hoc secunda proclamatio facta fuit super premissis, quod si aliquis aliquod ius, vel titulum ad predictum messu. terr. prata, &c. haberet aut pretenderet, veniret, et audiretur. Et nullus venit, et super hoc dies dat. est partibus predictis essendi ad proximam cur. manerii predicti ad audiend. inde iudicium suum. Et ad hanc cur. tent. ibidem tali die, &c. tam predictus A. B. quam predictus E. F. vener. et super hoc tertia proclamatio facta fuit super premissis. quod si aliquis aliquod ius, vel titulum ad predictum messuagium terr. prat. et croft, vel in aliqua eorum parcella haberet, vel pretenderet, veniret, et audiretur, et nullus adhuc venit. Et super hoc dominus per I. G. fenescallum suum concessit seisinam de predicto messuagio, terris, prat. et croft cum eorum pertinen. prefato E. F. tenend. sibi hered. et assign. suis secundum consuetudinem manerii predicti, et dat domino de fine ad ingress. &c. et admissus est inde tenens et fecit fidelitatem.

*The Forme of a Copy in auncient Demeyne where the Wyfe shall be examined.*

DALE.

Ad cur. tent. ibidem tali die anno. &c. T. B. de N. et M. uxor eius hic in plena cur. sol. examinat. et confes. sursum reddiderunt in manus domini unum messuagium et dimidiam bovata[m] terr. ac unam quatronam terre cum suis pertin. in N. predicta voc. D. ad opus. W. C. de O. unde accidit domino unum equum heriotto. et super hoc venit dictus W. C. et cepit de domino dict' mess. &c. cum suis pertin. habend. et tenend. sibi et Anne uxor. sue et her. et assign. ipsius W. imperpetuum  
D secundum



secundum consuetudinem manerii, per redd. consuetudinem, et seruic. inde prius debit et consuet, et dant domino de fine pro ingressu habend dict' mess. et ceteris premissis, &c. et data est eis seifina, et fecerunt fidelit.

*An other Forme for Terms of Lyfe.*

Ad hanc cur. &c. venit I. D. et I. uxor ejus ipsa sola examinata coram fenescallo, et sursum reddiderunt in manus domini unum tenementum cum pertin. in A. iac. inter tenement I. B. ex parte orient et tenementum. C. D. ex parte occident, et abbuttat. super altam viam ex parte australi, et super gardinum E. F. ex parte boriali, ad opus. G. H. et I. uxoris eius, ad terminum vite eorum et alterius eorum diutius viuentis secundum consuetudinem manerii, et dant dno. de fine, &c. et fecerunt fidelit.

*An other Forme upon Condition.*

Ad hanc cur, &c. venit I. C. et sursum redd. in manus domini vnum cotagium iacens, &c. ad opus I. D. &c. tenend. sibi et hered. suis de domino ad voluntatem domini secundum, &c. sub conditionibus subsequenter: videlicet si predictus, I. D. soluat aut solui faciet prefat I. C. xl. s. ad fest, videlicet, &c. proximo futuro, post data huius curie, quod tunc presens sursum redditio sit in suo robore et effectu, et si ipse defecerit in solutione solutionum predict in parte vel in toto quod ex tunc bene licebit prefat' I. C. et assign. suis reintrare, et rehabere predictum cotagium, ista sursum reddic. non obstante in aliquo, et dat domino de fine, &c. et fecit fidelitatem, &c. et admissus est, &c.

*An other Maner of Surrender made to the Bayly out of the Court.*

Ad hanc cur. &c. compertum est, quod T. C. extra cur. sursum reddidit in manus I. D. balliui in presenc.



presenc. D. R. et aliorum tenentium domini huius manerii, hoc testante, unam acram terre in G. quond. W. B. ad opus X. Z. cui dominus inde concessit feifinam tenen. sibi et hered. &c. de seruic. &c. et dat, &c.

*An other Forme, where the Lorde granteth a Copie of his speciall Graunt.*

Ad cur. apud D. tent. ibidem tali die et an, &c. preceptum fuit balliuo seisir, in manu domini, unum tentum siue mess. cum pertin. I. B. voc. E. eo quod ipse alienauerit, et vendidit dictum tentum cuidam I. T. sine licentia domini, et inde respondit dno. de exitibus quousque &c. et quod in ista eadem cur. dns. ex sua gratia speciali concessit dictum tentum cum pertin. prefato. I. B. cui dns. inde concessit feifinam habend. sibi et hered. &c. de dno. ad voluntatem secundum, &c. et dat, &c. et fecit, &c.

*An other Maner for Terme of Yeres, where the Lorde shall kepe Reparation.*

Ad hanc cur. dominus per I. F. senescallum suum concessit I. E. unum messuagium cum domibus superstantibus et aduersas terras prata pascua et pasturas cum sepebus fossatis, et omnibus aliis suis pertin. voc. A habend. et tenend. sibi et assign. suis a festo sancti Michaelis archangili proximo futuro post dat. hujus cur. vsque ad finem et terminum quadraginta annorum, ex tunc proximo sequentium et plenarie complendorum, redd. inde annuatim xx. s. ad duos anni terminos videlicet, &c. per equales portiones. Prouiso semper, quod durante termino predicto, predictus dns. inueniet meremium totiens quoties necessarium fuerit dicto tenemento ad. emendandum reparandum et sustinendum, et dat domino de fine, &c. et fecit fidelitatem, &c.



*An other Maner, where a Man pretendeth a Title,  
and after releaseth, in the Courte.*

Ad hanc cur. tent. &c. copertum est, quod cum dns. p. l. F. fenescallum suum, ad cur. tent. apud C. tali die et an. concessit extra manus domini A. B. et her. suis unam peciam tre continentem circa tres acras terre siue plus siue min. habeatur, quondam T. C. in A. iacent. inter terr. P. Q. ex parte australi et terram R. S. habend. &c. ad voluntatem domini secundum, &c. et postea venit quedam Alicia Bate coram prefato I. F. fenescallo domini, et pretendit habere titulum in predicta pecia terre, et hinc presens in cur. remisit relaxavit et imperpetuum quietum clamavit prefato A. B. et hered. suis per licentiam domini totum ius suum et clameum, que habet, vel habuit vel in futur. habere poterit in predicta pecia terre, et in qualibet inde parcella. Ita videlicet quod ipsa Alicia nec hered sui, nec aliquis alius nomine eorum aliquod ius, vel clameum in predicta pecia terre de cetero exigere, vel vendicare poterit, scilicet ab actione iuris vel clamei sint exclusi per presentes, et dat dno. &c. et fecit, &c.

*An other Forme, where the Heyre is admitted to his  
Lande, after the Death of his Father.*

Ad hanc cur tent. &c. compertum est quod I. B. obiit seifitus post ultimam curiam, qui de domino tenuit sibi et hered suis unam placeam terr. voc C. et inde obiit seifitus, et dicunt quod R. B. filius eius, est proximus heres, et plene etatis, vel infra etatem vicz. xii. annorum, et in custodia T. W. vel S. B. frater eius, vel cosanguineus eius est proximus heres eiusdem I. B. et plene etatis, et presens hic in cur. petit admitti, et admissus est inde tenens, tenend sibi et hered suis de dno. ad voluntatem dni. secundum consuet. &c. et dat. &c. et fecit. &c.



*An other Forme of Landes tayed with a Remainder over.*

Ad hanc cur. compertum est, quod R. B. de A. ad cur tent apud E. tali die et anno, &c. fursum redd. in manus domini unum tenementum et tres acras terre voc. C. ad opus R. C. filii eius de R. et A. uxoris eius, quibus dominus concessit seisinam, tenend. sibi et hered. de corporibus eorum legitime procreat. Et si predictus R. et A. uxor eius sine her. de corporibus eorum legitime procreat. obierint, quod tunc predicta terra et tenementa cum suis pertin. remaneant rect' her. ipsius R. B. et modo curia ista informaretur per totum homagium, quod predictus R. et A. obierunt, sine herede inter eos procreat. et predictus. R. B. similit. et super hoc venit I. B. frater et heres predict R. B. et petit admitti, et admissus est tenens, &c. et per licentiam domini prefatus I. B. concessit predictum tenementum et terras, que ei remaneant post mortem predictorum R. B. et R. C. et A. vxoris eius, remaneret W. C. et hered suis, cui dominus inde concessit seisinam tenend ad voluntatem domini secundum, &c. et dat &c. et fecit, &c.

*An other Maner for Terme of Lyfe, with divers Remynders over.*

Ad hanc cur. venit R. B. et fursum reddit in manibus domini vnum messuagium, et octo acras terr. customar. voc. A. vt dominus faciat inde voluntatem suam, et dominus inde habeat seisinam. Et ex gratia sua speciali reconcessit predictum messuagium et terr. pre fato R. B. et I vxori eius durante vita eorum, ita quod post eorum decessum dictum tenementum et terra remaneant B. vxori A. durante vita sua, et post decessum ipsius B. predict terre et tenementa remaneant rectis hered. ipsius R. B. imperpetuum tenend. eisdem R. B. et I.



uxori ejus durante tota vita eorum per virgam ad voluntatem domini secundum, &c. in forma predicta, salvo iur. cuiuslibet, &c. et predicti R. et I. dant domino de fine, &c. et fecerunt fidelitatem, &c.

*A Surrender out of the Court, and a Remainder with a Condition.*

Ad hanc cur. compertum est, quod R. F. languens in extremis fursum redd. in manib. B. R. extra cur. per manus I. H. in presentia A. C. et B. D. tenent. hujus manerii, hoc testant. vnum messuagium cum pertin. &c. ad opus A. vxor. predicti R. F. tenend sibi per servic, inde debit. secundum consuetudinem manerii, pro termino vite sue, ita quod post mortem dicte A. predict. mess. remaneat I. filio predicti R. et A. et her. de corpore suo legitime procreat'. Et si contingat I. obier. sine her. de corpore suo legitime procreat. quod tunc predictum messuagium reman. R. filio predicti R. et A. et hered. de corpore suo legitime procreat'. Et si contingat predicti R. obiere. &c. quod tunc predictum messuagium per executores vtriusque eorum diutius viuent. vendat. et denarios inde recept. et prouenient. pro animabus parent. suorum et eorum in piis vsibus, et operib. caritatiuis in missis celebrandis et elemosinis distribuendis prout melius eius viderint expedire, pro animabus antecessorum et predecessorum suorum, quibus dominus inde concessit seisinam tenend. in forma predict. ad voluntatem domini secundum consuet. manerii, et dant domino de fine, &c. et fec. fidelit. Et nota quod si unus eorum obiit, et heres eius sit infra etatem, fidelitas respectuatur quousque ad etatem veniat.

*A Supplication to be exempte from all Maner Inquestes and Juries within the Lordshyppe.*

Ad hanc cur. venit R. C. instant. supplicando prout ipse per plurima tempora transacta supplicauit.



cauit. Et profert domino finem annualem nomine exemptionis, vt ipse ex sua gratia speciali et favore ob causam senectutis infirmitatis et debilitatis sue possit exonerare de cetero, ab omnibus et singulis inquisitionibus iuramentis et offic. quorumcunque, tam in hac villa quam alibi infra dominium domini sibi obiciend. et assignand. quapropter aspecta vero senectute vna cum infirmitate et debilitate sua, sub fine annuali nomine exemptionis inde prolata, ac suggestionem eius per tenentes et vis, usq. ipsum veraciter congrua testificata in premissis, modo dominus concessit in ista curia per I. F. senescallum suum prefato R. C. huiusmodi licenc. fauorem et exemptionem ad terminum vite sue duratur. et predict. R. C. dat domino de annuali redd. persoluendum annuatim. iiii. d. ad terminos vsuales.

Ad hanc cur. venit I. S. et dat domino de fine pro secta cur. respectuand. per. i. annum, vt patet.

Ad hanc curiam venit I. S. natus domini huius manerii, et petit licenc. ad maritand filiam suam infra dominium istud, vel extra, et dominus per W. C. senescallum suum concessit licenc. et dat, &c.

Memorandum, that there is no manner of estates made of fre lande by polle dede or dede indented, but like estates may be made by copy of copy-landes, if they be wel made and entred in the court rolles. And the steward is bounde by lawe, and conscience, to be an indifferente judge betwene the lord and his tenantes, and to enter their copies truly in the lordes court rolles, the which is a register to the lorde to know his presidence, customes, and services, and also a great suretie to the tenantes, that if their copies were lost, they may vouch and resort to the lordes court rolles, and the steward may make them newe copyes,



accordyng to the olde president in the lordes court roll, lyke as at the commen law, whan a matter in variaunce bytwene two men is past by verдите and iugement gyven thereof, and entred in the Kinge's recordes, there it resteth of record, and also if a dede or a patent be enrolled, there it remayneth of record in lyke maner, so that if any party wyll have any copie therof, they may sue to the judges and the offycers of the place where the record lyeth, and have a copy therof exemplified under the seale of offyce of the same place, where suche recorde lieth, and may plede the same recorde in every court the kynge hath, and the lorde's steward may do in lyke maner, &c.

*The Othe of all Maner of Officers generally.*

To whome the steward shall say; Lay thy hand upon the boke and say after me, I shall true constable be, trewe thirdborowe, trewe reue, true frankplege, true tythingman, true ale-taster, true wodewarde, and trewe pynder with such other officers, that be vsed to be sworne in the lordes court, and trewe presentment make, and treuely and duely do and kepe all thynges that belongeth to myne offyce to do so help me God and my holydome, and kysse the boke.

*The Othe of a Denysen.*

I shall true lyege man be, and true faithe beare to kynge Henry, that now is, and to his heires, and no treason do, nor thereunto assent, nor no thefte do, nor no theves felowe be, nor any of theym to knowe: but that I shall enforme and do to wyte them that be the kynges officers therof, that have the lawe to governe. And I shall be buxome and obedient to iustices, commissioners, sheryffs, exchequours, baylyes, and constables, and to all other officers



offycers of the kynges, in all thynges, that they commaunde me to do laufully, foo helpe me God and holydome.

*The Othe of Afferour.*

I shall truely affere this courte, and high no man for no hate, ne lowe no man for noo love, but to set every man truly after the quantite of his trespasse to my knowlege, saving to a gentylmanne his countynaunce and his householde, a marchaunt his marchandyse, a husbande his tenury and his worke beaftis to his plough, foo helpe me God and my holydome.

This article gothe farther. Et quantum red-dant per annum de redditu assise. And how moche they yelde by the yere of rent of assise. And first ye shall know, that there be thre maner of rentes, that is to say, rent service, rent charge, and rent secke. Rent service is where a man holdeth his lande of his lorde by fealtie and certayne rent, or by homage, fealtie, and certayne rent, or by any other seruyce and certayne rent. This is a rent seruyce, and yf the rent be behynde at any day that it ought to be payd at, the lord may distraine for that rent of commen right, and if the lord purchase parcell of the sayd lande, that the rent gothe out of, the rent shal be apporcioned: except it be an entiere rent, as a sperhauke, or a hors, or such other, that cannot be severed, for than the rent is extinct and gone for ever, &c. Rent charge, is where a man is seased of landes in fee, and granteth by pole, dede, or by dede indented an annuell rent going out of the same landes in fee or in fee tayle, or for terme of lyfe with a clause of distres: that is a rent charge, and the grantee may distrayne for the same rent, by cause of the clause of distresse. But if the grauntee purchase parcel of the sayd landes, wherof the sayd  
rent



rent gothe out, the hole rent charge is extinct and gone for ever. For such a rent charge may nat be apporcyoned, bycause the landes come to his owne possession by his own act or dede. Rent secke, is where a man seased of landes in fee, granteth a rent goynge out of the same without a clause of distresse: that is a rent secke, and it is called a rent seck, bycause there is no distresse insident nor belongyng to the same. Also if a man by dede indented make a feoffment in fee or in fee tayle, the remaynder over in fee or for terme of lyfe, remaynder over in fee, reserving to hym certayne rente without any clause of distresse in the same, that is a rent secke, and if the graunte were never ceased of the sayd rent, he is without remayndre by course of the commen law. There is another maner of rent: that is nother rent service, rent charge, nor rent secke, and that is called rent annuel. And that is, whereas a man granteth by his dede, an annuitie of xx. s. be it more or lasse, and chargeth no land with the payment of the same. That is a rent annuell, and it chargeth the person that graunteth the said rent by a wrytte of annuite, and in some cause a rent charge may become an annuel rent, as a man graunt a rent charge out of his lande with a clause of distresse, the graunte is at libertie, whether he will distreyne for the rent, or sewe a wrytte of Annuitie against the granter. And if he sewe his writ of annuitie, the land is discharged of any distresse, and therefore the grauntour may make a provision in his graunt, et proviso semper, quod presens scriptum, nec aliquid in eo specificatum, non aliquo modo se extendat ad onerandum personam meam per breve, vel actionem de annuitate, sed tantum modo ad onerandum terras et tenementa predicta de annuali redditu predicto. And

this



this prouyse hadde, the landes be charged, and the person discharged.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Of those free Tenautes that sewe to the Courte of the Countie, and who seweth nat, and howe moche falleth to the Lorde after the decesse of such tenautes.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est de predictis libere tenantibus, et qui sequunter ad cur. ad com. in comitatu, et qui non, et quantum accidit domino post mortem talium liberorum tenentium. It is to be enquired of the foresayd fre tenautes, whiche of theym shall folowe the court of the countie, and which nat, and what shall fall unto the lorde, after the deth of such free tenautes. Me semeth that all maner such tenautes that holde theyr land by suche servyce, havynge charter lande, ought to folowe the court of the countie, if he be somoned to appere, except he have a speciall grant by chartour of the kyng to the contrary, and to be sworn in inquiries before the justice of peace, justice of assise, excheters, coroners, and all other commissioners of the kingis, and betwene partie and partie as the law hath ordayned it, howe be it in some case he shall dispende and have more landes than in some case, that is to say, if the damage in plee personell, as det, trespas, detinue, and such other, be declared under the valu of xl. markes, than a freholder that hathe any chart lande, be it more or lesse, may passe bytwene partie and partie. And also he is sufficient to enquire for the king in every byl of inditement of felony, and so is every constable and freman, though he have no land. But there shall no constable nor freholder enquire of  
ryot



ryot nor forcible entrees, without he may dispend xl. s. clerly. And therfore se the statute of king Richard the II. and king H. the VII. And also whether the domages in plee personel be declared xl. markes or above, the freholder must have landes to the clere value of xl. s. And every man that shall passe of lyfe and deth and for tytell of lande, be it never so lytell, he muste have landes to the value of xl. s. clerely, above all charges. And in atteynte, if the thinge in demaunde and verdyte upon that gyven, extend to the value of xl. li. or above: then every man of the graunde jury, must have landes to the value of xx. li. of freholde, out of auncient demeyne, and of landes in gavel kinde, xx. li. and if it be under the value of xl. li. than xl. s. of frehold is sufficient. The statute reherfeth further, *Quid et quantum accidit domino post mortem talium libere tenentium*, what and howe moche falleth to the lorde, after the dethe of suche fre tenants, That is and may be, dyvers maners of rentes, customes, and servyces. As yf a tenaunt holde of the lorde by knyght service and decesse, his heyre beyng of full age, the lorde shall have for every knightes fee that the tenaunt holdeth of the lorde l. s. of his heire in the name of relefe. For the whiche the lorde may distreyne in every parcell of that lande, that is so holden of him for the same of commen ryghte. And if it be under a hole knightes fee, as halfe a knightes fee, the thirde parte, the forthe parte, or the xx. parte more or lesse: the relife shal be apporcionate according to the same, and shal pay his chiefe rentes (if any be) neverthelesse. And if the tenaunt decesse, his heyre being within age of xxi yeres, the lorde shall have the warde and the kepyng of the body, duryng his nonage, and if he be unmarried, then his mariage to gyue or sell to whome he wyl, without disparagement, and  
when



and when he cometh to full age, he shall pay no relefe, and if he be maryed, and under the age of xiiii. yeres, he may refuse and disagre, but howe the garden or his commyt or graunte shall tende, and offre maryage to the warde, and if the warde refuse the offre, or if the warde be ravished, and of wardes bycause of wardes, and of disparagementes of wardes, and disagreementes after maryage, and of wast done by the garden, or his commytte or graunte, with mo artycles perteynyng to the same, I remytte all those poyntes to men of lawe, that have knowlege and expyience thereof, for it toucheth not my matter that I treat of. And if the tenant have issue female, above the age of xiiii. yere, be she maryed or nat married, the lorde shall nat have the ward ne the maryage, bycause the lawe entendeth, that she hath a husbände, or may have at that age, able to do such seruyce. But if the heire female be under the age of xiiii. yeres unmarried, the lorde shal have bothe the landes holden of him and the marriage, tyll she come to the age of xiiii. yeres, and two yeres further to tend her mariage in, if she be unmarried. And at the ii. yeres end, she may enter into her landes, and put out her garden, and to mary herselfe at her pleasure, but yf she be maryed before the age of xiiii. yeres in the lyfe of her auncester, and then her ancestor dye, the lorde shal have the warde of the lande to the age of xiiii. yers, and than her husbände and she may enter and put out the lorde, and if the tenant holde of two lordes by knight service, of one by prioritie, and of an other by posterioritie, and dye: the lorde, that the tenant holdeth of by prioritie, shal have the ward of the bodye, be it heyre male, or heyre female, though there be iii. or iiii. daughters, for al they are but one heir to the landes, that be holden of him. And the other lord, of whom the landes be holden of by posterioritie, shal have those landes  
holden



holden of himselfe, and nothing els. And if the tenant hold landes of one lord by knight seruice, and also holde landes of an other lorde by focage and dye (his heires being within age) the lorde of whom the landes be holden of by knight seruyce, shall have the ward and maryage of the heyre, and the landes holden of him, but he shal nat have the landes holden in focage, nor the lorde of whome they be holden of, nother. For those landes holden in focage duryng the nonage, shall go to the next of the blode, to whom the enherytance may nat descende, whereof he shall make accompt unto the heyre whan he cometh to full age, &c. And if the heyre be of full age at the decesse of his auncestre, he shal paye a relefe to every lorde that he holdeth any lande of, if relefe be due to be payed, by reason of his tenure. But in case that a tenaunt holde dyuers manours of dyuers lordes by knight fervyce, and have but one parcell of lande holden of the kynge in capite, the kynge shall have all the hole landes holden of every lorde during the nonage: and the mariage of the heire, if he be unmarried, and if the heire be under the age of xiiii. yere, and wyll dysagre to the maryage, than the kynge shall have the maryage of him or her, or the value therof, and the kynge shall pay no cheserent duryng the nonage, except it be founde due to be payed in the offyce of the exchetour, and many other thynges maye falle to the lordes, as herryottes and other customes, accordynge to their originall dedes, and use of the manour. And ye shall understand, that there be two maner of herryottes, that is to wytte, herryotte service, and herriot custome. Herryotte seruice, is where a man hath gyven landes and tenementes to another man and to his heyres, to holde of hym and of his heyres, as before the makynge of the statute, *Quia emptores terrarum*, or sythe the makinge



makinge of the said statute, to holde of the chiefe lorde of the fee, by the seruyce therof due and of ryght accustomed reseruyng to hym certayne rentes herryottes, or any other custome: this is rent seruyce and herryot service bycause it is expressed in his originall dede. Herriot custome, is where a man hath a lordshipe, wherein hath been used tyme out of mynde, that every tenant that holdeth any mese place of the lorde, shall gyve his best quycke good in the name of a herryot to the lorde, and he that hath no quycke good, shal give his best deid good. And in some place the tenaunte shall gyve for every mese place that he holdeth a herryotte, though the houses were lette downe an hundred yere before, the which me semeth shuld be a great bribery and extortion, as I said in the Prologue of this Treatyse. And therefore, it is wisdom for every man to take his house by indenture or by copie, wherein may be expressed, what rentes, herryottes, customes, and seruyces that the tenaunt shal pay and do, for a lorde may abridge and make lesse his custome by wryting, but tho' he makes wryting, and and specifye what rent he shall pay, he must say further, for all maner rentes herryottes, customes, and seruyces. And in some lordshyppe every man that dyeth within the same, be he the lordes tenaunt or nat, shal pay an herryotte. In so moche that if a straunge man ryde or go by the waye, and dye within such a lordshyppe, he shal pay an herryot, the whiche is playne extorcyon and agaynst the commen ryght: for bytwene the lorde and hym that dyed was no maner of priuytie of bargain or covenant. And in some lordshypp the lorde shall take his herryotte before the parson or the vycare his mortuary, and in some places the church before. And that is, as it hath been accustomed and used tyme out of minde. But for the most parte the lorde taketh before, bycause  
the



the lorde maketh couenaunt with his tenaunt in his lyfe, that he shal have his best quycke good at his deceffe, and the mortuary is not due tyll he be deed, and the herryotte was covenanted and graunted before in his lyfe, and the first bargayne must be observed and kept. And also in some places it is parted bytwene the church and the lorde, and that is, where he that is deed hath no more quicke good, but one horse or one beest, and than he that hath be used to chose first, shall have the better parte by one peny, but of deed good, eyther party shall have one. But there shal nouthur of them take any deed good, as longe as there is any quicke goodes, and in many lordshyppes it is used, that and the tenaunt leave his house by his owne wyl, without any discharge of the lorde, the tenaunt shal pay his best quick good to the lord in the name of an herryot, and in some lordshyppes it is accustomed, that if the tenaunt departe fro the lordshyppe by his owne wyle, he shall make a fyne with the lord for his departing, and most commonly it is ii. s. and it is called a fare fee, or a farewell, and fuche a tenaunte that goethe at his owne wyl shall make all maner of reparacions, and that tenaunt that is discharged by the lorde or by his offycers, shall make no reparacions, except he be discharged for not doing reparacions, &c.



## C H A P. XIII.

*How many customary Tenauntes there be, and howe moche Landes, every of them holdeth, and what Workes and Customes they do, and what the Workes, and the Customes of every Tenant is worthe by the Yere, and how moche every of them payeth, over the Customes and Workes, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est de customariis videlicet quot sunt customarii et quant. terre quilibet customarius teneat, quas operationes, et quas consuetudines facit, et quantum valent opera et consuetudines cuiuslibet customarii per se per annum, et quantum redditum de redditu. assise per annum preter opera et consuetudines, et qui possunt talliari ad voluntatem domini et qui non.

It is to be inquired of customary tenants, that is to wytte, howe many there be, and how moch land every tenaunt holdeth, and what werkes and customs he doth, and what the werkes and customs be worth of every tenaunt by itself, and howe moche rent by the yere, above his werkes and customes he doth pay, and which of them may taxe their landes at the wyll of the lorde and whiche nat. Customarye tenauntes are those that hold theyr landes of their lord by cotype of courte role, after the custome of the manour. And there be many tenauntes within the same manor, that have no copies, and yet holde by lyke custome and seruyce at the wyll of the lorde. And in myne opinion it began soone after the conquest, when William conquerour had conquered the realme, he rewarded all those that came with hym, in his viage royall, according to their degree. And to honourable men he gave lordshyppes, maners, landes, and tenementes, with all the inhabytantes, men and women dwellyng in the same, to do with them at their pleasure.

E

And



And those honourable men thought, that they must needs have servantes and tenantes, and theyr landes occupied with tyllage. Wherefore they pardoned the inhabytantes of their lyues, and caused them to do al maner of servyce, that was to be done, were it never so wyle, and caused them to occupie their landes and tenementes in tyllage, and toke of them suche rentes customes and services, as it pleased them to have. And also took all their goodes and cattell at all tymis at their pleasure, and called them their bondmen, and sythe that tyme many noblemen both spirituall and temporall, of their godly disposition have made to divers of the said bondmen manumissions, and granted them freedom and libertie, and set to them their landes and tenementes to occupy after dyvers maner of rentes, customes and servyces, the whiche is used in dyuers places unto this day. Howe be it in some places, the boundmen contynue as yet, the which me semeth is the greatest inconuenience that now is suffered by the lawe, that is to haue any christen man bounden to an other, and to haue the rule of his body, landes and goodes that his wife, chyldren, and seruantes haue laboured for all theyr lyfe tyme to be so taken, like as and it were extorcion or bribery. And many tymes by colour thereof, there be many freemen taken as bondmen, and their landes, and goodes taken from them, so that they shall not be able to sue for remedy, to proue themselfe fre of blode. And that is moste commonly where the freemen have the same name as the bondemen, or that his auncesters, of whome he is comen, was manumysed before his byrthe. In such case there can nat be to great a punishment. For as me semeth, there shulde be no man bounde, but to God, and to his kynge, and prince ouer hym: Quia deus non facit exceptionem personarum, for God maketh no exception of any person. Wherefore



fore it were a charitable dede to euery nobleman both spirituall, and temporall, to do as they wolde be done by, and that is to manumyse them that be bond, and to make them fre of body and blode, reseruing to them theyr rentes, customes, and seruices of olde tyme due and accustomed, wherein they may get the prayers of the partie, and remission of theyr offences, as in the gospel. *Eadem mesura, qua metiti, fueritis, metietur vobis.* The same measure that ye do mete to other men, shall be metten to you. In mayny lordshippes there is a customary roole bytwene the lorde and his tenautes, and it ought to be indented, one parte to remayne in the lordes kepynge, the other parte with the tenants, and dyvers trewe copyes to be made of the same, that the rentes and customes ronне nat out of remembraunce. And also a fuyte rolle, to call all those by name, that oweth any fuyte to the lordes court, and than shall there be no concelemente of the futours, but that the stewarde may knowe, who is nat there, and if any futoure decesse, the name of his next heire wold be entered into the same rolle, and an enquiry made and presented what he helde of the lorde, and by what rentes, customes, and seruyce of every parcell by itself, and who is his next heyre, and of what age he is of, and this truely done and entered into the rolle, it would be a conveyance of descent in maner of a petie degree, and profytable to the lordes, and also to the tenautes, *causa patet.* The name of every tenaunte must be put in the rolle, and his mese place to be butted and bounded, as it lyeth in length and brede, and bytwene whome. And also his landes, medowes, lays, and pastures, likewise butted, and bounded, that it may be known many yeres after, who dwelled there: and what landes medowes, and pastures lay to the same at that tyme. And what warkes and customes the



tenaunt dothe for every parcell, and what the warkes and customes be worthe in a yere, and howe moche rente, the tenaunte, dothe paye for euery parcell, beside the customes, and warkes, to the entent, that if any parcell of lande, medowe, or pasture be alyened, folde, or changed, or put from one tenaunt to another, the lorde and his bayley may knowe what rentes, customes and werkes, he shall aske and haue of the occupier, for every parcell. And it is the most speciall poynt that belongeth to a surueyor, to butte, and bounde truly euery parcell by itselfe, and to knowe what rentes, werkes, customes, and seruices, goth out of the same, for than may he make a true rentall or customary rolle, and put all thynges in a certentie.

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#### C H A P. XIV.

*Of Cotiers what Cotages and Curtylages they holde, and by what Seruyce, and howe moche Rente they pay by the Yere, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est, de cotagellis, que cotagia et curtilagia teneant, et per quod seruic, et quantum reddant per annum, pro predict. cotagiis et curtilagiis.

Also it is to be inquired of cotagers, what cotages and curtilages they holde, and by what seruice, and what they yeld by the yere, for the forsaide cotages and curtilages. This Chap. and the next president, be both of one effect, but that it is to presume, that there is nat so moch rentes, heriottes, customes, and seruices, to be payde, and doone for a cotage, as there is for a mese place or a better tenement but it maye be lyke custome and seruyce.



## C H A P. XV.

*Of Perquisytes or Profytes of Counties, of Courtes, and of Forestes, what they be worthe by the Yere, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirendum est de perquisitis comitatum, cur. forestariorum, cum expeditamentis canum, et quantum valent per annum in omnibus exitibus.

Also it is to be inquired, of the perquisites and profites of the counties, of the courtes, and of the forestes, with the cuttynge of the dogges cleyse, and howe moche they be worth by the yere in all the issues and profyttes. This chapyter towcheth nat the offyce of a surveyour but lyttell, for the issues and profyttes of the counties, sessions and assises are most comonly the kynges, and they be kept and ordeyned by the sheriffe and the justices of peace, that be ordeyned and put in commysion by the kyng and his counsaile, and the issues and profytes of them are extretted by the sayde justices, and retourned into the kynges eschequer, and there they rest of recorde, the whiche afterwarde is extreyted agayne and sent downe to the sheriffes of every countie, to levy and gather up the same and thereof to make an accompt in the sayd eschequer, and it is called Greene waxe. And the courtes of the forestes be ordeyned and kept by the justices of the forestes and their deputies, and the issues and profytes thereof, the which cometh most commonly by fynes, and mercimentes, are nat extretted into the exchequer, but made oute by the stewart, to the balyes, and other offycers of them that oweth the forest. And there me semeth the surveyor may syt with the iustices of the forestes for one thing specially, and that is this, that no townshyppe, nor hamell entercomen within the forestes, chases, waistes,



wastes, hethes, moores, and such other great commons, but all only such, that of ryghte ought to haue comen within the same. Wherefore it wolde be ordeyned, that euery townshyppe and hamell, that ought to haue any such comen in any forestes, chases, wastes, moores, heythes, and such other great commons, where dyuers townshypps, and hamells entercommen togyther, euery township and hamell ought to haue a dyuers brennyng yron, and euery beaste, horse, mare and colte, that is put upon the comen ought to be brenned in some part of his body with the sayde yron, and than shall euery beast be knowen, of what townshyppe he is. And that were a great redynes to the keepers, and also a great sauegarde for stealyng of the cattle. And than may the keepers, regarders, goysters, and other officers of suche forestes and chases, haue perfytte knowledge, what townshyppe the cattel is of. And if any of these sayd officers fynde any maner of cattel hauing no such brennyng, they may attache them and seise them as strays, and put them in sauegarde to the lordes use, tyll they be yered and dyed. And they ought to aske theym thre sondayes in thre or foure next paryshe churches, and also cry them thre tymes in thre the next market townes. And if no man com within the yere and the day, and to make sufficient profe that the catell is his, than it is forefayt to the lorde as a strey, and in lyke maner the swyne and shepe of every townshyp and hamell, ought to be pyched with the said brennyng yron, or suche an other lyke the same, but as for all other pointes and articles touchyng the forestes, the surveyour hath lyttell to do, wherefore I remit all other articles to the iustices of the forestes and to their deputies to execute their office, and ye shal know that no man shall haue foreste of righte but the kyng, except he  
or



or his ancesters have had a special grant therof by charter of the kyng and his progenytours in tymes past, and so used, &c.

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C H A P. XVI.

*Of Churches that belonge to the Gyfte of the Lorde, howe many there be, and where they be, and what every Church is worthe, &c.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est de ecclesiis que pertinent ad donationem domini, quot sunt, et ubi et quantum valent, et quantum quelibet ecclesia valet per se per annum, secundum veram estimationem illius. It is be enquired of all the churches that belonge to the lordes gyfte, howe many there be, and where they be, and what they be worthe, and what euery church is worthe by itselfe by the yere after the true estimation of the same. The letter of this chapiter is very playne, and nedeth nat moche declaration further than is spoken of, but alonely in one thyng, and that is this, oft tymes he that hath righte to present to a church at one tyme, hath nat ryght to present to the said church at the next tyme. And that is where any sole patronne of a church hath issue, two, three, or four daughters, and decesseth, so that the ryght of patronage of the sayd church discendeth to al the sayd doughters. Whan the church is voyd, they shall present by turns, the eldest doughter first, than the seconde at the next auoydaunce, than the third, and so furth, tyll they haue presented ones ouer, and than begin ageyne at the eldest doughter, except they make any other particion amonge them selfe by agreement. And than must euery one of them present by their turne, accordynge to theyr particion, as it cometh about. And so must the sur-



ueyour make his boke, according to the right of the presentation, as euery tyme, second tyme, third tyme, or fourth tyme, and so forth. Also what lordes or gentylmen haue their turneys with them in the same benefyce, and which of them presented last, and who shall haue next, and who than, tyll they haue gone about, and in what towne it is, and in what shyre, and dioceffe it is, and what euery benefyce is worthe by it selfe by the yere, as it can be estimate.

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C H A P. XVII.

*What the Herryottes be worthe, the Fayres, Exchetes, Customes, Seruyces, and forreyne Warkes: the Pleees and Perquisites of the Courtes, Fynes, Relifes, and all other Thynges that may falle to the Lorde by the Yere.*

**I**TEM inquirend. est, quantum valent heriotta, nundine, escaeta, consuetudines, seruic. et operationes forinsice, et quantum valent placita et perquesita fines et relevia et omnia alia que accidere possunt per annum in omnibus.

It is to be enquired, what is the value of herryottes, fayres, exchetes, customes, seruyces and forreyn warkes, and what the plees be worthe, and the perquesites or profites of the courtes, fynes, relifes, and all other thynges that may fal by the yere in al. This chapter, gothe in generalitie, and is lyke, and whan an auditor, hathe caste all the mynister and particular accompts of every bayly or reue and other accumptance, and hathe made his boke perfite of all the particular, whereupon the holle charge resteth: than when the lorde wolde know what the extent is of all his hole landes, and also of every particular parcell by it selfe, it were to longe  
a pro-



a proceſſe to ſhewe him all the ſayd myniſter and particular accomptes, and though he dyd, he ſhoulde nat know the groſſe ſommes of his rentes, fynes, herriottes, exchetes, perqueſytes, and ſuche other, euery of them by hymſelf, wherefore he will cauſe his auditor to make a value in maner of abridgement of all the ſayd miniſtre accomptes, and firſt to know the hole charge, of all the particulars, what they be at the firſt ſight, in the ſommes totall. Than to divide the ſommes totall in dyvers parcels, as the cheſe rentes of the freholders by themſelfe, the rentes of customary tenauntes by themſelfe, tenauntes by indenture, or tenauntes at the lorde's wyl by themſelf, ſo that he may make a groſſe ſomme of euery maner of rent, ſo that one rent may be knowen from another. But than muſt the auditour, haue good and perfytte informacion, or els he cannat do it, and that informacion, muſt come by the ſurueyour, and the baylyes, for they ought to know one maner of rent from another, and therefore theyr rentalles wolde be made accordynge, alſo the perqueſites of the courtes by themſelfe. And thoſe muſt be in like maner deuyled, as the plees by themſelfe, the mercementes for comon trespaece by themſelfe, fines by themſelves, herriottes by themſelfe, exchetis, by themſelves, and ſo of reliſes, feires, markettes, and all other caſualtes, euery of them by themſelves, and ought to be preſented in the court by themſelfe. And thereof to be made an eſtreyt to the bayly or reue to gather by, and brought in to the accompt to the auditour, the which he may deuylde in making of his value, if the accump- taunte brynge hym perfyte rentals, and court rolles, and nat els. But if they do not at the fyrſt tyme, he muſt teche and enforme them howe they ſhoulde make them perfyte. Alſo cuſtomes, ſervice, and warkes be oft tyme doone by bodily ſervyces and  
warkes



warkes, and than they be not to be accompted for, but yet mention wold be made in the accompte thereof. And many times soche maner of costomes, services, and warkes be turned into money: and than it comonly goth with the rentes, and the bayly or reue is charged therewith: and this chapter rehersed further. *Et omnia alia que accidere possit per annum in omnibus.* And of all other thynges that may fal to the lorde, what they be worth by the yere. And those may be taken as mynes of tynne, lead, ore, cole, yron, stone, frestone, mylnestones, gryndelstones, lymestones, chalke, fullers erthe, sande, cley, gravel, brome, grose, or fyrs, marle, turves, thornes, wodde, bushes, heythe, ferne, or braken, and such other, if there be any newe founde, and ought to be put in a rentall to a certaintie, or els to be put in an accompte by waye of approwement. And than the auditour may divide the casualties from the certaynties, and to make a grosse somme of them all. And yet may the value of every thinge appere and be knowne howe moche it is by itselfe. And than muste there be deduct out of the sayed grosse somme al maner of out rentes and ordinary charges as bayleyes fees, reparation and such other, and than to make a clere grosse some of every yere by hymselfe: and bycause ofte tymes more casualties fall or come to the lorde more in one yere than another, therefore it is conuenient, that the clere grosse sommes, of fyue or syxe yeres, or more, wold be cast togyther in one grosse some, and to diuide that some in as many partes, as there was yeres cast togyther, and than the clere value of one yere wyll be commonly about that somme so deuyded. And thus endeth the brefe declaration of this statute. *Extenta manerii.*

EXPLICIT.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XVIII

*Of dyvers Maners of taking and doynge of Homage and Fealtie.*

**I**N so moche I haue shewed diuers diuersities of tenures, and also diuers maners of making of copies, and the oaths of the officers of the courte, though they be nat expressed in the statute, me semeth also it were conuenient, to shew the dyuersities and maner of takinge and doinge of homage and fealtie. And ye shall understand, that homage is the most honourable seruice, and the most humble seruice of reuerence, that a freeman may do to his lorde for whan the tenaunt shall do homage to his chief lorde, of whom he holdeth his chef maner or mancion place, by knyghte seruice and priorite, he shal be ungyrde, and his heede uncovered, and the lorde shall fyte, and the tenaunte shall knele before him on both his knees, and shal holde his handes stretched out together bytween the lordes handes, and shall say thus, I become your man from this day forwarde, of lyfe and of membre, and of worldely honoure. And to you shall be faythfull and lowly, and shall bear faythe to you, for the landes and tenementes, the whyche I holde of you, savyng the faithe that I owe to our souerigne lorde the kinge, and my other lordes. And the lorde so sittinge shall kyss the tenaunte, the whiche is a signe of perfyte love. And why saythe the tenaunte, of life and of membre, and of all worldely honour. Bycause he holdeth his landes of his lorde by knyght seruice, and also by prioritie, for and he holde other landes of an other lorde by knyght seruyce and posterioritie, he shall nat say to him of lyfe and of membre, for though he be bonde to him by reason  
of



of his tenures or knight service, to go to batyle with his lorde, and to put his lyfe and members in ieopardye with his lorde, yet can he nat go with them bothe. And therefore shall he go to bataile with that lorde that he holdeth his landes of by prioritie. And bycause therof, if anye suche tenant dye his heyer beyng within age, the lorde shall have the keypinge of his body, and the profite of those landes that be holden of hym, duringe the nonage, and also the maryage of hym. Wherefore it is to be presupposed, that the lorde wyll be more louyng and kind to hym, than any other of his frendes wolde be. Seeing that whan he cometh to full age, he shall put his life in ieoperdy for his lorde, the which byndeth the lorde by reason the rather to do for him, whan he is nat able to helpe himselfe. Whereas his frendes, may fortune, cared not for him, and had leauer an other had the lande than he.

And if an abbot or a priour, or any other man or woman of religion shulde do homage they shall say, I become your man, &c. bicause they be alonly professed to God, to be his men and women, and to none other, and therefore they shall knele and holde their handes as the other dyd, and say thus, I do to you homage, and to you shall be faithful and lowly, for the landes and tenementes, the which I hold of you, fauyng the faythe that I owe to our fouerayne lorde the kynge, &c.

And if a woman sole shulde doo homage, she shall nat say, I become your woman: for it is nat conuenient, that a woman shulde become woman to another man than to her husbände, whan she is married. And therefore she shall say as the religious men and women do: I do you homage, &c.

And if a woman couert with baron shall do homage, they shall knele before the lorde both, and the lorde shall take both their handes betwene his, and the husband



band shall speake all the wordes, as thus, we do you homage, and fayth to you, we shall beare for the landes that we holde of you, fauyng the faith that we owe to our soverayne lord the kyng, his heires and to our other lordes, and they both shall kyffe the lorde, &c.

And in case a man shuld do homage to his lorde, and the lorde graunte his homage and servyce to an other man, Now shal the tenaunte doo his homage and service to the grauntee, after this maner. I become your manne fro this day forthe, and to you shall be faithfull and lowely, for the landes and tene-mentes that I helde of A. B. your grauntour, in the townes of C. D. the whiche to you he hathe graunted my homage and seruyce in the sayd townes, fauyng the faythe that I owe to our soverayne lorde the kyng and my other lordes, &c.

And knowe you, that one lorde may have done to hym divers homages of dyuers tenantes for one maner of lande. But one tenaunt shall doo but ones homage for one maner of lande, for thoughe the lorde dye, his heire or his assigne, if he sell it or grant it away, they do represent the lordes estate. But and the tenant have done his homage to his lorde, and after the maner, whereof the tenaunt holdeth his landes, is recovered agaynst the lorde.

Nowe shall the tenante do his homage ageyn to hym that recovered the maner, for he commeth nat in by the lorde, but by force of the recovery, the which proveth the first homage to be voyde, for it was done to hym that had no right to take it, &c.

Also ye shall knowe, that a man maye distrayne his tenantes cattell for homage by course of the comon lawe, and also for relefe. And though a man hath payde his relefe yet he shall do homage and feaultie. Also ye shall understande, that no man shall do homage, but he that hath estate of inheritance



tance in fee fymples or in fee tayles, in his owne right or in his wives, for tenauntes for term of life, tenauntes by the curtesy, nor tenaunt in dower, shall do no homage, nor take no homage, &c.

And if a man holde landes of the king in chief, and have issue three or four daughters and dye, all the daughters shall do homage to the kynge. And if the landes be holden of an other lord, the eldest daughter shall do homage for all, and also the seruices, and the other daughters shall be contributories, and beare euery one of them their portion of the same.

And when a freeman shall do fealtie to his lorde, he shall lay his hand upon the boke, and shall say thus, here you my lorde, that I, W. D. de G. fro this day forth, shall be faithfull and lowly, and faith to you shall beare, for the landes and tenementes that I claim to holde of you, and loyally shall do and pay rentes, customes and seruices, that I ought to do at the termes assigned, as God me helpe and all sayntes, and than kyffe the boke.

Whan a vyllayn shall do fealtie to his lord, he shall lay his hand upon the boke, and say thus. Here you my lord R. that J. W. de L. fro this day forth to you shall be faithful and lowly, and to you shal do al the customes and seruyces, that I ought to do to you, for the landes that I holde of you in vyllennage, and I shal be justifiable of body and of goodes, as God me helpe and his sayntes, and than kyffe, &c.

Whan a uilayne that holdeth no landes of the lorde shall do fealtie, he shal lay his hand upon the boke, and say thus, here you my lorde S. that I, W. B. fro this day forth, to you shall be faithfull and lowly, and I shall be justifiable to you of bodye and of goodes, as God me helpe and his saynctes, and kyffe the boke, &c.



## C H A P. XIX.

*What a Surveyour shuld do.*

**N**OWE this statute is brefely declared it wolde be understand, how a lordshyp or a manor shuld be surveyed and viewed, butted and bounded on every parte, that it may be knowen for ever, whose every parcel thereof was, at the making of this boke, and it may serve as well to save the inheritance of the lordes, as of every freholder by charter, copyholder and customary holder, and to knowe every man's land, as it lyeth to his house, one from an other, so that it may be knowen an hundred years after, and forever, what maner of landes, and how many acres every man had to his howse at that time, and where they ly. The name of a surveieur is a French name, and is as moche to saye in Englyshe as an overseer. Than it wolde be knowen, how a surueyour shuld ouersee or suruey a town or a lordship. As if the city of London shulde be surueyed, the surueyour maye nat stande at Hygate, nor at Shoter's-hill, nor yet at the Blackeheth, nor suche other places, and overloke the city on every syde. For if he do, he shall nat see the goodly streets, the fayre buyldynges, nor the great substance of rycheffe conteyned in them, for then he may be called a disceyuer, and not a surueyour: and in likewise yf a man shall viewe a close, or a pasture, he may nat loke over the hedge, and go his way, but he must outhere ride, or gooouer, and see euery parcell thereof, and to knowe how many acres it conteyneth, and how moche thereof was medowe grounde, howe moche pasture grounde, how moche wodde grounde or bushe grounde, heythe, lynge or such other, and what an acre of medowe grounde is worthe, and what an acre of pasture, and what an acre of the wod grounde of bushe, and suche other be worthe.



worthe. And what maner of cattel it is best for. And how many cattel it wyll grasse or finde by the yere, and what a beastes grasse is worthe by the yere, in suche a pasture, or els he cannat set a true value what it is worthe. And therefore a surueyour must be diligent and laborious, and nat slouthful and rechelesse, for and he be, he is nat worthy to have his fee or wages, and maye fortune to make an unperfite boke. And if he so do, it is to his shame and rebuke, and great ieopardye to his soule to make a false presydent, wherefore it is convenient to remember the sayng of the wyse philosopher Adhibe curam, that is to say, take heed to thy charge, and so if he shulde view a citie or a towne, he must begyn at a certayne place, as yf he were at the drawe bridge of London bridge on the east syde, and there to make his tytelynge where he beginneth, and to shew who is lorde of his house next into the sayd bridge, and who is tenaunt. And if he be a freholder, what chiefe rents he payeth to the lorde, customes, or other services. And if he be no freeholder, than the rent nedeth nat to be spoken of but at his pleasure, for it may ryse and fal. And how many fote in brede, and how many in length. Than to the second howse on the same east syde in lyke maner, and so to peruse from house to house tyll he come to St. Magnus church. And then return agayne to the sayde drawe bridge on the west syde, and there begin at the house next to the said bridge, and so to peruse from house to house, tyl he come to the corner next Temmes street and then he may chose whether he wyll followe the south side of the said Temme's street westwarde and eastwarde tyll he have perused the whole parishe. And if there be any maner of gardens, entrees or aleys, or other dwellynge places within forthe, that may nat be overskipped, forgotten, nor last out, but taken by the way. Howe moche



moche every garden is, how longe every aley and entre is, and how many dwelling placis be therein, and whose they be, and howe many cellers or ta-uernes there be, and howe many footes euery of them be in length and brede. And so to go from parishe to parishe, tyll he have viewed the citie and euery strete and lane wolde be remembred what length and brede they be of. And also of euery church and church yard, and other voyd places, the which wold aske a great leyfar, but yet it is possible to be done.

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### C H A P. XX.

*How a Man shulde view, but and bounde, the Maner and Towneshyp.*

#### The Towne of DALE.

**T**HE view of the maner of Dale taken the tenth day of May, the xiiii. yere of the raygne of kynge Henry the viii. by A. B. generalle sur-ueyour, to the right honourable lorde. D. lorde of the same, and by his commaundement, and also by the othes of E. F. G. H. and many other te-nauntes of the same, as hereafter ensueth.

The citie of the maner of Dale standeth and ly-eth bytween the kynges hye way, leadynge from the towne of A, unto the towne of B, on the south part, and the church yarde of the same towne of Dale on the east side, and the common felde of the same towne called the north felde on the north parte. And the tenement or mese place of John Coke on the west part, and conteyneth xxx. perches, in brede and xxx. perches and foure fote in length, euery perche xvi. fote and a halfe, whereupon is set the maner place sufficiently buylded, with two



croffe chambers of ftone, of bricke, or tymber; with all maner howfes of offyce within forth, and two barnes, and an oxe houle, a hey houle, and a ftable, a garden and an orcharde. And if it be moted about, exprefle howe moche houfyng ftandeth within the mote, and howe moche without, and with what maner of coveyrnge the houfes be covered. The whych maner with the demayns, landes, medowes, leyfe, and pastures be nowe in the holding and occupation of T. S. and payeth by the yere, at four termes or two tymes there used s. &c. by even portions. vi. li. xiii. s. iiii. d.

The fyte of the perfonage ftandeth and lieth betwene the fayd hie way on the fouth part, and the fayd churchie on the wefte part, and the fayde northe felde on the northe parte, and the tenementes of I. C. on the eaſte parte. And the fayd perſon hath a crofte lyenge betwene the fayd north feld and the fayd church yarde on the fouth parte, and the fayd fyte and crofte conteyneth tenne perches on the fouth fyde, and xiii. perches on the north fyde, xxx. perches in lengthe on the eaſte fyde, and xvi. perches and a halfe on the weſt fyde. And the maneyon place, and the houſes therunto belonging, be now ruynous, and one Sir S. B. is now perſon there, and hadde it of the gyfte of the lorde, to whom the gyfte belongeth every third tyme, and to I. F. the next tyme, and C. D. the thirde time, and ſo as ofte as it falleth. And the fayd S. B. occupieth the fayd perſonage hymſelf, with all the glebe landes, medowes, tythes, and all other fruites, and is worthe by the yere xx. li. and in lyke maner of a vycarage, and then muſt ye ſhew who is perſone, the whiche moofte commonly is a ſpiritual man.

I. B. holdeth a meſe place frely of the lorde, by charter, with dyuers landes, medowes, and pastures belongyng to the ſame, the whiche meſe place lyeth



eth bytwene the sayde hye way, and the sayde northe felde, as is before sayd, and the sayd personage on the west side, and the tenement or mese place of F. G. on the east parte, and conteyneth xii. perches on the south ende in brede, and xxii. perches and foure fote in length and xvi. perches in brede on the north end, and he holdeth the sayd mese, with all that longeth thereto, of the said lorde by homage, fealtie, and ii. s. by the yere, and halfe a pounce of pepper, and sutes of court from thre weekes to thre wekes, and to the two great letes. And thus he may expresse the seruice or the rent, if he may have perfytte knowledge by the lordes presedens, or by original dedes.

F. G. holdeth a mese place with the appurtenaunce of the sayd lorde at his wyll, or by endenture or copy, and it lyeth betwene the sayd hye way, and the northe felde, and the foresaid mese place of I. L. on the west side, and the felde called west felde on the west side conteyneth xii. perches, and six fote in brede, and xviii. perches and ten fote in length, and paieth unto the lorde at the termes there vsuel xvi. s. sute of court, two hennes, and an harryotte at his decesse, &c.

G. H. holdeth a cotage of the lorde by copy, and standeth bitwene the sayd hyway on the north syde, and the towne felde callyd the southe felde on the southe parte, and the sayde east felde on the east syde, and a mese place of the priour of B. on the west syde; and it contayneth by the hy way six perches, and at the southe end seven perches and eight foote, and on eyther side xii. perches, and payeth by the yere at the sayd termes twenty pens, suite of courte, and one henne.

The priour and the conuent of B. holdeth a mese place and a croft with the appurtenaunce of the lorde freely in pure almes, and it lyeth betwene the sayd cotage in the holdyng of G. H. on the



east fyde, and a mese place of the lordes, in the holding of T. S. on the west, and butteth uppon the sayd hye waye on the sayd southe felde, and conteyneth in bredthe by the sayde hye waye fyxtene perches, and in lengthe twenty perches, and at the southe end twelve perches in bredth, and payeth to the lorde halfe a pound of pepper for all maner of seruice, &c.

T. S. holdeth a mese place of the lorde by indenture, and it lyeth betwene the sayd tenement of the priours on the east side, and another hye waye that ledeth or goth fro the forsaide church or personage, unto the town of S. on the weste fyde, and betwene the foresayde hyeway on the north side, and the tenement of the lordes in the holdynge of H. L. on the southe fyde, and it conteyneth tenne perches euery waye, and payeth by the yere, &c. suite of courte and herryotte. Also the sayd I. S. holdeth of the lorde an horse mylne nexte adioynynge to his sayde mese and the tenement of H. L. and is conteyned bothe in lengthe and brede within the said x. perches, whereof the lorde shall fynde al the great tymber, and bryng it to the mylne, and the mylner shall make all the coste both of the house, and the goinge geyre. And also he shall bothe thacke and daube, at his owne cost and charge, and payeth for the same at the sayde termes fyx shillings, two hennes at Christmas, and two capons at pasche.

H. L. holdeth a tenement of the lord, and it lyeth betwene the sayde horse mylne on the north side, and the sayde south felde on the south side, and butteth uppon the sayd hy way that leadeth to S. on the west, and the croft of the said priours on the east, and conteyneth xii. perches, and x fote in brede by the hy way, and ix perches in length to the sayd croft, and payeth at the termes aforesayd x. s. two hennes at Christmas, and suyte, &c.

P. Q.



P. Q. holdeth a cottage of the lorde at his wyl, and it lyeth betwene the sayde waye, that leadeth to S. on the east fyde, and a croft of R. X. on the west fyde, and a felde called south felde, on the south fyde, and the tenement of R. X. of the north, and it conteyneth in brede by the hy way foure perches, and in length six perches and a halfe, and payeth, &c.

R. X. holdeth a tenement and a crofte called the Swan, frely by charter, and they lye uppon the corner bytwene the sayde two hye waies on the north and east, and a tenement of the lordes, in the holdynge of W. C. and a medowe called the weste medowe on the west fyde, and a cotage in the holdynge of P. Q. and southe felde on the southe fyde. And it conteineth in itselfe viii. perches square, and the crofte conteineth xii. perches in lengthe and sixe in brede, wherein be five buttes of the whiche one butte is the sayd priour of B. that is to say, next unto the hedge on the weste fyde except one, and he holdeth the sayd tenement of the lorde by homage, feaultie, and a sperhauke for all maner of servyce.

W. C. holdeth a tenement of the lorde, lyenge bytwene the sayde tenement of R. X. on the east fyde, and the medowe called the west medowe on the weste and southe, and the sayde way that leadeth from A. unto B. on the north fyde, and conteyneth xiiii. perches in brede, and xvii. in lengthe, and payeth, &c. suyte of courte and herryot, &c.

I. C. holdeth a tenement of the lorde and it lyeth bytwene the sayde maner place on the east fyde, and the west medowe on the west fyde, and the northe felde on the northe fyde, and the sayd way that leadeth from A. to B. on the southe fyde, and conteyneth by the way sevyn perches, and in length x. perches, and payeth at the termes accustomed



xii. s. vi. d. two hennes at Christmas, suyte of courte, &c. herryot at his decesse, &c.

He that shall view, butte and bounde landes or tenementes, by east, west, north, and south, it is necessary that he have a dyall with him, for els and the sonne shine nat, he shall nat have perfite knowledge, which is east, west, northe, and southe. For many tymes, the landes, or medowes, do nat lye alway euyn east, or west, northe or southe, but sometyme more of one part than an other, as south east, or south west, north east, or north west, and some two partes of the one, and but the thyrde parte of the other, as north north east, north north west, east north east and east south east, southe south east, and southe southe weste, and west southe west, and west north west. But it nedeth nat to a surueyour to take so narrow a diuersitie, but to butte it upon the most part as it lyeth, and than must the dyall give him perfyte knowledge how it lyeth, and so must he tytle it in his boke, as shall appere hereafter, and he must stande in the middis of the flat, whan he shall butte truly.

## C H A P. XXI.

*How a Man shulde butte and bounde the Felde.*

The North Felde upon Dale Furlong.

**T**HE northe felde lyeth on the northe fyde of the towne, and beginneth at the crofs, at a furlong called Dale furlonge, the which furlong conteyneth xxx. landes, and two head landes, and they butte on northe and southe, whereof the south ends butte upon the hall orcharde, and upon the crofte of I. C. and the northe endes but upon Rye-hyl. Than to begin on the east fyde next to the hye way that leadeth to A. the persone hathe two landes,



landes, the lorde thre landes, I. B. one lande, F. G. two landes, the lorde foure landes, the priour two landes, the person one lande, R. X. two landes, W. C. one lande, H. L. one lande, T. S. two landes, the priour thre landes, the lorde two landes G. H. one lande, the person one lande, the lorde two landes next to the west fyde, and the heed lande next to the hall orcharde, and the other heedlande is the persons next Rye hyll; and if the husbandes have perfite knowledge whiche is a rodde, and whiche is an halfe acre, than it were better to faye the lorde hath an acre, conteynnyng thre landes are made in foure or fyue landes, and I. C. halfe an acre made in two, and T. S. a rodde in one lande, and if it be lasse than a rodde, than cal it a butte. Howbeit a man may perceiue and knowe if any man makes two landes of one land, or of one lande make two landes, bicause of the certayne number of every flatte.

B. A. furlong lieth nexte to the same, and conteyneth xiii. landes, and one heedlande at the over endes, and they lye east and west, and but upon dale furlonge, at the nether endes, and on the southe fyde next the persons crofte. The person hath iii. landes, the priour i. land, I. C. ii. landes, the lorde iiii. landes, I. B. ii. landes, T. S. ii. landes, H. L. one lande, G. H. one lande, F. G. one lande, R. X. thre landes, the priour two landes, P. Q. one land, the lord hath the hadlandes.

Whetehyll furlonge lyeth next to the same had landes, and it conteyneth xxxvi. landes, and thre gores fother or pyke, and they be all one thyng, and be called so, bycause they be brode in the one ende, and a sharp pyke in the other ende, and they be alway shorter than the other lande, and they butte upon the sayd hadlande of the lande at the west ende, and upon depe fyche at the east ende, and to begin at the north west fyde of the sayde flatte, H. L. ii. landes, T. S. ii. landes, G. H. i. lande,



the lorde fix landes, I. C. ii. landes, the person thre landes, W. C. ii. landes, and one pyke, E. one pike, the priour ii. landes, and i. pike, the lorde iiiii. landes, R. X. thre landes, T. S. ii. landes, G. H. two landes, and the lord iii. landes next to the south east fyde.

Than tourne ageyne to Ryehyll that conteyneth xxxvi. landes and two pikes, and butte upon dale furlong on the south endes, and upon long medow upon the north west endes. Than on the south east fyde next to the way that leadeth to A. the priour hath ii. landes, G. H. i. lande, the person ii. landes, I. B. ii. landes, F. G. ii. landes and one pyke, the lord iii. landes, and ii. pikes, W. C. ii. landes, R. X. iii. landes, T. S. ii. landes, P. Q. ii. landes, H. L. ii. landes, the lorde iii. landes next to the balke, that the wind myln standeth upon.

P. Q. the which holdeth a cottage of the lorde, holdeth also the sayde wind mylne, wherunto all the lordes tenauntes, are bound to grynd all theyr corne and malt that they occupy of their own, at the said mylne, as well fre tenauntes as other, and the lorde shall fynde all maner of tymber and yron worke, bourd and nayles, and bryng them to the mylne, and the mylner shall nayle up the bourdes, make his shaftes and the sayle yarde, upholde and reparell the spindell and the rynde, the mylne pykes and the sail clothes cogge and ronge, at his owne proper cost and charge, and shall pay by the yere xx.s. at the termes there usuall, and to grynde the lordes corne and malt toll free, and to grynde it fyrste nexte to the corne that is in the hopper, if any be, &c.

On the other fyde of the wynde mylne balke lyeth a flatte callyd Peysehyll, and it conteyneth liii. landes, and foure pykes, and one hadlande, of the whiche landes there be fixe of them, that breke or cut in the myddes of the landes, as shall appere by the bounding. And the sayde flatte lyeth



eth bytwene the common pasture, callyd the balke on the south east, and the foresayde medowe, callyd the long medowe upon the northe weste, and next unto the foresayd balke. I. C. hathe thre landes, the lorde fyxe landes and a pyke, the person four landes and a pyke, I. B. foure landes, F. G. two landes and a pyke, W. C. three landes, R. X. two landes, at the uperende next to the hede-lande, P. Q. the nether endes of landes the next to the longe medowe, T. S. foure landes, H. L. thre landes at the heed, and I. C. the nether endes of the same, the priour v. landes, the lord eyghte landes, I. B. thre landes, G. H. two landes and a pyke, F. G. one land at the heed, H. L. two landes buttynge upon the same one lande and upon the medowe, the person thre landes next to the north east fyde, and the priour hath the hadlande at the heede. And this me semeth shulde be sufficient instruction for buttynge and boundynge of all the felde one after an other, &c.

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### C H A P. XXII.

*Howe a Man shulde butte and bounde the Medowes.*

The longe Medowe belongyng to the Towneshyppe of DALE.

**T**HE longe medowe belonging to the townshyppe of Dale, lyeth upon the north fyde of the north felde, betwene the sayd felde, and the broke, that departeth the townshyp of Dale, and the townshyppe of Sale, and the west endes butteth upon the way that leadeth to A. and the east end of the same medowe upon a close of the said lordes, called the park close, and containeth cxxii. acres, this medowe lyeth in dyuers shotes of length somtyme in two somtyme in one, and sometyme in thre. Than to begyn at the west fyde next to the way that gothe to A. on the ouershotte, the lorde hath  
foure



foure acres, I. C. two acres and a halfe, the person  
 thre acres, I. B. two acres and a halfe, F. G. thre  
 acres, the priour foure acres, the lorde viii. acres.  
 And on the nether shot next unto the broke nexte  
 the sayde hye way, F. G. ii. acres, the priour iii. acres,  
 G. H. halfe an acre, W. C. two acres and an halfe,  
 R. X. fixe acres, the lord vii. acres. Than to the  
 long dole, that butte fro the said northe felde, to  
 the said broke, I. S. four acres, the person thre acres,  
 I. C. an acre and a halfe, I. B. an acre and a half,  
 the lorde fixe acres, P. Q. thre acres, H. L. thre  
 acres. And at the nether end of the sayd thre  
 acres, I. K. lord of Sale hath attached his weir of  
 his milne of Sale, for the whiche attachement the  
 sayd I. K. payeth to the lorde of Dale, and to his heires  
 every yere ii. s. at the feast of Saynt Myghell Tharc-  
 angell for all maner of service, &c. Than to the  
 overshot next the sayd feld, G. H. an acre and a  
 rodde, W. C. thre rodde, R. X. an halfe acre, the  
 lorde two acres, the person halfe an acre, P. Q.  
 halfe an acre, the priour ii. acres and a halfe, I. C.  
 two acres, the lorde foure acres, T. S. two acres  
 next to the park close, than to the myddle shotte  
 next to the longe dole, F. G. an acre, the person  
 thre acres, I. B. two acres, the lord foure acres, H.  
 L. two acres, the priour foure acres next to the  
 sayd park close. Than to the nethermoste shotte  
 next the broke on the syde nexte to the longe doles,  
 the person two acres, R. X. thre acres, the lord foure  
 acres and a halfe, G. H. demi acre, the priour two  
 acres, W. C. two acres and a demi, I. C. demi acre,  
 T. S. two acres, I. B. two acres in the corner next to  
 the sayd parke close, and butteth upon the sayd  
 broke. And if there be any mo medowes, than  
 butte and bounde theym in lyke maner, for the  
 mo medowes there be, and the fewer shottes, the  
 better may they be bounded, for medowes go moost  
 commonly



commonly by acres, half acres, and roddes, and they ought to be well staked, betwene euery man's doole, and specially well stoned with great stones betwene, and set on a great height, that they synke not farre into the earthe, for the propertie of a stone is to descend downward, and the propertie of earth to ascende upward. Therefore they would be taken hede unto betyme, and amended when nede is. And this me semeth sufficient, &c.

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## C H A P. XXIII.

*How a Man shulde butte and bound his Pastures.*

The Pastures belonging to the same Towne.

**T**HE lord hath a close called Park close, and it conteyneth xxx. acres, and it lyeth betwene the saide medowe, callyd Long medowe, on the west part, and a close of the personnes callid Oxheye on the east parte, and the sayd broke on the north parte, and a felde called East felde on the southe parte, and it is worthe by the yere twenty shellynges, &c.

The person hath a close next to the same called Oxhey, and it conteyneth, x. acres, and lyeth betwene the parke cloose on the west parte, and a close of I. B. on the east syde, and the sayd broke on the north east part, and a felde callyd East felde on the west parte. I do not value it, bycause it is nat the lordes, the quantitie of the acres therein is sufficient, et ceter.

The sayd I. B. holdeth a lytel croft freely, belongynge to the tenement, callyd Rye croft, and conteyneth two acres, and lyeth betwene the sayd persons close on the west syde, and the lane that  
gothe



gothe toward R. on the southe easte fyde, and butteth upon the hyway that cometh from S. to the sayde towne of Sale on the northe easte fyde, and the sayd est feld on the west part, I set it at no value, bycause he is a freholder, and runneth in the chefe rentes of his howse, but and it be gyven to the free holder by another dede, thanne muste the surveyour expresse the chefe rent therof by itselfe. And it is the mozte specyall poynte of a surveyour, fyrste to viewe, butte and bounde, bothe the towne and the hole lordshyp, or ever he desyre to se or loke uppon any evydence of any freeholders; for this first done, the surveyour maye than perfytely knowe whether the freholder shewe his evidence for al his land or nat, and let the surveyour have good remembrance, what parcels of landes be conteyned in the sayd evydence. And than may he welle perceyue, whether he shewe for all or nat. And yf the dedes be shewed first, the tenaunte maye saye there is for all his landes, and the surveyour cannot controlle hym, nor say nay, &c.

F. G. holdeth a crofte of the lorde, lyenge next on the other fyde of the sayd lane called Gose crofte, and conteyneth two acres and a half, and butteth upon the said hye way, on the north east side, and the said east felde on the west part, &c. And thus ye may peruse butte, and bounde, all the crofts, closes, and pastures, about the towne, and within the lordeshyppe whosesoever they be. And to expresse euery hye way or crosse, comen, balke, or marle pyt, where they lye the which shall be a great readyness many yeres hereafter. And if there be any comen pastures where heardemen kepe theyr cattell, or any comen woddes, mores, heythes, or such other, they may nat be forgotten to be butted and bounded, as they lye, &c.



## C H A P. XXIV.

*Howe a Man shulde amende errable Lande.*

**I**T is convenient, that a husband kepe his errable lande lyeng round, that it be not too hygh in the rygge, nor too lowe in the middes of the sides, nor too hy a lyttel fro the rain, for than will the water stande in the sides of the landes and drowne the corne, and though there be no corn, yet it weareth the grounde and maketh it leane: for standing water dystroyeth grasse, and therefore it must nedes dystroy corne, the which is moche more tender than the grasse. And if it so be, than take the ploughe, and begyn to plowe a forowe in the middes of the side of the land, and cast it downe as yf thou shulde falowe it, and so peruse both fydes tyl the rygge be cast down, and then take thy plough agayn, and begyn to plowe, where thou dyddest plowe fyrste, and rygge all the remaynant upwarde, and so shall thou bothe caste thy landes, and rigge them, and all at one plowyng. And this wyl make the lande to lye rounde, the whyche is good bothe for corne and grasse, &c.

An other maner of mendynge of errable land, is to muke it, marle it, lyme it or donge it, with the cart or wayne; and as I sayd in the boke of husbandrye, to sette thy donge upon the fyrste sturrynge, when it is rigged, for that is best for many causes, and if thou lay it upon the falowyng, than set thy mucke heape in the rayn of the lande, and than sprede it, and all that falleth in the rygge cast it out agayne, for else it dothe but lyttell good, for it wyl be covered with erthe, and seldome sene agayne, &c.

An other maner of mendynge of errable lande, is to sette thy shepe folde upon it, and to flytte it every daye, and it is better uppon the sturrenge  
than



than upon the falowe, and the shepe-folde is better upon the rye ground than upon the whete ground, &c.

An other maner, whan a husbande hathe moche errable lande, and hath no donge nor shepe to compost nor donge his landes withal. Than let the husbande take his plough, and caste al such landes thre or foure tymes together, and make the rigge there as the rayne was before; and if the landes be to brode, whan it is soo cast downe, than rygge eyther fyde by itselfe, and soo make two landes of one lande or thre landes of two landes. And so shall he fynd new moulde, that was nat sene in an hundred yeres before, the which must nedes gyue more corne than the other dydde before, &c.

#### C H A P. XXV.

*Howe a Man shulde amende his Meadowes.*

**S**EE that there be no mouldye warpes castyng in the medowes, and if there be in aprill let them be sprad and beaten small. And this is the best way to sprede them and make them smalle. To take a greate bough of a tree, and to plashe the boughs abroad, and laye them lowe, and if they lye not brode enough, than take other small boughes, and bynde them faste to the same, and to ley a tree or two over wharte the bowes, to holde them downe flatte to the erthe, and to bynde the trees to the bowes that it fall nat of. And then to boore an hole with an nauger in the great boughes ende, or else to tye a rope faste to all the bowes endes together, and to faste the teme of the same, and with oxen or horses, to drawe the sayde boughes, both up and down and over thwart the sayd mouldy warpe hilles, the which shall sprede them better  
than



than any man's handes can do; and that shall refresh the grasse, and make the medowes moche better.

An nother maner of mending of medowes is, yf there be any rynnynge water or lande flude, that may be set or brought to runne over the medowes, from the tyme that they be mowen unto the beginning of May, and they wyl be moche the better, and it shall kyll, drowne and drive away the mouldy warpes, and fyll up the low places with sandes, and make the grounde euyn and good to mowe; all maner of waters be good, so that they stand nat styll upon the grounde. But especially that water that cometh out of a towne from every man's mydding or donghill is best, and wyll make the medowes most rankest; and fro the beginning of May tyll the medowes be mowen, and the hay gotten in, the waters wolde be set by and rounne another waye for dyvers considyracion, &c.

*To amend and make better, dyvers maner of Pastures.*

It is undouted, that there be dyvers manners of pastures, as low ground like medowe ground, ley ground, the whiche hath bene errable grounde of late, bushy ground, the which sometyme hath ben errable grounde, bushy ground, the which was never errable ground, gorsty grounde, the which hath bene errable grounde, gorsty ground the which was never arrable. Brome grounde, heyth ground, marrys ground, chalk ground, flynty ground, chylturne grounde, and lyme stone grounde.

*To mende lowe Grounde lyke Medowe Grounde.*

Ye shall do by it, as I have shewed you in the nexte chapiter before of your medowes, and if any water stande styll, and wyll nat voyde, make a dytche, make ii or thre, as nede shall require, and  
open



open the sides of the dytch that the water may come into it. Conuey the water away, and with a plough make dyuers furrows from the sayd dytch up into the pasture, where the water standeth, and with a carte, a wayne, or a slede, carry away the erthe that the plough tourneth up, or els it will stoppe the water, on the one side, and if the plowe forowe be too lyttle, than make dyuers small dycheffe and open them on both fydes, so that thou leave no water standing in the pasture no tyme of the yere. And melche kye, draught oxen, labouring horses and mares be most convenient to go together in such pastures.

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### C H A P. XXVI.

*How to amende Ley Grounde, the which hath been errable Lande of late.*

**Y**E must take hede howe the leyfe lye, and speciallye that they lie nat too hyghe, for and they do, it is more profite to the husband to cast it down ageyne, and sowe it with otes, one yere, two or thre, and to lay it lower, and rounde in good temper, and see that noo water stande at the landes endes, buttynge on the heed landes, and if it so doo, thanne with a ploughe caste a forowe towarde the heed landes, and than the water wyl follow that forowe, and make the landes drye. But that forowe wyll nat serue paste one or two yeres, but it must be renewed. And yf it wax mossy in the winter, than wolde it be plowed agayne and sown with dyvers cornes, as the grounde requireth. And at the fyrste plowyng it wolde be plowed a square forowe as depe as it is brode, and layde flatte, and sown with otes, that the mosse may roote, and than to lye falowe one yere, and than to be sown  
with



with wheate, rye, or barley, as the husbände thynketh mooste convenient. And if it shuld lye falowe the first yere, the mosse wyl not rotte, and at wynter it wyl be wete, and drowne all the wheate and rye, that it toucheth. And yf a man have plenty of soche pasture, that wyl be mossye every third yere, let him breke up a newe piece of grounde, and plowe it and sowe it (as I have sayde before) and he shall have plenty of corn with lytell dongyng, and sowe it no longer than it wyl beare plentie of corne, without donge, and it will bear moche better grasse x or xii yere after. And if the leyse be to brode, than make two landes of one lande (as I have sayde before) and shepe ar the most convenient cattell that may go on suche pasture, and best they wyl amend the grasse, and to take good heede that ye suffer nouthen bryers, nor blacke thornes, nor none other maner of bushes to grow in your pastures, and specially by the hedges, &c.

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### C H A P. XXVII.

*How to amend busby Grounde and Mossy, that hath been errable Lande of olde Tyme.*

**T**HERE is none other remedy, but to stock and get up the bushes by the rotes, and the lande plowed and sowed (as I have sayd before) the reyft ground if it be dry wyl brynge moche corne, for the mosse wyl rotte, and the moll hyllockes wyl amende the ground wel. And if there be any marle pyttes, that have been made of old tyme within the said close, than whan the landes begyn to weare, if he have nat sufficient of suche busby and mossy grounde to breake up and sowe, than there woulde be newe marle pyttes made, and



the landes new marled, the which is moche better than outhere donge, muck or lyme, for it wyll last twenty yeres together, if it be welle done, and shall be the better while it is land. And I meruayle greatly, that in the commen felde, where of old tyme hath been made many great marle pittes, the which hath done moche good to the landes, that nowe a dayes no man doth occupye them ne make none other, and they nede not to doute, but there is marle nowe as welle as was than, but as me semeth there be two causes why, one is, the tenants be so doubtful of their lande lordes, that yf they shulde marle and make theyr holdynges moche better, they feere lest they should be put out, or make a great fine, or else to pay more rent. And if a lorde so do, me seemeth he is unreasonable, seyng that it was done all at the coste of his tenants, and nat at his. The second cause is, that men be disposed to ydlenes, and wyl not laboure, as they have done in tymes past, but passe for the tyme, as his father dyd before him; but yet me semeth a freholder shulde nat be of that condition, for he is in a suritie, his chiefe lorde cannot put him out, doyng his dutie, and he knoweth well, he shall take the profite while he lyvith, and his heirs after hym, a corage to improv, his owne, the whiche is as good as, and he had purchased as moche as the improvment cometh to. And one man this doing, wolde give other men a corage and a good example to folowe the same. And all other countries may take ensample at Chestershire and Lancastershire, for many of them that have so doone, have made the improvment as good as the lande was before, &c.



## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Howe a Man shuld amende busby Grounde that was  
never errable Lande.*

**Y**E must confyder what the grounde is disposed unto, and whether it be drye or wete, or be disposed to beare woode, grasse, or corne. If it be dry and full of gravell, it is better to beare woode, than outhor corne or grasse. If it be weategrounde, it is nat good for corne: but it will beare bothe woode and grasse, but and it be a blacke erthe and dry it is good for corne, and it wyl quyte the cost to stock it up by the rotes, and to sowe it with corne. And if it be white cley, it is most comenly a weate grounde, and then it is nat good for corne, but it wyll beare bothe wode and grasse, and an acre of wod is as good as an acre of corne grounde, or of grasse, and in some place moche better. And if ye wyll encrease the said bushy ground, and to make more woode, than bitwene Myghelmas and Martilmas, ye must gather many akehornes, and put them in erthe pottes, for those wyll kepe them moist, and in February and March, set the said akehornes in the said bushes, as thick as yewyll, and undoubted they will growe, and also ye may gette the keys of ashes, nuttes, and such others, and set them in like manner, and to kepe all manner of catell that wyll eate any woode out of the same grounde tyll it be past danger of catel, &c.



## C H A P. XXIX.

*How to amende woode Grounde that lyeth in feuerall  
Pasture.*

**I**F they be great old trees, if ye felle them by the erthe, there wyl never come any spring of them agayne, except they have many small pumple and springes about the rotes. And therefore fuche olde trees wolde be but lopped and cropped, to beare more wood ftill, and if it be a good grounde to bear corn, and be but a fewe trees, than it were best to stocke them up by the rotes, and to plowe it and fowe it. And if it be but younge woode, ye may chose whether ye wyll shrede it, loppe it, croppe it, or fell it by erthe. And yf ye fell it by the erthe, and kepe the sprynge well, ye shall have for every tree two or three trees, so that it be felled at dewe season of the yere, and that is bytwene Candemas and May, whereof I have spoken sufficiently ynoughe in the boke of husbandrye.

## C H A P. XXX.

*How to amende gorsty Grounde that bath ben errable  
Lande.*

**Y**E shall understande that there be two maner of gorse, and some men call them fyrse. One maner wyl growe on drie grounde, and that maner wyl grow as hyghe as a man, and have a great stalk as moche as a walking staffe, and yf ye wyll suffer them to growe and fell them nat, by process of tyme whan beastes go among them, and specially in winter tyme for colde, and in summer for shade that wyll cause them to dye. And many tymes and longe continuall frost in wynter wyll kyll these



these maner of gorfe, and when they be deed if ye plowe the lande agayne, and sowe it with corne, whan it lyeth ley againe, the gorfe wyll growe again. And the best remedy for growing again is to put upon such maner of pasture many shepe to eate it bare; but in many places they set great store by these maner of gorfe, and specially for theyr fewel, and wolde nat gyue an acre of gorsty lande for two acres of errable lande. And on that maner of gorsty lande wolde growe good corne with lyttle donge, and it is more profite to plowe it and sowe it, than to lye ley, except he kepe it for his fewell, and they growe most comonly upon drye grounde, somewhat sandy, or grauelly, and shepe is the most conuenient cattell that maye go upon such pasture.

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C H A P. XXXI.

*Howe to amende gorstye Lande, that was neuer errable Lande.*

**I**F the grounde be drye and growe full of such maner of gorfe with the great stalkes, ye be at your libertie, to do as I have saide, and if it be of the other maner of gorfe or fyrse, the which growe lowe by the erthe, and have but lyttel small stalkes, that maner of gorfe groweth always upon wel spryng grounde, somewhat moyste and weate, and it will never beare good corne, but hewe it up to bake, and brewe withall, for it wyl nat lyghtly be destroyed, for if it be brende, it will growe ageyne. But and there be marle underneth in the ground within the same close, yf ye make coste, then bren the gorfe at Marche, and with a bygge and many oxen plowe it, and make small landes, and then marle them, and sowe them with otes, for that



corne will growe best on such grounde. And if this wil nat ferve it is past remedy, for marle mendeth all maner of grounde but it is costely, &c.

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### C H A P. XXXII.

*Howe to amende brome Grounde.*

**B**ROME groweth alwaye upon drie and sandy grounde, and it will beare good rye and otes, but it will not endure to beare corne long, without it be donged with the carte or with the sheep folde, or bothe. And if ye let it ly ley and plowe it nat, the brome will come again, and shepe is the best cattle to holde it under, but nevertheless it wyll growe, whan it is growen of a yarde of heyghte or more than it is good to bake, and brewe with, and specially whan a house is thacked, to take the brome and make it in quarters of a yarde longe or there about, and pricke them into the thacke by and by, and cover the thacke clean over, and it shall both keep out weate, and also save it from pullynge downe with crows, pyes, dawes, or chowghes. And if ye woulde destroy it whan it is grown thre or foure fote of height, than about saint James' day fell it a fote above the erthe or more, and than the stalke wyll dye for a good season, but yf it be plowed againe, it wyll growe as fast as ever it dyd whan ye leave plowyng.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXXIII.

*How to amend heythby Grounde.*

**Y**E shall understand that there be four maners of heith ground, sc. heith growing upon grauel, and heith growin upon sande, these two maner of heith groundes wyll beare no corne without moche donge or mucke, for feldome is there any marle under that maner of heith. And in many countryes where plenty of lime stone is the husbandes do bren the lyme stone with wodde, and sea cole, and make lyme thereof, and do set it upon their landes, as they do their donge, and do sprede it in like manner, the whiche they call moche better than donge, for lyme is hote of hymself. The other two maners of heith is, heith growing upon white cley grounde, and heith growing upon black erthe that lyeth lowe like marreys grounde, and underneth these two maner of heyth groundes, there lyeth most commonly marle. Than brenne the heith, and serche for the marle, and dygge it up and lay it thick upon the ground and sprede it, and than plow it, and sow it, and it is moche better than other lyme, mucke or any maner of donge, and lengar it wyl last, and se that there be no water standyng upon the sayd grounde, &c.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Howe to amende marreys Grounde.*

**T**HERE is none other remedy, but fyrst to dreyn the water cleane away. And this is a good meane to dreyn the water cleane away. Fyrst in the lowest close, where the water may be best a-



voyded, make a great dyche and a depe that the water may avoyde. And yf all the water wyll not come to that great dyche, but stand styll in divers places, than make many small dyches one into another, from the sayde standing waters, so that all these standynge waters may come into the great dyche, and that by reason should dreyn the water clene. And in a dry somer may make many brode and deep dyches an sever the marris in divers pastures, and make bridges over the dyches into every close, and dyvers lanes made like a causey to convey the cattel into the pastures; soo that one causey or lane may serve the closes or pastures on both sydes. And in the lowest places of every close or pasture, make a trench or a lytell dyche into the great dyche that goeth aboute. And this shall ye make by processe good pastures of marreys ground, and euer the longer, the better pastures: and specially, yf ye putte in so moche catell, it shall make the better grasse and the fyner. And melche kye, draughte oxen, and labourynge horses is the beste catell to make good pasture on marreys ground, and sheepe on drye ground, for they wylle eate the grounde mooste bareft, and that causeth the grasse to be good and fyne. And yf this manner of dyching wylle nat make the marres ground drie, than must you make a fough undernethe the erthe, as men do to get cole, yron, stone, leade, or tynne. Any yf that wyll nat serve, than kepe out your catell for fear of drowning, &c.



## C H A P. XXXV.

*Howe to amende bromy Grounde, and fernye Grounde.*

**B**ROMYE grounde, and fernye grounde, be moche of one nature, for they growe on sandye and drye grounde; and they will beare good rye, barley, bygge, or beyre, and ootes if they be donged with shepe, carte, or wayn. For suche light grounde wyl soone weare and wash with water, if it be nat donged. And if they lye unplowed they wyl grow full of brome and ferne, and if they wyl destroy the brome when it is growen thre or foure foote hye, in Mydsommer mone, or soone after, whan it is full blomed, with a hedging bylle cut the stalke halfe a yard aboue the erthe, so that ye leave no grene stalke growing upon the rote, and that will cause it to die, but if ye plowe it ageyn, and after let it lie, it wil growe ageyn, and if ye mowe ferne whan it is yong, so that it be mowen before Mydsommer, by use of such mowyng, it wylle weare away.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*Of chylturne Ground, flyntie Ground, and chalke Grounde.*

**C**HYLTURNE grounde and flyntye grounde, be light groundes, and drye, and full of small stons, and chalk grounde is moche of the same nature, and they wyl weare and washe awaye with water. And therefore they wolde be donged, as the bromy and ferny groundes be, for marle is feldome found in these maner of groundes. And therefore if ye want shepe and donges, they wolde lye ley and rest theym, that they may mend with lyenge.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXXVII.

*Of lyme stone Grounde.*

**L**YME stone ground is very good, both for corne and grasse, and yet in some places there wil moche heith growe upon lyme stone ground, and that is longe of yll husbandry. For and that heyth were brenned, plowed, and sowed the first yere with otes, and than falowed and sowed with wheat, ry, and barley, and after with beans or peas, it wyll beare moche corne with lyttell dounge, and shall bear alway after, the better grasse; and shepe is the beste cattell that can go upon any of these fyx maner of groundes, and best they wyll amende the grasse and kepe themselfe from rottyng. And he that hath lymestone, may brenne it with cole and wodde and make lyme, wherewith he may lyme his ground, and that wyll bring good corne, or he may felle his lyme at his pleasure.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*What Profytes come or growe to the Lorde by reason of his Waters.*

**F**IRST ye shall understande, that there be dyuers maners of waters: that is to say, standyng waters, as pooles, meynes, mootes, and stews, and also runnyng waters, as great ryuers, smalle ryuers, brokes, fuches, welspringes, and pyttes; than what profit may come to the lorde of them. The lorde may set the fyshynges of all these sayd waters to his tenautes for certayn rent, and he may reserve to hymselfe certayne fysh, or to fysh certayne tymes, or at any tyme at his pleasure.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXXIX.

*The Manner to make dyvers Maners of Mylnes.*

**A**L SO upon these waters, the lorde maye set diuers maner of mylnes, the which may be to the lordes great ease and profite. As upon the great ryuers, corne mylnes that be caliyd grounde mylnes, and they be called grounde mylnes, bycause the ouer syde of the heedfyll lyeth euen leuel with the ouer syde of the grounde in the bottom of the water. And also fullyng mylnes, otherwyse called walk mylnes, may be made in lyke maner, and stande also upon the great ryuers. And than one whele is able to dryue ii stockes, that is to say, both a potyere and a faller, the faller both to scoure and herely, and the potiere to thicke the clothe. And commonly these mylnes be not set upon the great stremes of the great ryuers, but a great part of water is conveyed out of the great streame by a mylnefeme made with mans hande to a certayne place, where wyse-men thynke the mylne most conuenient to be set, and the sayd water to be holden vp and brought to the sayd mylne, by reason and setting of a weyre overthwart the said streame, made of trouise tymber, or stone, or of both. And whan it is past the mylne with a sufficient fall of the water, that the mylne stand nat in back water, to retorne into the riuer ageyn. And in many places the said milns be set on the one side of the great ryuer, and a weyre made of tymber and stone to holde up the water to the mylne, the which is a great cost, and many tymes it will stande in lacke of water, that it may not well go at a great flode, except the grounde wark be made very hie. But they be profitable both in grindyng of corne and fullyng of cloth, and in taking of moche fyshe. And in lyke maner these sayd two maner of mylnes may be sette upon smalle ryuers without any fleme castyng,



castynge, but all only his weyre, to holde up the water, and his fludde gates, to let it go at a flode whan nede shall require. Also there be two maner of corne mylnes, that is to say a brasste mylne, an overshot mylne, and those two manner of mylnes be set and go most commonly upon smalle brokes, and upon greatte pooles and meynes. And they have alway a broad bowe a fote brode and more, and the ladels be alway shrouded with compost bordes on both sydes to hold in the water, and than they be called buckettes. And they must be set moche nerer togyther than the ladels be, and moche more a floops downwarde, to holde moche water that it fall nat oute, for it driueth the whele as well with the weight of the water as with the strengthe. And the mylner must drawe his water according to his buckettes, that they may be alway full and no more, for the longer that they holde the water the better they be. Also an other maner of fullynge mylnes may be set and go upon the sayd smalle brookes, poles, or meynes, and those be called fallers, for a faller by hymselfe requireth not so gret strengthe of water as the potyer doth, bicause the water cometh most commonly over the whele, and the braces do but heue up the two fete, that fall into the stocke upon the clothe, the which causeth the cloth to thicke and tourne. Also these mylnes that be set and go on small waters, may go and ronne with a gogyn of yron upon bulder stons or upon brasste as a bell doth, for that will go mooste lightest. But these milnes that go upon those great riuers, that be brode heuy, and weightye, muste nedes have two great thyke hopes of yron foure inches brode, and an inche thicke: and eyght or nyne inches betwene the sydes, set on both endes of the shaft, for the gogyn of yron wyl not beare them, and specially the fullynge mylne. And that mylne that goeth with a gogyn, yet must it have on eyther end of the shafte a hope of yron and bulders



bulders under, and if the gogyn fayle or waxe lose, but it shall not touche them both at ones. And let the milner take good hede both to the gogins, and hopes that they be not lose, for than wyl the shafte endes brenne of. For than he hurteth his lorde, his master, or hymselfe, for mylne shaftes be costly. But in so moche as there is great profyte to the lordes in makyng of these mylnes, and the moste rent is raised upon so lyttell grounde, and often tymes for want of the fede of discretion and experience of good making, there be many defaults made in them, and specially in making of the mylne trough, where the mylne whele goeth, for ofte tymes they make it to hallow and depe onder the whele, that the water standeth therein, whan the mylne goth not, for the tayle syll wold lye bare and drye, whan the mylne goth not, and the taylle sylle wold lye xx. inches, or xxiiii. onder the heed sylle, and the troughe wolde not passe iii. ynches holowe at the most, and as long as it may receyue thre ladels, the fourthe ladell entryng the water, and the fyfte ladelle leauyng the water. And the strake sylles both above and under wolde be of a good length, soo that the whele come not nyghe unto the draught gate by two fote or more, for the further fro the gate, the bigger and the swyfter is the streame. And the lengar that the ladell is, the better it is, so that it have sufficient water. And that the mylner nedeth not drawe up his gate soo hyghe, as if the ladell be shorte, for the ebber the water is, the swyfter it is. And a double bowed whele is moche better than a syngle bowed whele for many causes, if there be sufficient water, and better it wyl kepe the ladels from losynge. The ladell most commonly of a double bowed whele, wolde be thre fote longe, and a fote brode, and to draw up his draught gate nyne or tenne inches is sufficient. And than shall nat the bowe of the whele be hydde nor couered in the water, and then  
hit



hit gothe fwyftely. And upon the great ryuers the ladels may be an elne longe, but for the weyght and drawing up of the draught gate, &c. The greater compaffe the whele is, the laffe water wil dryue it, but it wyll nat go fo oft about as a lyttell whele wyll do. But the cogge whele in a corne mylne, is a great helper, if it be well pycked, well cogged, and well ronge, fixe ronge and xlviii. cogges, are beft for a great ryuer. For than the mylne ftone goth eyght times about, and the water whele but ones, and euery ronge keppeth his owne cogge, et e contra, and changeth nat on any fyde. And for a meane water fixe ronge and xlii. cogges is beft. And for the ouer shot mylne fyxe ronge and xxxvi. cogges is beft. For the cogge whele may nat be of fo great a compaffe as the other cogge wheles be. And in all thefe pykes, euery cogge kepeth his owne ronge. And if ye putte in any whele a cogge or two cogges, mo or laffe; than, as I have fayde, fhall euery cogge chaunge his ronge at all tymes, fo that it be nat very truly pycked it will nat go well, and if it fortune to brake a cogge, as it like to do, hit wyll thanne breake many of them, excepte he shotte downe his draught gate shortly, and likewise a wyndmylne. Howe be it a windmilne hath never under xlviii. cogges or liiii, &c. but they muft be fo pycked, that euery cogge kepe his own ronge, and feuyr ronge are nat profitable for they go lately. Of horfe mylnes I do nat fpeake of the making, for I have nat the experience of them, as I have of water mylnes.

Also the lordes and their tenauntes have another maner of profyt by reafon of thefe waters, over and befide thefe maner of mylnes or fyshynges, and that is by reafon of the watrynge of theyr catayll and beaftes, bothe winter and fummer, and fpecially of the rynnynge waters, as ryuers, brokes, fucches,



ſucches, and welſpringes, for they done ſeldome freſe or neuer, and they will be colde in ſomer and warme in wynter, and in a cloſe want water it hath a great meame, and is moche the worſe.

Furthermore it is convenient for a ſurueior, that whan he hath ſurueied his lordes landes, and ſene what profytes approwments may ryſe and be made within the ſame, that he ſhewe his lorde thereof, and aduylſe him to do it, and to make the coſt. For it is undoubted, that a man can nat make no ſurer purchaſes of any maner of lande, better tytell, nor lyghter coſte, nor more advantage to hymſelfe, than to improve, amende, and make better, his owne olde enherytance. I mene nat by the heyghtnyng, or reylſing, or increaſing of the rentes of theyr tenauntes, but al onely in mendyng and makyng better his errable landes, medowes, leyſe, and paſtures, and in making of water mylnes, wind milnes, horſe mylnes, fulling milnes, fiſh milnes, cutler milnes, be it by water or draught of horſes, ſmethy mylns, or ſuche other, and alſo of gettyng of al maner of profytes as well under the earth as above (and under is remembred) in the ſixte cha- pyter.

And by the reaſon of theſe improvemen- tes me- ſemeth a man might make every towneshippe that ſtandeth in the playne champion countre and oc- cupyed in tyllage, halfe as good agayne in al ma- ner of profytes to the tenants as it was before, if the lordes thereof and their tenants can agre of the coſtes that ſhulde be made thereof. And never a houſe or cotage to be decayed nor lette downe, and to have as moche lande in tyllage and plow- inge as there was before, and theyr corne and graſſe ſhulde be better ſaued and kept from diſ- troyenge.

C H A P.



*Howe to make a Township that is worthe, xx. Marke  
a Yere, worth xx. li. a Yere.*

**I**T is undoubted, that to euery townshyppe that standeth in tyllage in the playne countrey, there be errable landes to plowe, and sowe, and layse to tye or tedder theyr horses and mares upon, and common pasture to kepe, and pasture theyr catell, beeftes, and shepe upon. And also they have medowe grounde to get theyr hey upon. Than to let it be knowen how many acres of errable lande euery man hath in tyllage, and of the same acres in euery felde to chaunge with his neyghbours, and to leye them toguyther, and to make hym one feuerall close in euery felde, for his errable landes and his leyse in every felde, to leye them toguyther in one felde, and to make one feuerall close for them all. And also another severall close for his portion of his common pasture, and also his porcion of his medowe in a feuerall close by itselfe, and al kept in feuerall both in wynter and somer, and euery cotage shall have his portion assigned hym accordyng to his rent, and than shall nat the ryche man ouerpresse the poore man with his catell, and every man may eate his owne close at his pleasure. And vndoubted, that hay and strawe that wil finde one beest in the house wyll finde two beeftes in the close, and better they shall lyke. For those beafts in the house have short heer and thynne, and towarde Marche they wyll pylle and be bare. And therefore they may nat abyde in the felde byfore the heerdmen in winter tyme for colde. And those that lie in a close under a hedge have longe heare and thyck, and they wyll neuer pylle nor be bare, and by this reason the husbände maye kepe twyse so many catell as he did before.

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This is the cause of this approwment. Nowe euery husbande hath fixe feuerall closes, whereof iii. be for corne, the forth for his leyse, the fyfte for his commen pastures, and the sixte for his haye, and in wynter time there is but one occupied with corne, and than hath the husbande other fyue, to occupy tylle lente come, and that he hath his falowe felde, his ley felde, and his pasture felde al sommer. And whan he hath mowen his medowe, than he hath his medowe grounde, soo that if he have any weyke catell that wold be amended, or dyvers maner of catell, he may put them in any close he wyll, the which is a great aduantage; and if all shulde lye commen, than wolde the edyche of the corne feldes and the aftermath of all the medowes be eaten in x. or xii. dayes. And the ryche men that hath moche catell, wolde have the advantage, and the poore man can have no helpe nor relese in wynter, whan he hath moste nede, and if an acre of lande be worthe fixe pens, or it be enclosed, it will be worth viii. pens, whan it is enclosed, by reason of the compostyng and dongyng of the catell, that shall go and lye upon it both day and night; and if any of his thre closes that he hath for his corne be worne or ware bare, than he may breke and plowe up his close that he hade for his layse, or the close that he hadde for his commen pasture, or bothe, and sowe them with corne, and let the other lye for a tyme, and so shall he have alway reist grounde, the which wil beare moche corne with lytel donge; and also he shall have a great profyt of the wod in the hedges whan it is growen, and not only these profytes and advantages before said, but he shall saue moche more than al these, for by reason of these closes, he shall save meate, drinke, and wages of a shepeherde, the wages of the heerdman, and

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the wages of the swine heerde, the whiche may fortune to be as chargeable as all his holle rent, and also his corne shall be better saued from eatinge or distroyeng with catel. For dout ye nat but heerdemen with their catell, shepeherdes with their shepe and tieng of horses and mares, distroyeth moch corne the which the hedges wold saue. Paraduventure some men would say, that this shuld be against the common weale, bicause the shepe herdes, heerdmen, and swyneherdes, shulde than be put out of wages. To that it may be answered, though those occupations be not used, there be as many newe occupations that were not used before. As getting of quicke settes, ditching, hedging, and plashing, the which the same men may use and occupye. Also it may fortune men wyl say, that if all shuld be enclosed, that there wold be many foule lones, as there be in Essex: but for that there may be a prouision and that is thus, where the kinges hieway is, if it be dry grounde, stony ground, or sandy ground, in al such places, may be lanes made of a convenient breade, for the kynges people to passe through with al maner of cariage. And where it is softe ground lyeng leuel, that the waters may not wel passe by the dycheffe, at euery hedge that goeth over whart the hyeway there to make a gate, and stone it or grauel it in that place. And then hath euery man the hole close to ride cary or go in, as they had before, likewise as they do at the wynd gates at this syde Chorley in Lanchashire, and likewise betweene towne and town; and as to their owne drift lanes to their closes, let them make them for their owne ease as they wil have them, &c.

The moste indifferentest meane to make these approwments, as me semeth is this. Al the lordes of one towne, be there never so many, shulde be  
all



all of one assente, that theyr tenauntes shulde exchange their landes one with an other, and the sayd exchange to stande, and endure for ever, for dout theym nat, but they knowe it best, and every tenant for his owne advantage wyl do it indifferently, and the curate of the same parishe for his parte, and euery lordes bayly to be indifferent, to se these closes lotted and assigned to everye man's ease, so that euery man maye have one lyttell croft or close next to his own house, if it may be, thoughe he may have no lande of his owne. This done, lette every lorde by his coppe of court role, or by indenture, to make a sufficient lease to every of their tenauntes, to have to hym and to his wyfe, and to his children, so that it passe not thre lyues, than beinge alyue and named, yielding and paying to their lordes, and to their heires, the old rentes and feruyces, before due and accustomed, during these thre lyues, upon this condition, that they shall do or cause to be done, duryng their lyues, sufficiently to quycke, fet, dicke, hedge, and plashe, whan nede is, al the sayde closes, and soo kepe theym duryng their lyues, the whiche wyl be a great charge to the tenants. But yet me semeth they may wel do it if they entende to thriue, and specially do remember the profits that may come to them afterward. There is an old saying. *Quod levis est labor cum lucro*, that is to say, that labor is light where winning followeth, and moche of this labor may be done by himselfe, and his seruantes, at a convenient tyme, soo that he let nat his husbandry. It is moche to be done in one yere, two or thre, but and they may do it in fyx or nyne yeres as the felde go aboute, they hye them well, for it is too costly for husbandes to hyre it to be doone. And the lordes me semeth, canne do no lesse, than to graunte them these



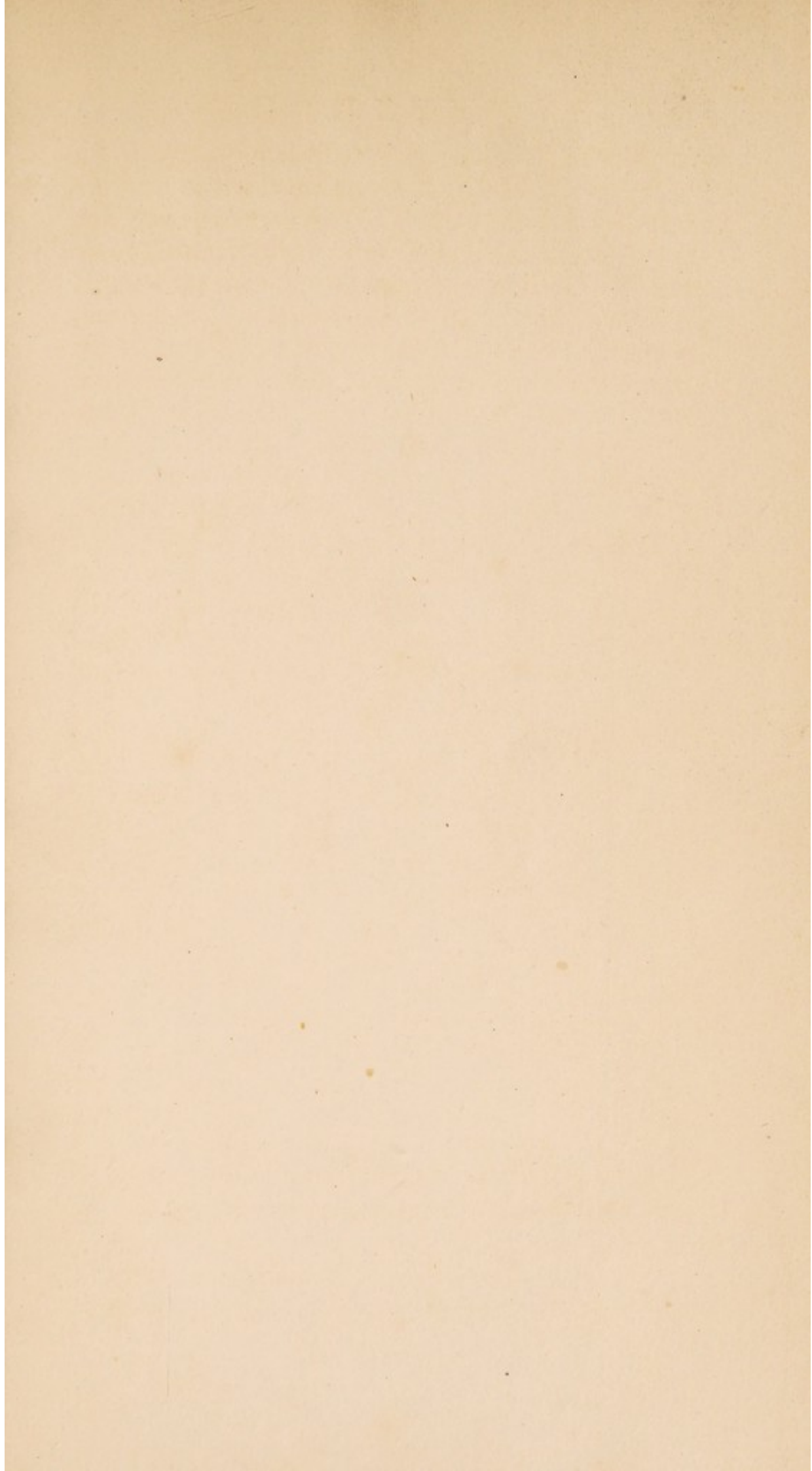
thre lyues of the olde rent, remembrynge what profytes they may have at the ende of the termes, they knowe not howe soone. For undouted one sette day cometh at laste, and though the aduantage of the lordes come not anone, it wyll come at length. And therefore sayth the philosopher. Quod differtur, non aufertur, that thyng that is deferred is nat taken away, and in the meane time the lordes have no maner of losse, nor yet make no costes, but at their pleasure.

F I N I S.

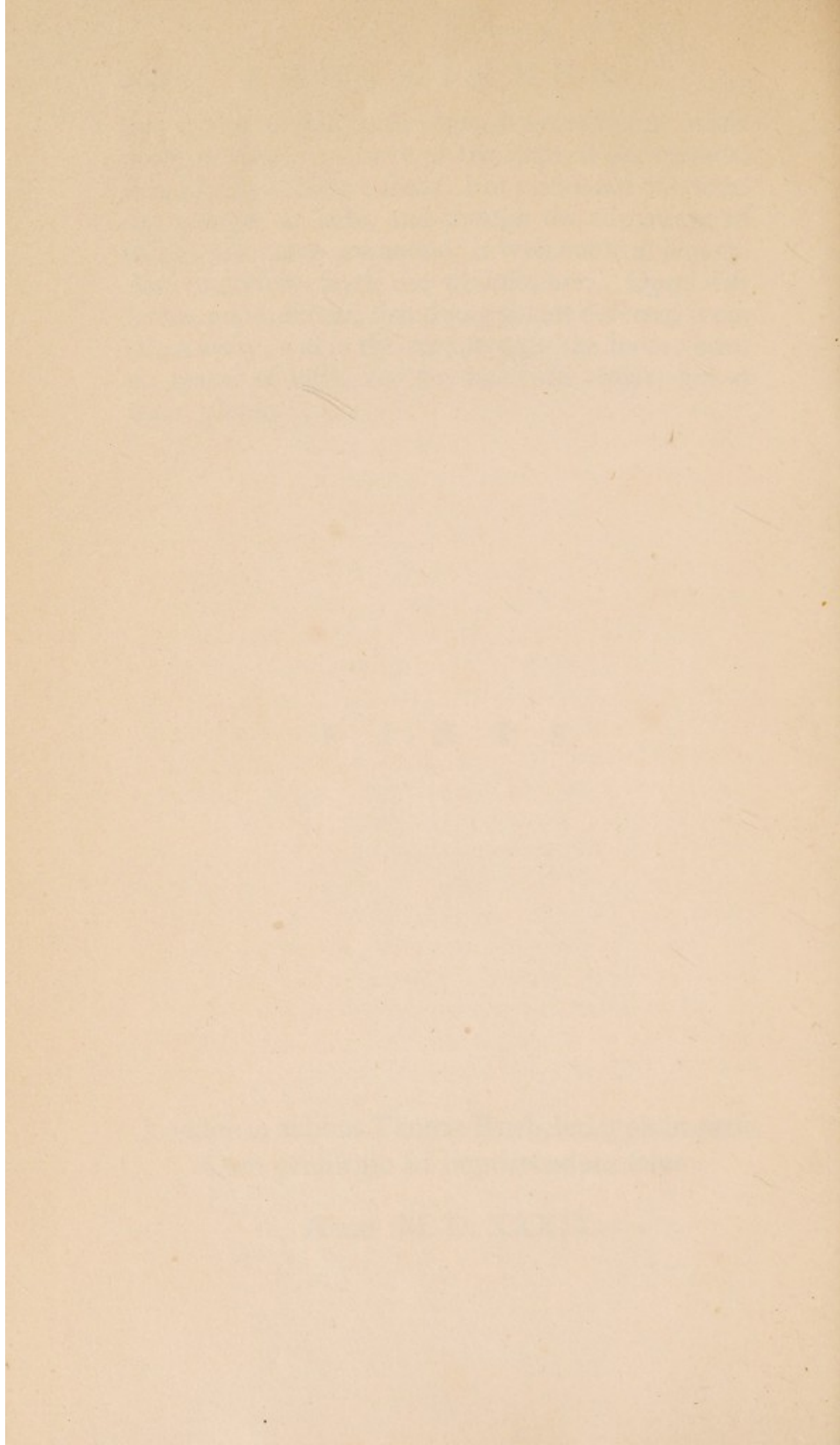
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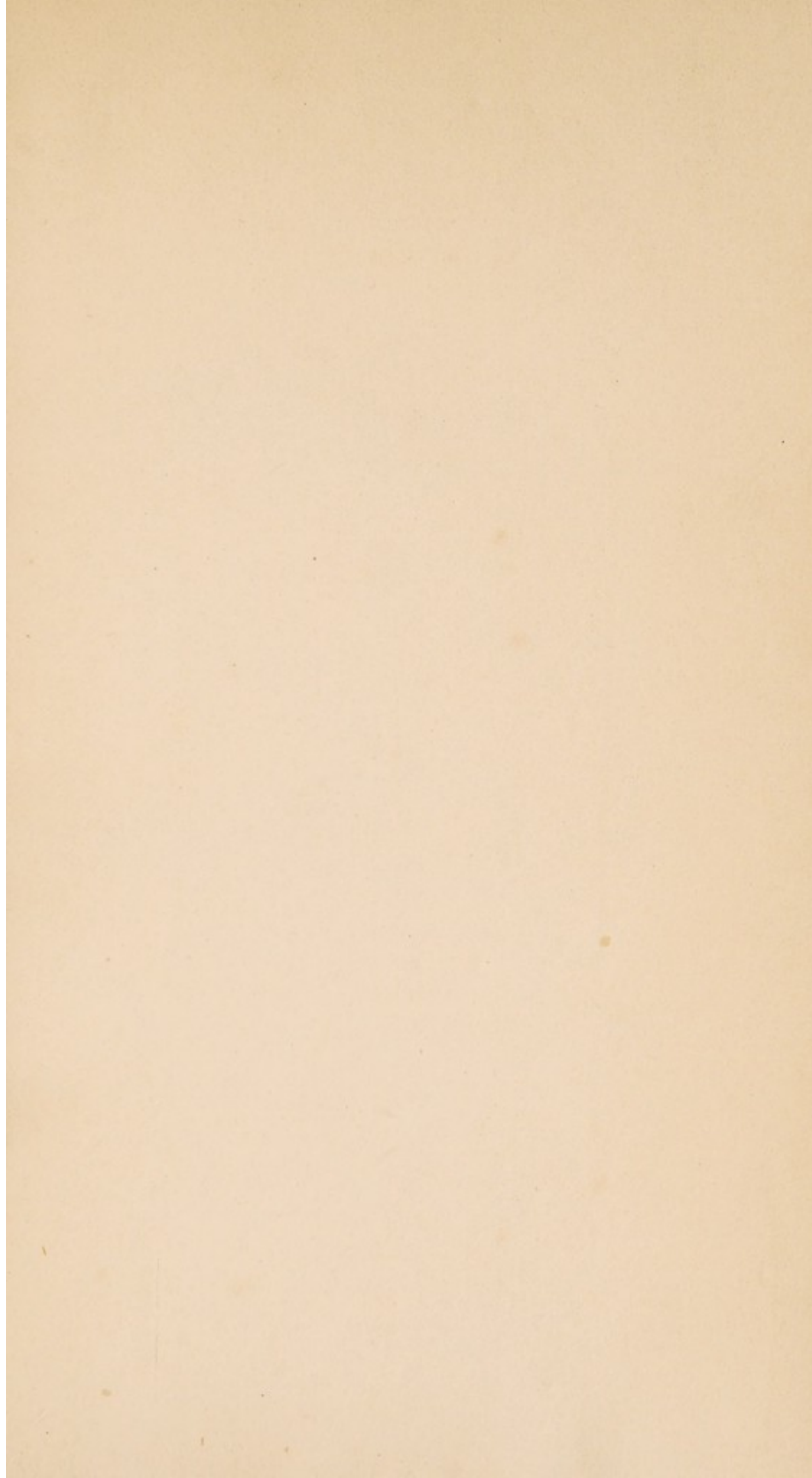




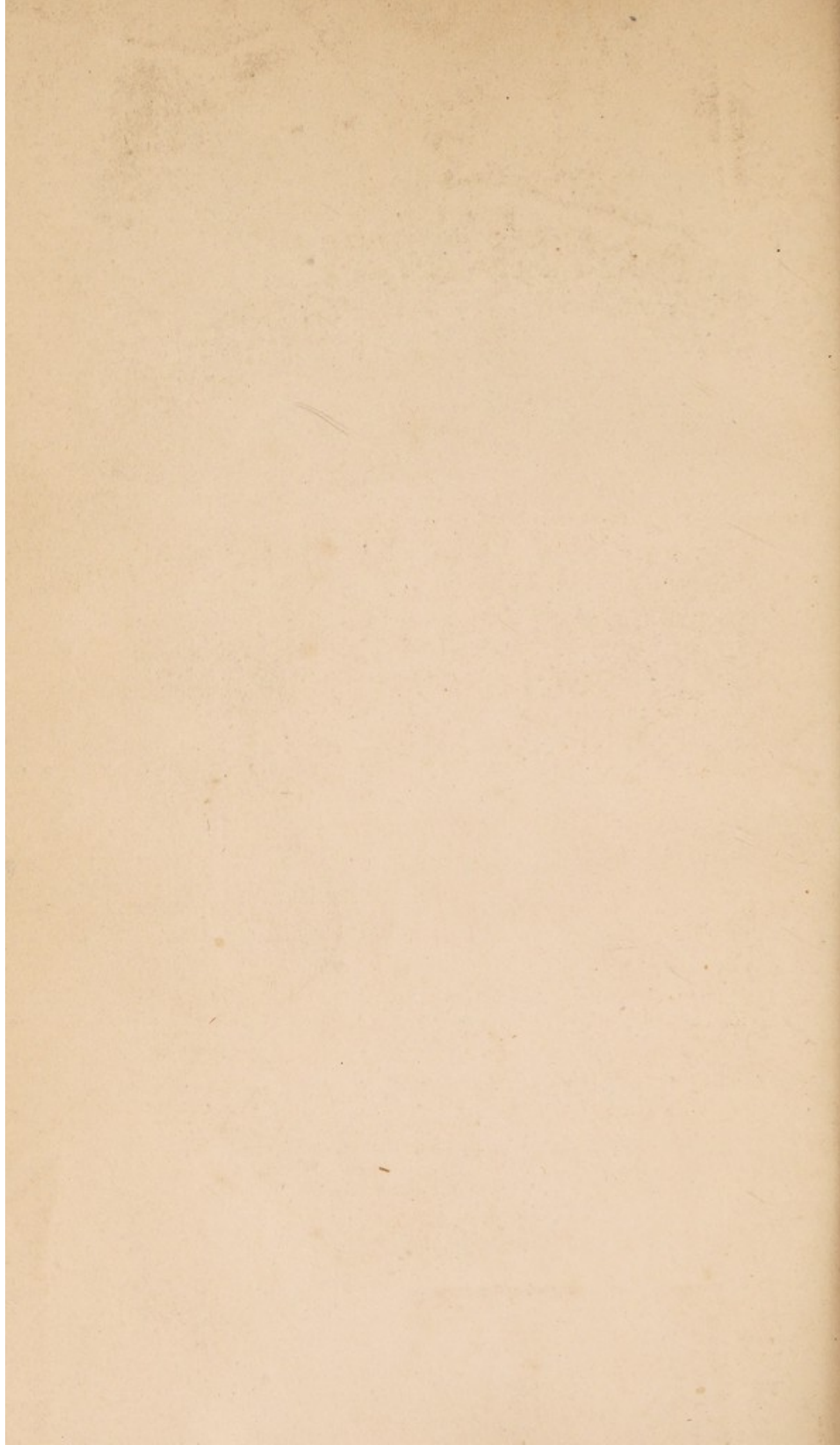














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