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LONDON: EDWARD ARNOLD
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
WITH DEEP RESPECT AND WITH GRATEFUL
THOUGHTS
TO THE MEMORY OF

FRANCES MARY BUSS
GENERAL PREFACE

The belief which inspires the editors of the volumes included in this series is one which should find a ready adherence from all who accept the doctrine of development. That belief may be summed up in the assertion that the present is both the child of the past and the parent of the future. Hence the high value of all forms of historical study. The educational theory and practice of a community are not things which arise \textit{en nihilo}; they are the result of the thoughts, activities, conditions and circumstances which constituted the community's past life, especially as these were more directly related to the upbringing of the young. This is so far true, that an intelligent and effective comprehension of any existing educational system can only be attained when its antecedent conditions are known and appreciated.

Educational history furnishes a key to the understanding of many of the problems of aim, administration, organization and method, which confront the student to-day. It will also help him to assume a just attitude towards the future, dispose him to avoid routine, to
beware of prejudice and to keep an open mind with reference to suggested change. History is the true prophylactic against the fogeydom which besets the schoolmaster, the committee-man and the official.

The influence exerted by the lives or writings of individual thinkers is one of many factors of the protracted development of education. But many have written, and written well, on education, whose effect upon practice has been negligible. The aim of the present series is to present only such authors as have shaped subsequent educational history, or who at least have depicted with authority the educational ideas and practice of their own time.

The present volume renders accessible a body of evidence which bears upon an obscure and commonly much misunderstood subject, the history of women’s education. Conjecture and ill-grounded generalities are here replaced by the testimony of those who knew at first hand what were the objects, methods and defects of girls’ education in the first half of the sixteenth century. The recommendations of Vives, More, and their friends may or may not meet with approval at the present time; in any case, they reflect a condition of things which for centuries exercised a very considerable influence upon the education of women.

J. W. A.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Juan Luis Vives, a name comparatively little known, gives the title to this book, in virtue of his contribution of five of the sections. The Plans of Girls' Studies and of Boys' Studies are translations by myself from the Latin, which first appeared in the Educational Times of October, 1907, and of September, 1909, respectively. The passages translated into English from the Satellitium appear for the first time in this volume. The School of Sir Thomas More is taken from the Life of Sir Thomas More, by Cresacre More (edited by Rev. J. Hunter, 1828), now a somewhat scarce book. The remaining sections have not appeared in English in any volume for more than three centuries. Section IV., Richard Hyrde on the “Education of Women,” was written in English and published in 1524. It was the first plea printed in English for the higher education of women. It is here reproduced as originally printed. In the other sections slight changes in spelling have been introduced when they seemed to secure a real gain of ease in reading. The text of Hyrde's translation of the
Instruction of a Christian Woman has been obtained from a collation of the editions of 1540, 1557, and 1592.

Attention may perhaps be called to outstanding passages of these little-known early treatises on women's education; the two Dedicatory Prefaces of Section I.; the training of skill in the maiden in weaving and cookery, pp. 44-48; testimony to the learning of the daughters of Queen Isabella, p. 53; and of the daughters of Sir Thomas More, ibid.; the protest against writers of romances, p. 59; on the maiden's praying in the vernacular, p. 89; on the dignity of Christian names, pp. 92-94; on the married love of Vives' parents, pp. 116, 117; of the scholar Budé and his wife, pp. 118, 119; the wife in her home, pp. 120, 121; the mother and her child, pp. 125, 126; Vives' tribute to his mother's love, p. 131; the maiden's Latin conversation, p. 145; her note-books, p. 146; Latin authors to be read, p. 147; Vives' hopes for the Princess Mary, p. 154; Vives' own motto (No. 155), p. 157; the value of study for women, pp. 165, 166; the beauty of the mind, p. 169; the fruits of learning, p. 172; method of Latin composition, p. 184; Bishop Voysey's praise of Margaret Roper, p. 190; the husband as the teacher of the wife, p. 201; the reading of women, pp. 203-205; a well-instructed woman, p. 209; Aristotle's view of women answered, pp. 221-239; the studies of Zenobia, pp. 233-235; Zenobia's wisdom, pp. 237-238.
Finally, it is worth noting that the Dedicatory Preface of Richard Hyrde (in the 1540 edition) to his translation of Vives’ *Instruction of a Christian Woman* informs us that Sir Thomas More had himself intended to undertake the translation of Vives’ book, and that when he heard that Hyrde had anticipated him, he gave way (because of his pre-occupation with State affairs), but More complied with the request that Hyrde’s translation should receive revision at his hands.

FOSTER WATSON.

Caledfryn,
Aberystwyth
*July, 1912.*
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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE EARLY EDITIONS OF THE TEXTS

IN THE ORIGINAL LATIN.

I. De Institutione Fœminæ Christianæ. Antuerpiae apud Michælem Hillenium Hoochstratanum, 1523; Basle (Robert Winter), 1538, 1540; Basle (L. Operinus), circa 1541; Hanover (Wechel), 1614.

TRANSLATIONS.

1. Into Castilian. By Juan Justiniano.
   Libro llamado Instruccion de la Muger Christiana
   Valencia, 1528; Alcala d’Henares, 1529; Sevilla, 1535; Zaragoça, 1539. For other editions see Bonilla y San Martín, Luis Vives y la Filosofia del Renacimiento, p. 763 et seqq.


3. Into French.
   (a) By Pierre de Changy, Escuyer.
   (b) By Louis Turquet (de Mayerne), published by B. Rigaud at Lyon in 1579.
      For further editions of these see Bonilla y San Martín, Luis Vives, etc., pp. 764-766.
   (c) By Antoine Tiron. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1579. See passage at the end of the Bibliographical Note.
   (d) By G. Linocier. Paris, 1587.
4. Into German. By Christopher Bruno.
   *Von unterweijsung ayner Christlichen Frauen.* Augsburg, 1544; Frankfort-am-Main, 1566.

5. Into Italian. [In one volume.]
   *De l' Ufficio del Marito, De l' Institutione de la Femina Christiana.* Venice, 1546.

II. *De Ratione Studii* (for girls) was published at Louvain in 1524. It was part of the following collection in one volume:
   *Introductio ad Sapientiam, Satellitium sive Symbola, Epistole dua de Ratione Studii Puerilis.* Louanii, An. M.D.XIII. For further editions (some forty of which are described) see Bonilla y San Martin, *J. L. Vives*, pp. 759, 760, 767 770, 777, 778.

III. *Satellitium sive Symbola.* See II., earliest edition of *De Ratione Studii Puerilis* (for a girl). For further editions see Bonilla y San Martin, pp. 767 770, 787, 789, 811, 812.

IV. Richard Hyrde, “Dedictory Letter or Introduction to Erasmus’s Treatise on the Lord’s Prayer,” as translated by Margaret Roper. First and only edition 1524 (Wynkyn de Worde).


V. The School of Sir Thomas More. Chapter X. (“Schola Thomæ Mori”) in the *Tres Thomæ* of Thomas Stapleton, published at Douai in 1588. The *Tres Thomæ* are the lives of St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Thomas (a Becket) of Canterbury, and Sir Thomas More. The School of Sir Thomas More, as given in the text, is almost entirely compiled from Stapleton by Cresacre More.

Further accounts of the “Christian School of Sir Thomas More” may be found in the letters of Erasmus (*Epistolæ Erasmi*, ed. 1642), “Erasmus to Margaret Roper,” lib. 26, epist. 50, lib. 29, epist. 65; “Erasmus to Budé,” lib. 17, epist. 16. Other references to Sir Thomas More and his daughters in *Epistolæ Erasmi* (ed. 1642), column 846, 1471, 1506, 1681c, 1744c.

See also Dedication by Erasmus to John More (son of Sir Thomas More) of the *de Nuce* of Ovid, and Erasmus’s
Dedication also to John More of his edition of the *Works of Aristotle*, 1531. Erasmus dedicated his commentary on two hymns of Prudentius to Margaret More the same year (1524) that Margaret translated his *Precatio Domenica*.

For Roger Ascham's reference to the daughters of Sir Thomas More see Ascham's *Works*, ed. Giles (1865), vol. i., part i., p. 191.

John Leland's verses to the daughters of Sir Thomas More (*Filiae Thomae Mori Charitea Corona*) are given in S. Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, Appendices, p. cxli.


Italian translation. See *De Institutione Feminac Christianae* (I. 5, supra).

VII. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Defence of Good Women*. It does not seem clear whether there was an earlier edition than that of 1545.


*De Ratione Studii Puerilis ad Carolum Montjoium*. This always appeared with the *De Ratione Studii Puerilis* (for girls), see II., supra.

[The publisher of Tiron's translation (*Instruction of a Christian Woman*, I. 3c, supra) was the famous Christopher Plantin, who includes a letter written by himself, in French, to Sebastian Cuypres and Pierre Heins. There is especial interest attaching to these two men, educationally, in that they were *schoolmasters*, who kept a school for "young girls in Antwerp." The Renascence practice of the employment of a man as tutor to the girls of noble families seems, at any rate in Antwerp, to have led to the conduct of a girls' school by men. Since Plantin is usually credited with keen business instinct, his solicitude for a closer and more complete translation into French than that of De Changy, points to an expected large circulation of Vives' book.]
THE RENASCENCE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

I

The permeating influence in the period over which the seven treatises of this volume extend, 1523-1538, is that of Queen Catharine of Aragon. M. Jusserand\(^1\) says that whatever branch of art or of literature of the Tudor period is to be understood, "you must first study Elizabeth." It may be added that if you wish to pursue inquiry into origins in the particular direction of the education of women in England, attention must revert to the earlier picturesque and pathetic Spanish Princess, Catharine of Aragon. The chief directing and consultative force behind Catharine of Aragon was undoubtedly her compatriot, Juan Luis Vives of Valencia. For Catharine's daughter, the Princess Mary (afterwards Queen) Vives wrote the *de Institutione Christianæ Feminæ*, dedicated to Catharine, and a textbook, the *Satellitium*, dedicated to Mary. We know that one of the books mastered by King Edward VI. in 1546, along with the Bible, Cato, and Æsop's *Fables*, was this very

\(^1\) *The English Novel in the Time of Elizabeth*, p. 95.
Satellitium, and as the Princess Elizabeth at that time was educated by the same tutor, Richard Coxe, there is good reason for the conclusion that Elizabeth herself must have studied this textbook of Vives, and that the educative influence was that of Queen Catharine and her educational adviser, J. L. Vives, which thus continued after the final departure of Vives from England in 1528, and the death of Queen Catharine in 1536.

Perhaps the best way of realizing the position of Queen Catharine educationally is to recall the fact that the most significant devotee of learning in England, prior to her coming, even if we scan the whole records of the Middle Ages, seems to have been Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of King Henry VII. This lady conducted the affairs of her household in the best traditions of the Middle Ages, and at the same time had the strongest promptings to help forward the public good in the nation at large. Her educational activities included the founding of chantries for priests, one of whose duties was to teach grammar, and the employment of a tutor to educate young gentlemen "at her finding." She kept minstrels and a "poet." In 1497 she established professorships at Cambridge and Oxford, and she was so highly honoured as to have her Cambridge post for a time filled by the great Erasmus. But her chief educational beneficence was shown in the foundation (1505) of Christ's College, Cambridge, where she reserved for herself rooms, and, in 1508, of St. John's College, Cambridge. Her own education was, for the time, unusually good. She understood French, and translated works from that language into English. She knew only little Latin, sufficient for the saying of service. Her skill, however, was great in needlework. She had
an "upholding memory," and was "right studious," having a large library of English and French books. To complete this account, Lady Margaret must be further had in remembrance amongst great English women as the noble patroness and encourager of William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde.

No woman in England before the Lady Margaret had shown such a high enthusiasm for education, but it will be noticed that she took no initiative in specifically women's education; her efforts were directed to swell the onward current of men's education. Throughout the fifteen centuries of the Christian era before Catharine of Aragon, there had been, we are told, four works in English on women's education. These were—(1) The Ancren Riwle, the oldest extant manuscript of which is dated circa A.D. 1250; (2) How the good Wiif taughte hir Doughtir (published by Early English Text Society in the Babees Book, edited by Dr. Furnivall from a manuscript of circa 1430); (3) The Myroure of oure Ladye (fifteenth century), written for the Sisters of Sion at Isleworth (published by the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1873), believed to be written by Dr. Thomas Gascoign of Merton College, Oxford; (4) The Garmond of gude Ladies (circa 1500), by Robert Henryson de Dunfermline (Medieval Scottish Poetry, edited by George Eyre-Todd,

1 Alice A. Hentsch: De la Littérature Didactique du Moyen Âge s'adressant spécialement aux Femmes (Cahors, 1903), a most valuable piece of research, all too little known. Miss Hentsch mentions that in the long span of the Middle Ages there were seven writers in England on women's education, the four above-mentioned, two who wrote in Latin—Aldhelm (seventh century), de Laudibus Virginitatis, and Adam, Abbot of Evesham (1160), Exhortatio ad Sacras Virgines. The seventh is anonymous (Anglo-Norman), and is of slight pedagogical interest.
1891). Adding to these four the three further works mentioned in the note, we are confronted with the fact that the whole body of writing on women’s education appearing in English or by English writers in the fifteen centuries before 1523 was not nearly so comprehensive in scope as that contained in the seven treatises (from which portions are given in the present volume) in the fifteen years between 1523 and 1538. Moreover, the medieval manuals are prevailingly textbooks for those who have taken up a “religious” life, whereas, religious in tone as the 1523-1538 treatises are, they resemble much more nearly our modern attitude of the demand for liberal and comprehensive studies for girls and women.

This remarkable time of expression of views on the education of women may, I think, be called the “Age of Queen Catharine of Aragon,” and it is necessary to consider the intellectual atmosphere of Spain, from which she came, if we would realize why it is to her we must look as source of the English Renascence of Women’s Education rather than to our own English highest representative of culture, the Lady Margaret. We speak of the “spacious times” of Queen Elizabeth, and it is not too much to say that a prototype of that marvellous age in England is to be found in Spain in the conjoint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of Catharine.

It should be remembered that Isabella reigned (1474-1504) almost exactly a hundred years before Elizabeth. In those thirty years of rule, Isabella was ruler of Castile, and Ferdinand of Aragon, and as if by magic the married union of the two independent rulers brought an enthusiasm of nationality which, in spite of all vicissitudes, led to the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Moors, an
issue eagerly desired not merely by Spain, but also by the whole of Christendom. In 1492, after seven centuries of Moorish domination, Granada became Christian, and in the same year Columbus, under the encouragement of Ferdinand and Isabella, discovered America. Internally, organization was prompted by the codification of the laws. The energy and loyalty of the people were aroused by the enterprise of Italian Wars and American discoveries and colonization. The Spanish people came under the discipline of arduous exploits. Great men arose who entered into the idea of Spanish expansion until no task seemed too great to achieve. Flattering in the extreme as her position thus was, Spain was further placed advantageously in the marriage of the daughters of the Royal Family. The conquest of Granada from the Moors was regarded throughout Europe as a balance against the Fall of Constantinople, and if there was to be a last successful crusade against the Turks, no European Power could now vie with Spain for the leadership. Vives, who, along with Erasmus, hated war, and consistently braved Kings in condemning it, made an exception of necessity for a war against the Turks. In this matter the Lady Margaret was on common ground with Isabella, for she said if Christian princes would but go to war against the Turks, she “would be glad to go follow the host and help to wash their clothes for the love of Jesus.” In 1502 Ferdinand and Isabella sent their advices, favouring the project of such a crusade, but it fell through.

Turning from the political triumphs of Ferdinand and Isabella, the educational era inaugurated by them is yet more striking, and the full flow of the Renascence current made the Court of the two monarchs the most glorious in Europe. Learning had survived in the Middle Ages
more persistently perhaps in Spain than elsewhere; and, moreover, it had been reinforced by the Arab scholarship of the Moors in the south-east of the peninsula. In spite of political preoccupations, the best scholarship from Italy, Germany, and France found a ready welcome in Spain. Isabella's own early education had not been profound. Under the direction of her mother, she had been trained in practical piety in a small country town, and acquired habits of close mental application. Prescott says that as Queen, after assiduous attention to business all day long, she often sat up all night dictating despatches to her secretaries. Finding herself, like the Lady Margaret, deficient in Latin, she set to work to learn it, in the midst of all her duties as Queen, and attained to a "critical accuracy" in it; and, like the Lady Margaret, she made rich specimens of embroidery for the adornment of churches. She was "acquainted with several modern languages," says Prescott, "and both wrote and discoursed in her own with great precision and elegance." She too, like the Lady Margaret, enjoyed collecting books, and founded a library of manuscripts at a convent in Toledo in 1477, and contributed collections of books to the Library of the Escorial. Like the Lady Margaret, but on the large scale which befitted a Queen, she established a school for the youth of the nobility, and induced the famous Peter Martyr to devote himself to their instruction. In the year of the discovery of America (1492), the date also of the birth of J. L. Vives, she promised Peter Martyr a rich recompense if he would reclaim the noble youth from idleness and waste of time to the pursuit of letters. At Saragossa the scholar gathered together young nobles, who attended his lectures in the day, and
left in the evening to revise the lectures, with the help of tutors. Other Italian scholars came to Spain to join in Peter Martyr's work, until learning became a cult of the nobles. Prescott gives a list of nobles of high standing whose enthusiasm led them to undertake the duty of chairs of learning, and names one noble over sixty years of age who was "converted" to begin Latin learning. Still more important, from the point of view of the present book, is the fact that the scholarly fervour of Isabella found scope (as we saw was not the case with the Lady Margaret) in the development of women's education. Prescott, to whom we have to turn for illustrative names, tells us of the Marchioness of Montegudo and the Donna Maria Pacheco, two sisters, who may well serve as the Spanish parallels to the later Sir Thomas More's family of daughters in England. The Queen Isabella herself had a lady teacher, called, for her knowledge, La Latina. Two ladies were chosen as Professors: one held the chair in Latin Classics in the University of Salamanca; the other filled the chair of History in the University of Alcala.

The Queen inquired into the literary attainments of candidates before making ecclesiastical promotions. One of the finest scholars, and an enthusiast for scholarship, Cardinal Mendoza, was Archbishop of Toledo. Talavera, a man whose house, like that of Sir Thomas More afterwards in England, was an Academy for literary men, was Bishop of Granada. Later Cardinal Jimenez developed the work of the Universities, founding the famous

1 Prescott remarks: "Our limits will not allow a further enunciation of names, which should never be allowed to sink into oblivion, were it only for the rare scholarship which they displayed in an age comparatively unenlightened."
University of Alcala and arranging for the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, edited from many ancient manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, bringing together great scholars for the purpose, amongst them those of Jewish race, and providing the printing-press at Alcala, where he supervised the whole of the arrangements. Scholars of European reputation were at work in the peninsula like Antonio de Librija and Arias Barbosa, the latter of whom was especially proficient in Greek. Apart from classical studies and religious works, there were more spontaneous outgrowths of the native literature; Juan de Encina wrote lyrics and early comedy, and the drama *Celestina* was produced by 1499.

In a national atmosphere of such splendid intellectual vigour, bursting in upon the survivals of the old medieval world, Isabella's daughter Catharine was born in 1485. The earliest years of Catharine were passed amidst "the storms of battle and siege," accompanying her mother in the camp life necessary in beleaguering Granada. She then—to quote Miss Strickland's words—"was four years old, and thus early her education commenced. The first objects which greeted her awakening intellect were the wonders of the Alhambra, and the exquisite bowers of the Generalife; for in those royal seats of the Moorish dynasty Catharine of Aragon was reared."

Nor did the ever-vigilant Isabella leave her daughter's training to the chance of picturesque environment. Herself, at once the most vigorous and most learned Princess in Europe, she gave personal instruction to her four daughters, and in addition brought over learned foreigners, particularly the Italian brothers, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino, to supplement her own teaching. Catharine could read and write Latin in her child-
hood, and turned her Latin to account in the reading of the Scriptures. At the age of sixteen, in 1501, she was married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died a few months later. In 1509 she married King Henry VIII., was divorced in 1531, and died in 1536. There is emphatic testimony as to her scholarship and courtly leadership and influence. Her letters, published by M. A. E. Wood in 1846 (in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*), show her readiness in Latin writing, her tactfulness in recognizing services, and her pathetic fortitude under misfortunes. The number of Spanish courtiers in her train suggests their importance as a new element in the English Court. Queen Catharine's energy and insight were shown when she acted as Regent of England during Henry's absence in the French campaign of 1513. The Battle of Flodden Field marked the period of Catharine's Regency. Catharine, throughout Henry's reign, until the time of the divorce, shared and earned with him the glory of the Court as a "Museum of letters and learning." In 1526 Erasmus dedicated to her his *de Matrimonio Christiano*, in which he says that the heroic virtues of Isabella were renowned throughout the world, but the high gifts of Catharine revealed her mother's greatness to the later age. Earlier Erasmus had declared that Catharine "loved literature," and had been happily reared on letters from her infancy. "Who would not wish," adds Erasmus, "to live in such a Court as hers?" And again, the great scholar says the Queen

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1 Erasmus forms a connecting link between Lady Margaret and Queen Catharine, for he supplied for the tomb of the Countess, in 1513, a quite formal inscription chiefly as to her academic foundations (for which he received 20s.), whilst in 1518 he is much more impressed by the brilliancy of the first Lady of the Realm, Queen Catharine.
is educated in literature beyond the point of being merely “a miracle of her sex, nor is she less to be reverenced for her piety than for her erudition.” At the very time of her degradation, although Erasmus would neither approve nor disapprove of the divorce, he is constrained to state that Catharine was *egregie docta* (eminently learned), and in a letter to the lady herself in the hour of her misfortune, though not daring to shield her, he styles her as *unicum pietatis exemplar* (the unparalleled pattern of piety).

The fascination of the *pietas literata* in Catharine was felt long before that term was applied to the pedagogic views of John Sturm, the Protestant. The Preface of Vives to his *Institution of a Christian Woman* shows how Catharine appealed to those who knew her, as a model of womanly “virtue and wisdom”; but when she had undergone the trials and undeserved ignominy of the repudiation, she appeared to her contemporaries as sacred in her lifetime as a saint often only is after death.

It is, however, in his *Office and Duties of a Husband* that Vives offers his most eloquent tribute to Queen Catharine. He declares that Christ has willed that there should flow and descend to posterity the example of Catharine the Spaniard, Queen of England, “of whom that may be more truly spoken of, than that that Valerius writeth of Lucretia, that there was in her feminine body a man’s heart, by the error and fault of nature.” He continues: “I am ashamed of myself, and of all those that have read so many things when I behold that woman so strongly to support and suffer so many and divers adversities, that there is not one (although he were well worthy to be remembered and spoken of, among our elders) that with such constancy of mind hath suffered
INTRODUCTION

cruel fortune, or could have ruled flattering felicity, as she did. If such incredible virtue had fortuned then, when honour was the reward of virtue, this woman had dusked the brightness of the heroes, and as a divine thing and a godly, sent down from heaven, had been prayed unto in temples, for there cannot be erected unto her a more magnificent temple than that, the which every man among all nations, marvelling at her virtues, have in their own hearts builded and erected.”

II

Thus the halo of sanctity for Catharine’s fortitude in bearing her hard fate, added to her undoubted personal accomplishments in learning, her practical gifts in dealing with the great men of Henry’s splendid Court, her unbroken course of personal piety, in good fortune as in bad, together with the status of noble parentage, and the unequalled tradition and atmosphere of national glory of the Spain she had left, and much of the best of which was so ingrained within her that it accompanied her and through her permeated her new home—all these causes combined to give to Catharine that dominating personality—to those who knew her—which recalls the Renascence women of the Italian duchies at a period just a little earlier.

It remains to be said that the writers of the treatises on women’s education reprinted in this book were all under the spell of Catharine—Juan Luis Vives, Richard Hyrde, Sir Thomas More and his daughters, and Sir Thomas Elyot.

1 Vives : De Officio Mariti (Paynell’s translation, in the chapter, ‘Of the Election and Choice of a Wife ’).
JUAN LUIS VIVES (1492-1540).

Vives may be said to have received at birth something of the adventurous element, mentally, that Columbus in the same year was stirring in the geographical sphere. He was born at Valencia, in the province known as the "Garden of Spain," and in the country delighting in its memories of the "Cid." Bound by ties of continuity to an illustrious past, Valencia was open-minded in its attitude to the New Age. It was the first Spanish city to establish a printing-press. Commercially it was one of the great silk centres of the South. Vives was not unlike his native city in having a noble ancestry, and also a willingness to face new issues. Thus he declared that nothing would induce him to leave the Church of Rome, and yet his Commentaries on the Civitas Dei of St. Augustine were placed on the Index of books prohibited by the Church. Yet Vives, if we may so put it, in all his travels never got beyond the reach of the influence of the three hundred Churches which are said to have adorned Valencia. Vives was a few years younger than Catharine of Aragon, but, whilst she had gone to England at sixteen years of age, he, after receiving his early education at Valencia, had proceeded to the University of Paris, where he finally broke with the medieval University tradition and frankly accepted the Renascence humanistic views. From Paris he went to the Spanish colony at Bruges, which he recognized as a second Valencia, where he met the Valdaura family, one of whom, Marguerite, he eventually married. About 1520, Vives was lecturing at Louvain, at the Halles (the University), so one writer states, in the morning, and after dinner at his house in the Rue de Diest (the house occupying the site still
bears an inscription recalling Vives' residence there). What is still more important is that, whilst at Louvain, Vives attended the lectures of Erasmus at the Collège des Trois Langues, and formed a friendship with this older scholar which, in spite of one serious break, was one of the greatest joys of Vives' life. For some time before coming to England, Vives was actually in receipt of grants from Queen Catharine, and when he completed his edition of St. Augustine's * Civitas Dei* (1522), he dedicated his great work to Henry VIII., and received from that monarch a warm and appreciative letter, promising to help him whenever occasion might arise. Accordingly in 1523, with the encouragement also of Cardinal Wolsey, he came to England, was made D.C.L. at Oxford, lectured at Oxford, and for several winters was attached to the English Court, though residing in the summer at Bruges. In 1528, Queen Catharine, who had learned to rely upon Vives, endeavoured to enlist him as her advocate in the Court of Cardinal Campeggio, to decide on the legality of her marriage. He reluctantly declined, but, for his partisanship, he had nevertheless to suffer six weeks' detention in the Tower on the order of Henry VIII., and was banished the country.

We can thus trace, throughout the career of Vives, his attachment to Spanish traditions and associations. In Flanders he lived in Bruges, beloved by him because it was the chief home of Spaniards in Flanders, and whilst in England he was at the Court of his Queen Catharine, or in close communication with her. Accordingly Catharine chose Vives as the director of studies to the Princess Mary. In 1523 he wrote the *Plan of Studies* (see pp. 138-149 of this volume), and his general treatise on women's education (see pp. 39-136 *infra*).
Both of these works he dedicated to Queen Catharine, his devotion and admiration for whom are spontaneously disclosed in his Dedication to the latter work. Whether Vives actually taught the Princess Mary is not certain. The charge of her training was undoubtedly placed in the hands jointly of the Spanish Vives and that English ornament of Renascence learning, Thomas Linacre, who, however, died in 1524. Linacre wrote the *Rudimenta Grammatices*, which he dedicated to the little Mary, and says definitely in his dedicatory letter that he had been put in charge of the child’s health. Being himself ill and unable to attend to this duty, he sent her instead the *Rudiments of the Latin Language*, a slight gift, but if it should prove to her the beginning of learning greater matters (for “the beginning is more than half” the way), he will feel he has been useful. The association of Linacre with Vives was probably a conjoint medical and educational trust in relation to Mary, [then] “the darling and glory” [*deliciæ et decus*] of the English.

**Richard Hyrde (d. 1528).**

Hyrde claims our consideration as the translator into English of Vives’ *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, and also as the writer of the preface to Margaret Roper’s translation into English of Erasmus’s *Treatise upon the Pater Noster*. With regard to Hyrde’s preface, it is apparently the first reasoned claim of the Renascence period, written in English, for the higher education of women. Hyrde thus deserves an attention which he has not hitherto received. He is the pioneer, at any rate in the vernacular, of the training of women generally, as he had seen it proceed in the family of Sir Thomas
More. His discourse, further, is an early piece of printing of original English, and was clearly formed under the influence of Sir Thomas More. The details of Hyrde's life are very scanty (see pp. 159, 160). In the delightful *Life of Sir Thomas More*, by Cresacre More (edited by Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1828), it is stated that, after Dr. Clement and William Gunnell, Sir Thomas More had as tutors "one Drue, one Nicholas, and after all one Richard Hart." Following up this passage in Thomas Stapleton's *Tres Thomæ* (1588), on which all the modern lives of Sir Thomas More are based, I discovered that the name Richard Hart (as given in Cresacre More) was a slip in transcription for Richardus Hirtius, as the name is given in Stapleton. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Richard "Hart," tutor to More's household, is Richard Hyrde, to whom are due those two documents in English on women's education.

Hyrde's closeness of association with Sir Thomas More's strikingly illustrated in the charming dedicatory preface of Hyrde himself to Catharine in the *Institution of a Christian Woman* (pp. 29-32 infra). In his address to the Queen he acknowledges "the gracious zeal that ye bear to the virtuous education of the womankind of this realm." Hyrde then states definitely that it had been the intention of Sir Thomas More to translate this work of Vives into English, and that More only forbore to translate it since he found Hyrde had it in hand, and he gladly yielded the honour of translating Vives to Hyrde, on account of State business. Whereupon Hyrde begged him (and More acceded to the request) to "read it over

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1 See p. 176 infra.

2 Stapleton's words describing the position of Hirtius are: "Qui nepotes docuit, filiabus jam in matrimonio collocauis."
and correct it.” The English translation therefore is that of Richard Hyrde, but if there is anything “well” in it, then, as says Hyrde modestly, “thanks be to the labour of my good master.” It appears from other evidence that Catharine commissioned More, and More delegated the task to Hyrde. Hyrde’s translation was printed in 1540. The Latin text was published in 1524, Hyrde (see p. 160) died in 1528, and we thus narrow down the limits as to the writing of the translation to a date between 1524 and 1528.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) and His Daughters.

It is well known that Sir Thomas More identified himself, to his own great cost, with the cause of Catharir of Aragon. When Catharine first came to England be married to Prince Arthur, More wrote welcoming Latin verses. He was called, we are told, to the table after she became Queen, and she took a keen pleasure in his conversation. She declared to Henry VIII. that “the wisest and most faithful of the Councillors of the English Crown was the Treasurer of the Exchequer.” We know what More thought of Vives from the first, in a letter written in 1519, when he only knew him by his works. “Assuredly, my dear Erasmus, I am ashamed that I, and others like me, have simply composed occasional brochures, chiefly insignificant, when I see a young man like Vives produce so many thoroughly digested works, in good style, and showing evidence of exquisite erudition.” On the other hand, what Vives felt towards More is fully expressed in the preface to the Declamation, in which Vives wrote an answer to Quintilian. (Pro Noverca contra Cæcum.) “More is so great a friend,” says Vives, “and I have so often experienced
the fruits of his benevolence, that I am afraid lest I should be suspected of cultivating a friendship for base advantage, were it not that I really believe that More esteems no man unworthy of his kindness, so long as he possesses a good will and acts in accordance with it.” Then he proceeds to offer a glimpse of the friendly intercourse in More’s household. On one occasion “More had told the story of Quintilian’s first declamation to his little boy John and to his daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecilia, the worthy offspring of their father. He had discoursed in such a way as to lead them all by his eloquence the more easily to the study of wisdom. He then begged me to write an answer to the declamation which he had expounded, so that the art of writing might be disclosed more openly by contradiction, and, as it were, by conflict.” A bond of union between Sir Thomas More and Vives may be traced in their common attraction to St. Augustine’s Civitas Dei. More had lectured on this work in the Church of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry, London, whilst Erasmus had induced Vives later on to edit and annotate it.

Stapleton supplies us with the following list of names of More’s friends: Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, Lily, Mountjoy, Latimer, Lupset, Elyot, Croke, Reginald Pole, Fisher, Erasmus, Tonstall, and, of course, many foreigners too numerous to mention here. There were such others as Leland, Claymond, Heywood, and Skelton, well known to More and probably acquainted with Vives. More and Vives, too, had common friends at Bruges and Louvain.

But the nearest friend of the More household, present or absent, was Erasmus. It was More who converted Erasmus to a belief in the wisdom of the higher education of women. Erasmus, at the request of Queen
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Catharine, wrote the *de Matrimonio Christiano*, which includes the most detailed account of Erasmus’s views on the education of women. Considerable portions of the treatise might well have been translated and included in this volume had space permitted. But at the time of writing (Basle, 1526) Erasmus had left England never to return, and there is good reason to suggest that, writing three years after Vives had written the *de Institutione Christianæ Feminæ*, Erasmus followed in many particulars the younger writer. Erasmus had far less direct knowledge of women’s education than Vives, and though educational passages from the *de Matrimonio Christiano* (if the whole work cannot be translated for modern readers) would be of great value for comparison with the work of Vives (and further Erasmus, with his genius for the inclusion of striking illustration, is particularly quotable), yet it cannot, probably, be urged that this work of Erasmus is either so original or so strictly speaking an educational document, nor so closely connected with the course of English education, as the sections included from Vives.

SIR THOMAS ELIOT (? 1499-1546).

Eliot was an educationist of outstanding importance, as is seen especially in his *Boke called the Gouvernour* (1531), though there he says little on women’s education, and that little is scarcely favourable to women taking part in government. More, on the other hand, so far favoured the idea of equality of women with men that he was willing, in *Utopia* (if nowhere else), that some women should be allowed to become priests, and that women wishing to accompany their husbands to war “should not be prohibited or stopped.” By the time of writing
The Defence of Good Women (? 1538), Elyot seems to have somewhat changed his attitude. When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, the question was of vital importance, for John Knox thundered out his The Monstrous Regiment of Women, whilst John Aylmer wrote his doughty defence of a woman ruler in An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects (Strasburg, 1559), a work of such significance and incisive ability that it is curious that it has not been reprinted in recent times. Elyot may be regarded as the precursor of Aylmer in the subject. For Elyot, like Plato and Aristotle, really regards education as inextricably bound up with politics. Sir Thomas Elyot, it is to be added, was one of the group which centred round Sir Thomas More. Stapleton tells us that not only Elyot, but also his wife, both attended for literary studies "in the school of More." Elyot's Defence of Good Women appears to be a slightly disguised defence of Queen Catharine, at a date (circa 1538) when an open espousal of her cause would have been regarded as treasonable, as, indeed, open praise of Sir Thomas More was dangerous, even after his execution, whilst the Tudors reigned, except, indeed, in the reign of Queen Mary.

III

The writings, then, included in this volume belong to the age of Queen Catharine. The writers were friends of hers, came under her influence, and breathe, in certain respects, something of her spirit. The treatises of Hyrde (No. IV.) and of Elyot (No. VII.) are, substantially, pleas for the higher education of women. In the latter, though Queen Catharine seems to fill the background, the form of the dialogue is Socratic, and the spirit of classical imitation is unmistakably that of the Renascence.
Section V., *The School of Sir Thomas More*, is a picture of the period of women’s education in the concrete, and at its best. Section VI. gives Vives’ views as to the effect of marriage on the question of women’s education, and is an attempt to suggest a *modus vivendi* between the old medieval ideas and the new demand for education of both men and women. The *Plan of Education for a Girl* (Section II.) contains the actual practical methods and curriculum of instruction for girls, the only one as far as I know which was offered in detail in England, till the publication in 1673 of Mrs. Bathsua Makin’s *Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen*. The *Satellitium* (or “Bodyguard”) of Section III. is an actual textbook provided for the instruction of the Princess Mary, and is the first textbook, published for an English pupil, in morals and civics, subjects which in our own times are coming back again into the range of definite teaching. The whole textbook is interesting, but though itself quite small, it is too long to give in its entirety in this volume. The *symbola* quoted, however, are representative. Relegated to the Appendix is the important *Plan of Studies for a Boy*, also written by Vives. It could not well appear in the text containing only treatises on women’s education, and yet it is essential for the student who wishes to trace Vives’ proposed difference of curriculum and method in the instruction of girls from those of boys.

The comparison of Vives’ list of authors for boys with his list for girls discloses very clearly his view of the greater natural devoutness of the latter. They are to be trained for piety by reading the Early Fathers and practical ethical works like those of Erasmus, and the New Testament “daily” studied. The Christian Latin poets are
to be read by both boys and girls. Vives allows girls to read certain heathen poets—Lucan, Seneca, and a good part of Horace. Curiously he omits the name of Virgil, who holds, as he tells us in the scheme for Mountjoy, the first place in a pupil’s studies. Four years after Vives had written this Plan for Princess Mary—i.e., in 1527, Thomas [Wolsey] Cardinal of York, friend and patron of Vives, drew up his document of teaching for the masters of Ipswich School, in which he said with regard to the fourth class: “When you exercise the soldiership of the fourth class, what general would you rather have than Virgil himself, the prince of all poets?—whose majesty of verse it were worth while should be pronounced with due intonation of voice.”

This was the Renascence view generally, and if Vives concedes the reading by the girls of the “heathen” poets—Lucan, Seneca, and Horace—the omission of Virgil’s name must surely be a slip of the pen. But the main point is that, in the distinction of “heathen” and Christian poets, Vives, like Erasmus, held there was need of greater rigour in all such matters for the girl than the boy.

Of the treatises now presented, The Instruction of a Christian Woman by Vives is the leading theoretical manual on women’s education of the sixteenth century, not only for England and the English, for whom it was primarily produced, but also for the whole of Europe. To the modern reader, looking for guidance for twentieth-century educational problems, it will necessarily be disappointing, but to the historical student, particularly of education, in the critical period of the early Renascence, the book must have a rare attraction. For there could be no stronghold more certain for the last defence of the medievalist than the treatment of woman, for this
was a tradition grounded in the growth and development of conventual practice, in which seclusion, retirement, piety, and obedience were factors of unquestioned association with women for many hundred years. In no country had the conception of the silent, obedient, pious woman, whether in the convent or out of it, held its own so rigorously as in Spain. And if it was to be the Spaniard Vives, a true patriot (in the sense that Erasmus never was, nor could be, a patriot), who broke through the accumulated medieval tradition of ignorance as the natural ally of piety, it was only to be expected that he would retain as desirable many of the more time-hallowed Spanish customs of guarding the young girl—if only by acceptance of the customary restrictions, she at the same time might also enter into the new age of scholarship. Along with his conservatism in these directions and in the pietistic ideal, Vives preserves in important matters a detachment from his humanist friends, Erasmus and Budæus, as when, for example, with no uncertain judgment, he encourages the girl to say her prayers in the vernacular, and actually requires the teacher to teach the child in the vernacular instead of in Latin, which was the school-language of the Middle Ages. So, too, a close comparison of Vives, writing in 1523, and Roger Ascham in 1570, shows that Vives is the earlier pioneer in the famous system of requiring pupils to keep Paper-books. The idea common to both these educationists is to induce pupils, as far as possible, to construct their own textbooks in grammar, and to collect systematized examples of classical usage. Vives is as free from extravagance in his doctrine of Imitation of Cicero as Erasmus himself, but is in touch with the most modern of teachers in regarding as desirable the strictest Imitation, on a phonetic basis, of
pronunciation in the early stages of learning a classical or foreign language.

On what we may call the negative side of his teaching — *i.e.*, his protest against women's love of apparel and personal decoration, of banqueting, of frequenting public places, of dancing, of dicing, Vives summarizes the best social and religious outlook, not only of his contemporaries, but even of his successors, for the whole of the Tudor period. Indeed, up to the time of the Restoration, Vives is in line with the most progressive social and moral writers. Even if we had to regard these views as narrow and reactionary, at least they serve to show the starting-places, whence Vives had to sally forth to reach his mental outposts, for the future educators to occupy as inherited territory, with pure forgetfulness of the pioneer who traced the way. The underlying principle of the training of the pupil was for Vives, as afterwards for Erasmus, the classical *maxima debetur puero reverentia*, and, as Erasmus said, still more regard must be had “not to prepare the girl for too little modesty.” When Vives expresses his utter revulsion to the maiden's reading of romances, and singing of vulgar songs, literature which trespassed too often beyond the bounds of modesty, on the one hand, and on the other revelled in “open” men's slaughter — he was followed by the equally strongly expressed horror in this matter of Erasmus and Ascham. Even the Spanish masterpiece of romance, the *Amadís de Gaul*, with its reflection of the manner and spirit of the old chivalry, falls under the lash of Vives' wrath, since he has abandoned the knights of the Middle Ages to serve under the heroes of the Golden Age of antiquity, of Greek and of Rome. Because *Amadís* was the best of the heroes of the romances, he was, as Don Quixote said, the “arch-
heretic” of the “mischievous sect.” And though Don Quixote was induced to spare Amadis alone of all books of chivalry, Vives’ classical as well as his moral conscience overcame even his national prejudice, and the maiden must be saved from even the best of Spanish errantry. One exception only Vives makes—the story of the patient Griselda, the pathos of which is intensified when we remember that Catharine herself humbly followed in the steps of the heroine, and was the subject of a long poem by William Forrest entitled The Second Griselda.

No doubt the startling stress laid upon the cultivation of obedience (as well as insistence on simplicity of dress and food, and self-repression generally) is to be traced to the long persistence of the one great ideal of the single profession of the Middle Ages for women, the seclusion of the nun’s life. This had the effect of greatly enhancing the respect and reverence paid to the good woman outside the nunnery as well as the one in it, so long as she preserved the characteristics of the “religious,” although she lived in the world as maid, wife, or widow. The extension of the conventual atmosphere to women’s ideals irresistibly suggested as important the qualities in women of obedience, and even of silence, on both of which Vives, and after him Erasmus, laid special stress. The protective aspect of the Mother-Superior of the Convent suggested, or at least confirmed, the analogy of the duenna or chaperone outside.

However we account for the restrictive or negative side which Vives requires in the training of the maid; there are at least two positive requirements in his plans of the education of women to which attention should be given. First, the medieval training of the maiden as a doctor, to prepare potions, plasters, and fomentations, and
to deal with wounds and dislocations and other surgical work. This training eventually became more concerned with the preparation of medicines, drugs, cordials, and use of herbs, until the lady of the house became apothecary and, to a considerable extent, dispensing physician. The change of the lady’s training from surgery (in the Middle Ages) to medicine in the later times was possibly due to the growing accessibility of the ancient medical writings of Galen, of his school, and of later practitioners, after the Revival of Learning. Thus Linacre’s translations from Greek into Latin of Galen’s *de Sanitate Tuenda* (1517) and *Methodus Medendi* (1519) mark the beginning of the change. Secondly, it was required by Vives that the maid should be thoroughly trained in needlework, embroidery, weaving, cloth-making, and in all housecraft, as well as in cookery. It is not too much to say that present-day educational movements are tending in these directions in girls’ training as at least auxiliary to the more distinctively book-subjects of study.

Nor was the demand of obedience absent from the boys’ training. It is not merely the opinion of Vives, but it was also the general conviction of the Tudor Period, that young men and women should marry, not according to their own choice, but strictly with regard to suggestions founded upon the wider and wiser experience of their parents. Thus obedience was not demanded from the woman only, but was considered to be the due tribute of all youth to age and experience. Of course, it should be remembered that marriage often took place at a much younger age than now. Catharine of Aragon was married at sixteen years, and in Elyot’s *Defence of Good Women* Zenobia justifies herself for having delayed to marry till she was twenty years of age (see p. 235).
On the whole subject of early marriages Dr. Furnivall has written in *Child Marriages in the Diocese of Chester, 1561-66* (Early English Text Society). John Stockwood, the well-known headmaster of Tonbridge Grammar School, wrote a book in 1589, *A Bartholomew Fairing*, to emphasize the accepted doctrine that it was in the power and choice of parents “to provide wives and husbands for their sons and daughters.”

Obedience on the part of children is, perhaps, not a prominent feature of educational practice in the home to-day, but Vives does not insist upon it with more emphasis than the great thinker of over a century ago, Immanuel Kant, who says that “above all things” obedience is an essential feature in the character of a child. Vives, however, is more in touch with modern movements, in desiring that all should live on the simplest foods, and particularly in urging clear water as a drink and abstinence from wine and “strong” drink.

The predominance of the training of the girl in piety will strike some readers as out of the modern perspective. The urging of the lives of the saints on the attention of the child was coupled by Vives with an inclusion into the ranks of the saints of such women as Queen Catharine, of his own mother-in-law and his own mother, of whom he gives a description (see pp. 117 and 131) in passages which deserve to be a *loci classici* in the practical humanism even of Renascence writers. But that such wide-hearted treatment of saintship may readily lend itself to educational usefulness to-day may be seen in that remarkable appeal of James Martineau: “We lost,” he says, “the true notion of human culture when we threw away ‘the lives of the saints.’” He advocates the re-writing of them, with a better selection of examples, for which we
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have seen that Vives was prepared. Dr. Martineau thought that unless such examples of saints become “the favourites” of the cottage and the school “all our education will multiply the force without greatly mending the character of our society.”

But, in spite of the modern agreement or disagreement with particular details of Vives’ views of women’s education, the essential point to realize is that his *Institution of a Christian Woman* marks, with a distinctness only to be found in books of critical historical significance, the parting of the ways from medieval conventual precedents in women’s education to the modern humanism, so delightfully exemplified in Spain in Isabella’s household, and in England in More’s household. The ideal is household education for girls, and although it is often represented that Luther was the modern pioneer of the sanctity of family life, yet this reputation cannot obscure to us Vives’ equal joy in family unity, and the recognition of the place of women in its accomplishment. No doubt Vives is predominantly Spanish, as Luther is essentially German, in his opinions on household education.

Starting from his early familiar surroundings, as he admittedly does, Vives reaches forth into the universal. Not even modern writers have realized more vividly than he that the object of education is to help the formation of character, and that this aim extends over the whole range of life. He thought, like the ancient Greek philosophers, that virtue can be taught, and perhaps the reader may resent with impatience his stress on the presentation of precepts, though accompanied by fitting examples. But Vives kept clearly in mind that all life is an education, and since he lived in an age which owed
its intellectual expansion chiefly to the discovery of the old literatures of Greece and Rome, it was but natural that he should believe in the vitalizing influence of the written word, even for morality. Probably he was right; the attitude of expectancy in the newly-arriving books from the newly-invented presses meant more intellectual possibilities to the individuals who could profit from them than they do to-day. But he longed for the whole life of all who were educated to be permeated with the *ardor intellectualis* of literature, and if the classical writers could not themselves be fully read by women, yet their spiritualizing gems of thought might infinitely better adorn women's minds, and with far more rich brilliancy, than physically the jewels could beautify the maid's body. Substantially, Vives urges through his doctrine of precept teaching his sense of the power of ideas. He insists throughout on the necessity of silence and reflection, and he thinks that precepts thus sown in the mind will reach the harvest in due season if, in the silence and reflection of the mind, they receive their fair chance of communicating their inherent force.
HYRDE'S DEDICATORY PREFACE.

Unto the most excellent princess queen Catharine, the most gracious wife unto the most noble and mighty prince King Henry the VIII, her humble bedman and orator Richard Hyrde praying good prosperity and welfare.

Were it not, most excellent princess, that the consideration of your great goodness and benignity did as much encourage and bold me, as the respect and regard of mine own ignorance retardeth me and holdeth back, I never durst presume to dedicate and present unto the majesty of your noble grace this my rude and simple translation, so much the more uncomely and unmeet to be offered in your high presence, in how much the eloquence of the author staineth and defaceth the rude
speech of the translator. For had I, most gracious princess, that gift of erudition and utterance, that I were able, in our English tongue, to give this book as much perspicuity, light, life, favour, grace, and quickness as Master Lewis Vives hath given it in Latin, then durst I boldly put it forth to your grace, not without good hope of thanks, considering the matter to be such as neither a more profitable nor more necessary can lightly come in hand. For what is more fruitful than the good education and order of women, the one half of all mankind, and that half also whose good behaviour or evil taches\(^1\) giveth or bereaveth the other half, almost all the whole pleasure and commodity of this present life, beside the furtherance or hindrance further growing thereupon, concerning the life to come? And surely for the planting and nursing of good virtues in every kind of women, virgins, wives and widows, I verily believe there was never any treatise made, either furnished with more goodly counsels, or set out with more effectual reasons, or garnished with more substantial authorities, or stored more plenteously of convenient examples, nor all these things together more goodly treated and handled than Master Vives hath done in his book. Which book when I read, I wished in my mind that either in every country women were learned in the Latin tongue, or the book out of Latin translated into every tongue. And much I marvelled, as I often do, of the unreasonable oversight of men, which never cease to complain of women’s conditions. And yet having the education and order of them in their own hands, not only do little diligence to teach them and bring them up better, but also purposely withdraw them from learning, by which they might have

\(^1\) \textit{i.e.}, taches, stains, faults.
occasions to wax better by themselves. But sith this fault is too far gone and over largely spread to be shortly remedied, I thought at the leastwise for my part it would do well to translate this book into our English tongue, for the commodity and profit of our own country. Which when I had secretly done by myself, I shewed it unto my singular good master and bringer up, Sir Thomas More, to whose judgment and correction I use 1 to submit whatsoever I do or go about, that I set any store by: who not only for the matter itself was very glad thereof, but also for that (as he then shewed me) he perceived that it should be to your noble majesty for the gracious zeal that ye bear to the virtuous education of the womankind of this realm, whereof our lord hath ordained you to be Queen, so great and special pleasure, that he had intended, his manifold business notwithstanding, to have taken the times to have translated this book himself, in which he was (as he said) very glad that he was now prevented, 2 not for eschewing of his labour, which he would have been very glad to bestow therein, but for because that the fruit thereof may now sooner come forth than he could have found the time. How be it as I answered him: It were better to bring forth dates in an hundred years (for so long it is or 3 that tree bring forth his fruit) than crabs in four years. And though he reckoned himself eased of the translating I besought him to take the labour to read it over and correct it. Which he right gladly did. Whereby I have been more encouraged to put forth unto your most noble grace this translation: to whose majesty sith the original work was dedicate[d], I was of very 4 duty methought

1 Am accustomed.  
2 Anticipated.  
3 Ere, before.  
4 True, real.
bounden to dedicate the translation. Wherefore if there be, as I well wote there is, any good in the matter, thanks be to Master Vives the maker. If anything be well in this translation, thanks be to the labour of my good master. For nothing in this work claim I for mine own, but the show of my good zeal to do good to other[s], and service to your noble grace, whom with the sacred majesty of the most excellent prince, your dearest spouse, and your noble issue, with increase of more, our Lord long preserve unto the weal of yourself, your realm, and Christendom beside.

THE PREFACE of the most famous clerk Maister Ludovic Vives, upon his book, called the Instruction of a Christian Woman, unto the most Gracious Princess, Catharine Queen of England.

I have been moved partly by the holiness and goodness of your living, partly by the favour, love and zeal that your Grace beareth toward holy study and learning, to write some thing unto your good grace, of the information and bringing up of a Christian woman: a matter never yet entreated of any man, among so great plenty and variety of wits and writers. For Xenophon and Aristotle, giving rules of housekeeping, and Plato making precepts of ordering the common weal, spake many things appertaining unto the woman's office and duty: and S. Cyprian, S. Hierome (Jerome), S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine, have entreated of Maids and Widows, but in such wise, that they appear rather

¹ Composer, author.
to exhort and counsel them unto some kind of living, than to instruct and teach them. They spend all their speech in the lauds and praises of chastity, which is a goodly thing, and fitted for those great witted and holy men: how be it they write but few precepts and rules how to live: supposing it to be better, to exhort them unto the best, and help them up to the highest, than to inform and teach the lower things. But I will let pass all such exhortations because everybody shall pick out the ways of living, out of these men’s authority, rather than of my fantasy: and I will compile rules of living. Therefore in the first book, I will begin at the beginning of a woman’s life, and lead her forth unto the time of marriage. In the second from marriage unto widowhood, how she ought to pass the time of her life well and virtuously with her husband. In the last book, I inform and teach the widowhood. And because the matter could not be otherwise handled, there be many things told in the first book, pertaining unto wives and widows: and much in the second, belonging unto unmarried women: and some in the third pertaining unto all, lest a maid should think that she need to read but only the first book, or a wife the second, or a widow the third. I will that every of them shall read all. In which I have been more short than many would I should have been. Notwithstanding, who so considereth well the cause of mine intent, and taketh good heed shall find it done not without skill. For in giving precepts, a man ought specially to be brief, lest he sooner dull the wits of the readers, than teach them with long babbling. And precepts ought to be such, that every body may soon con them, and bear [them] easily in mind. Nor we should not be ignorant of the
laws that Christ and his disciples, Peter, Paul, James, John and Jude taught us: where we may see that they give us the divine precepts brief and shortly. For who can bear in remembrance those laws, which they bear not well in mind, that have spent their whole life in study of them? And therefore have I neither thrust in many examples, nor gone out of my matter to entreat generally of vice and virtue, which were a large field to walk in, to the end that my book might be not onely read without tediousness: but also be read often. Moreover, though the precepts for men be innumerable: women yet may be informed with few words. For men must be occupied both at home and abroad, both in their own matters and for the common weal. Therefore it cannot be declared in few books, but in many and long, how they shall handle themselves, in so many and divers things. As for a woman, she hath no charge to see to, but her honesty and chastity. Wherefore when she is informed of that, she is sufficiently appointed. Wherefore their wickedness is the more cursed and detestable, that go about to perish that one treasure of women: as though a man had but one eye, and another would go about to put it out. Some write filthy and bawdy rimes, which men I cannot see what honest excuse they can lay for themselves; but that their corrupt mind swelled with poison, can breathe none other thing but venom, to destroy them that are near unto it. But they call themselves lovers, and I believe they be so indeed: yea, and blind and mad, too, withal. And though thou love, canst thou not obtain thine own, except thou infect all other[s]? Therefore in my mind no man was ever banished more rightfully than was Ovid, at leastwise, if he was banished for
writing the Craft of Love. For other[s] write wanton and naughty ballads, but this worshipful Artificer, must make rules in God's name, and precepts of his unthrifftiness, a Schoolmaister of bawdry, and a common corrupter of virtue. Now I doubt not but some will think my precepts over sore and sharp. Howbeit, the nature of all things is such that the way of virtue is easy and large unto good men, and the way of vice contrary, strait and rough. But unto ill men, neither the way that they go in is pleasant, nor the way of virtue large and easy enough: and seeing it is so, it is better to assent unto good men than ill: and rather to reckon the bad folks' opinion false, than the good men's. Pythagoras the philosopher and other of his school, in the description of this letter Y. say, that when a man is past the first difficulty of virtue, all after is easy and plain.

Plato giveth counsel to choose the best way in living: which way, use and custom shall also make pleasant. Our Lord in the Gospel\(^1\) saith, that the way into the kingdom of heaven is strait, not because it is so indeed, but because few go it, except a man would count his words false, when he saith: My yoke is sweet, and my burthen light.\(^2\) Or else where he promiseth, that there is no man that forgoeth any thing for his sake, but he shall have far more for it again:\(^3\) yea, and that in this life. And what was meant thereby, but the pleasures of virtue? Therefore I see unto whom my precepts shall seem rigorous and sharp: that is, to young men that be ignorant, wanton and unthrifty: which cannot once bear the sight of a good woman.

It is no news, that ill folk hate them that advise them

\(^1\) Matt. vii. 14. \(^2\) Matt. xi. 30. \(^3\) Matt. xix. 29.
well. St. Jerome writeth of himself unto the holy maid Demetrias in this wise: “More than thirty years ago, I wrote a book Of Virginity, in the which I must needs speak against vice, and patefy the traps of the devil for the instruction of the maid that I taught, the which writing may be agrieved withal: when every one taketh the matter, as said by himself, and will not hear me, as an exhorter and counsellor; but loatheth me as an accuser and rebuker of his doing.” Thus saith he: “Lo, what manner of men we shall displease with teaching them virtuously. Verily such as it were a shame and rebuke to please: but sad men, chaste maids, virtuous wives, wise widows, and finally, all that are true Christian people, not only in name but also in deed and with their hearts, will stand on our part: which know and agree all in this, that nothing can be more mild and gentle than the precepts of our Faith, from the which Christ grant us never to decline our mind and purpose, one hair’s breadth.” I have put in remembrance of their duty the good and holy women, but slightly: other[s] now and then, I take up sharply: because I saw that onely teaching availeth but a little, unto those that struggle with the Leader, and must be drawn. Therefore have I spoken sometime the more plainly, that they might see the filthiness of their conditions (as it were) painted in a table, to the intent that they should be ashamed, and at last, leave their shameful deeds. And also that good women should be gladder to see themselves out of those vices, and labour more to be further from them, and to enter into the habitacle of virtue. For I had leaver as S. Jerome counselleth, adventure my shamefastness a little while, than jeopard my matter: so

1 Lay open.  
2 Table—i.e., tableau, picture.
yet that I would not fall into any uncleanliness, which were the greatest shame that can be for him that should be a teacher of chastity: wherefore oftentimes the reader must understand more in sentence,¹ than I speak in words. And this work (most excellent and gracious Queen) I offer unto you in like manner, as if a painter would bring unto you your own visage and image, most cunningly painted. For like as in that portraiture you might see your bodily similitude: so in these books shall you see the resemblance of your mind and goodness; because that you have been both maid, wife and widow, and so you have been handled yourself in all the order and course of your life, that whatsoever you did might be an example unto other to live after. But you had leaver² the virtues to be praised, than yourself: howbeit no man can praise the virtues of women, but he must needs comprehend you in the same praise, howbeit your mind ought to be obeyed. Therefore you shall understand, that many like unto you be praised here by name expressly: but yourself spoken of continually, though you be not named. For virtues can never be praised, but they must needs be praised withal, that be excellent in them, though their name be not spoken of. Also your dearest daughter Mary, shall read these instructions of mine, and follow in living. Which she must needs do, if she order herself after the example that she hath at home with her, of your virtue and wisdom. Nor there is no doubt, but she will do after them, and except she alone of all other, disappoint and beguile every man's opinion, she must needs be both very good and holy, that is come of you, and noble King Henry the Eight[h], such a couple of mates, that your honour and virtue pass

¹ Opinion, judgment. ² Rather.
all crafts of praising. Therefore all other women shall have an example of your life and deeds: and by these books that I have dedicated unto your name, they shall have rules and precepts to live by: and so shall they be bounden unto your goodness, both for that, which itself hath done in giving example: and that it hath been the occasion of my writing. And so I pray God give your good Grace long well to fare.

At Bruges, the year of our Lord 1523, the 5th day of April.
Chapter I.—Of the Bringing up of a Maid, when she is a Babe.

Fabius Quintilian, in his Book where he doth instruct and teach an Orator, willeth his beginning and entrance to be taken from the cradle, and no time to be slacked or unapplied, toward the end and purpose of the faculty intended: now much more diligence ought to be given in a Christian virgin, that we may both inform her increase, and order it and her instruction and enterings, and that by-and-by from the milk; which I would, if it were possible, should be the mother. And the same counsel giveth Plutarch and Phavorine,¹ and many other of the wisest and greatest philosophers. For by that means, the love shall be more between the mother and the daughter, when none of the mother's name shall be taken from her and put into any other. For nurses be wont also to be called mothers. And the mother may more truly reckon her daughter her own, whom she hath not onely brought into the world, but also hath carried still in her arms of a Babe,² unto whom she hath given teat, whom

¹ *I.e.*, Phavorinus Varinus, who in 1517 made a collection of apophthegms from the *Sententiae* gathered from the Greek authors by John Stobæus.

² *I.e.*, from baby-hood.
she hath nourished with her own blood, whose steps she hath cherished in her lap, and hath cheerfully accepted and kissed the first laughs, and first hath joyfully heard the stammering of it, coveting to speak, and hath holden hard to her breast, praying God to prosper it. These things shall cause and ingender such reverent and inward love in the daughter toward the mother again, that she shall be far more loved and set by of her daughter, because of the love that she hath so abundantly conceived toward her in green and tender age. Who can now express, what charity these things increase among folk, when wild beasts that have no knowledge nor perceiving what love meaneth, yet love their nourishiers and brings up, nor shun the dangers of death to defend and save them. Moreover, I wot not how, but so it is, that we suck out of our mother's teat, together with the milk, not only love, but also conditions and dispositions. And that is the cause, saith the Philosopher Phavorine, that maketh men to marvel why they see many children issued of chaste and good women, nothing like their parents neither in mind nor body: nor the common saying, come up of nought, which is not unknown even unto children. They that have been nursed with sow's milk have rolled in the mire. For that cause, the wise man Chrysippus had chosen the wisest and best nurses, which precept I myself will follow and counsel the mothers, that will not nourish their children with their own milk, to do likewise. Neither I will so great diligence to be given in seeking a nurse for a boy as for a maid. Quintilian thought it sufficient to command that the nurses should not be foul and rude spoken, because the ways and manner of speaking taken in youth, would be hard to get away. As for their
Chapter II.—Of the Residue of her Infancy.

After that she is once weaned and beginneth to speak and go, let all her play and pastime be with maids of her own age, and within the presence rather of her mother or her nurse, or some other honest woman of sad age, that may rule and measure the plays and pastimes of her mind, and set them to honesty and virtue. Avoid all mankind away from her: nor let her not learn to delight among men. For naturally, our love continueth the longest towards them with whom we have passed our time in youth: which affection of love is the most strong with women, because they be more disposed to pleasure and dalliance. Now in that age, which cannot yet discern good from bad, they should be taught no evil. And it is an ungracious opinion of them that say, they

manner he cared not so greatly, which the man-child doth often learn from home than at home. And yet he doth allege the opinion of Chrysippus, as though he allowed the same. But the maid, whom he would have specially good, requireth all intendance both of father and mother, lest any spot of vice or uncleanness should stick on her. Let her take no such things, neither by her bodily senses and wits, nor by her nourishing and bringing up. She shall first hear her nurse, first see her, and whatsoever she learneth in rude and ignorant age, that will she ever labour to counterfeit and follow cunningly. Therefore St. Jerome, when he did teach the daughter of Laeta, he warned that the nurse should be no drunkard, nor wanton, nor full of talk and chattering.
will have their children to know both good and evil. For by that means they say, they shall the better flee vice and follow virtue. But it were more surety, and more profitable, and thereto more happy, not onely to do none ill, but also not once to know it. For who hath not heard, that we were cast into misery, that self\(^1\) hour that the ancestors of mankind knew what was good and what was bad? And, verily, fathers that will not have their child unexpert and ignorant of evil, be worthy that their children should know both good and ill, and when they repent them of their evil doing, should call yet unto remembrance, that they learned to do evil by their father’s mind and will. Let the maid learn none un­cleanly words, or wanton, or uncomely gesture and moving of the body, no not so much as when she is yet ignorant what she doth, and innocent; for she shall do the same, when she is grown bigger and of more discretion, and it chanceth unto many, that what thing soever they have been accustomed in before, they do the same afterward at unawares and unadvisedly. And oftentimes such braides\(^2\) come upon them against their will. And the worse they be the oftener they do them, for folks’ minds bear them better away. Let the father and mother take good heed that they allow none un­comely deed of her, neither by words, laughing nor countenance, neither kiss and embrace her therefor, which is the foulest deed of all. For the maid will labour to rehearse often that, which she thinketh shall please best her father and mother. Let all her bringing up be pure and chaste the first years, because of her manners, the which take their first forming of that custom in youth and infancy.

\(^1\) Same. \(^2\) Outbursts of passion, anger.
Chapter III.—Of her Exercise.

When she is of age able to learn any thing, let her begin with that, which pertaineth unto the ornament of her soul, and the keeping and ordering of an house. Howbeit, I appoint no time to begin. Some reckon best to begin at the seventh year: in which opinion are Aristotle, Eratosthenes, and Chrysippus. Quintilian would begin at the fourth or fifth year. But I put all the ordering of this matter in the discretion of the fathers and mothers, which may take advisement after the qualities and complexions of the child, so they be not letted with

1 inordinate affection: by reason whereof some set so much by their children, and care so sore for them, that they keep them from all labour, lest they should fall into any sickness. So, when they ween to increase and strength[en] their bodies, they bruise and weaken them. The cherishing and sufferance of the fathers and mothers hurteth much the children, that giveth them an unbridled liberty unto infinite vices, and specially the maids. But these be refrained and holden under for the most part by fear; which, if it lack, then hath she all the bridle of nature at large, and runneth headlong unto mischief and drowneth herself therein, and cometh not lightly to any goodness, without she be of nature such as we may see some. Therefore, let her both learn her book, and beside that, to handle wool and flax, which are two crafts yet left of that old innocent world, both profitable and keepers of temperance, which thing specially women ought to have in price. I will meddle here with no low matters, lest I should seem to make

1 Hindered by.
much ado about things that be too simple for my purpose. But I would in no wise that a woman should be ignorant in those feats, that must be done by hand, no, not though she be a Princess or a Queen. For what can she do better, or ought to do rather, what time she hath rid her business in her house? Should she talk with men or other women? And what shall she talk of? Shall she never hold her peace? Or shall she sit and muse? What, I pray you? Woman's thought is swift, and for the most part, unstable, walking and wandering out from home, and some will slide by reason of it [her] own slipperiness, I wot not how far. Therefore reading were the best, and thereunto I give them counsel specially. But yet when she is weary of reading, I cannot see her idle as were the women of Perseland\(^1\) drowned in voluptuousness and pleasures. St. Jerome would have Paula to handle wool, that most noble woman who came of the blood of Scipio and Gracchus: which was also descended of the lineage of King Agamemnon, the Prince of all Kings: and to learn to dress it, and to hold and occupy a rock,\(^2\) with a wool basket in her lap, and turn the spindle, and draw forth the thread with her own fingers. And Demetrias, which was as great of birth, as mighty of possessions as she, he bade have wool in her hands, and herself either to spin, to warp, or else wind spindles in a case for to throw woof off, and to wind on clues\(^3\) the spinning of others, and to order such as should be woven. For the dressing of wool hath ever been an honest occupation for a good woman. In Rome all maids, when they were first married, brought unto their husband's house distaff and spindle, with wool, and wiped, streaked, and garnished the posts with wool. Which thing was a

\(^{1}\) Persia. \(^{2}\) Distaff. \(^{3}\) Balls of thread.
great ceremony with them. And after she should be made sit on a selle\(^1\) with wool, that she might learn what she ought to do at home.

Then afterward she should say these words unto her husband: Whereas thou art Caius, there am I Caia. Now was this Caia Tanaquil an Etruscan born, a very noble woman and a sad, wife unto Tarquin Priscus, which Caia Tanaquil used all her labour in wool. Therefore, after her death, she was worshipped for a goddess, and her image set up with a rock, as a token and a sign of chastity and labour. Also there was a custom to cry at the wedding oftentimes, Thalassio, Thalassio, that is (as ye would say) the wool basket, the wool basket: to the intent the new married wife should remember, what she should have to do. Therefore it was reckoned a sign of a wise and a chaste woman to do that business. The king's son of Rome and noble young men of the king's blood, when they fell at argument about their wives, and came suddenly home to Rome, they found other[s] of the king's daughters-in-law among their companions and mates making good cheer: but they found Lucretia sitting at her wool until late in the night, and her maids busy about her, in her own house. Then all they by one assent gave her the price of goodness and chastity. What time all the Empire and Dominion of Rome was in Augustus' hands, yet he set his daughters and his nieces to work upon wool. Likewise Terence, where he doth describe a sober and chaste young woman saith, [she was] getting her living by wool and web. And Solomon, where he doth speak of the praise of an holy woman, saith: She sought for wool and flax, and wrought by the counsel of her hands.

\(^1\) Seat, stool.
Nor it maketh no force after my mind whether it be wool or flax, for both pertain unto the necessary uses of our life and be honest occupations for women.

Anna, mother unto Samuel the prophet, made with her own hands a linen coat for her son. The most chaste Queen of Ithaca, Penelope, passed the twenty years that her husband was away, with weaving. Queens of Macedonia and Epirus weaved garments with their own hands for their husbands and brethren, and fathers, and children: of which manner garments, King Alexander shewed some unto the Queens of Persia, that his mother and sisters had made. Writers of histories make mention, that, in old time, there was wont in Spain great wagers to be laid, who should spin or weave most, and times were appointed to bring forth their work to shew it, and give judgment of it. And great honour and praise was given unto them that laboured most diligently. And yet, unto this day, remaineth the same mind and love of sober sadness in many: and the applying of their work is boasted and talked of. And among all good women it is a great shame to be idle. Therefore Queen Isabel[la], King Fardinando’s [Ferdinand’s] wife, taught her daughters to spin, sew, and paint: of whom two were Queens of Portugal, the third of Spain, mother unto Carolus Caesar:¹ and the fourth, most holy and devout wife unto the most gracious King Henry the eight[h] of England.

Let the maid also learn cookery, not that slubbering and excess in meats to serve a great meinie,² full of delicious pleasures and gluttony, which cooks meddle with: but sober and measurable, that she may learn to dress meat for her father and mother, and brethren, while she is a maid: and for her husband and children,

¹ Charles the Emperor. ² Company.
when she is a wife, and so shall she get her great thank both of the one and the other: when she doth not lay all the labour upon the servants, but herself prepare such things as shall be more pleasant unto her father and mother, brethren and husband, and children, than if they were dressed by the servants. And that the more pleasant, if they were sick. Nor let no body loathe the name of the kitchen: namely being a thing very necessary, without the which neither sick folks can amend nor whole folks live. The which occupation Achilles, both a king and a king’s son and a lord most noble, did not disdain to do. For what time Ulysses and Nestor came to him, for agreement between him and Agamemnon, he laid the tables himself, and tucked up his clothes, and went into the kitchen, and prepared their meat, to make the noble Princes sober and temperate cheer, whom he loved so well. Also it is a thing pertaining unto temperance and honesty: for when the maistress [mistress] or her daughter is by, all thing is done the more diligently. What daintiness of hand is that, and what loathing of the kitchen, that they may not abide to handle or see that which father or mother, or husband, or brother, or else their child must eat: Let them that do so understand that they be[w]ray\(^1\) and [de]file their hands more, when they lay them on any other man than their own husband, than though they blacked them in soot. And that it is more shame to be seen in a dance than in the kitchen, and to handle well tables and cards than meat. And worse becometh a good woman to taste a cup of drink in a feast or a banquet [banquet], reached unto her by another man, than to taste a supping in the kitchen to give her husband. Therefore in my counsel a woman shall learn this craft, that she may in every

\(^1\) Betray.
time of her life please her friends, and that the meat may come more cleanly unto the table.

I have seen in Spain, and in France, [those] that have mended of their sickness by meats dressed of their wives, daughters, or daughters-in-law, and have ever after loved them far the better for it. And, again, I have seen [those] that have been hated, as daughter of the father, and daughter-in-law, of the father-in-law, and wife of her husband, because they have said, they could not skill of cookery.

Chapter IV.—Of the learning of maids.

Of maids, some be but little meet for learning: likewise as some men be unapt, again some be even born unto it, or at least not unfit for it. Therefore they that be dull are not to be discouraged, and those that be apt, should be heart[en]ed and encouraged. I perceive that learned women be suspected of many: as who saith, the subtlety of learning should be a nourishment for the maliciousness of their nature. Verily, I do not allow in a subtle and crafty woman, such learning as should teach her deceit, and teach her no good manners and virtues: not with standing the precepts of living, and the examples of those that have lived well, and had knowledge together of holiness, be the keepers of chastity and pureness, and the copies of virtues, and pricks to prick and to move folks to continue in them. Aristotle asketh a question, why trompets and minstrels, that play at feasts for wages, and resortings and gatherings of people, whom the Greeks call in their language, as ye would say, Bacchus' servants, be ever given unto pleasures and no goodness at all, but spend out their thrift, and their life, in naughtiness
He maketh answer himself, that it is so, because they be ever among volupties and pleasures and banquetting, nor hear any time the precepts of good living: nor regard any man that liveth well, and therefore they can live none otherwise than they have learned, either by seeing or hearing. Nor have they heard nor seen, neither used any thing, but pleasure and beastliness, amongst uncomely crying and shouting, among dancers and kissers, laughers and eaters, drunkards and spuers, among folk drowned in exceeding over much joy and gladness: all care and mind of goodness laid apart. Therefore must they needs show such things in their conditions all their life. But you shall not lightly find an ill woman, except it be such a one, as either knoweth not, or at the least way considereth not what chastity and honesty is worth: nor seeth what mischief she doeth when she foregoeth it: nor regardeth how great a treasure, for how foul, for how light, and transitory an image of pleasure she changeth: what a sort of ungraciousness she letteth in, what time she shutteth forth chastity: nor pondereth what bodily pleasure is, how vain and foolish a thing, which is not worth the turning of a hand, in respect that she should cast away that which is the goodliest treasure that a woman can have. And she that hath learned from inborn disposition or from books to consider this and such other things, and hath furnished and fenced her mind with holy counsels shall never find [from them stimulus] to do any villany. For if she can find in her heart to do naughtily, having so many precepts of virtue to keep her, what should we suppose she should do, having no knowledge of goodness at all? And truly if we would call the old world to remembrance, and rehearse their time, we shall find no
learned woman that ever was [ev]ill: where I could bring forth an hundred good: as Cornelia, the mother of Gracchus, which was an example of all goodness and chastity, and taught her children her own self. And Portia, the wife of Brutus, that [par] took of her father's wisdom. And Cleobula, daughter of Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men, which Cleobula was so given unto learning and philosophy, that she clearly despised all pleasure of the body, and lived perpetually a maid: from whom the daughter of Pythagoras the philosopher took example, which after her father's death was the ruler of his school, and was made the mistress of the college of virgins. Also Theanio, one of the same sect and school, daughter unto Metapontus, which had also the gift of prophecy, was a woman of singular chastity. And St. Jerome saith, that the ten Sibyls were virgins. Also Cassandra, and the prophets of Apollo, and Juno at Crissa, were virgins, and that was a common thing, as we read, that those women that were prophets were virgins. And she that answered such as came to ask any thing of Apollo in Delphos, was ever a virgin: at which the first was Phemone, the founder of heroic song. Also Sulpitia wife unto Caleno left behind her holy precepts of matrimony, that she had used in her living herself, of whom the poet Martial writeth on this wise:

Readeth Sulpitia all young women,
that cast your mind to please one man;
Readeth Sulpitia also all men,
that do intend to please one woman.
Of honest and virtuous love doth she tell,
chaste pastimes, plays and pleasure:
Whose books who so considereth well,
shall say there is none holier.¹

¹ Martial, bk. x., epigr. 35, De Sulpitia.
And it is plainly known that no man in that time was more happy of his wife, than was Calleno of Sulpitia. Hortensia, the daughter of Hortensius the orator, did so resemble her father's eloquence, that she made an oration unto the judges of the city for the women: which oration the successors of that time did read, not onely as a commendation and praise of women's eloquence, but also to learn cunning of it, as well as of Cicero's or Demosthenes' orations. Edesia of the city of Alexander, kinswoman unto Syrian the philosopher, was of so great cunning and virtuous disposition, that she was a wonder to all the world in her time. Corinna, a virtuous man, overcame the poet Pindar five times in verses. Julia the wife of Seneca, informed with the doctrine her husband, followed also her husband in conditions. And Seneca himself maketh sorrow that his mother was not well learned in the precepts of wise men, which she had been entered in at her husband's commandment. Argentaria Polla, wife unto the poet Lucan, which after her husband's death, corrected his books, and it is said that she helped him with the making, was a noble woman of birth, rich and excellent of beauty and wit, and chastity: of whom Calliope in Statius speaketh thus unto Lucan:

I shall not give thee onely excellence in making,
but also bind in marriage, thee unto,
One meet for thy wit and great cunning,
such as Venus would give, or the goddess Juno,
In beauty, simplicity, and gentleness,
in birth, grace, favour and riches.¹

Also Diodorus the logician had five daughters, excellent in learning and chastity: of whom Philo, master

¹ Statius, *Sylvae*, bk. ii., VII., 81 et seq.
unto Carneades writeth the history. Zenobia, the queen of Palmyra, was learned both in Latin and Greek, and wrote an history: of whom with other, more in the next book, I shall tell the marvellous chastity. I need not to rehearse the Christian women, as Thecla, disciple of Paul, a scholar, meet for such a noble master, and Catharine of Alexandria, daughter unto Costus, which overcame in disputations the greatest and most exercised philosophers. There was one of the same name, Catharine Sinensis, a wondrous cunning maid: which hath left behind her examples of her wit, in the which doth appear the pureness of her most holy mind. Nor need not to envy the pagans for their poets, the which had in one house four maids, all poets, the daughters of Philip.

And in St. Jerome's time all holy women were very well learned. Would God that nowadays, many of men were able to be compared unto them in cunning. St. Jerome writeth unto Paula, Laeta, Eustachia, Fabiola, Marcella, Furia, Demetrias, Salma, Hierontia. St. Ambrose unto other[s]; St. Augustine unto other[s]: and all marvellous witted, well learned and holy. Valeria Proba, which loved her husband singularly well, made the life of our Lord Christ out of Virgil's verses. Writers of chronicles say that Theodosia, daughter to Theodosius the younger, was as noble by her learning and virtue, as by her empire: and the makings that be taken out of Homer, named Centones be called hers. I have read epistles and cunning works of Hildegarde, a maid of Almaine. There hath been seen in our time

1 See J. H. Lupton, Introduction to Colet's *Exposition of 1 Corinthians*, p. liii.
2 In the Cento phrases from an old classical poet were strung together so as to form a new Christian poem.
3 *I.e.*, Germany.
the four daughters of Queen Isabel, of whom I spake a little before, that were well learned all. It is told me with great praise and marvel in many places of this country, that dame Joan, the wife of King Philip, mother to Carolus [Charles] that now is, was wont to make answer in Latin, and that without any study, to the orations that were made after the custom in towns, to new princes. And likewise the Englishmen say by their queen, sister to the said dame Joan. The same saith every body by the other two sisters which be dead in Portugal: than which four sisters, there were no queens by any man's remembrance more chaste of body, none better of name, none better loved of their subjects, nor more favoured, nor better loved their husbands: none that more lawely\(^1\) did obey them, nor that kept both them and all theirs better without spot of villany: there did none more hate filthiness and wantonness: none that ever did more perfectly fulfil all the points of a good woman.

Now if a man may be suffered among queens to speak of more mean\(^2\) folks, I would reckon among this sort the daughters of Sir Thomas More, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecilia, and with them their kinswoman Margaret Popham, whom their father not content onely to have them good and very chaste, would also they should be well learned, supposing that by that mean[s] they should be more truly and surely chaste. Wherein neither that great wise man is deceived, nor none other that are of the same opinion. For the study of learning is such a thing that it occupieth one's mind wholly and lifteth it up into the knowledge of most

\(^1\) Loyally.

\(^2\) Those in the middle—between royalty and the masses.
goodly matters: and plucketh it from the remembrance of such things as be foul. And if any such thought come into their mind, either the mind well fortified with the precepts of good living avoideth them away or else it giveth none heed unto those things, that be vile and foul, when it hath other most goodly and pure pleasure, wherewith it is delighted. And therefore I suppose that Pallas the goddess of wisdom and cunning, and also the muses, were feigned in old time to be virgins. And the mind set upon learning and wisdom shall not onely abhor from foul lust, that is to say, the most white thing from soot, and the most pure from spots, but also they shall leave all such light and trifling pleasures wherein the light fantasies of maids have delight, as songs, dances and such other wanton and peevish plays. A woman, saith Plutarch, given unto learning, will never delight in dancing. But here, peradventure, a man would ask, what learning a woman should be set unto, and what shall she study? I have told you, the study of wisdom, which doth instruct their manners, and inform their living, and teacheth them the way of good and holy life. As for eloquence, I have no great care, nor a woman needeth it not, but she needeth goodness and wisdom. Nor it is no shame for a woman to hold her peace, but it is a shame for her and abominable, to lack discretion, and to live ill. Nor I will not here condemn eloquence, which both Quintilian, and St. Jerome following him, say, was praised in Cornelia, the mother of Gracchus, and in Hortensia, the daughter of Hortensius. If there may be found any holy and well learned woman, I had rather have her to teach them; if there be none, let us choose some man, either well aged, or else very good and virtuous, which hath a wife,

1 I.e., shudder at.
and that right fair enough, whom he loveth well, and so shall he not desire another. For these things ought to be seen unto, for as much as chastity in bringing up a woman, requireth the most diligence, and in a manner altogether. When she shall be taught to read, let those books be taken in hand, that may teach good manners. And when she shall learn to write, let not her example be void verses, nor wanton or trifling songs, but some sad sentences\footnote{Serious, earnest opinions, or judgments.} prudent and chaste, taken out of holy Scripture, or the sayings of philosophers, which by often writing she may fasten better in her memory. And in learning, as I [ap]point none end to the man, no more I do to the woman: saving it is meet that the man have knowledge of many and divers things, that may both profit himself and the commonwealth, both with the use and increase of learning. But I would the woman should be altogether in that part of philosophy, that taketh upon him \footnote{I.e., all that is worthy of honour.} to inform, and teach, and amend the conditions.\footnote{Dispositions.} Finally, let her learn for herself alone and her young children, or her sisters in our Lord. For it neither becometh a woman to rule a school, nor to live amongst men, or speak abroad, and shake off her demureness and honesty,\footnote{either all together, or else a great part; which if she be good, it were better to be at home within and unknown to other folks, and in company to hold her tongue demurely, and let few see her, and none at all hear her.} either all together, or else a great part; which if she be good, it were better to be at home within and unknown to other folks, and in company to hold her tongue demurely, and let few see her, and none at all hear her. The apostle Paul, the vessel of election, informing and teaching the Church of the Corinthians with holy precepts, saith: Let your women hold their tongues in congregations. For they be not allowed to speak but to be subject as the law biddeth. If they would learn any
thing, let them ask their husbands at home. And unto his disciple, Timothy, he writeth on this wise: "Let a woman learn in silence with all subjection." But I give no licence to a woman to be a teacher, nor to have authority of the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was the first made, and after, Eve, and Adam was not betrayed, the woman was betrayed into the breach of the commandment.

Therefore, because a woman is a frail thing, and of weak discretion, and that may lightly be deceived, which thing our first mother Eve sheweth, whom the Devil caught with a light argument, Therefore a woman should not teach, lest when she hath taken a false opinion and belief of any thing, she spread it into the hearers, by the authority of mastership and lightly bring other[s] into the same error, for the learners commonly do after the teacher with good will.

[Perhaps the right way of judging Vives' view is not to lay the stress upon his depreciation of women as teachers, as his extreme exaltation of the authority of mastership in scholarship, to which as yet women had not yet attained.]

Chapter V.—What Books be to be read and what not.

St. Jerome writing unto Laeta, of the teaching of Paul, commandeth thus: Let her learn to hear nothing, neither speak but that which appertaineth unto the fear of God. Nor there is no doubt, but he would counsel the same of reading. There is an use nowadays worse than amongst the pagans, that books written

1 See The Office and Duties of an Husband, p. 202 i. fra.
in our mother tongues that be made but for idle men and women to read, have none other matter but of war and love: of the which books I think it shall not need \[i.e., be necessary\] to give any precepts. If I speak unto Christian folks, what need I to tell what a mischief is toward, when straw and dry wood is cast into the fire. Yea, but these be written (say they) for idle folk, as though idleness were not a vice great enough of itself, without firebrands be put unto it, wherewith the fire may catch a man altogether and [make him] more hot. What should a maid do with armour? which once to name were a shame for her.

I have heard tell, that in some places gentlewomen behold marvellous busily the plays and justlings of armed men, and give sentence and judgment of them, and that the men fear and set more by their judgments than the men's. It cannot lightly be a chaste maid, that is occupied with thinking on armour, and tourney and man's valiance. What places amongst these be for chastity, unarmed and weak. A woman that useth \[i.e., enjoyeth\] those feats drinketh poison in her heart, of whom this care and these words be the plain sayings: This is a deadly sickness, nor yet ought to be shewed of me, but to be covered and holden under, lest it hurt other[s] with the smell, and defile them with the infection. Therefore when I cannot tell whether it be meet for a Christian man to handle armour, how should it be lawful for a woman to look upon them, yea, though she handle them not, yet to be conversant among them with heart and mind, which is worse. Moreover, whereto

\[1\] Vives is as noteworthy as Erasmus in his hatred of war (see the latter's views in the Colloquia). Vives, in his Introduction to Wisdom, describes war as "robbery without punishment." See also pp. 5, 157.
readest thou other men's love and glosing words, and by little and little drinkest the enticements of that poison unknowing and many times warily\footnote{Being aware.} and wittingly? For many, in whom there is no good mind already, reading those books, do keep themselves in the thoughts of love. It were better for them not only to have no learning at all, but also to lose their eyes that they should not read, and their ears, that they should not hear. For as our Lord saith in the Gospel: It were better for them to go blind and deaf into life, than with two eyes to be cast into hell. This maid is so vile unto Christian folks, that she is abominable unto pagans. Wherefore I wonder of the holy preachers that when they make great ado about many small matters many times, they cry not out on this in every sermon. I marvel that wise fathers will suffer their daughters, or husbands their wives, or that the manners and customs of people will dissemble and overlook, that women shall use to read wantonness.

It were meet that common laws and officers should not look upon the courts and matters of suit [only], but also manners both common and private. Therefore it were convenient by a common law to put away foul ribaldry songs, out of the people's mouths, which be so used, as though nothing ought to be sung in the city but foul and filthy songs that no good man can hear without shame, nor no wise man without displeasure. They that made such songs seem to have no other purpose, but to corrupt the manners of young folks, and they do none otherwise than they that infect the commonwealths with poison. What a custom is this, that a song shall not be regarded, unless it be full of filthiness! And this the laws ought to take heed of, and of those ungracious
books, such as be in my country in Spain, the Amadis, Florisand, Tristan [of Lyons] and Celestina the bawd, mother of naughtiness; in France, Lancelot du Lac, Paris and Vienne, Ponthus and Sidonia, and Melusine, and here in Flanders; the histories of Flor[ice] and Blanchefleur, Leonella and Canamorus, Pyramis and Thisbe. In England, Parthenope, Genarides, Hippomadon, William and Melyour, Libius and Arthur, Guy, Bevis, and many other. And some translated out of Latin into vulgar speeches [i.e., languages], as the unsavoury conceits of Pogius and Æneas Silvius, Euralus and Lucretia, the hundred fables of Boccaccio, which books but idle men wrote unlearned, and set all upon filth and viciousness, in whom I wonder what should delight men but that vice pleaseth them so much.

As for learning, none is to be looked for in those men, which saw never so much as a shadow of learning themselves. And when they tell aught, what delight can be in those things that be so plain and foolish lies! One killeth twenty himself alone, another killeth thirty, another wounded with a hundred wounds, and left dead, riseth up again, and on the next day made whole and strong overcometh two giants, and then goeth away loaden with gold and silver, and precious stones, more than a galley would carry away! What madness is it of folks to have pleasure in these books? Also there is no wit in them, but a few words of wanton lust, which

3 Compare the list of romance authors p. 196 infra, and for the stories for girls, to replace such writers, see p. 144 infra.
4 The writers ascribed to England are added, apparently, by Hyrde. For a modern criticism of the whole class of chivalric writers, see Gaston Paris: La Littérature française au Moyen Age.
be spoken to move her mind with whom they love, if it chance she be steadfast. I never heard man say that he liked these books, but those that never touched good books. And I myself sometime have read in them, but I never found in them one step either of goodness or wit. And as for those that praise them as I know some that do, I will believe them, if they praise them after that they have read Cicero and Seneca, or St. Jerome, or holy Scripture, and have mended their living better. For oftentimes the onely cause why they praise them is, because they see in them their own conditions as in a glass. Finally, though they were never so witty and pleasant, yet would I have no pleasure infected with poison, nor have no woman quickened unto vice. And verily they be but foolish husbands and mad, that suffer their wives to wax more ungraciously subtle by reading of such books. But whereto should I speak of foolish and ignorant writers, seeing that Ovid would not, that he that intendeth to fly unchaste manners should once touch the most witty and well learned poets of the Greeks and Latins that write of love? What can be told more pleasant, more sweet, more quick, more profitable, with all manner of learning than these poets, Callimachus, Phileta, Anacreon, Sappho, Tibullus, Propertius, and Gallus? Which poets all Greece, all Italy, yea, and all the world setteth great price by, and yet Ovid biddeth chaste folks let them alone, saying in second book of the Remedies of Love:

Though I be loath, yet will I say,
   With wanton poets thou do not mell.¹
Ah! mine own virtues now I cast away.
   Beware Callimachus, for he teacheth well

¹ Meddle.
THE MAID'S READING

To love and Cous also well as he.
And old Anacreon writeth full wantonly,
And Sappho eke often hath caused me
To deal with my lady more liberally.
Who can escape free, that readeth Tibullus,
Or Propertius, when he doth sing
Unto his lady Cynthia? Or else Gallus?
And my books also sound such like thing.

They sound so indeed, and therefore was he banished, nothing without a cause of that good prince. Wherefore I praise greatly the sad manners either of that time, or else of that prince. But we live now in a Christian country, and who is he that is anything displeased with makers of such books nowadays? Plato casteth out of the commonwealth of wise men which he made, Homer and Hesiod the poets, and yet have they none ill thing in comparison unto Ovid's books of Love, which we read and carry them in our hands, and learn them by heart, yea, and some schoolmasters teach them to their scholars, and some make expositions and expound the vices. Augustus banished Ovid himself, and think you then that he would have kept these expositors in the country? Except a man would reckon it a worse deed to write vice than to expound it, and inform the tender minds of young folk therewith. We banish him that maketh false weights and measures, and [him] that counterfeiteth coin, or an instrument, and what a work is made in these things for small matters! But he is had in honour, and [ac]counted a master of wisdom, that corrupteth the young people. Therefore a woman should beware of all these books, like as of serpents or snakes. And if there be any woman that hath such delight in these books, that she will not leave them out of her hands, she should not onely be kept from them, but
also, if she read good books with an ill will and loath thereto, her father and friends should provide that she may be kept from all reading, and so by disuse, forget learning, if it can be done. For it is better to lack a good thing than to use it ill. Nor a good woman will take no such thing in hand, nor [de]file her mouth with them, and as much as she can she will go about to make other[s] as like herself as she may, both by doing well and by teaching well; and also as far as she may rule by commanding and charging.

Now what books ought to be read, everybody knoweth, as the Gospels and the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles and the Old Testament, St. Jerome, St. Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, Gregory, Plato, Cicero, Seneca and such other[s].

But as touching some, wise and learned men must be asked counsel of in them. Nor the woman ought not to follow her own judgment, lest when she hath but a light entering in learning, she should take false for true, hurtful instead of wholesome, foolish and peevish for learned and wise. She shall find in such books as are worthy to be read, all things more witty and full of greater pleasure, and more sure to trust unto, which shall both profit the life, and marvellously delight the mind. Therefore on holidays continually, and sometimes on working days, let her read or hear such as shall lift up the mind to God, and set it in a Christian quietness, and make the living better. Also it should be best before she go to Church, to read at home the Gospel and the Epistle of the day, and with

1 Cf. this list with that given in the De Ratione Studii Puerilis, p. 147 infra.

2 The 1540 and 1557 editions have “Mass,” but the 1592 edition changes “Mass” to “Church.”
it some exposition, if she have any. Now when thou comest from church and hast overlooked thy house, as much as pertaineth unto thy charge, read with a quiet mind some of these [writers] that I have spoken of, if thou canst read; if not, hear; and on some working days, do likewise, if thou be not letted\(^1\) with some necessary business in thy house, and thou have books at hand, and specially if there be any long space between the holy days. For think not that holy days be ordained of the Church to play on, and to sit idle, and talk with thy gossips, but unto the intent that then thou mayest more intentively, and with a more quiet mind, think of God, and this life of ours, and the life in heaven, that is to come.

[Chapter VI.—Of Virginity.]
[Chapter VII. — Of the Keeping of Virginity and Chastity.]

CHAPTER VIII.—OF THE ORDERING OF THE BODY IN A VIRGIN.

For as much as some things that be in the mind come of the reason and complexion of the body, therefore must we speak some thing of the ordering of the body of a virgin. First of all methinks it is to be told their father and mother, as Aristotle doth bid in his History of Beasts,\(^2\) that they keep their daughters, specially when they begin to grow from child's estate, and hold them from men's company.\(^3\) Also the maidens should keep

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\(^1\) Hindered.  \(^2\) I.e., *Historia Animalium*.  \(^3\) Vives does not believe in co education.
themselves, both at all other, and at that time specially, from either hearing or seeing, or yet thinking any foul thing, which thing she shall labour to do. Nevertheless at other times, too, and unto the time that they be married, much fasting shall be good, which doth not feeble the body, but bridle it and press it down, and quench the heat of youth. For these be onely the very and holy fasts. Let their meat be mean and easy to get, neither hot of itself nor spiced with spices, nor delicate. And they ought to remember, that our first mother for meat was cast out of Paradise. And many young women that had been used to delicate meats, when they had not them at home have gone forth from home and jeopardized their honesty. Let their drink be the drink prepared of nature, that is, clean water.

Valerius Maximus (Book ii., Chapter I.) saith that wine was unknown unto women of Rome in old time, lest they should fall into any shame. But if their stomach will not bear water, give them some ale or beer, or small wine, as shall be sufficient to digest their meat, and not inflame their bodies. This also shall keep better their health. I have read in an epistle of St. Jerome unto Furia in this manner. Physicians and such as write the natures of men's bodies, and specially Galen in the Book of Health saith that the bodies of children and young men, and those that be in lusty age, both men and women, be very hot of natural heat, and that all meats that increase heat, be very noisome for them, and

1 *Very—i.e., the Latin verus, true.*
2 *Moderate.*
3 *"Meat" is food generally. This must be borne in mind all through the chapter, and, indeed, throughout the book.*
4 *To this effect.*
5 *De Sanitate Tuenda, translated from Greek into Latin by Thomas Linacre in 1517.*
that it is very good for them to use all cold things in meats and drinks. As in contrary wise unto old men and such as be full of phlegm and cold, hot meats and old wine be best. Wherefore our Saviour saith: Take you heed to yourselves that your hearts be not overcome with surfeit and drunkenness and the cares of this life.1 And the Apostle saith: Wine wherein is excess.2 Neither it is wonder that he that made the vessel did perceive this by the vessel that he made. Where Terence, whose intent was to describe and show the conditions of the world, said thus: Without meat and drink courage waxeth cold. Therefore first if thy stomach be strong enough, take water in thy wine or drink until thy maid's years be past, and such water as is most cold. And if thou mayest not for feebleness, mingle it as Timothy did, with a little wine for thy stomach and weakness. Then in meat eschew all hot things. I speak not only of flesh, whereof the vessel of election St. Paul speaketh this sentence, saying: It is good to eat no flesh nor drink no wine,3 but also of pulse, all those that be full of wind and heavy [should] be eschewed. And a little before, what needeth it us for to boast our chastity, which without it have all beside that appertaineth, as abstinence and small fare, it cannot bring proof of itself. The Apostle wearrieth his body, and subdueth it unto the commandment of the mind, lest he should not keep that himself which he biddeth other to do. Then how can a young woman that hath a body hot with meat be sure of herself? Nor I condemn not with these words meats that God hath ordained to use with giving of thanks. But I take from young men and maidens

1 St. Luke xxi. 34.
2 Eph. v. 18.
3 Rom. xiv. 21.
the kindling of lust. For neither the burning Etna, nor the country of Vulcan, nor Vesuvius, nor yet Olympus boileth with such heat as the bodies of young folk inflamed with wine and delicate meats do. All this have I brought in of St. Jerome, that you might know what things that master of chastity did teach: which writing unto Salvina [said he] had leaver jeopard the health of the body than the soul, saying: It is better that the stomach ache than the mind, and to rule the body than to do it service and stagger in going\(^1\) than in chastity. The most holy man, Gregorius Nazianzenus, that was St. Jerome’s master, would that his maid should allay her hunger with bread and quench her thirst with water. Hilarius the Hermit, when he lived in wilderness with small food, scantily preserving the life, and yet felt himself divers times pricked with the bodily lust, he wearied his body with fasting, saying: I shall tame the concupiscence, to make thee think upon thy meat, and not upon thy pleasure. And this say the disciples of Christ, the fellows of St. Paul, being given unto sober and chaste religion, as who knew, that the nourishments of holy men sent by the grace of God, were but simple and small to content nature, without any pleasures. Elisha nourished himself and the children of the prophets with wild herbs,\(^2\) and he biddeth, make sweet the bitter meat with flour, and not with sugar. And he commanded the soldiers in Samaria, of whom he had put out the eyes, to be fed with bread and water. John the Baptist, that was chosen the Shewer of Christ and the light to come, was fed in the desert with locusts and wild honey.\(^3\) Habakkuk carried the meat of the reapers unto Daniel in Babylon, which was bread baked under the

\(^1\) *I.c.*, in walking.
\(^2\) 4 Kings iv. 5.
\(^3\) Matt. iv.
ashes,\(^1\) and a cup of water was sent to Elias from heaven to refresh him with, and yet might God have sent from heaven partridges and pheasants and capons and march-pains\(^2\) as well as bread, but holy folks need nourishment to hold the soul in the body, and not to drown it with. What say philosophers and the masters of worldly wisdom? All speak of meat that is easy to get, to keep the mind sober and the body chaste.

Socrates, the father of philosophy, did get by sober diet that he was never infected with any sore or jeopardous sickness. Also Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that Seneca the philosopher in all his riches fed himself with fruit and water, and therefore his body was brought so low, that when his veins were opened, there would almost no blood run out. How trow you that Xenocrates lived, which when his scholars had brought him a goodly queen, Phryne, and he was much provoked of her unto lust, yet he was not moved? Plato in his Laws, forbiddeth young men wine. Cicero in his Offices\(^3\) would have all the living and array of the body to be taken to the health and strength and not for pleasure. And he saith also if we would consider what excellence and dignity is in the nature of man we should understand how great shame it is to waste it away riotously, and to lead the life delicately and deliciously: and how honest it is to live chastely, soberly, sadly\(^4\) and measurably. This saith Cicero. Also Ovid giving Remedy of Love biddeth them that shall live chastely also to live temperately, and eschew such meat as moveth the body to lust, and wines especially, and to bring such to the table as refrain the lust of the body. When I speak

\(^1\) Dan. xiv.  
\(^2\) Sweetmeats, marzipans.  
\(^3\) De Officiis.  
\(^4\) Earnestly.
of hot meats, I would be understood in such exercises also that heat the body, and of ointments, spices, talking, and also sight of men. For all these be hurtful unto the chastity: for they fire the mind with jeopardous heat. Nor let not your bed be very soft, but clean. The which thing also is to be regarded in clothes, that they be not over delicate, but without filth and without spot, and lightly the mind rejoiceth in the cleanliness of the body. And again, a dainty and delicate mind delighteth in silks and costly clothes, and whatsoever is not such, it counteth most hard and grievous. Gregorius Nazianzenus forbiddeth maids to wear gold and pearl. What folly it is to think that these words of our Saviour Christ [Ecce qui molli-
bus vestiuntur, in domibus regum sunt,¹ that is to say: Lo, they that be clothed in delicate clothes be in kings' houses] should be understood on this wise, that those which be in the company of Christian kings, should be clothed with fine and costly clothing. Christ's faith knoweth no Courts, nor Kings, in the which Court we hear these words: Kings of the Gentiles have dominion over them, and they that have power upon them be called beneficial, but you shall not be so, but let the most of you be as the least, and the master as a minister.² Christ's faith is holy and sad,³ and as the yoke of it is easy, pleasant and sweet unto the soul, and wherein the soul findeth rest, so is it heavy and painful unto the pleasures of the body.

Nor let not a maid sleep over long, and yet sufficient for her health; the which we provide for on this wise, that they shall fare better that follow this sober diet of ours than they that follow pleasures and delicacies;

¹ Matt. xi. 8. ² Luke xxii. 25. ³ Serious, earnest.
unto which pleasures whoso is given, we see be pale and consumed. And beside all this, is some labour to be given and some occupation, meet for a virgin, as I have rehearsed.\(^1\) For the Devil's subtlety never cometh more sooner than in idleness. Nor Venus never useth her crafts more readily in any other cases, and that not only in women but also in men, which be more steadfast and constant. Ovid, the craftsman of handling love, determineth that Egisthus set his mind to defile Clytemnestra, the wife of King Agamemnon, and to kill Agamemnon himself for none other cause but because he was slothful. Therefore in the *Remedies of Love*, that is one of the chief precepts, that the dart of Cupid take us not idle. For he saith:

If thou wilt banish idleness,
   Cupid's bows on thee shall have no might;
   And also his hot firebrands
   Shall lie quenched, devoid of light.\(^2\)

St. Jerome counselleth the holy virgin Demetrias to eschew idleness. And therefore when she hath done her prayers, to go in hand with wool and weaving, that by such change of works the days seem not long. Nor he bade not that she should work because that she was in any poverty,\(^3\) which was one of the most noble women in Rome, and richest; but that, by the occasion of working, she should think on nothing but such as pertaineth unto the service of our Lord. Which place he endeth in this wise. I will speak generally: nothing shall be specially precious in Christ's sight, but it that thou makest thyself, either for thine own use, or ensample of other virgins, or to give unto thy grandmother, or thy mother,

\(^1\) See p. 44. \(^2\) *Ars Amandi*. \(^3\) Cf. Rousseau and modern educationists.
no not though thou deal all thy goods unto poor folks. And verily so it is, for she that will be idle, or also given to play, and passing of her life in pleasures, is not worthy to have her meat in the Church of Christ: in the which St. Paul the greatest preacher of Christ cryeth and pronounceth as a law: Who that laboureth not, let him not eat. This is the common pain of mankind, given unto them for the first offence of our ancient father Adam: Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face. And doubtless those that be subject unto this general pain, when they offend and sin no less than other[s], they shall have another pain, either sorer, or else no less. Now seeing that I have bidden that women's minds should be occupied, either with work or else holy study and communication, lest they fall into vice by idleness, what should we think by them that play at Cards or Dice,¹ which manner of pastime, when it is foul in a man, in a woman it is to be abhorred.

What can a woman learn, or think, playing at the Dice? The mind must needs be altered and turned all to covetousness, that is of itself inclined thereunto,² and after fall to perjury, for greediness of money. Also, on the other side, if men be there, she shall hear many things uncomely for a woman to hear. What a foul thing it is, to see a woman instead of her wool basket, to handle the table-board;³ for her spindle, the Dice; for her clue or prayer book, to turn the Cards. There is no

¹ Vives has a dialogue on Card-playing, and a further dialogue on the Laws of Playing—laying down the legitimate limits to innocent play in his Colloquies. See Tudor School Boy Life (edited by Foster Watson), pp. 185-209.
² By its original depravity inherited through Adam.
³ I.e., the dicing-board.
⁴ For, instead of.
wise man, but he had leaver see her idle than so occupied. Nor there is no wise man but he will curse\(^1\) both her that learneth such things and him that taught it her, and them that suffered them.

**Chapter IX.—Of the Raiments.**

It seemeth to appertain unto the same place to entreat of the other ornaments of the body: First, of painting. Verily I would fain know, what the maiden meaneth that painteth herself. If it be to please herself, it is a vain thing. If it be to please Christ, it is a folly; if it be to delight men, it is an ungracious deed. Thou hast but one spouse, and to please him, make thy soul gay with virtue, and he shall kiss thee for thy beauty. But peradventure thou seekest some man to be thy spouse, and wouldest please him with painting. First, I shall shew thee how foolish a thing it is, and then how ungracious. Methink it much like, if thou wilt go about to win them with painting, as thou wouldest entice or attempt him with a visor: whom when thy visor is once off, thou shalt make as much to loath thee, as thou madest to like thee, when it was on. Thou art but in ill case, if thou have nothing else to please him with, that shall be thy husband, but only painting. How shalt thou please him when thou lackest thy painting, except thou wilt never wash out that crust, but go so with a crust of painting to bed, and so rise, and be so within and abroad among folks. And moreover, what a pain is it to intend that painting for any body and not

\(^1\) *Curse* has strengthened in meaning. *Hyrde* means by it our "upbraid."
only to keep it whole still! What a shame is it, if any water by chance light on it, or the painting fortune to melt by occasion of sweat or heat, and shew the very skin, there can nothing be more filthy to see to.

And who, I pray you, will count them to be fair, that he knoweth to be slubbered with painting, and not rather the fouler? They lose all the honour of beauty, when they be painted. For all the beauty that there is, is counted to be in the painting. And also the tender skin will ryvill the more soon, and all the favour of the face waxeth old and the breath stinketh, and the teeth rust, and an evil air all the body over, both by the reason of the ceruse and quicksilver, and specially by reason of the soaps, wherewith they prepare the body, as it were a table, against the painting on the next day. Wherefore Ovid called these doings venomous, and not without a cause. Also Juvenal asketh a question properly: She that is with so many ointments slubbered and starched, is it to be called a face or a sore? The which things I would more largely entreat, but that I am born in that city, where as the women have a vile name for this thing, and in my mind, not without a cause. I will rebuke mine own country, which is to me the most dear, that for shame it may leave. Now if thou canst not else be married, it is better never to marry than to offend Christ for it, and be married to some foolish man, that shall have more delight in thy painting than in thyself. For what hope canst thou have in that man that hath more delight in a crust of white ceruse than in an honest

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1 Real.  
2 Look upon.  
3 Ravel, or fray out.  
4 White lead—used as a white paint for the skin. Slab, plate, panel.
woman? God hath given thee a face after the image of his Son; nor he hath not given it naked. For he hath inspired the spirit of life that the image of his life, and all thine may appear in it. Why, then, dost thou overcover it with dirt and mire? The Apostle Paul biddeth a man not to cover his head, because it is the image of God. What will he say of the image of God in a woman's face, so [de]filed with that mire?

And because no man shall reckon it as a bourd, St. Jerome against Helvidius writeth in this wise: She that is painted by a glass, and in despite of him that made her, she goeth about to be fairer than she is born. And unto Furia: What doth purpurice or ceruse in a Christian body's face, of whom the one counterfeiteth the rudde of precious stones in the lips, the other whiteness of face and neck, which is a fire unto young men. How can she weep for her sin, that must bare her skin therewith, and furrow her face? This apparel is not the covering of our Lord; it is the cover of Antichrist. How dare she lift up toward heaven that face that her Maker will not know? This saith St. Jerome. Now hear the holy martyr St. Cyprian: Exceeding gay apparel and clothing do not agree but for harlots and common women: nor none hath lightly more precious apparel than they that set no price by their honesty and goodness. And in the Scripture that God would have us instruct withal and taught, the city is described an harlot, picked and apparrayed goodly, that shall perish together with her apparel, and specially because of her apparel. Now

1 Breathed in.  
2 Idle tale, jest.  
3 As we have ruddiness—i.e., the red. Hyrde uses "ruddiness" a little lower.  
4 St. Cyprian, Tract 2, De Habitu Virginum.  
5 Instructed in.
what a madness it is to delight in that which ever hath
done hurt and hurteth still, and to ween that thou shalt
not perish because of that whereby thou knowest that
other[\textit{s}] have perished. For God made neither purple
nor crimson sheep, nor taught to dye with the juice of
herbs, neither fine silks embroidered with gold, pearls or
precious stones to hide the neck in, which he made, and
to hide that which God made in man, and shew that
which the Devil hath found out and his damned angels,
when they fell from the heavenly virtue unto the earthly
contagiousness. Then they taught to paint the black
of eyes, and ruddiness of cheeks and alter the natural
colour of the hairs and visage. And verily methink
that for the dread that our faith teacheth us and for the
love that brotherhood requireth not only maids, but
also widows and wives to be warned, yea, and all women
in general that the work of God ought not to be defiled
with yellow or black or red colours laid on it. For God
said: Let us make man after our own image and like-
ness. Now then, how dare any be so bold to change
that which God hath made? For they lay violent hand
on God himself, when they go about to reform and change
that which he hath made, not knowing that all things
natural are the work of God, and all that is by altera-
tion is the work of the Devil; as if a cunning painter
had painted any body's picture cunningly, expressing
both the form and qualities of the body; then if another
come and laid to his hand as though he would amend it,
should not he greatly dismay and offend the first work-
man? Then weenest thou to escape unpunished that
offendest God, the workman of thy body? Thy Lord
saith: Thou canst not make one white hair or black.
And thinkest thou thyself able to overcome the word of
thy Lord? Thou dyest thy hair by a bold presumption and ungracious contempt, and aforehand thou signifiest thy hair to be flamed, and ungodly sinnest with the better part of thee, that is thy head. These be St. Cyprian's words. Also after these precepts of Christian men, I am ashamed to rehearse aught out of pagans. I will lay to only one of the most wise men, Lycurgus, the maker of the laws of the Spartans, which when he would have women of his country to be regarded by their virtue, and not their ornaments, he banished out of the country, by the law, all painting, and commanded out of the town all crafty men of picking and apparelling. Our Lord sheweth by Hosea the prophet, that the woman which fell into adultery, appareled herself with ouches and brooches, that she might go wait upon men, and not her Lord. And if thou apparell thyself for God and good folks thou art fair enough, when thou art good, but thou canst not please the Devil and ill people, except thou [di]minish much of thy natural fairness, what should all that gold do to be worn, as though thou wouldst shew how strong thou art, that canst bear so much weight? Weenest thou to seem fairer, nobler, or wiser, if thou have so much metal upon thee? Nay, never a whit! What then? Thou wilt say peradventure, I shall seem the richer. O vainness of mind! Is that a thought or a saying of a Christian mind? Thou carriest so much gold about thy neck that doth no good, when thou deniest a half penny unto them that have need and be an hungered, and robbest thy neighbours and peradventure thy household, thy children and thy husband, that the beams of gold and precious stones shining may dare the eyes of

1 Add.  
2 Adorning, tricking out.  
3 Buckles, clasps, brooches.
them that behold thee. Is this Christian charity? Didst thou swear this in thy baptism, when thou saidst that thou forsookest the Devil and all his pomp? And yet what pomp of Satan is there but thou usest it more superfluously than doth any pagan? Look well on thyself: Thou shalt find thyself one of Satan's officers, that usest at home so many chosen meats at the full, bulking\(^1\) out capons, partridges, pheasants, delicate cakes, potages, sauces, sops, and all costly, among so many of thy poor neighbours that die for hunger, thou that livest in pleasures among so many labours and pains of thy neighbours, thou that goest in silks and fine garments amongst so many naked, thou that art so goodly to see to\(^2\) amongst so many beggars;\(^3\) art thou the disciple of poor Christ, of\(^4\) that fashion? Nay, nay, thou art rather the disciple of rich Pluto. I would not thou shouldst go bare necked, nor I would not have thee too exceedingly covered, to make a show of it. Follow Christ, by whom thou hast pleasure to be named. Follow his sober and measurable mother,\(^5\) whose outward garment was coarse cloth and easy to get, and her inner clothing, that is to say, her heart and mind, gilded with gold, and set with precious stones. Thou canst not be gold of both parts. Choose which thou wilt have, thy body or thy soul golden. I cannot rehearse all that [be]longeth to this matter, yet will I speak of smells.\(^6\) A Christian mind

\(^1\) Laying in heaps.  
\(^2\) To look at.  
\(^3\) Vives was greatly exercised about the poverty of his times, and wrote the first modern book on the subject, the *De Subventione Pauperum*, 1526, advocating national and municipal State organization of provision for the poor.  
\(^4\) In.  
\(^5\) The 1540 edition has, further, “whom men now honour as their lady, and devils dread, and saints worship.”  
\(^6\) *I.e.*, perfumes.
doth not praise uncleanliness and stink, for Mary Magdalen poured upon the head of our Lord ointment of precious spike, whereof all the house smelled, nor that was not unpleasant to our Lord; but these superfluous savours and foments of the body, which the more it is cherished, the more it riseth and rebelleth against the soul, and like a tyrant ruleth all the man, and draweth all to vile fantasy,¹ where the seat is of his delicateness. St. Jerome writeth to Demetrias the virgin: Let a maid avoid, as a mischief or poison of chastity, young men with heads bushed and trimmed, and sweet smelling skins of outlandish myse [mice],² wherefore this saying of the poet Arbiter was spoken.

He is not like to savor well
that ever hath a good smell.

A like saying hath Martial:

I had leaver have no smell
than to savour ever well.

And Plautus saith, A woman ever smelleth best when she smelleth of nothing. But here peradventure some dangerous dame would answer that with her quick answers hath gotten a name of wisdom: We must do some thing for our birth and gentle blood and possessions. But what art thou that so sayest, a Christian or a pagan? If thou be a pagan, I will not argue with thee; if thou be a Christian woman, weet [know] thou well, thou proud woman, that Christ knoweth no such difference that is a point of devilish pride, and not of a Christian mind. Seest thou not, how that is none apparel, but feeding of thy pride? It is an old saying and a true: No beast is prouder than a woman well apparelled.

¹ Delusive imagination.    ² "Mouse" was used for "ermine."
Then wilt thou say, we must needs do some things for the use of\(^1\) the world and customs. Now would I know, whose custom must be followed, if thou name me wise men I grant; if thou say of fools why should they be followed? And Quintilian saith, The agreement and consent of good folks ought to be called an use.\(^2\) Peradventure there is an evil custom brought up, be thou the first to lay it down, and thou shalt have the praise of it, and other\([s]\) shall follow thine ensample. And as the evil ensample is brought in of ill folks and established, so of good folks it shall be put away, and good brought up. Then if we must ever follow the customs of the world, we shall never amend, but ever wax worse, for then shall one find an ill use, and none may put it away. Now whose is that custom that thou talkest of, and of whom was it taken? Of pagan women. Why do not we then keep still our pagan's law? For if thou list to be called Christian, use manners according thereunto. She is a pagan, and knoweth not God, nor the temperance of living, and thou that knowest God, and art christened, what dost thou more than she? What meantest thou by that, that thou renouncedst Satan, with all his pomp, when thou dost not onely match the pagan in Satan's pomp, but also passest her? Nor yet thou followest not those sad and holy pagans, but the most lewd and light and full of riot, vice and mischief. Nor yet thou followest not the women of Sparta, that were so honest, whose Queen, the wife of Lysander, and her daughters, when Dionysius the King of Syracuse sent them rich robes, they answered and said: They shall do us more shame than honour. Nor thou followest not the women of Rome that were in

\(^1\) On account of the habits of.  
\(^2\) Custom.
old time, unto whom when King Pyrrhus sent his ambassador with silver and gold and kerchiefs of silk, there was none so desirous or greedy of apparel, or so unthriftily minded to take any. Quinta Claudia, a religious virgin, was reputed for an evil woman, because she used to wear gay raiment. There was in Rome after the second war against the Carthaginians, a law called Oppian (Lex Oppia) that no woman should wear over half an ounce of gold, nor wear no divers coloured clothing. Which law endured until the great outrageous superfluity came into that city, when women came running forth as if they had been mad, asking a licence to wear what they list.

But Marcus Cato, that great wise man, gave counsel contrary, with an oration full of wisdom, and two tribunes spake for them, whose foolish and feeble orations be rehearsed in Livy the historiographer. But the women overcame with their importunity that the bridle of their pride might be let slip, that they might do what they lust, whereof what hurt should come, Cato told before, and as in many of his other sayings, likewise in that he was a true prophet. For what man can tell how great a loss is of chastity, caused by this striving for apparel, when every one is ashamed to be overcome of her fellow in raiment. And when they be trimmed and decked, then desire they to go forth among men to show themselves. And therein is the shipwreck of chastity. Plutarch saith that it is a custom in Egypt that women should wear no shoes, because they should abide at home. Likewise, if thou take from women silk, and cloth of gold and silver, precious stones, and gems, thou shalt the more easily keep them at home. Also he rehearseth two sentences, the one of Sophocles the poet, and the other of Crates
the philosopher. Sophocles speaketh of rich ornaments thus: That is none ornament, thou wretch, but a shame, and a manifest show of thy folly. Crates saith: That is an ornament which exalteth, and a woman is exalted with that which maketh her more honest. But that doth neither gold, nor pearl, nor purple but such things as be signs of gravity, soberness, and chastity. Democrates saith, that the decking of a woman standeth in scarcity of speech and apparel. In which opinion Sophocles is. And among the Greeks, this was a common saying, and in a manner of a proverb: The decking of a woman is not of gold but conditions. Also Aristotle, the most wise philosopher, biddeth women use less apparel than the law suffereth, and he biddeth them consider, that neither the goodliness of apparel, nor the excellency of beauty, nor the abundance of gold is of so great estimation in a woman, as is measurableness and diligence to live well and honestly in all things. And of the same opinion be the other wise men of the pagans, that a Christian woman may be ashamed to follow pagans, not those sage and wise men, nor those virtuous and honest women, but the error of fools and ensample of mad women. And I confess that I cannot tell what honest colour women may lay for their apparel, but only that they may seem fairer, and entice men, which were a shame, yea for gentiles. Therefore thou both servest thy pride, and settest the Devil's nets in thy body to catch withal the souls of them that behold thee, thou woman, not a Christian, but the minister of the Devil, the fell threatening of our Lord displeased with thee, shall be pronounced upon thee, saying by

1 Worthy of honour.  
2 Economy.  
3 Of her natural disposition.  
4 Heathen.
Esaias the prophet: Our Lord hath made bald the heads of the daughters of Sion, and instead of ornament they shall have shame, and for their shoes, and slippers, and chains, precious stones, pomanders, glasses and sweet savours, they shall have stink; and for their girdles they shall have ropes; and for their crisp hair, they shall have bald pates. These words our Lord said of women. And this holy martyr Cyprian saith: There be some rich women and abundant in goods, which bear their treasure on them, and say they must use their goods. First let them know that she is rich that is rich in God, and she is abundant in possessions that is abundant in Christ, and those be good that be spiritual, divine and heavenly, which shall abide with us in perpetual possession. But and thou array thy body sumptuously, and go gaily forth abroad, and entice the eyes of them that behold thee, and draw the sight of young men after thee, and kindle the smell of sin, in so much that though thou perish not thyself, yet thou shalt cause others to perish, and make thyself as a poisoner and a sword unto them that see thee, thou canst not be excused as chaste in mind. Thine evil and unchaste raiment shall reprove thee, neither canst thou be counted amongst maidens and virgins of Christ, that so livest that men shall love thee inordinately.

Thou boastest thy possessions and virginity, but a virgin should not boast her riches, seeing that the Holy Scripture saith: What hath pride availed us? Or what good hath the boast of riches done us? All they be passed as a shadow. Thou sayest thou art rich, and thinkest that thou must use those that God would thou shouldst have. Use them; why not? But yet in good-

\[1\] But if.
ness and good ways, use them in such things as God commanded and as our Lord taught. Let them feel thy riches that have need. Let them know thee to be of power. Get winnings unto Christ of thy patrimony. Feed God. This saith the Martyr, St. Cyprian. Which things are a great deal better for a Christian woman to know and do, than that the pagans do, and it were meet for them to take heed unto the philosophers, and not to follow the deeds of fools, and apply unto the fantasies of mad folks, except we would spend our life madly and foolishly.

But here some man would say: What, wouldst thou have women to be filthy and sluttish? Nay, verily, I would not have them so, nor my precepts be not so unclean, nor I like not sluttishness. And what manner a ones they should be, St. Peter and St. Paul, two defenders of the Church, teach in two short precepts. St. Peter saith: Let not the outward apparel of women be decked with the braiding of her hair, nor with wrapping of gold about it, or goodly clothing, but the mind and the conscience, that is not seen with eyes, if it be pure and quiet, that is a goodly thing, and excellent afore God. And St. Paul saith: Women in their array should apparel themselves with shamefastness and soberness and not with braids of their hairs, or gold, or pearls, or precious clothing, but as women ought to do, let them show virtue by good works. When the Apostles say these words, they bid not women be sluttish and slubbered, nor foul with dirt and clouts, but they counsel them from superfluous raiment, and will them to use mean clothing, and such as is easy to come by. For measurableness hath his cleanness, and that far more pure than

1 Of persons. 2 Away from, against.
the great excess hath, as it is more easy to keep a little vessel than a great many. Let her not be clothed with velvet, but with woollen; nor with silk but linen, and that coarse. Let not her raiment shine. Let it not be sluttish. Let it not to be wondered on, nor let it be to be loathed. As for the wearing of gold or silver, pearl or precious stones, I see not what it is good for, saving that the virtue of some stones is more set by than the show, as coral or emerald, if at least ways, those little things have so much virtue in them as men say, but now mo[re] seek them for vanity that they may seem more rich, than for the virtue.

Nor let her not paint nor anoint her face, but wash it, and make it clean; nor dye her hair, but comb it cleanly, nor suffer her head to be full of scurf. Nor let her not delight to wash it in sweet savours, nor to keep it stinking,¹ nor look in a glass to paint her[self], or trim her gaily by, but to have away² if any foul thing or uncomely be on her head that she could not else see, and then let her array herself thereby, lest anything be in her face to defile her, being else chaste³ and sober.

Finally, that which Socrates bade his scholars, let her think spoken to her, too, that they should look them in a glass, and if they were fair that they should see lest the mind were foul. And if they were foul that with the beauty of the mind they should counterpoise the deformity of body.

Moreover, let an honest maid remember still⁴ that beauty hath brought many of them that have had it

¹ It is obvious how this word has intensified in meaning since Hyrde's time.
² Put away; take off.
³ Here means clean.
⁴ Constantly.
into great pride, and many of them that have seen it into abominable sin. Wherefore many holy women have laboured to seem less fair than they were. As for this needeth not to bid,\(^1\) I suppose, that a woman shall use no man's raiment, else let her think she hath the man's stomach,\(^2\) but take heed to the words of our Lord, saying: A woman shall not put on man's apparel, for to do so is abominable before God. But I trust no woman will do it, except she be past both honesty and shame.

Chapter X.—Of the Living alone of a Virgin.

Holy writers say that death goeth into the soul by the senses of the body like windows, except a man be wisely wary. Folks be tolled\(^3\) and enticed with the pleasures of the world, wherewith also the soul is caught and holden. Therefore a maid should go but seldom abroad, because she hath small business forth, and standeth ever in jeopardy. And let her wait upon her mother, not onely when she goeth forth, but also at home, which thing their mothers must also be charged with. St. Jerome counselleth Laeta that when she goeth to her manor place in the country, she do not leave her daughter in her house within the city; let her not live without you, saith he. And when she is alone, let her fear. Which saying I would have thus understood, that the mother should take the daughter away with her, if she tarry any while. For else it is no need to take her daughter with her, as often as she goeth forth, and specially if she go to any feasts, or marriages,

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\(^1\) Require, demand.  
\(^2\) Courage.  
\(^3\) Drawn, allured.
or meetings of men, or any other like place, that she must go to, or to fulfil her husband's pleasure, where it is not meet for her daughter to go—and let there be at home some good woman keeper of her chastity.\(^1\) For there is no greater mischief than that that is bred at home nor more jeopardous. How shalt thou avoid that, unless thou eschew it utterly. What availeth it to save the wood from all harm, when there is a worm within it that eateth.

[Vives then tells a story of a "good" woman who allowed her son to misbehave himself with some girls who were in her charge, because she was too "tender" towards her son even to "correct"—\(i.e.,\) punish him for it. The "good woman"—chaperone as we should say—must not be such as could be "hired of a lover." This is, says Vives, "a devilish thing." From such women the maid must flee as from "cockatrices."\(^2\)

Therefore let the maid flee [from such woman] unto her mother as unto a sanctuary and show unto her what that ungracious body would have done, or else so avoid and keep herself from her, that they that see it may perceive by her cheer\(^2\) that she feareth the mischievousness of that woman, and so she shall do herself good with the deed, and other[s] with her example, when she showeth other maids, what they ought to fear in that woman.

[After advising the maid to show no favouritism to the servants of the house and that care should be exercised in their appointment, so that by choice, those who are "sad,\(^3\) pale and untrimmed" should be appointed, Vives continues :]

\(^1\) This word is often with Hyrde equivalent to the modern "modesty."

\(^2\) Countenance.

\(^3\) Serious.
The maid that will do by my counsel shall pass the time with chosen virgins like herself, and in good pastimes, and other whiles with holy reading or communication of such things as she hath read. But let her talk nothing of dancing, or feasting, or pleasures, lest her companions be moved with some false colour of delight. Nor let no man be by. And when she is left of her fellows alone in her chamber, let her not be utterly idle, for it is jeopardous to be idle, especially being alone. Nor I would she should suffer her mind to muse; though it be never so good and holy at the beginning. A woman’s mind is unstable and abideth not long in one place. It falleth from the good to bad without any labour. And Syrus the poet seemeth not all without a cause to have said: A woman that thinketh alone, thinketh evil. Nor Mary Magdalen, which sat at the foot of our Lord and heard his word, did not only use the contemplation of heavenly things, but she did that, whether she read, or heard or prayed. And so shall, by my advice, not onely a maid, but also any woman. For in many places of this book we give precepts for all women in general. Therefore on the holy day, let her either read or pray, when she is alone; and on the working days likewise, or else let her work. And it is no doubt but the angel found Mary doing some such thing, which was afraid when she saw a man’s face, where she was not wont. Therefore she is called in Hebrew Alma, that is as ye would say, a virgin closed in. Therefore shall the maid let no man into the house at home, but whom her father by special words commandeth to be let in. In process of time she shall begin to help to ease her mother of her labour in the house, whom and her father together, she shall have most dear of all things next God. And if they command their
daughter to go in hand with wool or flax, or any handy
work, she shall not onely execute their commandment,
without grudging but also gladly, and with merry cheer,
and that the more diligently and featly, if the father and
mother get any part of their living thereby, and then
shall she think herself happy, and think that she
rewardeth them that she should 1 of duty, and to nourish
them again, that have nourished her.

When a maid may for 2 household business, be alone
and pray, first let her give herself wholly to God, let her
worship Christ, and ask pardon and peace of him, and
then consider herself to be a Christian virgin, Christ's
spouse, and the follower of Mary, and that the virginity
of the body is nought worth except the mind be pure
withal, and if that be, nothing to be more clean, nothing
more pleasant to God, and herself to be the follower of
the most holy. Mother of our Lord.

First of all, let her counterfeit her excellent virtue,
that soberness and humility of mind, which was so great
that when she had all things most goodly and excellent,
yet was she never the more high minded or proud, the most
noble Maid that had of her lineage fourteen Kings and so
many dukes 3 of Israël. Coming of such a noble kin, and
rich, also herself made rich of the wise men, herself most
fair, most wise and well learned, and yet for all that,
how even a mind did she bear, how humble opinion she
had of herself also, knowing of the heavenly birth, being
mother of such a son, yet disdained she not to have a
carpenter to her husband, and to do him service, and to
go see her kinswoman, and to be with her at her labouring,
and serve her. She did set no more by herself than
by any other, nor disdained none other[s] in comparison

1 Ought to do. 2 As far as concerns. 3 Leaders.
to herself, neither for her kin, nor beauty, nor wit, nor dignity, but she thought herself worse than any other.\footnote{The 1540 edition has further: “when she was indeed better than angels, whose Queen she was ordained to be.”} Wherefore I hold not with it that Our Lady should be painted so in silks and golden garments, and decked with gems and pearls, as though she had had any delight in such things, when she was in earth here. Nothing less representeth her; and I had leaver she should be pourtrayed in a simple array, and such as she used indeed, that we might have before our eyes the humility of her mind more plainly, that it might be an ensample to teach rich men, and to comfort the poor, and that poor men's stomachs\footnote{Courage.} may increase and the rich decrease, and both their stomachs be brought to a reasonable mean, and neither the rich man despair, nor that the poor be overbold to trust over much. Therefore by my counsel the maid shall follow her example.

Let woman use no faining nor cloaking to seem good withal, nor let them not think that they can cloke or else change the nature of things. The counterfeit is not like the very thing; the covered and shadowed is feeble and unsure, and shall be at last open and known. Therefore let a young woman be indeed as she showeth, demure, humble, sober, shamefast, chaste, honest and virtuous; both let her seem so, and be so. Let her pray\footnote{The 1540 edition has “unto the holy Virgin whom she shall truly represent.”} that she may truly represent with her living, the holy Virgin, and be therefore the more pleasant unto Christ, that shall acknowledge her his spouse. Let her pray first for herself that she may be increased in virtue, and purpose of her holy chastity and other virtues. Secondly for
her father and mother, brethren, sisters, kinsfolk, and other[s], for whom her duty is to pray. For her prayer shall be most acceptable unto God and most effectual to obtain, because it cometh of a pure and holy mind, and most Christian. I would she should understand what she prayeth, or else speak in that language that she doth understand. Whatsoever she prayeth in Latin, let her get it declared to her in her own tongue before of some body. Nor let her not ween that prayer standeth in the murmuring and wagging of the lips, but in the heart and mind, when she lifteth up her mind from these vile things on earth to heavenly and divine things. And where we be commanded in the holy Communion, where it is said, Sursum corda, which is as much as to say: Lift up your hearts, we answer: Habemus ad Dominum, that is to say: We have them lifted up unto our Lord. In which answer full many lie, that when they say so, think indeed upon some worldly business. But Christ saith that true worshippers be these that worship the Father in spirit, and that this worshipping is most pleasant unto him, and this prayer most acceptable. Therefore let her see that her thought and mind discord not from her words. Let her speak the same within that she speaketh without, yea, and hold her tongue outwardly, and she will, or talk of, other matters, so that she cry unto God inwardly, and say with the spouse: I sleep and my heart waketh.¹

¹ Canticles—i.e., Solomon's Song, chap. v. 2.
Chapter XI.—Of the Virtues of a Woman and Examples of her Life.

[Vives speaks first of the virtues which belong to the holy kind of women. These are summarized under the term "chastity." For like as the wise man is alone rich, free, a king, a citizen, fair, bold and blessed, so she that is chaste is "fair, well-favoured, rich, fruitful, noble, and all best things that can be named, and contrary, she that is unchaste is a sea and treasure of all illness." For, on analysis, chastity includes modesty and soberness, as inseparable to itself.]

For when nature had ordained that our faces should be open and bare of clothes, she gave it the veil of shamefastness, wherewith it should be covered, and that for a great commendation, that whoso did look upon it, should understand some great virtue to be under that cover, nor any man should see it covered with that veil but he should love it; nor any see it naked of that but he should hate it. Of shamefastness cometh demureness and measurableness, that whether she think aught, or say or do, nothing shall be outrageous, neither in passions of mind, nor words nor deeds, nor presumptuous nor nice,\(^1\) nor wanton, pert nor boasting, nor ambitious; and as for honours, she will neither think herself worthy of nor desire them, but rather flee them; and if they chance to her, she will be ashamed of them as of a thing not deserved. Nor [will she] be for nothing high-minded, neither for beauty, nor properness,\(^2\) nor kindred, nor riches, being sure that they shall soon perish, and that pride shall have everlasting pain.

\(^1\) Finicky. \(^2\) Excellence or goodliness of appearance.
Now soberness keepeth continence, like as drunkenness and excess driveth it out. Every man wotteth what followeth surfeit. And unto soberness is joined measurable and slender diet, which things be in householding the woman's part, as Plato and Aristotle say full well. The man getteth, the woman saveth and keepeth. Therefore he hath stomach\(^1\) given him to gather lustily, and she hath it taken away from her, that she may warily keep. And of this soberness of body cometh soberness of mind. Nor the fantasies of the mind shall, as [if] they were drunk, trouble and disease the quietness of virtue, but that she may both think well and do well. Let her apply herself to virtue and be content with a little, and take in worth that she hath, nor seek for other that she hath not, nor for other folks', whereof riseth envy, hate, or curiosity of other folks' matters. The devotion of holy things most agreeth for women. Therefore it is a far worse sight of a woman that abhorreth devotion; she must have much strife with envy, which is both a foolish vice and shameful in women; and yet I wot not how it assaulteth them the most sore, but she that is of good behaviour, and hath enough to serve her with, shall have no cause to envy other[s], nor be curious in any other body's house. And she that is shamefast, sober and reasonable of mind, shall neither be outrageous, angry, nor fall to railing, cruelty, or beastliness. For when\(^2\) it is natural for women to be kind and gentle because they be feeble and need the aid of other[s], who can be content with outrageous ire and cruelty in a woman, insomuch that she should spill that she cannot save, if need were; and to keep her vengeable mind unto time and occasion of revengement?

\(^1\) Enterprise, courage. \(^2\) Since.
[After further observations on the angry, revengeful woman, Vives contrasts with her the chaste woman, with her shamefastness, sobriety, demureness, measure, frugality, parsimony, diligence in house, care of devotion, meekness. Once more he dwells on the subjective side of these qualities, and breaks forth:]

Behold the image of honesty drawn in picture, which is so goodly and excellent of beauty, that if it could be seen with our corporal eyes, as Plato saith, in the book called Phaedo, it would take folks wondrously with the love of itself. Nor no beauty doth so enamour our eyes, and taketh and holdeth, as honesty should both take and lead with her, if she were opened and showed unto us.

[Vives then refers the maid to “hearing and reading holy examples of virgins, and especially to the mother of Christ, for she hath been all things unto all folks, to provoke all and bring them unto the example of her chastity; unto virgins, the most demure virgin; unto wives, the most chaste wife; and unto widows the most devout widow.” After an eloquent appeal to follow her, he pleads: “There hath followed this virgin’s order mighty great companies of our thousands.” Nor is Vives unmindful of the high qualities of womanhood furnished in pagan women. He recites many examples which St. Jerome had described to shame Christians into higher life. Vives, having named pagan examples of virtuous women, asks: “Whereto should I recite here the examples of holy virgins to move them with, that be not ashamed that pagans should be once named? Whom should I specially show them to follow example of among so many thousands: T[h]ecla or Agnes, Catharine, Lucia or Cecilia, Agatha, Barbara, or Margarita or Dorothy, or rather the whole flock of the eleven thousand virgins.” Lastly he addresses the “naughty” women:]

Thou ungracious woman, darest thou name Catharine, Agnes or Barbara and [de]file those holy names with
WOMAN'S VIRTUES

thine impure mouth. Darest thou name thyself by any of those names and make thyself in name like unto them, to whom thou art so unlike in conditions\(^1\) and a very deadly enemy? Nor cometh it not to thy remembrance when thou hearest thyself called, what manner of one she was whose name thou bearest? And when thou rememberest that she was so pure, chaste and good; and again thyself so impure, unchaste, and ungracious, dost not thou rage day and night for thought and repentance? O thou most shameless of all women, how darest thou celebrate\(^2\) the nativity of the most pure virgin, that art thyself unworthy ever to be born? And darest thou show thy shameless face unto her most demure eyes? And wouldest thou have her to look at thee so overcovered with naughtiness, which when she was in this world was never wont to see nor hear no men, not though they were full good? It were better for thee never to come into their sight, lest they avenge on thee the injury of their kind\(^3\) nor to name thyself by their names, lest they punish thee for [de]filing their names. And I speak in earnest, for here is no place to bourd\(^4\) in. There should be made some decree\(^5\) that none unhonest woman should be called Mary. For why, do we not give as much honour unto that name\(^6\) as the pagans give to some of their folks. For in Athens when Hermodius and Aristogiton had banished the tyrants out

\(^1\) Natural qualities of character.
\(^2\) 1540 edition reads "hallow."
\(^3\) Birthright, heritage.
\(^4\) Jest, speak idly.
\(^5\) Vives is a great believer in decrees, following no doubt the example of Plato in the Republic. See p. 58 supra.
\(^6\) 1540 edition reads "whom all we arise and make reverence until."
of the city, there was by decree determined that no bondman or any that occupied any vile craft should be called by their names.

Chapter XII.—How the Maid shall behave herself being Abroad.

Forth she must needs go sometimes but I would it should be as seldom as may be for many causes. Principally, because as often as a maid goeth forth amongst people, so often she cometh in judgment and extreme peril of her beauty, honesty, demureness, wit, shamefastness and virtue. For nothing is more tender than is the fame and estimation of women, nor nothing more in danger of wrong, insomuch that it hath been said, and not without cause, to hang by a cobweb, because those things that I have rehearsed be required perfect in a woman, and folks' judgements be dangerous to please, and suspicious, and as Ovid saith, we be quick enough in believing the [ev]ill. And as Cicero saith: Nothing flieth more swiftly than an [ev]ill word; nothing goeth sooner forth; nothing is sooner taken, nor broader spread, [so] that if a slander once take hold in a maid's name by folks' opinion, it is in a manner everlasting, nor cannot be washed away without great tokens and shows of chastity and wisdom. If thou talk little in company folks think thou canst¹ but little good; if thou speak much they reckon thee light. If thou speak uncunningly, they count thee dull witted; if thou speak cunningly thou shalt be counted but a shrew. If thou answer not quickly thou shalt be called proud or ill

¹ Knowest.
brought up; if thou answer [readily] they shall say thou wilt be soon overcome. If thou sit with demure countenance, thou art called a dissembler. If thou make much moving, they will call thee foolish. If thou look on any side, then will they say, thy mind is there. If thou laugh when any man laugheth, though thou do it not of purpose, straight they will say thou hast a fantasy unto the man and his sayings, and that it were no great mastery to win thee. Whereto should I tell, how much occasion of vice and naughtiness is abroad. Wherefore the poet seemeth to have said not without a cause: It is not lawful for maids to be seen abroad. How much were it better to abide at home, than go forth and hear so many judgments and so diverse, upon thee, and be in so many jeopardies! Nor is there none that had more need to follow this Greek saying: Live unknown. Therefore Thucydides said, she was the best woman of whom was least talk, either unto her praise or dispraise. A woman should be kept close, nor be known of many, for it is a token of no great chastity or good name, to be known of many, or to be songed about in the city in songs, or to be marked or named by any notable mark as, white, lame, goggle-eyed, little, great, fat, maimed or stuttering;¹ these ought not to be known abroad in good women. Why then, say some, should we never walk out of our own doors? Should we ever lie at home, that were as though we should lie in prison? For so doth² some proud fools take this saying, that desire to see and to be seen. Nay verily, they shall go forth sometimes, if need require, and if their father command, or their mother; but before she go forth at door, let her prepare her mind

¹ Stuttering. ² Do. Doth is an old plural form.
and stomach\(^1\) none otherwise than if she went to fight. Let her remember what she shall hear, what she shall see, and what herself shall say. Let her consider with herself that some thing shall chance on every side that shall move her chastity and her good mind. Against these darts of the Devil flying on every side, let her take the buckler of stomach defended with good examples and precepts, and a firm purpose of chastity and a mind ever bent toward Christ. And let her know that she goeth but to vanity, which lest she be taken with it, she had need to provide wisely, and that that she shall see forth abroad, is to be counted none other thing but a show of the life of the world, by whose vices set before her eyes she may learn not onely to keep herself out of the contagiousness, but moreover to amend her own faults, and that what hour soever she turneth herself from God unto men, whether she like them or be liked of them she forsaketh Christ. If she see any goodness let her love it for Christ; if she see any evil, let her flee it for Christ. Let her take heed never to garnish herself so, nor so go, nor do or speak so, that she be the Devil's snare to catch men in. She should not only do none \([\text{ev}]\)ill herself but as much as she can, so behave herself that she be none occasion to other\([s]\) of doing ill, or else shall she be a member of the Devil, whose instrument she is already, and not Christ's. Now when she is appointed with these thoughts, let her go forth with her mother, if she have any; and have leave to go. If she have no mother let her go with some sad\(^2\) woman that is a widow or wife, or some good maid of virtuous living, sober of speech and holy shamefastness.

\(^1\) Disposition, spirit, temper.

\(^2\) Serious, grave, wise.
[Vives here introduces the example of the "honest maids" in the company of Penelope, in Homer's *Odyssey*. He then gives the injunctions of St. Jerome, how the maid is to cover her neck and veil the face "with scarcely an eye open to see her way." He gives further examples of modesty in clothing, and speaks with horror of low-necked dresses, and continues:]

In going\(^1\) let the woman neither walk over-fast or over slowly. Now when she is in company of people, let her show great soberness, both in countenance and all the gesture of her body, which thing let her not do of any pride, or to make herself the more comely, but of sober and of very Christian mind, nor let her not behold men much, nor think that they behold her. Now if the men sit apart and talk together beholding her, yet let not her think that they talk of her, nor look at her. For some maids and young women that have gotten an opinion of beauty and prettiness in themselves, ween that every man looketh at them only and speaketh of them; and if any man look at them, though it be but by chance, nothing thinking upon them, yet [these maids] ween that they look at their beauty, and then they smile; and because they will not seem to laugh at that matter, they cast forth some trifle, that they think should make folks laugh. A man may sometime see twenty [maids] sitting together, whom if a man behold them, they will laugh at once, and say they laugh at some word or deed of some of themselves, which is never a whit worth the laughing; but that every one thinketh herself so wondrous fair and goodly to see and behold. In which doing they plainly show their own folly and lightness. But the maid that will do after my counsel shall not set

\(^1\) Walking.
by her beauty, nor judge herself fair, nor laugh at foolish or lewd\(^1\) words, nor shall rejoice to be much looked upon and to be a talking-stock for young men, when she hath more cause to weep for it, that the most excellent goodness that she hath, should be assaulted by so many crafts and enemies, and that her face doth inflame young men's minds, whom she knoweth not whether she can withstand or not. And forasmuch as we be in hand with laughing, which is a sign of a very light and dissolute mind, let her see that she laugh not unmeasurably. For I need not bid her that she shall not laugh again unto young men that laugh towards her, which none will do but she that is naught,\(^2\) or else a fool. Let her give nothing to no man, nor take aught of any man. The wise man saith: He that taketh a benefit, selleth his liberty. And there is in France and Spain a good saying: A woman that giveth a gift, giveth herself; a woman that taketh a gift, selleth herself. Therefore an honest woman shall neither give nor take.

Full of talk I would not have her, no, not among maids. For as among men to be full of babble I marvel that some regard shame so little, that they do not disparage it. That custom was confirmed, as I trow, by the decree of the Devil, that women should be praised for talking eloquently and promptly with men, and that by many hours together? What I pray you, should an ignorant maid talk with a young man ignorant of goodness, and cunning enough in naughtiness\(^3\)? What should fire and tow do together? What should they talk of so long? What? Of Christ and Our Lady?

\(^1\) Unlearned, ignorant, foolish.
\(^2\) Of no account.
\(^3\) Wickedness.
Nay, but rather by their communication they shall be incensed and kindled.

[Vives then speaks of women who frequent Courts, which he describes as "seats of Satan." He then reproves the young woman and young man who "talk of love in a corner." After citing examples which should ward off the young in this matter, he asks:]

What should they say there [in a corner] that other folks may not hear, if they purpose to speak of that that is pure and chaste? Neither I would there should be many words between young men and maids, though folks be by, except they be pure and honest, that no suspect of ill can come of them. For some men be so crafty in naughtiness, and can wrap in dark sentence their minds, in such wise that they may be understood of her what they mean by that they speak unto her, and yet shall the double sense cause that they may deny that they meant so, and blame her for wrong taking their words, and understanding them in evill sense, which they spake for no harm, and then they set much by their own wit, when they be cunning in these crafts, though they be devoid of all goodness, but able and cunning enough to do ill, which thing doth not prove any great wit, but an exercise in naughtiness, which, as Seneca saith, is worse and more foul than is a dull and sluggish wit. For wit is not to be reckoned in subtleties and deceits, except we will reckon Devils more wise than angels, but one good angel is more wise than all the devils in hell.

At few words, it is good to have very little or naught to do with men, and speak very few words with them,

1 Suspicion.
and those full of soberness, honesty and wisdom, nor thou shalt not thereof be reckoned the more mope\(^1\) and fool[ish], but the more wise. And if judgment should be given of thy disposition, I had leaver [ev]ill folks should reckon thee rude than good folks, bad.

[Reference is then made to the example of the Virgin Mary in her becoming silence, and intuition when not to speak, and to other examples.]

Thou art none Attorney of Law, good daughter, nor pleadest not in Court that thou shalt need to quail either thine own, or thy client's matter, except thou speak. Hold thou thy peace as boldly as other[s] speak in Court.

[Then follow other historical examples of the eloquence of silence.]

Nor she shall not only among men behave herself so \([i.e., silently]\) but also among women without presumptuous speeches or vain oaths. Which thing when it is uncomely in men, it must needs be in women abominable, nor use her voice to be feat\(^2\) and nice, nor set her countenance to cruelty and frowning, nor over sad\(^3\) and sorrowful, or disdainishly, nor diversly, nor full of pleasance, or over cheerful, or unstable, or wandering, or dissolute, showing tokens of a mind thereunto according. Some be so subtle minded, that among their companions they babble out all at large, both their own matters and other folks', nor have no regard what they say, but whatsoever cometh on their tongues' end, and thereof cometh a fantasy to lie, when they lack truth.

\(^1\) Mope, a fool, noodle. & \(^2\) Affected, finikin. & \(^3\) In the usual sense of grave, mournful.
[Vives shows the foolishness of these babblers, and then introduces examples of women who were able to keep splendid silence, even when "haled with torments" to divulge secrets entrusted to them. Finally, he reminds the maid of Christ's words in the Gospel: Thou shalt give an account in the Day of Judgment for every idle word that thou speakest. He regards "resortings and drinkings" as occasions where "many words fly to and fro, not only idle but also jeopardous."

I dare be bold to say that few young women, after they begin to wax toward woman's state, come from feasts and banquets and resort of men with safe minds. But some be taken with eloquence; some with other [things]; which a young woman shall find in a great multitude of men set like nets. And it is an hard thing to [e]scape uncaught with those things, whereunto she is some thing inclined already. How much were it better not to love this jeopardy than to perish in it, as the wise man saith. Verily, my mind is, and I trow, Christ's, too, that maids should be kept at home, and not go abroad, except it be to hear divine service,¹ and then well covered, lest they either give or take occasion of [en]snaring. A Christian maid ought to have nothing a-do with wedding feasts, banquets and resortings of men. Finally, what mine opinion is concerning young women, you may know by that, that I would not have young boys brought unto feasts, both because it hurteth the strength and the health of the child, in the time of growing, and because that feasts be the springs of great and many vices, be they never so sober and moderate. A child shall see there many uncomely things, and learn much naughtiness even among aged men, though they be right wise. Whereto should I say among women and men, where

¹ 1540 edition has "Mass."
after their minds be inflamed both inward and outwardly unto foul lusts, be they never so well kept under, yet will they show themselves foul and outrageously, nor will be bridled in, nor obey their governor. What then will they do, if they be provoked forwards? Then, indeed, there will be neither rule nor measure, nor any respect of honesty.¹

CHAPTER XIII.—OF DANCING.

Now let us speak of that thing which some maids do nothing more gladly, and be taught also with great diligence of both father and mother, that is, to dance cunningly.² I will make no mention here of the old use of dancing which both Plato and many of the Stoic philosophers said was wholesome for honest³ men's sons, and Cicero and Quintilian called necessary for an orator. Which was nothing but a certain informing of gesture, and moving of the body, to set and move all in comely order, which craft now, as many other⁴ be, is clean out of use. I will entreat of this dancing that nowadays is much used, which many of the Greeks praised, but which the sage people of Rome refused, nor we read not that ever any of those sad⁴ matrons used dancing. Sallust writeth that one Sempronia did both sing and dance more cunningly than was necessary for a good woman.

[After citing the opinion of Cicero of dancing as a madness, Vives makes a protest against the developments

¹ Reputation, good name founded on action or conduct.
² With skill.
³ Men of high, honourable standing.
⁴ Serious, thoughtful, wise.
in dancing of his own days, including, apparently, the practice of kissing. He takes the opportunity to observe that: “In old time, kissing was not used but among kinsfolk; now it is a common thing in England and France. If they do it because of Baptism, that they may seem all as brethren and sisters I praise the intent. If otherwise I see not whereunto it pertaineth to use so much kissing, as though that love and charity could none other way stand between men and women.”

After expressing disapproval of the dancing of the times, Vives continues:

What good doth all that dancing of young women, holden up on men’s arms, that they may hop the higher? What meaneth that shaking unto midnight, and never weary, which if they were desired to go but to the next church, they were not able, except they were carried on horse back, or in a chariot? Who would not think them out of their wits? I remember that I heard upon a time said, that there were certain men brought out of a far country into our parts of the world, which when they saw women dance, they ran away, wonderfully afraid, crying out that they thought the women were taken with a strange kind of frenzy. And to say good sooth, who would not reckon women frantic when they dance, if he had never seen women dance before?

[Then follow observations on the folly and stupidity of dancing.]

What holy woman did we ever read of that was a dancer? Or what woman nowadays that is sad and wise will be known to skill of dancing? and will not refuse it if she be desired to dance.

1 1540 edition reads “unked.”
[Again Vives launches into ruthless criticism and quotes St. Ambrose, and “a certain wise man of the pagans.”\footnote{This juxtaposition of Christian writers and pagan writers is, of course, characteristic of the Renascence period.} Finally, he comes to Scripture testimony.]

We read that St. John Baptist was put to death at the pleasure of a dancing wench, whereby we may take example that this unlawful pastime of dancing hath been cause of more hurt than the frenzy of robbers and murderers.

[Vives then tells the story of dancing before Herod, and concludes:]

For what honesty can be kept there where dancing is? So that the king delighted with that pastime bade her ask whatsoever she would.

**Chapter XIV.—Of Loving.**

[In this chapter Vives makes an indictment against “the kingdom of Venus and Cupid.” He shows that those poets, for example, who praise “love” call him “tyrant, mischievous, cruel, hard, unkind, foul, ungracious, cursed, wicked and causer of most unhappiness.” He quotes from St. Jerome, showing the misery which the pursuer of love finds, ending in making himself hated, and indeed in hating himself. He refers to the “perjury, deceits, murder, slaughter, destruction, love has caused,” as witness all that happened on account of Helen, at Troy, and in other wars. Adam “for the love of Eve lost and cast away mankind,” and Vives thinks it unnecessary to accumulate many more examples.]

There is no deed so ungracious, so cruel, so outrageous, or so strange that we will not do to obey love:
Deceive friends, kill kinsfolk, slay father and mother, murder children, whom herself hath borne, all these be but trifles for love's pleasure. Neither is it reckoned any great grievous act to destroy utterly their country, to destroy a whole realm, or rid\(^1\) up all mankind; what remembrance can here be of God, of holiness, of virtue, of justice, of devotion or good mind; all is but jests, yea, and finally thine own health forgotten. Wherefore whoso is safe enough, and considereth these things and doth not his diligence never to come into this rage and frenzy, is worthy to be kept therein, nor never to find end or measure of that evil, but to be vexed both day and night with the firebrand of Cupid: neither to take meat,\(^2\) nor sleep, nor see, nor rest, neither to have any use belonging unto mankind. This affection of love taketh wondrous sore the minds of all folks, and especially of women, wherefore they had need to take the more heed lest it steal in upon them. For it cometh commonly at un[a]ware upon such as will take no labour to avoid it, when they be in the danger\(^3\) and occasions\(^4\) thereof, nor care what might come, but receive it when it cometh, as a sweet and pleasant thing, not knowing what and how perilous a poison lieth hid under that pleasant face. Therefore they should specially withstand the first occasions.

[Quotations from Ovid and the Canticles follow to illustrate the strength that gathers round love by allowing it to go beyond the first stage. Vives then offers advice to the maiden:]

Give none ear unto the lover, no more than thou wouldst do unto an enchanter or a sorcerer. For he cometh pleasantly and flattering, first praising the

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\(^1\) Pull or root up completely.  \(^2\) Food.  \(^3\) Power, jurisdiction.  \(^4\) Original sense of accusations, as well as opportunities.
maid, showing her how he is taken with the love of her beauty, and that he must be dead for her love, for these lovers know well enough the vainglorious minds of many, which have a great delight in their own praises, where-with they be caught like as the birder beguileth the birds. He calleth thee fair, proper, witty, well spoken, and of gentle blood, whereof peradventure thou art nothing at all, and thou, like a fool, art glad to hear those lies, and weenest that thou dost seem so in deed, when thou art never a whit so. But put case thou dost seem so, look whether he call thee wise and honest, which if he do not, all thy praise is naught. And if he do, what may he hope to get of thee? For if he hope to obtain his purpose thereby, then hath he belied thee. How hath he then handled his matter? He saith he is taken with thy properties. What then? And saith he shall die, except he may have thee; yea, there is the cause of his complaint. Therefore, beware lest thyself be taken also with his words, and perish as well as he. He saith he shall die for thee, yea, and that he dieth even straightway. Believest thou that? A fool; let him show thee how many have died for love, among so many thousands as have been lovers. Love doth pain sometimes, but it never slayeth. Or though he did die for thee, yet it were better for thee, to let him perish, than be perished thyself; and that one should perish rather than twain. I need not to rehearse here the common song of lovers, which they sing only to deceive, when they have many times not one drop of love toward her. If he had loved thy good virtues and mind, as long as thou hadst lived, he would never have been full or weary of thee.

1 Original, natural qualities.
[Vives then shows both from the old world, and his own times that the ardent lover often proves inconstant, and pleads with the maiden that the miserable fates of too readily trusting maidens should warn her. He also points out the "remedies" if the maiden is caught in the toils of love, and regrets it. He bids her remember this little verse: "Love cannot be thrust out, but it may creep out." The maiden must remember the time spent in love whereby she "has lost the occasions of many good deeds," and that it has made her ungracious to other people. Let her set herself to work and keep herself from her old lover. Read and pray. The maiden must be on her guard to judge between real virtues in the youth, and his own account of himself.]

No man goeth to his love but he setteth himself forth with all his best properties\(^1\) that he may seem to lack nothing that any man ought to have, and by that means deceiteth foolish young women, hiding great vices, under a thin colour of virtue, as birders hide their lime with meat, and fishers the hook with the bait. This a young woman ought to consider, before it be too late to repent, lest she begin to wax wise, when it shall nothing avail.

[Vives urges that no virtuous Christian woman or any pagan woman either, "of any wit or honesty," ever loved "any other than her husband." But some women rejoice to have lovers, and he thus addresses such an one:]

O thou ungracious woman, seest thou not how thou bringest him [the lover] into the possession of the Devil with thy craft, whither thyself shall go also, there to receive thy meed, where ye shall both burn, he for being overcome of the Devil, and thou for overcoming him for the Devil; ye shall both be paid your wages. Now the Apostle saith: The wages of sin is death.

\(^1\) Natural qualities.
Chapter XV.—How a Maiden ought to Love.

And yet I would not a maid should clearly be without love, for mankind seemeth to be made and shapen unto love.

[Vives first speaks of the holy love of God, Christ, the Holy Virgin, and the Church of God, “with all the holy virgins whose souls dwell blessedly in heaven, and their names be had in honour here in earth.”]

"She hath also her own father and mother, which brought her into the world, and brought her up, and nourished with so great labour and care, whom she ought to have in the stead of God, and love, and worship, and help with all her power. Therefore let her regard greatly their commandments, and meekly obey them; neither show in mind, countenance, nor gesture any stubbornness but reckon them to be as it were a very image of almighty God, the father of all things. She hath also to love, her own virtues and soul, and mind given unto God; and moreover, the eternal pleasure and wealth which never shall have end.

[Vives wants the maid to have thus a hierarchy of love within her, so that she may have her love distributed in right perspective.]

[Thus she will] neither love better strangers above father and mother, nor her body above her soul, neither set more by other peoples' vices than their virtues; nor minds that serve the Devil above those that serve God; neither them that would have her destroyed above them that would have her saved; nor a short pleasure above

\[^1\text{True, real.}\]
joy everlasting; nor the misery of damned folks above the perfect wealth of them that be saved. By these means the commandments of God shall be more esteemed with her than counsels of a deceitful man.

[After further preferences which will be made by the right-minded maid, Vives proceeds:]

[She will] rather choose the company of St. Catharine, St. Agnes, St. Clare, St. Thecla and St. Agatha than the company of them of whom both the life is unknown unto God and the names unto man, and both well enough known unto the Devil. Neither forsake thy father and mother to follow thy lover, nor give them perpetual sorrow, to give thy lover the short pleasure of thyself.

Chapter XVI.—How the Maid shall seek an Husband.

The wise poet Virgil, where he doth bring in King Latinus and his wife Amata, talking together with Turnus, which should be their daughter's husband, their daughter also present, he maketh the maid to do no more but weep and blush, without speaking of words, whereby he signifieth that it becometh not a maid to talk, where her father and mother be in communication about her marriage, but to leave all that care and charge wholly unto them, which love her as well as herself doth. And let her think that her father and mother will provide no less diligently for her, than she would for herself, but much better, by the reason they have more experience and wisdom.\(^1\) Moreover it is not comely for

\(^1\) See Introduction, pp. 25, 26 supra.
a maid to desire marriage, and much less to show herself to long therefor. It was a custom in old time among the Romans (while that chaste world lasted which was the example of honesty) that when a maid was first married and brought into her husband's home she should not go in at his door herself, but be taken up and be carried in by other[s] as a token that she came not thither with her good will. Therefore when the father and the mother be busy about their daughter's marriage, let her help the matter forward with good prayer, and desire Christ with pure affection that she may have such an husband, which shall not let nor hinder her from virtuous living, but rather provoke, exhort, and help her unto it. And the fathers on their parts, let them call to remembrance the saying of Themistocles, that noble man of Greece, which when he was asked of one whether he had leaver marry his daughter to a rich [ev]ill man, or to a poor good man, made answer again: I had leaver have a man without money than money without a man.

[After another story of an "ancient wise man," Vives says:]

It is a great charge for a man to seek an husband for his daughter, neither it ought not to be gone about negligently. It is a knot that cannot lightly be loosed; onely death undoeth it. Wherefore the fathers and mothers procure unto their daughters either perpetual felicity, if they marry them to good men, or perpetual misery, marrying them to [ev]ill men. Here is much to be studied and great deliberation to be taken with good advisement and counsel, afore a man determine aught. For there is much weariness in marriage, and many pains must be suffered. There is nothing but one that shall
cause marriage to be easy unto a woman, that is, if she chance on a good and wise husband. O foolish friends, and maids also, that set more by them that be fair, or rich, or of noble birth than them that be good, and cast yourselves into perpetual care. For if thou be married to a fair one, he will be proud of his person; and if thou marry to a rich one, his substance maketh him stately; and if thou be married to one of great birth, his kindred exalteth his stomach.¹ Now if thou marry unto one for his fairness, which hath neither reason, nor virtue, nor any drop of wit, as it is often proved by experience, as the wise man of Greece said, By these goodly inns there be foul hostesses, by like reason thou mightest marry an image or a painted Table.² Canst thou find in thy heart to be a fool's wife for his goods, then mightest thou as well desire to be married to any image of gold. Wouldest thou be married unto a gentleman born, which is of filthy and naughty ³ living, for his blood? As well then thou mightest choose the image of Scipio or Caesar. In very deed, it were better to be married unto an image or a picture, or unto a painted table, than to be married to a vicious, or a foolish, or a brainless man.

[Having given vent to his feelings on the worse than madness, the actual degradation to the level of asses, swine, lions, wolves, boars, bulls, or bears, of women who can have delight in, or tolerance for, such men instead of wise men, Vives continues his indictment of the folly of some women.]

Women many times love men because there is nothing in them worthy to be beloved, whereby they declare the more plainly that they go without reason. Their discretion is blinded so sore that they love, esteem, and set

¹ Pride. ² Tableau, picture. ³ Wicked.
by fools, and count them for great, wise men; and abhor them that be wise indeed, hate, despise, and loathe them, and take them for fools, as sows have more delight in mire and dirt than in sweet flowers. O foolish maid, which haddest leaver have continual sorrow in gold and silk than have pleasure in woollen clothing; which had leaver be hated and beaten in raiment of purple and rich colour, than be loved and set by in a coarse garment of mean colour.

[Vives is then concerned to show that the parents by choosing good and virtuous mates for their daughters will have sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, who will be a comfort to themselves as well, and relates, con amore, a number of historical happy instances.]

Now afore I make an end of this [first] Book, I will answer unto a mad and frantic opinion which both maidens and wives have, and all the common people in general, that think it is expedient for maids, that are come to lawful age of marriage, to be seen oft abroad among people, goodly and pikedly\(^1\) arrayed, and to keep company and communication with men, to be eloquent in speech, and cunning in dancing and singing; yea, and to love him aforehand, whom they intend to marry, for so they say they shall the more lightly\(^2\) meet with a bargain. A man might make answer to all this at once, but I will examine it from point to point, to content not only the minds of wise men, but also of them that be rude and ignorant. What wise man, I pray you would ever counsel this thing, knowing that [ev]ill is not to be done, that good may come thereof? and especially where the ill is evident enough, and the good neither certain nor customed to follow commonly upon the deed.

\(^1\) Neatly, daintily. \(^2\) Easily.
Wherefore if the maid can get no marriage except she infect her mind, and jeopard her honesty on this fashion, it were better never to marry, or else to marry onely Christ, than to marry first unto the Devil, that she may be married to a man afterward.

[Vives gives, then, a full exposition of the importance of "good fame" to a woman, and this he decides is more likely to the maid that "bides at home rather than the one who walks much abroad." With good men a woman's expensiveness of apparel, and readiness of conversation with men in general, does not advance her chance of appreciation and of marriage.]

Moreover, I could name both in this country\(^1\) and in mine own,\(^2\) divers maids which could never get marriage, because that men were abashed of their costly apparel. What say they? This woman would spend up all her marriage goods in one gown or one brooch. And as for those that keep much company with men, what man is there that will not suspect ill by them? Or what husband will she find so patient that [he] will be content to have his wife to company still\(^3\) and commune with men, or would not rather have such a one as would more gladly company with her husband alone, than with a great multitude of men where one shall tempt her mind with eloquence, another with comeliness of person, some with beauty, some with liberality and some with nobleness? For as for maids to be eloquent of speech, that is to say great babblers, is a token of a light mind and shrewd conditions,\(^4\) insomuch that he that shall marry her shall think he hath a serpent and no wife.

\(^1\) Flanders. \(^2\) Spain. \(^3\) Constantly. \(^4\) Shrewd—literally accursed—comes to mean a "curst temper," scolding; then sly, cunning. Conditions mean qualities or dispositions of the mind.
[Vives here shows the deceptiveness of the admiration of the young man for the maid’s pertness. He sees that she adapts herself to the whims of each man to whom she talks, and is merely amused. Babblers and chatterers, and those who frequent men’s society, often do not get married. “And this the maid may be sure of, that she shall never have good life with that husband which she hath gotten by wiles and crafts.” He objects to the maid making any sign that she loves a man whom she would fain wed. “For if she love him afore she have him, what shall he think but that she will as lightly love another as she hath done him.” The woman who loveth another beside her husband is accursed, “let every body excuse the matter as they will.” The attempt to “catch” a husband calls forth Vives’ vigorous rebuke:

I never heard tell of more foolishness than for a woman to labour to have a man against his will, with whom she shall both live a-twin, and except he love her, she shall live in perpetual sorrow. And love must be gotten with fair means, and not compelled. For he will never be a sure friend that is drawn and holden by force. What a madness is it to begin that sacrament of holy love with hate! I would not verily have a servant against his will, much less a mate. Neither is it good to compel a man against his will, nor I would the woman should be married unto him, except he desire her with all his heart, and it becometh not the maid’s friends to pray or labour for a marriage, or once to offer the maid of their part, but the man should seek for marriage, and so it should be done in deed, saving that money ruleth and ordereth all things

[Then Vives protests that the fact that “money marrieth,” brings about “so many sorry and unhappy marriages.”]  

1 Here means would.
But they that would keep the nature of things whole and pure, nor corrupt them with wrong understanding, should reckon that wedlock is a band and coupling of love, benevolence, friendship, and charity; comprehending within it all names of goodness, sweetness and amity. Therefore let the maid neither catch and deceive by subtilty, him that should be her inseparable fellow, nor pull and draw by plain violence, but take and be taken by honest, simple, plain and good manner, that neither of them complain with¹ both their harms, or say they were deceived or compelled.

Here endeth the first book of the Instruction of a Christian Woman.

¹ On account of.
BOOK II.—OF WIVES. BOOK III.—OF WIDOWS.

A perusal of the topics of the second and third books will show that the subjects of home-behaviour and bearing of women abroad run through the life of the Maid, of the Wife, and of the Widow, and that the subject of raiment is dealt with from the point of view of the maid and the wife. The fact is that Vives regards education as a continuous process throughout life. Education is not with him merely a preparation for a particular mode of life; it is the right dealing with life, on the part of each individual woman at every stage.

BOOK II.—OF WIVES.

Chapter I.—Of Wedlock.
Chapter II.—What a Woman ought to have in Mind, when She marrieth.
Chapter III.—Of two, the greatest Points in a Married Woman.
Chapter IV.—How She shall behave Herself unto her Husband.
Chapter V.—Of the Concord of married Couples.

[In Chapter V. of Book II., of the Concord of married Couples, Vives gives the beautiful description of his own parents:]

If the wife and husband love together, they shall both will and nill one thing, which is the very\(^1\) and true love.

\(^1\) Real.

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For there can never be discord nor debate between those, in whom is one heart, not desiring contrary things, and one mind not of contrary opinion. My mother Blanche when she had been fifteen years married unto my father, I could never see her strive with my father. There were two sayings that she had ever in her mouth as proverbs. When she would say she believed well anything, then she used to say, even as though Luis Vives had spoken it. When she would say that she would any thing, she used to say even as though Luis Vives would it. I have heard my father say many times, but especially once, when one told him of a saying of Scipio Africanus the younger, or else of Pomponius Atticus, and I ween it were the saying of them both, that they never made agreement with their mothers, “nor I with my wife,” said he, “which is a greater thing.” When other[s] that heard this saying, wondered upon it, and the concord of Vives and Blanche was taken up and used, in a manner, for a proverb, he was wont to answer like as Scipio was, which said he never made agreement with his mother, because he never made debate with her. But it is not to be much talked in a book made for another purpose, of my most holy mother, whom I doubt not now to have in heaven the fruit and reward of her holy and pure living. More over, because I have purposed to make a several book of her acts and life.

[In this same Chapter V. of Book II., Vives gives a sketch of the wife of the famous scholar, Gulielmus

1 Wished.  
2 Separate.  
3 Unfortunately no such book is to be found. Of all the valuable works of Vives extant, there is none which would have been of keener attractiveness than this biography of his mother, had his intention to write it been carried into effect.
Budaeus,¹ and states his idea of the considerateness which a scholar's wife should have to her husband:

Of late when I was at Paris and talked with Gulielmus Budaeus at his own house, and his wife came by where we walked, a goodly person, and as fair as a man should² look upon, which as I could deem by her comely manner and countenance, methought should be both a prudent and virtuous housewife. So she, after she had saluted her husband with such reverence as a good woman should, and had welcomed me courteously and honourably, I asked him if she were his wife? Yes, forsooth, saith he, this is my wife, which so diligently followeth my pleasure, that she entreateth my books no worse than her own children, because she seeth me love study so well. In which thing, methink her worthy more praise than was Pliny's wife, in as much as she [the latter] was learned and this [the former] is not. Now how much more honestly³ doth she than such as draw their husbands from study, and counsel them to lucre, play, or other pleasures, that they.[may] obtain part themselves, either of lucre, play or volupties,⁴ because they can get no part of their study.⁵ And the fools know not how much more sure and very⁶ pleasure it were, to have a wise man than a rich or voluptuous. Moreover, they should live a great deal more quietly with wise men than with ignorant fools, that never had set the bridle of reason to rule their fantasies withal, which be for the more part carried quite away with such motions as come in their minds.⁷ Nor should she

¹ Guillaume Budé. ² Would be likely to. ³ Creditably. ⁴ Pleasures. ⁵ That is, no share in the advantages of their husband's studies. ⁶ True, real. ⁷ I.e., they are absent-minded.
loathe in her husband neither study nor anything else, either by words, countenance, or gesture, or any manner of signs. She shall\(^1\) love all things in him, have all things in reverence, and set great store by it.

Chapter VI.—How she should Live between her Husband and Herself privately.

Chapter VII.—Of Jealousy.

Chapter VIII.—Of Raiments.

Chapter IX.—Of Walking Abroad.

Chapter X.—What the Wife ought to do at Home.

[She must have skill in ruling her household. As Aristotle says, it is the man’s duty to get, and the woman’s to keep.\(^2\) Nevertheless, she must not be too niggardly. She must exercise soberness and measure. Her household must lack neither food (“meat”) nor cloth. She must provide due work for all in the house, and yet order all more like a mother than a mistress. “If a servant have done long service in her house, let the wife take him none otherwise than as her brother or her son.” On the other side, “serving maids should love and worship their masters and mistresses none otherwise than though they were their fathers and mothers.” Obedience then will be given without any presence of the element of fear, “for,” says Vives, “I would all fear should be away.” Precautions must be taken against dice-playing by any in the house. The mistress should distribute to poor folks, and help them that have need. She must herself show example of “sober fare.”]

I would she should be ever among her maids, whether they be in her kitchen dressing of meat, or else spinning,

\(^1\) Should.

\(^2\) It will be remembered that the word “economy” simply means the law of the house.
weaving, sewing or brushing. For whilst the mistress is by, all things shall be better done. There is nothing that keepeth an house longer or better than doth a diligent eye of the good wife. And when she hath done this, let her be ever busy with her own work, neither eat her bread idle.

[Vives then quotes passages from Scripture and elsewhere on the wife's place in the house.]

And because the business and charge within the house lieth upon the woman's hand, I would she should know medicines and salves for such diseases as be common and reign almost daily, and have those medicines ever prepared ready in some closet, wherewith she may help her husband, her little children and her household mainie,¹ when any needeth, that she need not oft to send for the physician or buy all things of the [apot]othecaries. I would she should know remedies for such diseases as come often, as the cough, the murre,² and gnawings in the belly, the laske,³ costiveness, the worms, the head­ache, pains in the eyes, for the ague, bones out of joint, and such other things as chance daily by light occasions. Moreover, let her learn to know what manner [of] diet is good or bad, what meats⁴ are wholesome to take, what to eschew, and how long, and of what fashion. And this I would she should learn rather of the experience and use of sad and wise women than of the counsel of any physician dwelling nigh about, and have them diligently written in some little book, and not [read them] in the great volumes of physic. A virtuous wife when she hath rid⁵ her household charge and business,

¹ Servants, dependents. 
² Murr, severe form of catarrh. 
³ Lask, diarrhoea. 
⁴ Meats, food. Cf. sweetmeats. 
⁵ Discharged.
shall every day once, if she may, or at the least on the holy days, get herself into some secret corner of her house, out of company, and there for a while lay apart out of her mind all care and thought of her house. There with a quiet mind, gathering her wits and remembrance unto her, despise these worldly things as trifles, frail and unsure, and that soon shall vanish away. And because the length of our life is so short, and passeth so swiftly that it seemeth not to be led away but plucked away, neither to depart, but to fly away, let her lift up her mind unto the study and contemplation of heavenly things by some holy reading; then confess her sins unto almighty God, and desire meekly pardon and peace of him; and pray first for herself, her husband and her children, and after, for all her household. For as Saint James saith: the continual prayer of a good man, or a good woman may do much.

Chapter XI.—Of Children and the Charge and Care about them.

[Vives first treats of the general desire there is of the wife to have children. He points out, however, that the childless woman can readily find children to whom she can bear motherly affection. He says:]

Think that they be all thine, for so the law of mankind doth exhort thee, and our faith commandeth. Whereto have you so great a desire of children, you women? For if the cares and sorrows that children cause unto their mothers were painted you in a table, there is none of you so greedy of children, but she would

1 Picture.
be as sore afraid of them as of death, and she that hath any would hate them like cruel wild beasts or venomous serpents. What joy or what pleasure can be in children? While they be young, there is nothing but tediousness; and when they be elder, perpetual fear what ways they will take; if they be [ev]ill, everlasting sorrow; and if they be good, there is perpetual care lest they should die or some harm bechance them, and lest they should go away or be changed. Moreover, if thou have many, then hast thou greater care, where the unthriftness of one shall wipe away all the joy that thou hast of the rest. Now to speak of the daughters. What a torment of care is it to keep them? And in marrying them, what pain shall she have? Beside [is] this, that few fathers and mothers see good children of their own. For very\(^1\) goodness which is never without wisdom, cometh not but in discreet age. Plato calleth him happy that may attain in his last age unto wisdom and good life. But when the children be of that age, fathers and mothers be turned to dust. O unkind woman, that dost not acknowledge how great a benefit thou hast had of God, that either did never bear children, or else lost them before the time of sorrow!

[Vives then argues that the “righteous provision” of God brings it about that a wife has no children. So, too, it is the “gift of God” that good children be had, “as it is his gift if that any children be had at all.” He then proceeds to give directions to the mother for the up-bringing of children, if she have any, beginning with the period before the child’s birth, urging the mother not to eat or drink too greatly, and to remember that children after birth often “use the same things that their mothers delighted in” before the birth.]

\(^1\) Real.
Now for to declare what diligence ought to be given to children in the bringing up of them were too long to be comprehended in this book if I should teach every thing at large, whereof many cunning men both of old time and late\(^1\) have writ much in books made purposely for the same matter. I will touch a few things that methink pertain unto the duty of a wise housewife.

First of all let the mother reckon her children to be all her treasure.

[Then follows the story of Cornelia, wife of Gracchus.]

In keeping of this treasure and increasing it there is no labour to be refused. Love shall make all labours light and easy. Wherefore she shall nourish them with her own milk, and obey the commandment of Nature. But I have spoken enough of this matter in the Book afore.\(^2\) Afterwards if the mother can skill of learning let her teach her little children herself that they may have all one both for their mother, their nurse and their teacher. And that they may love her also the more, and learn with better courage and more speed, by means of the love that their teacher hath toward them. As for her daughters, she shall beside the learning of the book, instruct them also with women’s crafts: as to handle wool and flax, to spin, to weave, to sew, to rule and over-see an house. Neither a virtuous mother ought to refuse learning on the book, but now and then, study and read holy and wise men’s books, and though she do it not for her own sake, at the least wise for her children, that she may teach them, and make them good. As Eurydice, when she was of great age, set herself unto learning and study of philosophy, onely to the intent

\(^1\) Recently. \(^2\) See p. 39 *supra.*
that she might teach her children. And so she did. For the babe first heareth her mother and first beginneth to inform her speech after hers. For that age can do nothing itself, but counterfeit and follow others, and is cunning in this thing only. She taketh her first conditions and information of mind by such as she heareth or seeth by her mother.

Therefore it lieth more in the mother than men ween to make the conditions\(^1\) of the children. For she may make them whether she will, very good or very bad. Now how shall she make them good? I will give a few short rules. Let her give her diligence, at least wise because of her children, that she use no rude and blunt speech lest that manner of speaking take such root in the tender minds of the children, and so grow and increase together with their age, that they cannot forget it. Children will learn no speech better, nor more plainly express, than they will their mother's. For they will counterfeit both the virtue and the vice, if any be in it. James the King of Aragon\(^2\) after he had won my country Valencia out of the hands of the Agarenes\(^3\) which inhabited the city that time he drove out the people and commanded men of Aragon and women of Ilerda\(^4\) to go dwell in it. So the children that came of them both, with all their posterity kept their mothers' language, which we speak there unto this day. For the space of many years Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus\(^5\) were counted the most eloquent men of Rome, and they learned of their mother Cornelia, which epistles

\(^1\) Mould the disposition or character.
\(^2\) James the Conqueror lived from A.D. 1213 to 1276.
\(^3\) First used of Arabians, and then, as here, of the Saracens and Moors.
\(^4\) \textit{I.e.}, Lérida.
\(^5\) See Plutarch's \textit{Lives of the Gracchi}. 
were read in the old world, full of pure eloquence. Istrina, the queen of Scythia, wife unto King Ariphitis taught her son Syles the Greek tongue. Also Plato commandeth that nurses shall not use to tell unto children vain and trifling fables. This same thing is to be charged unto the mother's tongue. For by reason of such bringing up, some after they be come to sadder age, have such childish and tender stomachs, that they cannot abide to hear any thing of wisdom or sadness, but delight altogether in books of peevish fables, which neither be true nor likely. Therefore mothers shall have ready at hand pleasant histories and honest tales, of the commendation of virtue and rebukings of vice. And let the child hear those first, and when it cannot yet tell what is good and what is bad, it shall begin to love virtue and hate vice, and so grow up and wax with those opinions, and shall go about to be like unto them whom he hath heard his mother commend, and unlike unto those whom she hath dispraised. The mother shall rehearse unto them the lauds of virtue, and the dispraise of vice, and repeat oftentimes, to drive them into the children's remembrance. I would she should have some holy sayings and precepts of living commonly in use, which heard divers times, shall at the last abide in the children's remembrance, though they give no heed unto them. For children run unto their mother, and ask her advice in all things. They inquire everything of her; whatsoever she answereth, they believe and regard, and take it even for the Gospel. O mothers, what an occasion for you unto your children, to make them whether you will, good or bad!

Then should right and good opinions and the pure

1 See Plato, Republic, ii., iii.  
2 Which of the two.
VIVES’ INSTRUCTION OF A WOMAN

faith of Christ Jesus be poured into their minds, to despise riches, power, honour, pomp, nobility, and beauty, and to reckon them for vain and foolish things, but justice, devotion, boldness, continence, cunning, meekness, mercy and charity with mankind, to reckon these things goodly, and worthy to be regarded and used, and to count them the true and sure goods. Whatsoever shall be spoken of any man, or done wisely, wittily, or honestly let her praise it unto them. And whatsoever any man hath done lewdly, subtilely, falsely, shamefully, wickedly, ungraciously, rebuke that sorely. When she embraceth her child and kisseth it, and will pray it God’s blessing, let her not pray of this fashion:

“God make thee richer than ever was Croesus or Crassus. God make thee more honourable than ever was Pompey or Caesar. God make thee more fortunate than ever was Augustus!”

But let her pray on this fashion:

“Christ give thee grace to be good and continent and to despise fortune of the world, to be virtuous and to follow his steps, to do after St. Paul, and make thee more just than ever was Cato, holier than Socrates, or Seneca, more cunning than Plato or Aristotle, or more eloquent than Demosthenes or Tully.”¹

These let her reckon for great things and to be desired. These let her seek and wish for, that would pray for good things.

Let the mother never laugh at any word or deed of the child done lewdly, shamefully, naughtily, wantonly,

¹ Tully—i.e., Marcus Tullius Cicero.
or pertly or kiss it therefor. For children will lightly use themselves unto such things as they see be pleasant and delectable unto their father and mother, and will not love them after they be come to man's or woman's state. Therefore the mother shall correct the child for such doings, and let it know that it neither doth well, nor she is not content therewith. And again, on the other side, let her embrace and kiss it, whensoever it doeth anything that is a sign of goodness.

The Stoic philosophers say that 'there be certain fires or seeds, whether\(^1\) you will call them, bred by nature in us, of the same justice, in the which that first father of mankind was made by almighty God: that little fire, if it might increase in us, it would bring us up unto the perfection of virtue and blessed living. But it is drowned with corrupt opinions and judgments. And when it beginneth to light and flame up a little, it doth not onely lack nourishment, but also is quenched with contrary blasts of wind. Fathers and mothers, nurses, schoolmasters, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, and the common people, which is a master of great error, all these do what they can to pluck up those seeds of virtue by the roots, and to overwhelm that little fire as soon as it beginneth to appear. But all they regard riches much, and give honour unto nobility, and reverence unto honour, and seek for power, and praise beauty, and worship pomp, and follow pleasures. But they tread poverty under feet and mock simple minds. They suspect devotion and hate cunning,\(^2\) and all kind of virtue they call folly. And whensoever they pray for anything they wish for those that I spoke of before. But if anybody once name these other things, they abhor

\(^1\) Whichever. \(^2\) Knowledge.
them as unlucky signs. And therefore these lie under feet and be despised. Neither any man applieth himself unto them, but those other things be in regard and price, and all men runneth unto them. For whereof I pray you cometh this that we have so many lewd fellows and so few good and wise men? when that the good nature of mankind is more inclined of it[s] own self unto virtue than on to vice. Therefore a good wife shall withstand these corrupted opinions with other[s] better, and more meet for Christian folks, and shall nourish up in her children that little fire that I spoke of before, and water those seeds with the drops of good teaching that the fire may rise up into great light, and the seeds unto much and good corn. Let her not break the strength both of their bodies, their wits, and virtue with wanton and dainty bringing up. I have seen very few men come to great proof of either learning, wit, or virtue, that had been daintily brought up, nor can the bodies come to their due strength, when they be [en]feebled with delicate keeping. And so when mothers think they save their children, they lose them; and when they go about to keep them in health and strength, they foolishly minish both their health and their life. Let them love their children well, as convenient is, and spare not, for who would either adnull or dispraise the law of nature? Or what a cruelty it is, not to love them that thou hast borne! But yet let them [mothers] hide their

1 *Lewd* means "ignorant."

2 This optimistic doctrine is clearly opposed to that which John Calvin was to preach so soon afterwards. It approaches to Rousseau’s dictum: “Everything is good as it comes from the hand of the Author of Nature."

3 As is fitting, suitable.

4 *Annul*—i.e., ad nil, bring to nothing.
love, lest the children take boldness thereupon to do what they list. Nor let not love stop her to punish her children for their vices, and to strength[en] their bodies and wits with sad\(^1\) bringing up. For, you mothers be the cause of most part of [ev]illness among folks, whereby you may see how much your children are beholding unto you, which induce\(^2\) naughty\(^3\) opinions into them with your folly. For you have the bringing up of them, and you allow their unthriftiness. And when they be going unto high virtue, and abhor the riches of the world, and the pomp of the Devil, you with your weeping, and sharp rebuking call them back again into the Devil's snares, because you had rather see them rich than good.

[Vives instances the case of Agrippina, mother of the Emperor Nero, who was pleased when the soothsayers prophesied that Nero should become Emperor, though they also warned her that he would kill her. So great was her ambition. This pleased Agrippina at first, but in the later events she repented of her satisfaction.]

Finally, you (through your cherishing) will not let them take labour to learn virtue, and [you] have a pleasure to fill them full of vices and delicateness. Therefore many of you weep and wail (for I speak not of all) and be well punished and worthily in this life for your madness; when you be sorry for to see your children such as yourselves have made them. Nor you be not loved of them again, when they perceive themselves unlabeled of all other[s], for your love. There is a certain tale of a young man, which when he was led to be put unto death, desired to speak with his mother.

\(^1\) Thoughtful, wise. \(^2\) In the literal sense of "lead into." \(^3\) Wicked.
And when she came, he laid his mouth to her ear, and bit it off. And when the people that were by, rebuked him, calling him not onely a thief but also [ac]cursed for so entreating his mother, he answered again: This is the reward for her bringing up. For if she, said he, had corrected me for stealing my fellow's book out of the school, which was my first theft, then had I not proceeded unto these mischievous deeds, but she cherished me, and kissed me for my doing. Now whereto should I rehearse the madness of those mothers that love better those children that be foul, crooked, lewd, dullards, sluggards, drunkards, unruly and foolish, than those that be fair, upright, cunning, quick-witted, inventive, sober, tractable,\(^1\) quiet and wise? Whether is this an error of folks' minds, or a punishment of God, deserved for their sins, to make them to love such things as be worthy [of] no love. Dumb beasts cherish ever the fairest of their whelps, or birds, as lightly\(^2\) it is a sign of good proof in them when the dams make much of them. Also hunters know that that shall be the best dog, which the dam is most busy about, and for whom she careth the most, and carrieth first into her litter. But in mankind that is the most vile and least worth, that the mother loveth most tenderly.

[Vives next makes the following touching reference to his mother, Blanca March, a lady of a good family, which counted poets in its ancestry.]

If you will be loved indeed of your children and especially in that age, when they know what is true and holy love, then make them not to love you over much, when they know not yet what love is, but set more by a

\(^1\) Tractable. \(^2\) Commonly.
spiced cake, a honey comb, or a piece of sugar, than by both father and mother. No mother loved her child better than mine did me, nor any child did ever less perceive himself loved of his mother than I. She never lightly laughed upon me, she never cockered me, and yet when I had been three or four days out of her house, she wist not where, she was almost sore sick; and when I was come home, I could not perceive that ever she longed for me. Therefore was there no body that I did more flee, or was more loath to come nigh, than my mother when I was a child. But after I came to young man's estate, there was nobody whom I delighted more to have in sight; whose memory now I have in reverence, and as oft as she cometh to my remembrance, I embrace her within my mind and thought, when I cannot with my body.

[Then Vives suddenly turns to an example of the opposite type—the cockering mother.]

I had a friend at Paris, a very well learned man, which amongst other great benefits of God reckoned this for one, that his mother was dead that cherished him so wondrously, which (said he) if she had lived I had never come to Paris to learn, but had sit still at home all my life, among dicing, drabs, delicates, and pleasures, as I begun. How could this man love his mother, that was so glad of her death? But a wise mother shall not wish for pleasures unto her child, but

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1 This expressive term was used later by Thomas Fuller with regard to Richard Mulcaster, Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School 1561-1586: "The prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him as much as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending child."
virtue; nor for riches but for cunning\(^1\) and good fame, and rather for an honest\(^2\) death than for an uncomely life.

[Vives here supplies examples from ancient history of parents rejoicing in the higher qualities of their children, and mourning over and punishing their ungracious children, cowardly, covetous, and pleasure-loving. He pleads with mothers to be more diligent to make children virtuous than even to teach them "crafts to get goods by." For children reared to be covetous and avaricious may eventually rob even their parents.]

And it is plainly known that many have poisoned their fathers and mothers, because they did think it too long to tarry till they died for age.

[Besides, Vives again points out, children reproach their parents for having spoilt them.]

Oftentimes they rebuke their fathers and mothers of their own vices,\(^3\) as though they had learned them by their example or negligence. For the unthrifty young man which\(^4\) had an unthrifty father said on this fashion: I will impute mine unthriftiness unto my father. For I was not brought up with sad demeanour, neither under the law of a well ordered house, which might have instructed my manners better, and plucked me from those vices, that mine age was inclined to, but when that first age of children ought to be holden under, and kept in by sad ordering, lest it fall to vice through over much liberty, from which it will be hard to pluck them again,\(^5\) and as the wise man counselleth: Never have the rod

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1 Knowledge.  
2 Honourable.  
3 That is, their own [the children's] vices.  
4 Who.  
5 Back.
off the boy's back; especially the daughters should be handled without any cherishing. For cherishing marreth the sons, but it utterly destroyeth the daughters. And men be made worse with over much liberty, but the women be made ungracious,\textsuperscript{1} for they be so set upon pleasures and fantasies, that except they be well bridled and kept under, they run headlong into a thousand mischiefs. Now how the daughters ought to be brought up I have showed in the Book afore.\textsuperscript{2}

It followeth now that the mother do read it, both because there be many things pertaining unto married women, and because it is the mother's duty to see that her daughters do that we teach there. And when the mothers have provided as well as they can by words, that no foul, uncomely or uncleanly, or jeopardous or ungracious thing abide within the child's mind, then shall they provide most of all by example and deeds, that the child see nothing which cannot be counterfeited and followed without shame. For as I said before, that age is even almost like to an Ape, and doth nothing of itself, but all by counterfeiting of others. And though the fathers and mothers by their authority and love, and also commandment, put the [ev]ill examples of other folks out of the children's minds, yet they cannot rebuke that they do themselves. Or though they would rebuke it, yet will not children be so much moved with that which they hear, as with that that they see. Wherefore the poet Juvenal saith full well that the examples of fathers and mothers may do more than a great deal of warning and teaching of a great sort of masters; for they shall do them more hurt by the example of one ill

\textsuperscript{1} The 1557 edition reads: "be made utterly naught."

\textsuperscript{2} I.e., in Book I. of The Instruction of a Christian Woman.
deed, than they have done them good by much holy counselling. The aforesaid poet counselleth wisely in the 14th Satire on this manner.

Thou shouldst give children great reverence,  
If thou go about any inconvenience,  
Nor set at light a child’s years and age;  
But when thou fallest into outrage,  
Yet for thy little child which is in sight,  
Refrain that foul act with all thy might.¹

[Vives then gives examples from Pliny of a boy being kept from players and jesters, and even dismissed to study his book, when a game of chess was about to be played; and of a girl brought up by her aunt with good learning, who “never saw anything in her aunt’s house but honesty and virtues.”]

No doubt much more diligence ought to be given about the daughters, that nothing blot their demureness, chastity or sadness,² because these things be required more perfect in a woman than a man. And the females in all kinds of beasts do follow example most wittily, and evermore readily and more perfectly the vices, which thing the male doth also. Wherefore she will lightly do that which she seeth her mother do, or any other woman that she seeth regarded of folks. Neither can she restrain herself, if she have their example for authority. Wherefore in such countries where the noble and gentle women be bad, there be but few of the low degree and commonalty, good. And they that be brought up of [ev]ill women be not lightly any other, themselves. Howbeit the daughter resembleth not so much her mother, as her that hath brought and nourished her up.

¹ Juvenal, Saturæ, xiv. 44. ² Seriousness.
[Vives continues to elaborate the force of imitation by citing an example from ancient history, especially dwelling upon the instance of Eleazar, who was required by the statute of King Antiochus to eat swine's flesh and refused. When he was counselled to "make countenance as though he did eat it," he answered he would rather die than do anything, which might give [ev]ill example to young folks. And he was "straight carried unto execution." "Therefore," adds Vives, "the sons should be informed and taught with example of their father." If the father leads them wrongly, his punishment will surely be even more heavy than the son's.]

Of the woman that accustoms her children unto virtue, the master of the pagans, St. Paul, speaketh in this manner: The woman hath gone out of the way by transgression, howbeit she shall be saved by bringing forth of children, if she continue in faith, charity and holiness with chastity.

The remaining chapters deal with the following subjects:

Chapter XII.—Of Twice-married Women and Step-mothers.
Chapter XIII.—How she shall behave herself with her Kinsfolk and Alliance.
Chapter XIV.—How she shall live with her Son or her Daughter married, and how with her Son-in-law and Daughter-in-law.
Chapter XV.—Of a Wife well worn in Age.
BOOK III.—OF WIDOWS.

Chapter I.—Of the Mourning of Widows.
Chapter II.—Of the Burying of her Husband.

[Vives says that the best way "to make friends" with those who are dead is to act mercifully, oneself to the living. "How much better it is to clothe poor strangers than rich kinsfolks, and poor laymen than rich priests, and that that is spended on war and costly Sepultures to be bestowed on poor widows and fatherless children and such as lack." He then insists on carrying out the wishes of the dead, and on paying every debt of theirs scrupulously. Finally, he says: "For the true and durable honour of the corpse standeth in men's hearts, and not in the pomp of Sepulture, or tombs of marble and metal, costly wrought."

Chapter III.—Of the Minding of her Husband.

[This title requires explanation. "Our friends live with us though they be 'dead,' if the lively image of them be imprinted in our hearts, with often thinking upon them, and be daily renewed and their life ever waxeth fresh in our minds. And if we forget them then they die towards us. Let the widow keep the remembrance of her husband with reverence, and not with weeping, and let her live and do so, as she shall think to please her husband, being now a spirit, purified and a divine thing. Let the widow make an end of weeping lest we should seem to mourn for our folks who are departed as though we counted them as clean dead, and not [as merely] absent." The widow should "handle so her house and household, and bring up her children, that her husband may be glad." This is the way to keep her husband in "mind."]

Chapter IV.—Of the Chastity and Honesty of a Widow.
Chapter V.—How they shall use themselves at Home.
Chapter VI.—How they shall behave themselves Abroad.
Chapter VII.—Of Second Marriages.
II

J. L. VIVES: PLAN OF STUDIES FOR GIRLS.¹

JOHANNES LUDOVICUS VIVES.

To the Lady Catharine (Queen of England), his unique (unica) protectress.

You have ordered me to write a brief plan of study according to which thy daughter Mary may be educated by her tutor. Gladly have I obeyed thee, as I would in far greater matters, were I able. And since thou hast chosen as her teacher, a man above all learned and honest, as was fit, I was content to point out details, as with a finger. He will explain the rest of the matters. Those questions which I thought either obscurely treated or omitted by writers on the art of grammar I have noted somewhat copiously. I pray Christ that this plan of teaching may effectively help thy daughter to her erudition and virtue. Farewell, and know my mind most devoted to your Majesty.

Oxford,
Nones of October, 1523.

[The following are important features of Vives’ plan:

1. A high moral standard. Literature, as a subject in education, is to be regarded as character forming.

¹ De Ratione Studii Puerilis (1523).
Nothing but the really excellent should be offered. Hence Vives considers the material of Latin authors is the highest consideration; not merely form and style. Mr. Quick,\(^1\) for instances, characterized the Renaissance spirit as laying supreme emphasis on style, and consequent neglect of subject-matter. This “defect,” as Quick terms it, of the Renascence does not apply to Vives. On the other hand, Vives has to meet the adverse criticism of classicists that, through stress on the subject-matter of the Latin writers he recommends, he includes writers who are non-classical and he excludes writers of the first importance in classical worth.

2. Vives is emphatic in the demand that the pupil shall learn Latin to use it as a medium of conversation. He thus requires close attention to phrases and the evaluation of what is adequate and elegant, for comparison of the materials of speech, and all the pupil’s storage is with a view to use in expression—particularly oral expression.

3. The writing of Latin is an active, not passive, exercise. The practice of keeping paper books which he recommends long before Ascham for Latin words, phrases, *dicta, sententiae*, passages, and so on, is entirely viewed as a method of exercising the pupil’s own choice of what is fitting and excellent. It is essentially a negative to dictation exercises in which the tutor exercises *his* activity of mind and thought. Throughout, Vives keeps his mind intent on the pupil’s point of view and the exercise of the pupil’s activity. Hence Vives is essentially among the modern educators, and classics are to him a discipline calculated to stir the best energies of the pupil, as science is to-day the material on which so many teachers think to get the best mental discipline. In other words, Vives was a heuristic Latinist in his pedagogy.

4. It follows that Vives regards grammar as subordinate entirely to the reading of authors. You establish your grammar rules by observation of authors. Grammar

\(^1\) In *Essays on Educational Reformers*, p. 18.
is merely an epitome of the grammatical facts and constructions which you find in your authors.

**Pronunciation.**

Let the princess learn thoroughly the sounds of the letters and articulate them correctly, for it is a matter of no small importance in the course of instruction how she has learned to articulate elementary sounds and syllables. Let her know that some letters are vowels, others consonants, and how many there are of this and that kind, and why they are so called. Also, that of the consonants, some are mute—i.e., those which begin with their own sound and end in a vowel, as b, c, d. They are thus termed because, if they stand alone and are not followed by a vowel, they become mute. Others are called half-vowels, and of these some are liquids, as l, m, n, r. Then two of the vowels, i, u, pass over to the consonants, when they are followed by a vowel, with which they are joined in sound, as vino, Iuno, conjicio, vinum, vulpes. In Greek words the iota never becomes a consonant; neither Jacobus nor Johannes have i as consonant. The consonant u in this language is beta (β).¹ The vowel u is oû diphthong. Therefore it is usual to write the vowel u as y on account of the Greek υ, which with the Latins often becomes u, as Sylla, Sulla, Tybur, Tubur, and the consonant u as u, on account of the Greek β. A syllable is the joining together of several letters, but from a vowel alone a syllable can be formed—e.g., Maria, Jesus.

Then let her learn that a syllable consists either of

¹ In the Greek Grammar of Vives' contemporary, Nicholas Clenard, "vita" is given as the pronunciation of the letter β.
a vowel standing alone, or of a vowel and consonant, or of a vowel and consonants. Without a vowel no syllable, and as many syllables as there are vowels. From the vowels four diphthongs are formed: two written and pronounced, two written and not pronounced unless the sound is a little stronger than the single vowel alone. The same should be shown in the Greek letters, so that she may know how to pronounce correctly in either language. These matters must be instilled and inculcated, so that she sound letters and syllables rightly, until there remains no error in her speech.

**Parts of Speech.**

Then let her learn in the Latin language there are eight parts of speech, four declinable and four indeclinable. In the declinable are those words which express that something is done. These words are inflected according to moods and tenses, and are called verbs. Those which are declined in cases and express that something took place in time are called participles. Fifteen of the words declined in cases are pronouns; the remaining words thus declined are called nouns. Of the indeclinables, fifty are prepositions. Those words are called conjunctions which join, and, as it were, bind together, parts of speech—formerly they were called convictiones. Words which express a sudden affection of the mind are called interjections; the rest of words are called adverbs. All these matters, however roughly and crudely pointed out by us, and so also all the other questions in this little book, are only, as it were, hinted at, rather than expounded by us with that exactitude which they need in actual teaching.
Writing.

Amongst these topics of instruction time should be found for the formation of letters in writing, not so much with a view to elegant as to swift writing, so that she may write down with her fingers anything the tutor may dictate. If she read an author, and either a word or opinion please her, let her jot it down; for those things stick in the memory which we have written with our own hand, rather than what is written by another's. Whilst we are writing, the mind is diverted from the thought of frivolous or improper objects. The lines which are put before the pupil for imitation should contain some weighty little opinion (sententiolam) which it will be helpful to learn thoroughly, for by frequently writing out such, they will necessarily be fixed in the mind. Therefore care should be taken that at the outset in transcription it was written with strict correctness.

Memory.

Let her exercise her memory daily, so that there be no day on which she has not learned something thoroughly. So thereby her wit will be sharpened, and she will prepare her memory to become easily responsive and ready for her own use, and that most firmly, so that whatever she shall want, her memory shall hold her back from nothing. Those things which are grasped at that age will remain with her all her life. To begin with, at night, on going to bed, let her read and re-read twice or thrice closely what she wishes to give in charge to her memory and on the next morning ask herself for it again.
[The following sections are on the inflexions of nouns, on verbs, syntax, participles, verbal nouns. These I omit here.]

Anomalous Terms.

Let her learn what verbs have participles, and in which verbs participles are lacking, and which verbs follow the ordinary rules of inflexion, which do not. Also those verbs which are called anomalous or defective, as *aio, inquio, quaeso, salve, vale,* and those which have mixed conjugation, as *fero, tuli, latum.* Afterwards, let her learn those verbs which have varied forms of construction—*i.e.,* which may be used with varied cases, as *recordor hanc rem and illius rei; postulo te huius criminis,* and *de hoc crimine.* On this subject Antonius Mancinellus has written a little book which he called *Thesaurus.* When all these matters have been once generally expounded (for it is not necessary that they should be treated with minute detail), then the *Grammatical Compendium* of Thomas Linacre may be used, and also the little book *de 'Constructione,* by Melanchthon (which was once circulated under the name of Erasmus). At the same time, also, Erasmus's *Colloquies* either as a whole or in part, as selected by the tutor, may be brought into requisition.

Vocabulary.

From Erasmus's *Colloquies* she will retain in memory some expressions and formulæ of speech, of which she will make use in daily converse. Whereupon—*it will be expedient to ask herself these, so as not to let them fall away from memory, and she should be bidden to use them in conversation with others.* Dialogues should be
written for her on those things which she requires daily to concern herself about, so that she may be accustomed to name them in Latin, e.g., clothes, parts of the house, food, divisions of time, musical instruments, house-furniture. The right and original significations of words will be explained to her, so that she does not use improper terms. Then let her note the differences in meaning of words which seem similar, and the agreements in those which seem dissimilar. In this task it is not desirable to study the whole of Laurentius Valla, but some excerpts from him, such as those which Nebrissensis or Antonius Mancinellus collected. But great watchfulness is necessary that the tutor should prevent the frivolous, or the ill-considered, or the false, from being learned. For of this kind there are far from being few passages in Valla, Nonius, Servius, and Donatus. This is particularly the case in Aulus Gellius. Further, let the Princess also learn the etymologies of many words. She will then more truly and certainly understand, remember and be delighted by this knowledge in many ways. There lies hidden in this kind of knowledge much experience. Etymologies, if only treated rightly and with accuracy, would put aside many frivolous and ridiculous ideas, which were held in the time of our fathers and forefathers, who accepted what they were told on this subject, being thoroughly unacquainted with Latin and Greek speech. Let the Princess note those barbarous words which have usurped dominion, through their use by the uncultured. They are, indeed, Latin words, but have a quite different signification from that with which they are now used.
The Practice of Writing Latin.

Let her begin to turn short speeches (oratiunculas) from English into Latin. At first they should be easy; then, by degrees, more difficult, in which there should occur all kinds and forms of words. Let these partly be serious and religious, and in part joyful and courteous.

Authors.

At the same time, with her writing, let her learn the Distichs of Cato, the *Mimi* of Publius Syrus, and the *Sentences* of the Seven Wise Men, all of which have been collected together in the same little book of Erasmus, and explained by him. Let her learn thoroughly some of those *Sentences*—those, namely, which are particularly useful in life—that she may have them in mind afterwards, as it were, antidotes, whatever happens, whether it be of fortune or misfortune. Let her accustom herself at this tender age to hold her opinions truly and sincerely, that she may only think those things good which are true—*e.g.*, the virtues and erudition; those things bad which are so truly—*viz.*, vices, ignorance, and foolishness; lest she take evil for good, or contrariwise; lest she be captivated and stirred by slight and fickle things, instead of great ones; lest, in a word, she hold the great and precious as vile. Let her be given pleasure in stories which teach the art of life. Let these be such as she can tell to others—*e.g.*, the life of the boy Papirius Praetextatus in Aulus Gellius, of Joseph in the Holy Books, of Lucretia in Livy, of Griselda and others, as found in Valerius, Sabellicus, and other writers of the same kind—stories which tend to some commendation of virtue, and detestation
of vice. Let her have a dictionary, Latin and English, which she may often consult, and get to know what each word signifies. When she does not understand anything let it be explained by a teacher. Let her not learn words of disgraceful and improper matters. Neither let her read them, if it is possible, nor hear them. Let her provide herself with a little book of blank paper, in which, with her own hand, she may write little sentences which she will commit to memory, and which will serve her as an enchiridion.

[Then follows a return in more exact detail to former grammatical points.]

*Latin Conversation.*

Let the princess speak with her tutor and fellow-pupils in Latin. Of fellow-pupils let her have three or four; for it is not good to be taught alone.\(^1\) But do not let them be many, and let the few be most carefully chosen, and most piously and liberally educated, from whom she will not hear or learn anything which would injure her morals; for conduct (*mores*) ought to be the first care. Let her be stimulated now by small rewards, now by emulation. Let her herself be praised, and let others be praised in her presence. Let her attempt to express (in Latin) what she has been reading in her authors, and in the same manner let her listen to others

\(^1\) With regard to boys, Erasmus says: "A middle course [*i.e., between a large school and a private tutor*] pleases many people—viz., to place five or six boys under one teacher. In this way companionship, suitable for cultivating alertness, is not lacking. The individual attention of the teacher is reasonably adequate, and the corruption characteristic of a multitude is easily avoided" (*De Matrimonio Christiano*, 1526).
speaking of what they have been reading. To those whom she thinks to be learned, let her give most close attention, and so let her herself speak; for this is imitation—a method of no small usefulness, especially in a tender age which takes to nothing more willingly or to better purpose than imitation. But not only should she imitate the words, but also all pronunciation, so as not to err in correct accent.

[Then follows a paragraph on correct accent, and its more general rules in Latin speaking.]

**Annotations.**

Let her get a somewhat large note-book (*librum vacuum*) in which she may jot down with her own hand, first, words if (whilst reading important authors) she comes across any words useful for daily conversation, or rare or elegant words; next, let her note forms of speaking, expressions which are witty, graceful, neat, erudite; next, examples of *sententiae*, weighty, amusing, deep, polite, imaginative, and practical, from which she may seek example for her life. Let her note also where, and in what manner, the rules of grammar are kept, and where neglected. For the grammatical art is born from the practice of authors; so this is to be preferred in authority to the grammatical art itself when the two (the practice of authors and the rules of grammatical text-books) differ. Yet the art of grammar is necessary, whilst it gathers its rules from observation as to what is the right and correct way to speak.

**Authors.**

The authors in whom she should be versed are those who, at the same time, cultivate right language and right
living: those who help to inculcate not only knowledge, but living well. Of this kind are Cicero, Seneca, the works of Plutarch (the last named has been translated into Latin by several hands), some dialogues of Plato—especially those which concern the government of the State. Then the epistles of Jerome, and some works of Ambrosius and Augustine, should be read. Further, the Institutiones Principis, the Enchiridion, the Paraphrases [of Erasmus], and many of the works useful to piety, and the Utopia of Thomas More. With no great trouble she can learn history from Justinus, Florus, and Valerius Maximus. With all these, both when she gets up in the morning and goes to bed at night, let her read each day something from the New Testament—the passages to be suggested by the tutor. There are also Christian poets, whom it will be pleasant and fruitful to read, such as Prudentius, Sidonius, Paulinus, Aratus, Prosper, Juveneus. In many passages, these writers vie with many of the ancients in the elegance of their verse, and, as for their matter, they are as far superior as good is to evil and the divine is to the human. Nor are the heathen poets to be entirely omitted—particularly Lucan, Seneca the Tragedian, and a good part of Horace. When she reads these, let her have in her possession a vocabulary of the Latin language—viz., Calepinus or Perottus—to which she may refer as to a Latin word.

This is only, in my view, a rough sketch of studies. Time will admonish her as to more exact details, and thy singular wisdom will discover for her what they should be.

Note.—The Princess Mary was born in 1516. Thus in 1523 was a child of seven years of age. She died in 1558. The modern reader may be surprised to find that
Vives recommends (before the time of the Reformation) the young princess to read the New Testament, morning and evening. Such a reader may be still more surprised to find that the Princess Mary—afterwards Queen Mary I. of execrable memory—so far profited by Vives' counsel, as herself to translate Erasmus's *Paraphrase on St. John's Gospel*, when the English translation of the whole work edited by Nicholas Udall was published in 1547. In the dedication to Queen Catharine [Parr], the widow of King Henry VIII, Udall says of Mary and her translation: "It [England] may never be able enough to praise her Grace for taking such great study, pain and travail in translating this Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Gospel of St. John, at your Highness' special contemplation, as a number of right learned men would have made courtesy at, and also would have brought to worse fame in the doing." Then Udall proceeds to the following eulogy:

"O how greatly may we all glory in such a peerless flower of virginity as her Grace is! who in the midst of courtly delights, and amidst the enticements of worldly vanities, hath by her own choice and election, so virtuously and so fruitfully passed her tender youth, that to the public comfort and gladful rejoicing, which at her birth she brought to all England, she doth now also confer unto the same the inestimable benefit of furthering, both us and our posterity, in the knowledge of God's Word, and to the more clear understanding of Christ's gospel. O royal exercise indeed of virginly education! O inestimable and precious fruit of maidenly studies! O noble success of princely spending the time, especially in a woman!"

A particularly careful account of the education, and the development of intellectual ability, and as the author thinks, of strong moral characteristics in Queen Mary, is to be found in Sir Frederick Madden's Introductory Memoir to the transcript of *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*. London: Pickering, 1831.
Vives' tractate on a girl's education is interestingly connected with the name of the great Renascence scholar, George Buchanan, who published an edition of Vives' treatise *De Ratione Studii Puerilis* [for a girl], at Lyons [Lugdenensi] apud Heredes Simonis Vincentii—printed to follow the *Rudimenta Grammatices* of Thomas Linacre. [Buchanan's edition had appeared at Paris, 1536. See Bonilla y San Martín: *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento*, p. 777.]

The preface is as follows:

**George Buchanan to the Reader,**

Since now this little book [the *Rudimenta Grammatices*] has been brought to a close, it seemed to me that it would not be in conflict with its subject-matter if I were to add a word to the letter of Luis Vives which he wrote for the *de Ratione Studii*, not with the view of filling up vacant pages so much as not to seem to have imitated bad doctors, who very often will prescribe drugs to their patients, but entirely omit to give them any ground for using them. For he who looks in all things for a reason, as if for a goal, knows moreover what things are of most value, and which things have been furnished him to no use or purpose. Besides, as the little book\(^1\) has been prepared for the daughter, so the letter\(^2\) to the mother was sent showing how the daughter was to be brought up, in which you have the judgment of a most learned man [*eruditissimi viri*]. Farewell and enjoy.

**George Buchanan.**

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1 *I.e.*, the *Rudimenta Grammatices*.

2 *I.e.*, the *de Ratione Studii Puerilis*, which consists of two *Epistolæ*, or Letters—one to Queen Catharine on the education of a girl, the other to Charles, son of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, on the education of a boy. For the latter treatise see Appendix, pp. 241-250.
To Mary, Prince of Wales (Princeps Cambriae), daughter of Henry VIII., King of England,—Health.

It has been customary that a satellitium (escort, guard) should be attached to princes, to keep constant watch over the safety of their life and body. I think this is done rather from accepted custom than on account of its wisdom, since princes thereby give evidence of their fear. This fear is entirely born of their conscience, for there is no guard more sure or more faithful than innocence, and love of the people; which is not wrenched out of them by warfare or terror, but is called forth by love, trust, diligence, and by provision of benefits for the good of all. Nor is praise undeservedly given to that most wise word of Agasicles, King of Sparta, that any one could reign without a guard, who would govern those placed under him, as a father governs his children. But if custom strengthened by the practice of so many years cannot suddenly be given up and thus thy physical safety lack due care, for that—thy parents will make all provision. But I, for my part, often requested by your mother, an illustrious and most holy woman, will set around thy soul a guard, which will preserve thee more
securely and safely than any spearmen or bowmen whatever. For a body-guard has been known to desert its Emperor, for reward, or for fear, or for sport, as in the case of Nero, or has betrayed him, as in the case of Galba, or even to have killed him, as his body-guard killed Pertinax. But this body-guard of mine, once assimilated by thee in good faith, for thy safety, will block the way against all attacks and assaults on thy breast. For there is greater danger to the soul from the forces and cunning of vices, than to the body from either external or internal contests. And as each one's soul ought to be so much dearer to him than his body, so the more crafty and hidden snares of vices and their tyranny are more grievous, and their destruction of the soul is more violent and horrible.

You will receive, therefore, from me two hundred guards,¹ or a few more, whom you will get to know familiarly, so that neither by night nor by day, neither at home nor in public, will you permit yourself to depart a finger's breadth from them. For if you were deprived of these or similar guards, you would become a prey to the Devil, "who," as Peter says, "is a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." I have called them Symbola (tokens, signets) as if they were sure signs, by which Princes of old were ordinarily distinguished, as indeed they are to-day. But the custom became more widespread, whence as from a fountain of folly, there flowed those demonstrations of stolid arrogance, which are at present indulged in by princes, unworthy not only of Christians, but also even of heathens, by which they threaten all, terrify all, and attribute to themselves more

¹ The Symbola were finally two hundred and thirty-nine in number, each being a motto, maxim, or emblem.
than is conceded to man, and establish for themselves a greater faith in their own power than they have in that of God.

It will be understood about whom I am speaking, nor is it necessary for me to name them more explicitly. Their ferocities take upon them the insignia of lions, bears, panthers, wolves, snakes, dragons, hounds, eagles, vultures, swords, fires and things of that kind; as if it were beautiful, magnificent and truly worthy in a King to be of a mind which imitates what is savage, greedy, cruel, bloodthirsty. How will a man show his excellence more, in assuming an ensign? will it be by choosing such as allures and invites him away from humanity, gentleness, mildness, and sweetness, or by choosing an ensign which deters him from greatness, majesty, dignity and excellence?

Moreover, this is the law of symbols, that they should contain an idea in a small number of words, at most five; and the shorter they are, the more charm they possess, e.g., that of Augustus: Matura.

The "Symbol" conceals something obscure, and of the nature of allegory. It is, therefore, a little deflected from the natural sense of the words, but not to such an extent as Pythagoras employed, when he prevented the unlearned from understanding his words, by making the meaning of the symbol far different from what the sense appeared to be, so that he led the Tyrrhenians to obey

1 Erasmus, similarly to Vives, in his de Civilitate morum puerilium libellus (Antwerp, 1526), says: "We must regard as noble all those who cultivate their mind by the practice of letters. Let others have painted on their escutcheons—lions, eagles, bulls, leopards; those possess more true nobility who could produce as their possessions images learned from the liberal arts in place of such ensigns."
the words, without regard to any allegory, since the words were not understood. Therefore I have added little expositions, short indeed, as proof of the matter in hand, but merely intended that, in many places, ambiguity should neither delay nor deceive you. I desire to receive no payment, that the law of Christ (in accordance with which we must choose things for ourselves and in accordance with which I have endeavoured to develop my teachings)—that this law may rule in all your life and actions, so that you may become a great example to women, in private life, if you are yourself such a princess as easily may result from imitation of your mother. For what richer or more excellent reward can a Christian man receive, in this life, or one more fruitful towards a future life, than to see that his rightful admonitions have not fallen unheeded; and that, by his work, the piety of others has been increased? May the Lord Jesus impart to thee his spirit, that thou mayest live most happily, as long as ever may be, and that thou mayest prefer goodness before all fortune.

Bruges,
Calends of July, 1524.

[Vives regards the mottoes, or devices (symbola) of princes and nobles, as members of the body-guard of the soul, in the same way that royal personages employed military bodyguards. This "mystical guard," as Namèche calls it, is composed of 239 mottoes, each of which may be regarded as a satellite in the guard, each motto being chosen for its short, sententious value, and being accompanied by an exposition of its meaning by Vives, after the manner of the old glosses on the text of Aquinas or Priscian, though with the fresh life of the new Renascence. The work, of course, throughout, both
Symbola and expositions, is in Latin. Not only was the *Satellitium* written for Mary specially, but the modern reader will have noted, perhaps painfully, that the treatise *de Institutione Feminae Christianae* and the *de Ratione Studii puerilis*, both closely associated with her training, are permeated with moral instruction.

This textbook ought to have a renewed interest today, when there is so much discussion of the teaching of morals. For it is easy to show, that if ever a Princess had training in the meditation on, and study of, morals, it was the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary I. The reader may therefore be interested in seeing a few of the examples of the *Satellitium* and Vives' method of treatment of the *Symbola*.

53. *Generositas virtus, non sanguis* (Nobility consists in moral excellence, not in descent).

We shall see how this works out if we make use of an induction in this matter. Which horse is noble? which dog? Is it not the best (optimus) and so in other animals and stocks: therefore also the noble man is none other than the best man morally.

[Vives, it may be mentioned, was clearly conscious of the value of the inductive method long before Francis Bacon.]

55. *Fortuna fallacior, quo blandior* (The more fortune smiles on us, the more deceptive it is).

This is the motto which I had given to Cardinal Croy\(^1\) for the ruling of his mind: but it was not so much a motto as a prophecy, for when fortune had poured her

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1 From 1518 till 1521, Vives was tutor to the young William de Croy, Cardinal and Archbishop-designate of Toledo. In the latter year the young pupil died, greatly to the grief of Vives.
gifts most copiously into his lap and that of his uncle, by making him a Cardinal whilst yet a young man of one-and-twenty years, suddenly fortune took life away from them both.

65. *Magnum satellitium, amor* (The great body-guard is love).

Claudianus says:

"Neither being on one's guard nor the protection of javelins protects us as does love."

Sallust says:

"Not arms, nor wealth is the protection of the kingdom, but friends; for no one wishes to hurt the one he loves."

This Symbolum is similar to the one which follows:

66. *Firmissimae opes, amor* (Love is the most powerful of riches).

Not only is that word impious in human affairs; it is also foolish, when it is said that everything is established by money; that love can do but little, since we see the greatest power overturned, or diminished by hatred, whilst it is made firm by love. Hence the old word: "Where there are friends, there is power." Amongst the Germans and Scythians formerly, there was no other wealth.

121. *Princeps, multis consulendo* (A Prince must consult the interests of the many).

This is precisely what a Prince is to do, to place public interests before his own, and to think there is no one
amongst his subjects over whom he has not to cherish a peculiar care. And so a Prince fulfils his duty by shaking off his own personal convenience, and his own feelings (affectus), and assuming that which is common, for to that purpose princes are chosen, so as to be free of private concerns, and that they may keep watch for the good of the public. And so they may say: “Duty gives the command, not their sovereignty.”

124. *Non quam diu, sed quam bene.*

This relates to life and all actions. Although for many, the length of life, or something else connected with their actions, may chance to be short, yet no one has had taken away from him the power of acting rightly, in what he has purposed, for some space of time, however short it may have been. So it is of no importance, how long the action may be, but how he does what he undertakes. Our life must be good; not necessarily long; we can, even at a moment of time, live most holily, at the height of holiness.

146. *Bellum cum vitiiis* (Wage war on vices).

We ought not to wage war against men, nor should our strength and vigour be shown against them, but against vices, which are our real enemies, and fatal to us.


Life should be so led that there should be no reason why any one should complain of thee, or thou of any one, or of fortune. Nor shouldst thou do any wrong to any
one, nor believe that any one has done any to thee: Seneca, *de Tranquillitate vitae*. So accustomed should we be to our position in life that we should bring complaint to a minimum, and we should recognise whatsoever there is of pleasantness in it. For there is nothing so grievous, in which the just mind cannot find some solace. This is my motto.
IV

RICHARD HYRDE ON THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN—1524

Prefatory Note.

Erasmus’s treatise *Precatio dominica in septem portiones distributa* was published by Froben at Basle in 1523, and in the following year (1524) this little book was translated into English by “a young virtuous and well-learned gentlewoman of nineteen years of age.” This was none other than Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas More, who was married to William Roper in circa 1521 (see note on p. 168 infra). It is the Introduction to this translation of Margaret More which is given below, and it consists of a vindication of women as students of the humanities. It was written by Richard Hyrde, “who sometime dwelled with Master Chancellor of the Duchy” (i.e., Sir Thomas More), as tutor to the famous daughter, Margaret (the translator of Erasmus’s treatise), or at any rate in More’s family.

This Introduction is, I believe, the first Renascence document in English on the education of women, and it is interesting to notice that the writer, Richard Hyrde, was the translator into English of J. L. Vives’ *de Institutione Feminae Christianae*, issued in Latin in the same year, 1524.¹ Very little is known of Hyrde, but he is probably to be identified with a man of that name who

¹ Hyrde’s translation is a posthumous work, and was not printed till 1540, though it was certainly written between 1524 and 1528.
“supplcated” for his degree at Oxford, July 8, 1519. There is a letter extant, dated March 23, 1528, from Gardiner and Foxe, who had been entrusted with a mission to the Pope, in which they state that they had arrived at Orvieto, and that one of their servants “is in great danger from the wetting, a young man learned in physic, Greek and Latin, whose death would be a great loss. . . . His name is Richard Herde.”¹ Stephen Gardiner adds that Herde was wont to resort to see him whilst he was living with More. Four days afterwards follows another letter from the same writer, saying: “Richard Herde died on Lady Day (1528) to our great discomfort, as we had great confidence in his learning and experience in physic.”²

Hyrde addresses his words on women’s education to “the most studious and virtuous young maid Frances.” This “young maid” apparently is Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife, Mary, daughter of King Henry VII., and widow of the King Louis XII. of France. Frances, thus, had as her uncle, King Henry VIII., to whom reference is made in the course of Hyrde’s Introduction. The reader may recall the account of the French Queen-widow Mary in Miss Strickland’s Lives of the Tudor Princesses, where she states that Mary’s daughter, born July 16, 1517, was named Frances, and is “the first instance of the name as pertaining to any Englishwoman.” If we are right in thus identifying “the young maid” as Frances Brandon, Hyrde dedicates this first English document on women’s education to the child, who was in 1524 only seven years old, but who was married in 1534, ten years later, to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and became the mother of Lady Jane Grey. This Introduction thus is connected with some of the most important women’s names of the period—the More household; Henry VIII.’s household, including Catharine of Aragon and her

² Ibid., p. 1812 [4103].
daughter Mary; the Queen-widow Mary, her daughter Frances, and granddaughter, Lady Jane Grey.

Mr. Richard Davey, the writer of the biography of Lady Jane Grey, under the title of *The Nine Days' Queen*, says: "No very great pains seem to have been taken with Lady Frances' education, except in the matter of what we should call 'sports,' in which, it seems, she was very proficient." On this point the reader will remember that Ascham in the *Scholemaster* describes the parents of Lady Jane and the household as engaged in hunting on the occasion of his visit to Bradgate, when he found Lady Jane reading the *Phaedo* of Plato in preference to such pastime. Jane's own account of her father, the Marquis, and her mother Frances, Marchioness of Dorset, is: "When I am in presence of either father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even as perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips and bobs and other ways which I will not name, for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. . . . And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me." Miss Strickland, in contradistinction to Mr. Davey, says that Lady Frances "had been elaborately educated," and this seems to be quite consistent with the rigour, described by Ascham in the above passage. Indeed, the combination of womanly culture and austerity was the distinct implication of Vives' teaching in women's education, and was in accord with the English tradition, as exemplified in Margaret, Countess of Richmond,
foundress of St. John’s College and Christ’s College, Cambridge, who furnishes the highest standard of womanly training before the advent of Catharine of Aragon to the English Court. (See Introduction to this book, pp. 2, 3.)

[The text of the Introduction is given verbatim, as in the original. Since this seems to be the first document in English after the Renascence on the Education of Women, it seems to be desirable to reproduce it in its original form.]

A devout treatise upon the Paternoster made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Rotorodamus and tourned in to Englishe by a young vertuous and well learned gentylwoman of xix yere of age. 1524.

Richard Hyrde / unto the most studyous and virtuous yonge mayde Fraunces S. sendeth gretynge and well to fare.

I have heard many men put great doubt whether it should be expedient and requisite or not, a woman to have learning in books of Latin and Greek. And some utterly affirm that it is not only nother [= neither] necessary nor profitable, but also very noisome and jeopardous. Alleging for their opinion that the frail kind of women, being inclined of their own courage unto vice, and mutable at every newelty [novelty], if they should have skill in many things that be written in the Latin and Greek tongue, compiled and made with great craft and eloquence, where the matter is haply sometime
more sweet unto the ear than wholesome for the mind, it would of likelihood both inflame their stomachs a great deal the more to that vice, that men say they be too much given unto of their own nature already, and instruct them also with more subtilty and conveyance, to set forward and accomplish their froward intent and purpose. But these men that so say, do in my judgment, either regard but little what they speak in this matter, or else, as they be for the more part unlearned, they envy [enuy] it and take it sore to he[a]rt, that other[s] should have the precious jewel, which they nether have themselfe, nor can find in their hearts to take the pain to get. For first, where they reckon such instability and mutable nature in women, they say therein their pleasure of a contentious mind, for the maintenance of their mat[t]er, for if they would look thereon with an even eye, and consider the matter equally, they should find and well perceive, that women be not onely of no less constancy and discretion than men, but also more steadfast and sure to trust unto than they.

For whether I pray you was more light and more to be discommended, Helen, that with much labour and suit, and many crafty means, was at the last overcome and enticed to go away with the King's son of Troy? or Paris, which with once sight of her, was so doted in her love, that neither the great cheer and kindness showed unto him of her husband, King Menelaus, nor shame of the abominable deed, nor fear of the peril that was like to come thereupon, nor the dread of God, might let [i.e., hinder] him to convey her away, contrary to all gentleness, contrary to all right, all laws and consciences? Nor the woman casteth her mind neither to one nor other of her own proper will, which thing is
a sure token of an upright and a steadfast mind, but by the suit and meanes of the man: when he, with one look of her, is ravished of all his wits. Now if here peraventure a man would say, Yes, they be moved as well as men, but they dissemble, forbear, and will not utter their stomachs, nother is it so convenient the woman to speak as the man: that shall not help his excuse, but rather hinder it, for they be the more worthy to be allowed, that will not be so far overseen in that affection, which is so naturally given to all things living, but that they can remember their duty and honesty, where the man is many times so far beside his reason that he seeth nother where, nor when, nother to whom, nor how, to behave himself, nother can regard what is comely and what is not.

For verily it is as unconvenient for the man to demand that thing that is unlawful, if he could perceive, as for the woman. And if both their vices were all open and showed, the man should have much more that he ought to be ashamed of, saying that he is also in that point worse than the woman, in as much as she is ashamed of her fault, be it never so small; and he is so far from that virtue, that when he hath done nought, he rejoiceth of it and vaunteth himself, as though it were well done. And yet he is so unreasonable in judging the woman, that as Isocrates saith wherein he hath no consideration, how oft or how sore he offend his wife: he will not suffer once to be offended himself by her never so little: where he would that she should take his deeds all well in worth. Wherefore, indeed, women be in gay case and happy, if their honesty and praise must hang at the girdles of such people!
Now as for learning, if it were cause of any evil as they say it is, it were worse in the man than in the woman, because (as I have said here before) he can both worse stay and refrain himself, than she. And moreover than that, he cometh ofter and in more occasions than the woman, inasmuch as he liveth more forth abroad among company daily,¹ where he shall be moved to utter such craft as he hath gotten by his learning. And women abide most at home, occupied ever with some good or necessary business. And the Latin and the Greek tongue I see not but there is as little hurt in them, as in books of English and French, which men both read, themselves, for the proper pastimes that be written in them, and for the witty and crafty conveyance of the makings: And also can bear well enough, that women read them, if they will, never so much, which commodities be far better handled in the Latin and Greek, than in any other language. And in them be many holy doctors’ writings, so devout and effectuous, that whosoever regardeth them must needs be either much better or less evil, which every good body, both man and woman, will read and follow, rather than others. But as for that, I hear many men say for the greatest jeopardy in this matter, in good faith to be plain, methink it is so foolish that scantly it is worthy, either to be rehearsed or answered unto, that is, where they say, if their wives coulde [knew] Latin or Greek, then might they talk more boldly with priests and friars, as who saith,² there were no better means (if they were ill disposed) to execute their purposes than by

¹ See Vives, “How the maid shall behave herself, being abroad” (book i., chap. xii., pp. 94-102).
² As if one were to say.
speaking Latin or Greek; other else, that priests and friars were commonly so well learned, or that they can make their bargain so readily, which thing is also for contrary, that I suppose nowadays a man could not devise a better way to keep his wife safe from them, than if he teach her the Latin and Greek tongue, and such good sciences as are written in them: the which now, most part of priests, and specially such as be nought, abhor and fly from: yea, as fast in a manner as they fly from beggars, that ask them alms in the street. And where they find fault with learning, because they say it engendreth wit and craft, then they reprehend it, for that that it is most worthy to be commended for, and the which is one singular cause wherefor learning ought to be desired, for he that had leaver have his wife a fool than a wise woman, I hold him worse than twice frantic. Also reading and studying of books so occupieth the mind, that it can have no leisure to muse or delight in other fantasies, where in all handiworks that men say be more meet for a woman, the

1 In one of Erasmus’s Colloquies (The Abbot and the Learned Woman), Antronius the Abbot says: “I have three score and two monks in my cloister, and you will not see one book in my chamber. . . . Women are more secure from the priests if they [i.e., women] don’t understand Latin.” Magdalia, the learned woman, replies: “Nay, there is the least danger from that quarter . . . because you [i.e., monks] take all the pains you can not to know anything of Latin.”

2 Cf. Erasmus, in the same Colloquy: “A woman that is truly wise does not think herself so, but, on the contrary, one that knows nothing, thinks herself to be wise, and that is being twice a fool.”

3 Cf. J. A. Comenius, a hundred years later, on the education of women: “Do we fear their rashness? The more we occupy their thoughts, the less room will there be in them for rashness, which springs generally from vacuity of mind.”
body may be busy in one place, and the mind walking in another: and while they sit sewing and spinning with their fingers, may cast and compass many peevish fancies in their minds, which must needs be occupied either with good or bad, so long as they be waking. And those that be evil disposed will find the means to be nought, though they can [know] never a letter in the book, and she that will be good, learning shall cause her to be much the better. For it sheweth the image and ways of good living, even right as a mirror sheweth the similitude and proportion of the body. And doubtless the daily experience proveth that such as are nought are those that never knew what learning meant. For I never heard tell, nor read of any woman well learned that ever was (as plenteous as evil tongues be) spotted or infamed as vicious. But on the other side, many by their learning take, such increase of goodness that many may bear them witness of their virtue, of which sort I could rehearse a great number, both of old time and of late. Sauyng that I will be content, as for now, with one example of our own country and time that is: this gentlewoman, which translated this little book, hereafter following: whose virtuous conversation, living, and sad demeanour may be proof evident enough what good learning doth, where it is surely rooted: of whom other women may take example of prudent, humble and wifely behaviour, charitable and very Christian virtue, with which she hath, with God’s help, endeavoured herself, no less to garnish her soul than it hath liked his goodness, with lovely beauty and comeliness, to garnish and set out her body: and undoubted is it that to the increase of her virtue, she hath taken and taketh no little occasion of her learning, besides her other manifold and great
commodities, taken of the same; among which commodi-
ties, this is not the least, that with her virtuous,
worshipful, wise and well learned husband, she hath by
the occasion of her learning and his delight therein, such
especial comfort, pleasure and pastime, as were not well
possible for one unlearned couple, either to take together,
or to conceive in their minds, what pleasure is therein.¹
Therefore, good Frances, seeing that such fruit, profit
and pleasure cometh of learning, take no heed unto the
lewd words of those that dispraise it, as verily as man
doeth, save such as neither have learning nor wotteth
what it meaneth, which is indeed the most part of men;
and as the most part and the best part be not always of
one mind, so if this matter should be tried, not by wit
and reason, but by heads or hands, the greater part is
like as it often doth, to vanquish and overcome the
better, for the best part (as I reckon) whom I accompt
the wisest of every age, as amongst the Gentiles the old
philosophers, and amongst the Christian men the ancient
doctors of Christ's Church, all affirm learning to be
very good and profitable, not only for men but also for
women, that which Plato the wise philosopher calleth
a bridle for young people against vice. Wherefore, good
Frances, take you the best part and leave the most,
follow the wise men, and regard not the foolish sort, but
apply all your might, will and diligence, to obtain that

¹ In the Dictionary of National Biography the date of Margaret
More's marriage is given as c. 1525, but in a letter dated 1521,
Erasmus (Epistolæ, 1642 ed., column 760) describes Margaret as
married to William Roper. Magdalia, in the Colloquy of Erasmus
(Abbot and the Learned Woman), says: "I bless myself that I have
gotten a husband that is not like yourself. Learning both endears
him to me and me to him." Erasmus himself states that he had been
converted to the idea of women's education by Sir Thomas More.
especial treasure, which is delectable in youth, comfortable in age, and profitable at all seasons: of whom, without doubt, cometh much goodness and virtue. Which virtue whoso lacketh, he is without that thing that onely maketh a man: yea, and without the which, a man is worse than an unreasonable beast, nor once worthy to have the name of a man. It maketh fair and amiable that that is of nature deformed: as Diogenes the philosopher, when he saw a young man foul and evil favoured of person, but very virtuous of living: thy virtue, said he, maketh thee beautiful: and that that is goodly of itself already, it maketh more excellent and bright. Which, as Plato, the wise philosopher, saith, if it could be seen with our bodily eyes, it would make men wondrously enamoured and taken in the love of it. Wherefore unto those especial gifts of grace that God hath lent you, and endued you withal, endeavour yourself that this precious diamond and ornament be not lacking; which had, shall flourish and enlighten all your other gifts of grace, and make them more gay: and lacked, shall darken and blemish them sore. And surely the beauty of it, though ye had none other, shall get you both greater love, more faithful and longer to continue of all good folks than shall the beauty of the body, be it never so excellent, whose love decayeth together with it that was the cause of it, and most commonly before, as by daily experience we may see them, that go together for the love of the bodily beauty, within a small while, when their appetite is satisfied, repent themselves. But the love that cometh by the means of virtue and goodness, shall ever be fresh and increase, right as doth the virtue itself. And it shall [to] you come by none otherwise so readily as if you continue the study of learning, which
you be entered well in, all ready: and for your time and age, I would say, had greatly profited, saving that child's age is so frail accompted, that it needeth rather monition and continual calling upon, than the deserved praise. How be it I have no doubt in you, whom I see naturally born unto virtue, and having so good bringing up of a babe, not only among your honourable uncle's children,¹ of whose conversation and company they that were right evil, might take occasion of goodness and amendment. But also with your own mother,² of whose precepts and teaching, and also very virtuous living, if you take heed, as I put no fear you will, and also do, you cannot fail to come to such grace and goodness, as I have ever had opinion in you, that ye should. Wherefore I have ever in my mind favoured you, and furthered, to my power, your profit and increase thereunto, and shall as long as I see you delight in learning and virtue;

¹ Frances' uncle was Henry VIII. That monarch's only living child in 1524 was the Princess Mary, who at this time was eight years of age, a year older than Frances. But it must be remembered that children were sent to the Court to be trained. One such child in Henry VIII.'s Court was Lady Elizabeth (the "Geraldine" of the Earl of Surrey's poems), the daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, whose ancestors were descended from the Geraldi of Florence.

² As to the education of Frances' mother Mary, the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had previously been Queen-Consort of Louis XII. of France, her latest biographer, Miss Croom Brown, says: "Beyond reading and writing, singing, dancing, and embroidery, Mary's education did not go." But, at least, in addition Mary had studied French, for John Palsgrave, in his Les Clarcissement de la Lange Francoyse, says that he had been formerly appointed by Henry VIII. as schoolmaster in French to the King's sister, Queen Mary, Dowager of France, and Hyrde here speaks of a certain degree of progress in Latin studies made by the Queen-Duchess, Mary.
no kind of pain or labour refused on my partie that may do you good. And as a token of my good mind, and an instrument toward your success and furtherance, I send you this book, little in quantity, but big in value, turned out of Latin into English, by your own forenamed kinswoman, whose goodness and virtue, two things there be that let one [prevent one] much to speak of. The one, because it were a thing superfluous to spend many words unto you, about that matter which yourself know well enough, by long experience and daily use. The other cause is, for I would eschew the slaundre of flattery: how be it I count it no flattery to speak good of them that deserve it, but yet I know that she is as loath to have praise given her, as she is worthy to have it, and had leaver her praise to rest in men's hearts than in their tongues, or rather in God's estimation and pleasure than any man's words or thought: and as touching the book itself, I refer and leave it to the judgments of those that shall read it, and unto such as are learned, that onely name of the maker putteth out of question the goodness and perfection of the work, which as to mine own opinion and fantasy, cannot be amended in any point. And as for the translation thereof, I dare be bold to say it, that whoso list, and well can confer and examine, the translation with the original, he shall not fail to find that she hath shewed herself not only erudite and elegant in either tongue, but hath also used such wisdom, such discreet and substantial judgment, in expressing lively the Latin, as a man may peradventure miss in many things translated and turned by them, that bear the name of rightwise and very well learned men: and the labour that I have had with it about the printing, I yield wholly and freely give unto you, in whose
manners and virtue, as in a child, I have great affection, and unto your good mother, unto whom I am so much beholden, of whose company I take so great joy and pleasure, in whose godly communication I find such spiritual fruit and sweetness, that as oft as I talk with her, so oft methink and feel myself the better. Therefore now, good Frances, follow still in her steps, look ever upon her life, to inform your own thereafter, like as ye would look in a glass, to tire¹ your body by: yea, and that more diligently, insomuch as the beauty of the body, though it be never so well attended, will soon fade and fall away: good living and virtue once gotten tarrieth still, whose fruit ye shall feel, not only in this world which is transitory and of short continuance, but also in another: And also it should be great shame, dishonesty, and rebuke unto you, born of such a mother and also nourished up with her own teat, for to degenerate and go out of kind. Behold her in this age of hers, in this almost continual disease and sickness,² how busy she is to learn, and in the small time that she hath had, how much she hath yet profited in the Latin tongue, how great comfort she taketh of that learning that she hath gotten, and consider thereby what pleasure and profit you may have hereafter (if God lend you life,

¹ Attire.
² Of the "disease and sickness" of the Queen-Duchess Mary there are indications enough, but the obscurity of the later part of her life apparently has left no independent evidence "in this age of hers" (in spite of all the vicissitudes of her life, she was in 1524 only twenty-nine years of age), "how busy she is to learn, and in the small time she hath had, how much she hath yet profited in the Latin tongue, how great comfort she taketh of that learning she hath gotten." It is certainly remarkable if the gay, beautiful Queen-Duchess became thus "converted" to learning, but there are parallel instances in the wonderful age of the Renascence.
as I pray he do) of the learning that you may have or [ere] you come to her age, if you spend your time well: which doing, you shall be able to do yourself good, and be great joy and comfort to your friends, and all that ever would you well, among whom I would you should reckon me for one, not among the least, if not among the chief: and so fare you well, mine own good, gentle and fair Fraunces.

At Chelcheth [Chelsea], the year of our Lord God, a thousand five hundred xxiiiij.
The first day of October.

[Since we are told that Hyrde dwelled with Master Chancellor of the Duchy [of Lancaster], it may be added that Sir Thomas More built for himself the Manor House—"a right fair one," with library, books, gallery. It had its gateway and gardens, one hundred yards in length, spreading down to the Thames. Gardens and inhabited residences were near by. More had removed to Chelsea in 1523.]
[Erasmus describes More’s house as “commodious, neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough.”] He goes on: “There he (More) converses affably with his family, his wife, his son and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is no man living so loving with his children as he is. He loves his old wife as well as if she were a young maid. . . . You would say that in that place was Plato’s Academy. But I do the house injury in likening it to Plato’s Academy. . . . I should rather call it a school, or university, of Christian religion. For there is none therein who does not study the branches of a liberal education. Their special care is piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling, or intemperate words heard. None is seen idle. . . . Everybody performs his duty with alacrity, and sober mirth is not lacking.” So Erasmus wrote in an undated letter to John Faber. His description applies in spirit to the household for some years before—to the time, for instance, when the letters to be given in the following section were written, and Erasmus’s description is the classical account, from without, of the “School of Sir Thomas More.” The letters were written to his daughters, and particularly to Margaret, who was married to William Roper (1496-1578), Clerk of Pleas of the Court of the King’s Bench. Roper lived for sixteen years in More’s household the greater part of the time, the husband of Margaret. The letters are undated, though from the known facts of More’s absence from England abroad,
they appear to belong to the year 1521, when More, just knighted, and made Under-Treasurer, was sent on an embassy to Bruges and Calais. Margaret Roper (already married) would then be sixteen years of age. Probably the most interesting of the Lives of Sir Thomas More is that written by his great-grandson, Cresacre More, first published circa 1631, and afterwards in 1726. It was admirably edited by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., in 1828, and it is from the text of this edition that the account in the following section of "The School of Sir Thomas More" is taken verbatim. Like all the Lives of Sir Thomas More, it is based upon Thomas Stapleton's *Tres Thomæ*—*i.e.*, lives of St. Thomas the Apostle, St. Thomas à Becket, and Sir Thomas More—first published at Douai in 1588.]

The school of Sir Thomas More's children was famous over the whole world; for that their wits were rare, their diligence extraordinary, and their masters most excellent men, as above the rest Doctor Clement, an excellent Grecian and physician, who was after reader of the physic-lecture in Oxford, and set out many books of learning. After him one William Gunnell, who read after with great praise in Cambridge; and besides these, one Drue, one Nicholas, and after all one Richard Hart (see Introduction, p. 15 *supra*), of whose rare learning and industry in this behalf, let us see what may be gathered out of Sir Thomas's letters unto them, and first to Mr. Gunnell thus:

"I have received, my dear Gunnell, your letters, such as they are wont to be, most elegant and full of affection. Your love towards my children I gather by your letter; their diligence by their own; for every one of their letters pleaseth me very much, yet most especially I take joy to hear that my daughter Elizabeth hath showed as
great modesty in her mother’s absence, as any one could
do, if she had been in presence; let her know that that
thing liked me better than all the epistles besides; for
as I esteem learning which is joined with virtue more
than all the treasures of kings; so what doth the fame
of being a great scholar bring us, if it be severed from
virtue other than a notorious and famous infamy,
especially in a woman, whom men will be ready the
more willingly to assail for their learning, because it is
a hard matter, and argueth a reproach to the sluggishly-
ess of a man, who will not stick to lay the fault of their
natural malice upon the quality of learning, supposing
that their own unskilfulness by comparing it with the
vices of those that are learned, shall be accounted for
virtue: but if any woman on the contrary part (as I
hope and wish by your instruction and teaching all mine
will do) shall join many virtues of the mind with a little
skill of learning, I shall account this more happiness
than if they were able to attain to Croesus’ wealth joined
with the beauty of fair Helen; not because they were
to get great fame thereby, although that inseparably
followeth all virtue, as shadow doth the body, but for
that they should obtain by this the true reward of
wisdom, which can never be taken away as wealth may,
nor will fade as beauty doth, because it dependeth of
truth and justice, and not of the blasts of men’s mouths,
than which nothing is more foolish, nothing more per-
nicious; for as it is the duty of a good man to eschew
infamy, so it is not only the property of a proud man,
but also of a wretched and ridiculous man to frame their
actions only for praise; for that man’s mind must needs
be full of unquietness, that always wavers for fear of
other men’s judgments between joy and sadness. But
amongst other the notable benefits which learning bestoweth upon men, I account this one of the most profitable, that in getting of learning we look not for praise, to be accounted learned men, but only to use it in all occasions, which the best of all other learned men, I mean the philosophers, those true moderators of men's actions, have delivered unto us from hand to hand, although some of them have abused their sciences, aiming only to be accounted excellent men by the people. Thus have I spoken, my Gunnell, somewhat the more of the not coveting of vain glory, in regard of those words in your letter, whereby you judge that the high spirit of my daughter Margaret's wit is not to be dejected, wherein I am of the same opinion that you are, but I think (as I doubt not but you are of the same mind) that he doth deject his generous wit, whosoever accustometh himself to admire vain and base objects, and he raiseth well his spirits, that embraceth virtue and true good. They are base minded indeed, that esteem the shadow of good things (which most men greedily snatch at, for want of discretion to judge true good from apparent) rather than the truth itself. And therefore seeing I hold this the best way for them to walk in, I have not only requested you, my dear Gunnell, whom of yourself I know would have done it out of the entire affection you bear unto them; neither have I desired my wife alone, whom her motherly piety by me often and many ways tried doth stir them up thereto, but also all other my friends, I have entreated many times to persuade all my children to this, that avoiding all the gulphs and downfalls of pride, they walk through the pleasant meadows of modesty, that they never be enamoured of the glistening hue of gold and silver, nor lament for the
want of those things which, by error, they admire in others, that they think no better of themselves for all their costly trimmings, nor any meanner for the want of them; not to lessen their beauty by neglecting it, which they have by nature, nor to make it any more by unseemly art, to think virtue their chief happiness, learning, and good qualities the next, of which those are especially to be learned, which will avall them most, that is to say, piety towards God, charity towards all men, modesty and Christian humility in themselves, by which they shall reap from God the reward of an innocent life, by certain confidence thereof they shall not need to fear death, and in the mean while enjoying true alacrity, they shall neither be puffed up with the vain praises of men, nor dejected by any slander of disgrace; these I esteem the true and solid fruits of learning; which as they happen not, I confess, to all that are learned, so those may easily attain them, who begin to study with this intent; neither is there any difference in harvest time, whether he was man or woman, that sowed first the corn; for both of them bear name of a reasonable creature equally, whose nature reason only doth distinguish from brute beasts, and there I do not see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes; for by it, reason is cultivated, and (as a field) sowed with the wholesome seed of good precepts, it bringeth forth excellent fruit. But if the soil of woman's brain be of its own nature bad, and apter to bear fern than corn (by which saying many do terrify women from learning) I am of opinion, therefore, that a woman's wit is the more diligently by good instructions and learning to be manured, to the end, the defect of nature may be redressed by industry. Of which mind were also many
wise and holy ancient fathers, as, to omit others, S. Hierome [i.e., St. Jerome] and S. Augustine, who not only exhorted many noble matrons and honourable virgins to the getting of learning, but also to further them therein, they diligently expounded unto them many hard places of Scriptures; yea wrote many letters unto tender maids, full of so great learning, that scarcely our old and greatest professors of divinity can well read them, much less be able to understand them perfectly; which holy saints' works you will endeavour, my learned Gunnell, of your courtesy, that my daughters may learn, whereby they may chiefly know, what end, they ought to have in their learning, to place the fruits of their labours in God, and a true conscience; by which it will be easily brought to pass, that being at peace within themselves, they shall neither be moved with praise of flatterers, nor the nipping follies of unlearned scoffers. But methinks I hear you reply, that though these my precepts be true, yet are they too strong and hard for the tender age of my young wenches to hearken to: for what man, be he never so aged or expert in any science, is so constant or staid, that he is not a little stirred up with the tickling vanity of glory? And for my part, I esteem that the harder it is to shake from us this plague of pride, so much the more ought every one to endeavour to do it from his very infancy. And I think there is no other cause, why this almost inevitable mischief doth stick so fast in our breasts, but for that it is ingrafted in our tender minds even by our nurses, as soon as we are crept out of our shells; it is fostered by our masters, it is nourished and perfected by our parents, whilst that no body propoundeth any good thing to children, but they presently bid them expect praise as
the whole reward of virtue; whence it is, that they are so much accustomed to esteem much of honour and praise, that by seeking to please the most, who are always the worst, they are still ashamed to be good with the fewest. That this plague may the farther be banished from my children, I earnestly desire, that you, my dear Gunnell, their mother and all their friends, would still sing this song unto them, hammer it always in their heads, and inculcate it unto them upon all occasions, that vain glory is abject, and to be despised, neither any thing to be more worthy or excellent, than that humble modesty, which is so much praised by Christ; the which prudent charity will so guide and direct, that it will teach us to desire virtue rather than to upbraid others for their vices, and will procure rather to love them who admonish us of our faults, than hate them for their wholesome counsel. To the obtaining whereof, nothing is more available, than to read unto them the wholesome precepts of the fathers, whom they know not to be angry with them, and they must needs be vehemently moved with their authorities, because they are venerable for their sanctity. If, therefore, you read any such thing unto Margaret and Elizabeth besides their lessons in Sallust, for they are of riper judgment, by reason of their age, than John and Cecily, you shall make both me and them every day more bound unto you; moreover, you shall hereby procure my children being dear by nature, after this more dear for learning, but by their increase of good manners most dear unto me. Farewell. From the Court this Whitsun-eve.”

Another epistle of Sir Thomas More to his children.

“Thomas More to his whole school sendeth greeting:—

“Behold how I have found out a compendious way to
salute you all, and make spare of time and paper, which I must needs have wasted in saluting every one of you particularly by your names, which would be very superfluous, because you are all so dear unto me, some in one respect, some in another, that I can omit none of you unsaluted. Yet I know not, whether there can be any better motive why I should love you than because you are scholars, learning seeming to bind me more straitly unto you, than the nearness of blood. I rejoice therefore that Mr. Drue is returned safe, of whose safety you know I was careful. If I loved you not exceedingly, I should envy this your so great happiness, to have had so many great scholars for your masters. For I think Mr. Nicolas is with you also, and that you have learned of him much astronomy; so that I hear you have proceeded so far in this science, that you now know not only the pole-star or dog, and such like of the common constellations, but also (which argueth an absolute and cunning astronomer,) in the chief planets themselves, you are able to discern the sun from the moon. Go forward, therefore, with this your new and admirable skill, by which you do thus climb up to the stars, which whilst you daily admire, in the mean while I admonish you also to think of this holy fast of Lent, and let that excellent and pious song of Boethius¹ sound in your ears, whereby

¹ Boethius was a favourite author in the More family. In one of the paintings of the family his work is introduced. The particular song to which Sir Thomas alludes is probably the first of the fourth book:

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Sunt enim penne volucres mihi
Quae celsa conscendant poli:
Quas sibi cum velox mens induit
Terras perosa despicit,
Aeris immensi superat globum
Nubesque post tergum videt," etc.
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[HUNTER'S NOTE.]
you are taught also with your minds to penetrate heaven, lest when the body is lifted up on high, the soul be driven down to the earth with the brute beasts. Farewell. From the Court this 23rd of March."

Another.

"Thomas More to his best beloved Children, and to Margaret Giggs, whom he numbereth amongst his own, sendeth greeting:—

"The merchant of Bristow brought unto me your letters the next day after he had received them of you, with the which I was exceedingly delighted. For there can come nothing, yea though it were never so rude, never so meanly polished, from this your shop, but it procureth me more delight than any other's works, be they never so eloquent; your writing doth so stir up my affection towards you; but excluding this, your letters may also very well please me for their own worth, being full of fine wit, and of a pure Latin phrase: therefore none of them all, but joyed me exceedingly; yet to tell you ingenuously what I think, my son John's letter pleased me best, both because it was longer than the other, as also for that he seemeth to have taken more pains than the rest. For he not only painteth out the matter decently, and speaketh elegantly, but he playeth also pleasantly with me, and returneth my jests upon me again very wittily; and this he doth not only pleasantly, but temperately withal, shewing that he is mindful with whom he jesteth, to wit, his father, whom he endeavoureth so to delight, that he is also afeared to offend. Hereafter I expect every day letters from every one of you; neither will I accept of such excuses, as you complain of, that you had no leisure, or that the carrier
went away suddenly, or that you have no matter to write; John is not wont to alledge any such things; nothing can hinder you from writing, but many things may exhort you thereto; why should you lay any fault upon the carrier, seeing you may prevent his coming, and have them ready made up, and sealed two days before any offer themselves to carry them. And how can you want matter of writing unto me, who am delighted to hear either of your studies, or of your play: whom you may even then please exceedingly, when having nothing to write of, you write as largely as you can of that nothing, than which nothing is more easy for you to do, especially being women, and therefore prattlers by nature, and amongst whom daily a great story riseth of nothing. But this I admonish you to do, that whether you write of serious matters, or of trifles, you write with diligence and consideration, premeditating of it before; neither will it be amiss, if you first indite it in English, for then it may more easily be translated into Latin, whilst the mind free from inventing is attentive to find apt and eloquent words. And although I put this to your choice, whether you will do so or no, yet I enjoin you by all means, that you diligently examine what you have written, before you write it over fair again; first considering attentively the whole sentence, and after, examine every part thereof, by which means you may easily find out, if any solecisms have escaped you; which being put out, and your letter written fair, yet then let it not also trouble you to examine it over again; for sometimes the same faults creep in at the second writing, which you before had blotted out. By this your diligence you will procure, that those your trifles will seem serious matters. For as nothing is so pleasing but may
be made unsavory by prating garrulity; so nothing is by nature so unpleasant, that by industry may not be made full of grace and pleasantness. Farewell, my sweetest children. From the Court this 3rd of September.”

Another letter to his daughter Margaret only:

"Thy letters (dearest Margaret) were grateful unto me, which certified me of the state of Shaw; yet would they have been more grateful unto me, if they had told me, what your and your brother’s studies were, what is read amongst you every day, how pleasantly you confer together, what themes you make, and how you pass the day away amongst you in the sweet fruits of learning. And although nothing is written from you, but it is most pleasing unto me, yet those things are most sugared sweet, which I cannot learn of but by you or your brother.” And in the end: “I pray thee, Meg, see that I understand by you, what your studies are. For rather than I would suffer you, my children, to live idly, I would myself look unto you, with the loss of my temporal estate, bidding all other cares and businesses farewell, amongst which there is nothing more sweet unto me than thyself, my dearest daughter. Farewell.”

It seemeth also by another letter of his, how careful he was that his children might be learned and diligent, and he praiseth them for it thus:

“Thomas More sendeth greeting to his most dear daughters Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecily; and to Margaret Giggs, as dear to him as if she were his own. I cannot sufficiently express, my best beloved wenches, how your eloquent letters have exceedingly pleased me; and this not the least cause that I understand by them, you have not in your journeys, though you change places
often, omitted any thing of your custom of exercising yourselves, either in making of declamations, composing of verses, or in your logick exercises; by this I persuade myself, that you dearly love me, because I see you have so great a care to please me by your diligence, in my absence, as to perform these things, which you know how grateful they are unto me in my presence. And as I find this your mind and affection so much to delight me, so will I procure that my return shall be profitable unto you. And persuade yourselves that there is nothing amongst these my troublesome and careful affairs that recreateth me so much, as when I read somewhat of your labours, by which I understand those things to be true, which your most loving master writeth so lovingly of you, that unless your own epistles did show evidently unto me, how earnest your desire is towards learning, I should have judged that he had rather written of affection than according to the truth: but now by these that you write, you make him to be believed, and me to imagine those things to be true of your witty and acute disputations, which he boasteth of you almost above all belief; I am therefore marvellous desirous to come home, that we may hear them, and set our scholar to dispute with you, who is slow to believe, yea out of all hope or conceit, to find you able to be answerable to your master’s praises. But I hope, knowing how steadfast you are in your affections, that you will shortly overcome your master, if not in disputing, at least in not leaving of your strife. Farewell, dear wenches.”

And thus you may conjecture how learned his daughters were; to whom, for this respect, Erasmus dedicated his Commentary upon Ovid *de Nuce*. Lewis Vives also writeth great commendations of this
school of Sir Thomas More's in his book to Queen Catharine of England.¹ And both Erasmus dedicated Aristotle in Greek, and Simon Grineus [Grynæus], who, although an heretic, yet in respect of his learning, had been kindly used by Sir Thomas More, as he writeth himself, did dedicate Plato, and other books in Greek, unto my² grandfather, John More, as to one that was also very skilful in that tongue. See what Grineus speaketh unto him: "There was a great necessity why I should dedicate these books of Proclus (full of marvellous learning, by my pains set out, but not without the singular benefit of your father effected,) unto you, to whom by reason of your fatherlike virtues, all the fruit of this benefit is to redound, both because you may be an ornament unto them, and they also may do great good unto you, whom I know to be learned, and for these grave disputationes sufficiently provided, and made fit, by the continual conversation of so worthy a father, and by the company of your sisters, who are most expert in all kind of sciences. For what author can be more grateful to those desirous minds of most goodly things, such as you and the muses your sisters are, whom a divine heat of spirit, to the admiration and a new example of this our age, hath driven into the sea of learning so far, and so happily, that they see no learning to be above their reach, no disputationes of philosophy above their capacity? And none can better explicate entangled questions, none sift them more profoundly, nor conceive them more easily, than this author."

¹ De Institutione Feminae Christianæ: Libri III. Bruges, 1523. See p. 53 supra.
² I.e., Cresacre More's. These dedicatory prefaces show that depreciatory statements as to John More's intellectual ability are unfounded.
Let us see another letter to his daughter Margaret. "You ask money, dear Meg, too shamefully and fearfully of your father, who is both desirous to give it you, and your letter hath deserved it, which I could find in my heart to recompence, not as Alexander did by Cherilus, giving him for every verse a Philippine of gold; but if my ability were answerable to my will, I would bestow two crowns of pure gold for every syllable thereof. Here I send you as much as you requested, being willing to have sent you more: but that as I am glad to give, so I am desirous to be asked and fawned on by my daughters, thee especially, whom virtue and learning hath made most dear unto me. Wherefore the sooner you have spent this money well, as you are wont to do, and the sooner you ask me for more, the sooner know you will do your father a singular pleasure. Farewell, my most beloved daughter."

This daughter was likest her father, as well in favour as wit, and proved a most rare woman for learning, sanctity, and secrecy, and therefore he trusted her with all his secrets. She wrote two declamations in English, which her father and she turned into Latin so elegantly, as one could hardly judge which was the best. She made also a treatise of the Four Last Things; which her father sincerely protested that it was better than his, and therefore, it may be, never finished his. She corrected by her wit a place in Saint Cyprian corrupted, as Pamelian and John Coster testify, instead of "nisi vos sinceritatis," restoring "nervos sinceritatis."$^1$ To

$^1$ For Pamelian, read Pamelius. The passage referred to is in his notes upon the thirty-first Epistle of St. Cyprian. See also Costerius's *Observations upon the Commonitory of Vincentius Lerinensis*, p. 47. This note is from the edition of 1726.—[Hunter's Note.]
her, Erasmus wrote an epistle, as to a woman not only famous for manners and virtue, but most of all for learning. We have heretofore made mention of her letter that Cardinal Pole so liked, that when he had read it, he would not believe it could be any woman's; in answer whereof Sir Thomas did send her the letter, some part whereof we have seen before; the rest is this, which though there were no other testimony of her extraordinary learning, might suffice: "In the mean time," saith her father, "I thought with myself how true I found that now, which once I remember I spoke unto you in jest, when I pitied your hard hap, that men that read your writings would suspect you to have had help of some other man therein, which would derogate somewhat from the praises due to your works; seeing that you of all others deserve least to have such a suspicion had of you, or that you never could abide to be decked with the plumes of other birds. But you, sweet Meg, are rather to be praised for this, that seeing you cannot hope for condign praise of your labours; yet for all this you go forward with this your invincible courage, to join with your virtue the knowledge of most excellent sciences, and contenting yourself with your own pleasure in learning, you never hunt after vulgar praises, nor receive them willingly, though they be offered you. And for your singular piety and love towards me, you esteem me and your husband a sufficient and ample theatre for you to content you with; who, in requital of this your affection, beseech God and our Lady, with as hearty prayers as possible we can pour out, to give you an easy and happy childbirth, to increase your family with a child most like yourself, except only in sex; yet if it be a wench, that it may be such a one as would, in time,
recompence by imitation of her mother’s learning and virtues, what by the condition of her sex may be wanting; such a wench I should prefer before three boys. Farewell, dearest daughter.”

But see, I pray you, how a most learned bishop in England was ravished with her learning and wit, as it appeareth by a letter, which her father wrote unto her to certify her thereof. “Thomas More sendeth hearty greeting to his dearest daughter Margaret: I will let pass to tell you, my sweetest daughter, how much your letter delighted me; you may imagine how exceedingly it pleased your father, when you understand what affection the reading of it raised in a stranger. It happened me this evening to sit with John [Voysey], Lord Bishop of Exeter, a learned man, and by all men’s judgment, a most sincere man. As we were talking together, and I taking out of my pocket a paper, which was to the purpose we were talking of, I pulled out, by chance, therewith your letter. The handwriting pleasing him, he took it from me and looked on it; when he perceived it by the salutation to be a woman’s, he began more greedily to read it, novelty inviting him thereunto; but when he had read it, and understood that it was your writing, which he never could have believed if I had not seriously affirmed it; ‘such a letter’—I will say no more—yet why should not I report that which he said unto me—‘So pure a style, so good Latin, so eloquent, so full of sweet affections’—he was marvellously ravished with it. When I perceived that, I brought forth also an oration of your’s, which he reading, and also many of your verses, he was so moved with the matter so unlooked for, that the very countenance and gesture of the man, free from all flattery and
deceit, betrayed that his mind was more than his words could utter, although he uttered many to your great praise; and forthwith he drew out of his pocket a portegue,¹ which you shall receive inclosed herein. I could not possibly shun the taking of it, but he would needs send it unto you, as a sign of his dear affection towards you, although by all means I endeavoured to give it him again; which was the cause I showed him none of your other sisters' works; for I was afraid lest I should have been thought to have showed them of purpose, because he should bestow the like courtesy upon them; for it troubled me sore, that I must needs take this of him; but he is so worthy a man, as I have said, that it is a happiness to please him thus. Write carefully unto him, and as eloquently as you are able, to give him thanks therefore. Farewell. From the court, this 11th of September, even almost at midnight."

She made an oration to answer Quintilian, defending that rich man which he accused for having poisoned a poor man's bees, with certain venomous flowers in his garden, so eloquent and witty, that it may strive with his. She translated Eusebius out of Greek, but it was never printed, because Christopherson at that time had done it exactly before.² Yet one other letter will I set

¹ Or portague, sometimes called a Portugal, a Portuguese gold coin worth £3 10s. or more (see Murray's Oxford Dictionary).
² This passage presents difficulties. Cresacre More was writing circa 1615. Margaret Roper died in 1544. Christopherson died in 1558, and the first edition of his translation of Eusebius from Greek to Latin was posthumously published at Louvain in 1570. Christopherson was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Chichester in Queen Mary's reign.
down of Sir Thomas to this his daughter; which is thus:

"Thomas More sendeth greeting to his dearest daughter Margaret. There was no reason, my dearest daughter, why thou shouldst have deferred thy writing unto me one day longer, for fear that thy letters being so barren, should not be read of me without loathing. For though they had not been most curious, yet in respect of thy sex, thou mightest have been pardoned by any man; yea, even a blemish in the child's face, seemeth often to a father beautiful. But these your letters, Meg, were so eloquently polished, that they had nothing in them, not only why they should fear the most indulgent affection of your father More, but also they needed not to have regarded even Momus's censure, though never so testy. I greatly thank Mr. Nicolas, our dear friend (a most expert man in astronomy), and do congratulate your happiness, whom it may fortune within the space of one month, with a small labour of your own, to learn so many and such high wonders of that mighty and eternal workman, which were not found but in many ages, by watching in so many cold nights under the open skies, with much labour and pains, by such excellent, and, above all other men's, understanding wits. This which you write pleaseth me exceedingly, that you had determined with yourself to study philosophy so diligently, that you will hereafter recompense by your diligence, what your negligence hath heretofore lost you. I love you for this, dear Meg, that whereas I never have found you to be a loiterer (your learning, which is not ordinary, but in all kind of sciences most excellent, evidently shewing how painfully you have proceeded therein), yet such is your modesty, that you had rather
still\textsuperscript{1} accuse yourself of negligence than vainly boast of
diligence; except you mean by this your speech that
you will be hereafter so diligent, that your former
endeavours, though indeed they were great and praise-
worthy, yet in respect of your future diligence, may be
called negligence. If it be so that you mean (as I do
verily think you do), I imagine nothing can happen to
me more fortunate, nothing to you, my dearest daughter,
more happy; for, as I have earnestly wished that you
might spend the remainder of your life in studying
physic and holy Scriptures, by the which there shall
never be helps wanting unto you, for the end of man’s
life; which is to endeavour that a sound mind be in a
healthful body, of which studies you have already laid
some foundations, and you shall never want matter to
build thereupon; so now I think that some of the first
years of your youth, yet flourishing, may be very well
bestowed in human learning and the liberal arts, both
because your age may best struggle with those diffi-
culties, and for that it is uncertain whether, at any time
else, we shall have the commodity of so careful, so loving,
and so learned a master; to let pass, that by this kind
of learning our judgments are either gotten, or certainly
much helped thereby. I could wish, dear Meg, that
I might talk with you a long while about these matters,
but behold, they which bring in supper interrupt me,
and call me away. My supper cannot be so sweet unto
me as this my speech with you is, if I were not to respect
others more than myself. Farewell, dearest daughter
and commend me kindly to your husband, my loving son,
who maketh me rejoice for that he studieth the same

\textsuperscript{1} Constantly.
things you do; and whereas I am wont always to counsel you to give place to your husband, now on the other side, I give you licence to strive to master him in the knowledge of the sphere. Farewell again and again. Commend me to all your schoolfellows, but to your master especially."
VI

THE LEARNING OF WOMEN

[Having written what might be termed the Duty of Wives in 1523, Vives wrote, in 1529, on the Duty of Husbands (de Officio Mariti). The subject of Chapter III. in that book is de Disciplina Feminae, the Wife’s Learning, and for this Vives considers it is the duty of the husband not merely to make due provision, but to qualify himself to act as her instructor. Thomas Paynell, who was at one time chaplain to King Henry VIII., also translated, in 1568, the Amadis of France, a book Vives protested against (see pp. 23, 24, 59, 196). Paynell was probably a student at Oxford when Vives was lecturing at Corpus Christi College.]

From J. L. Vives' de Officio Mariti. Bruges, 1529.

The office and duties of an husband, made by the excellent Philosopher, Lodovicus Vives, and translated into Englyshe by Thomas Paynell. Imprinted at London in Pauls Churchyarde by John Cawood, prynter unto the Queenes hyghnes. (1550.)

Whether it be necessary that a woman be learned? Some there be that do plainly deny it. But of this
matter I have even with few words sufficiently enough disputed in my First Book of a Christian Woman. And therefore I will only say here that shall be sufficient to confute that opinion the which I do not allow, and reprove those that of one sort of letters give judgment by another.

And in declaring of that doctrine, wherewith I would that the woman should be instructed and taught, I think there be but few that will repine against my mind and sayings. There be some kind of letters and writings that pertain only to adorn and increase eloquence withal, save to delight and please; some that make a man subtle and crafty; some to know natural things, and to instruct and inform the mind of man withal. The works of poets, the Fables of Milesius, as that of the Golden Ass, and in a manner, all Lucian’s works, and many other which are written in the vulgar tongue as of Tristram, Launcelot, Ogier, Amadis and of Arthur, the which were written and made by such as were idle and knew nothing. These works do hurt both man and woman, for they make them wily and crafty, they kindle and stir up covetousness, inflame anger and all beastly and filthy desire. So much knowledge of natural things as sufficeth to rule and govern this life withal, is sufficient for a woman. But all such works as are meet and apt to make them better, are necessary as well for the one as for the other.

1 See The Instruction of a Christian Woman, pp. 48-56 supra.
2 See Instruction of a Christian Woman, p. 58 supra. The freshness of treatment, the originality and spontaneity of these native forms of literature did not appeal to Vives, Erasmus, and Ascham, who only saw in them hindrances to the propagation of standards of style and matter as discovered in classical authors. These standards entirely absorbed their attention, and dictated all literary values. See also Introduction, p. 23.
A man of himself is neither good nor evil, but yet through the first fault he is more inclined and prone to evil, and cometh unto it by example of many, the which have conspired together to sin and to do much mischief, for a man can turn his eye to no place but he shall see the evil that he may ensue and follow. First, he is provoked by their exhortations that seem to counsel him well, as Poets, for such things as they indite and make, are received and sung without respect of things. And schoolmasters, the which do teach and instruct youth, are not far from the opinion of the common people; for with them they praise nobility, riches, honour, vengeance, and to these things they exhort and instruct youth.

Fathers and other parents esteem the name of virtue as vain, and accustom their children to those things that flatter and delight the senses, and not to rigorous and hard honesty, as men that look to creep no higher, but to live with the vulgar and rude sort, and yet would be an example of living to all other. There are in like manner, parents, which are grave men and well learned, and yet abhor that virtue should associate and accompany their children, the which persuade them to follow pleasure, love and solace, inasmuch that Quintilian, seeing that honesty and virtue is so convenient and meet for our nature, doth marvel that there are so few good men, but he should rather have marvelled that there are any good at all, considering their institution and bringing up to be so evil. But if by actual inclination, and by the comfort and authority of great and learned men, we be enforced to evil, not drawn from it by some

1 By implication we can see that Vives' Renascence theology is less rigorous than the post-Genevan Puritanism of Queen Elizabeth's reign.
good doctrine,¹ what hope is there of any goodness? All shall come to mischief, and through the custom of sin, we shall hate all honesty, and learn to contemn the goodness of the mind, and to hate virtue. We should stir up by the figure and strength of reason, and receive the love of virtue, and give the precepts of wisdom² against the corruption of false opinions, and by assuefaction³ and use, resist our natural proneness and inclination to vice, continually to the utmost of our power, striving with the same. The woman, even as man, is a reasonable creature and hath a flexible wit both to good and evil, the which with use and counsel may be altered and turned. And although there be some evil and lewd women, yet that doth no more prove the malice of their nature than of men, and therefore the more ridiculous and foolish are they that have inveighed against the whole sect for a few evil:⁴ I have not with like fury vituperated all mankind, because the part of them be thieves and part enchanters. And what a madness were it to judge, or to think, that the ignorance of good things should cause a man to be the better—as though that in the mind of man were not great and thick darkness, letting⁵ him to behold and see that good is; for the evil is, doth abound, and is plentiful, and needeth no teacher, nor doth not continue as it entered, but groweth by little and little, and so buddeth forth that it offendeth all other. If to read that good is, help not, it shall not

¹ I.e., learning.
² This is in accord with the Platonic doctrine that wisdom, and virtue with it, can be taught. It was with this view that Vives wrote his Introductio ad Sapientiam in 1524.
³ I.e., by practice.
⁴ I.e., because a few are evil.
⁵ Preventing him from beholding.
help to hear it or to see it; for men do not strive for the
form and figures of the letters, but for the sense and
understanding in them included.

Shall thy wife or thy daughter learn how to comb her
hair, adorn and paint herself, perfume her gloves, to go
pompously, and with what words she shall use to set
forth her wantonness and her pride withal, and shall
not hear how she may flee and contemn such trifles,
adorn her mind and please Christ? Art thou, O thou
Christian of that mind, then, [that] thou dost affirm that
no fond nor foolish Gentile would at any time have
believed? Shall the women, then, be excluded from the
knowledge of all that is good, and the more ignorant
she is, be counted better? Some there be too rude and
dull, the which esteem those to be best that are most
ignorant.1 I would counsel all such rather to beget
asses than men, or to give their diligence and labour to
extinguish the figure and force that God hath given
them to know good and worthy things withal, and to
make them liker beasts than men, for so they shall be
even such as would have them. If erudition and learn­
ing be noiful2 unto honesty and goodness, and hurtful to
be brought up among those that be learned, then it shall
be better and most convenient to nourish and bring them
up in the country than in the city, and much better in
a forest than in a village among men. But experience
doth declare the contrary, and that children should be
brought up among those that be best learned and have
best experience.

1 The early Christian Fathers had left statements which seemed
to strengthen this view—e.g., the well-known dictum of St.
Augustine, "Indocti rapiunt cœlum" (Heaven is won by the un­
learned).
2 Cf. noisome.
But to return and to think of women as I began. I by experience have seen and known the contrary, and that all lewd and evil women are unlearned and that they which be learned are most desirous of honesty, nor I cannot remember that ever I saw any woman of learning or of knowledge, dishonest. Shall not the subtle and crafty lover sooner persuade [as] it pleaseth him the ignorant, than her that is fortified with wit and learning.¹ This is the only cause, why all women for the most part, are hard to please, studious and most diligent to adorn and deck themselves, marvellers of trifles, in prosperity proud and insolent, in adversity abject and feeble, and for lack of good learning, they love and hate that only, the which they learned of their unlearned mothers, and examples of the evil, leaning to that part only, that the ponderous and heavy body is inclined and given unto. Nor men should not be far different from beasts, if they were left unto their own nature, corrupted with the spot of sin, what beast would be more cruel, or so far from the nature and condition of man, as man himself if he were not learned? Socrates, that is [as sayeth Valerius] an earthly oracle of human wisdom, in the Symposium of Xenophon, doth say, Ye may by many other things, and by this also, see this maid do understand that the woman’s wit is no less apt to all things than the man’s is. She wanteth but counsel and strength. Therefore I exhort you husbands to teach your wives those things that ye would

¹ Erasmus similarly says: “The crowd thinks that it is silly for girls to be instructed in literature; but those who are wise know that nothing is more advantageous in producing a good mind, or safer for the custody of chastity.”—De Matrimonio Christiano, 1526, Maire’s ed., Lugd. Bat. (1650), p. 424.
they should do. And Seneca doth say, It maketh no matter how rich, or how honourable the woman be, for she is a very impudent creature, and without condition, unchaste. And to his mother Albina, Would to God, that my father, being a very good man, leaving the customs of his elders, had instructed and taught thee the precepts of wisdom, for then thou should'st not now have needed to prepare any help against fortune, but he, regarding those that misused their learning, would not suffer thee to give thyself to learning. But we have no need of any other authorities, forasmuch as we may hear the voice of nature, against the which (although that all the Philosophers would conjure in one) they would as soon obtenebrate\(^1\) and darken the sun, as to prevail against it. Also we have annexed unto nature a celestial testimony. The Lord doth admit women to the mystery of his religion, in respect of which all other wisdom is but foolishness, and he doth declare that they were created to know high matters, and to come as well as men unto the beatitude, and therefore they ought and should be instructed and taught, as we men be. And that these are no better, it is our fault, inasmuch as we do not our duties to teach them. If the husband be the woman's head, the mind, the father, the Christ, he ought to execute the office to such a man belonging, and to teach the woman: for Christ is not only a saviour and a restorer of his Church, but also a master. The father ought to nourish and to teach his children. And what need is it to reason of the mind and of the head? In the mind is wit, counsel, and reason. In the head are all the senses wherewith we do guide and rule this life,

\(^1\) Make dark.
and therefore he doeth not his duty that doth not instruct
and teach his wife. And the self-same Socrates doth say, that men should be ruled by public and common
laws, and women by their own husbands. And Paul

1 Cor. xiv. forbidding women to speak in the congre-
gation, and commanding that they, if they
doubted of anything, should ask their husbands at home,
doth bind them to teach their wives. To what effect or
purpose should she ask her husband, that he
neither will nor can teach her?

Oh how great wars hath there been made
for women? We take great pains and labour to see
that they lack nothing, and that our daughters may
have a convenient dowry, and yet we flee and avoid the
easy works, by the which they may be the better, for if they
were so, their flagitiousness should not cause us to war,
nor they being content with a little, should need nothing,
but allure many to love them with the beautifulness of
their virtue. A woman after my judgment ought to know
herself, of what beginning she was made of,
and to what end, what the order and use
of things be, and specially what Christ's
religion is, without the which nothing can be well done
nor justly. But yet it must be by religion and no super-
stition, to the end she may know what difference there
is between them. Religion doth make them very simple
and good, and superstition very hypocrites and molestious.
And thus shall she perceive and understand in what
things true religion doth consist, and how they should
honour God and love their neighbour, and thereby know
how she ought to love and honour her husband, whom
she should take as a divine and a holy thing, and obey
his will as the law of God. Her house shall be unto her
as a commonwealth, and she must learn what her duty and office is at home, and what is her husband’s. There are two principal virtues of a woman, the religion of nature and chastity, although that religion do comprehend all virtues. But we will separately and exactly give the precepts of chastity, for it must be the chastity of the wise virgins, and not of the foolish. She must know that shamefastness is coupled with chastity, and take heed to her good name and fame, that in all places she may be unto the Lord a good savour to the example and quietness of her husband, and how prompt and ready the common sort of people be to judge evil, and with what diligence they do nourish and teach their children. She must learn also to contemn worldly chances, that is, she must be somewhat manly and strong, moderately to bear and suffer both good and evil, lest by the being unmeet to suffer adversity [she] be constrained either to do or to think wickedly. If she cannot read these things, nor yet by Nature learn them (for there be also such men) her husband must so familiarly and plainly teach her, that she may remember them, and use them when need shall require.

Let her hear those that do read, and speak of such things. If she can read, let her have no books of poetry, nor such trifling books as we have spoken of before,\(^1\) for nature is enough incited to naughtiness, although we put not fire to tow. And Seneca doth say that the time is short, although it be all spent in well-doing. Such virtuous and holy books as may learn to be wise, and inflame her to live virtuously, must be delivered unto her,

\(^1\) See *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, pp. 58, 59 *supra*; and for Vives’ suggested substitutes see *de Ratione Studii Puerilis*, p. 144 *supra*.  

wherein yet a certain judgment and prudence must be used, that is, that they deliver her no vain, no childish, no barbarous, nor no superstitious books, likewise she shall not be meddling with those curious and deep questions of divinity, the which thing beseemeth not a woman. And as concerning moral philosophy, those religious and virtuous books do suffice, for virtue doth teach us all good fashions and manners. But yet if we will or intend privately to teach them any customs, let them be such as shall stir and provoke them to live well and virtuously, and such as be far from all contention and altercation,¹ whereunto women are but too much of themselves inclined. Let her read many things to subdue and bring under, the affections and to appease and pacify the tempests and unquietness of the mind. A woman hath very great need of this moral part of philosophy, in the which these authors are excellent: Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch. And in this thing those writers do help, that declare the notable examples of virtue, worthy to be ensued and followed, as Valerius Maximus, Sabellicus, and in like manner the laudable works of the holy and virtuous men of our religion, and likewise of those, that have followed the worldly wisdom. Aristotle and Xenophon do write, how men should rule and govern their house and family, and of the education and bringing up of children. Plutarch and lately Paulus

¹ The medieval method of the Disputation, whereby youths were trained in the schools, made the boys keen and subtle dialecticians without arousing within them the love of knowledge. The description given by Vives of the old school methods of disputing, as given in his de Tradendis Disciplinis, sufficiently justifies his keenness of desire that, if girls were to be trained in learning methods inducing “contention and altercation” should not be employed.
Vergerius\(^1\) and Francis Philelphe. There are annexed unto these things certain precepts and rules of a quotidian and a daily life, and of simple medicines for the light infirmities of young children, the which have no need to hire any physicians. I do remember that I have already in other places written of these things, and yet it shall not be without a cause here to write somewhat of them again, for it pertaineth to the husband to see that these things be done. And I do think that with this the woman be sufficiently enough instructed to live commodiously and religiously. But if she delight to read verses, prepare her these Christian poets, Prudentius, Aratus, Sedulius and Juvenecus, other in Latin, or else in their vulgar and native language.\(^2\) And as for the knowledge of grammar, logic, histories, the rule of governance of the commonwealth, and the art mathematical, they shall

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1 Petrus Paulus Vergerius wrote (c. 1392) the *de Ingenuis Moribus* (translated in Mr. W. H. Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*); Franciscus Philelphus, 1398-1481. His *de Educatione Liberorum*, to which Vives refers, was published at Strassburg in 1493.

2 In the Statutes (1518) drawn up by John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, for St. Paul's School, there is not a single ancient classical author prescribed. The "authors Christian" named are Lactantius, Prudentius, Proba, Sedulius, and Juvenecus, together with Baptista Mantuanus (who wrote, c. 1500, the Eclogues so much used in sixteenth-century schools). Lactantius was a prose writer, and Proba was a lady writer of *centones*, a form of composition in which she endeavoured to make a Christian story out of Virgil by changing heathen into Christian names, and by other changes. So that for poets Prudentius, Sedulius, and Juvenecus are recommended by both Colet and Vives. Aratus was a Greek poet who flourished c. 250 B.C., and wrote an astronomical poem entitled *Φαυρώμενα*. This was translated into Latin by Cicero. Juvenecus was a Spanish priest, who wrote his *Historia Evangelica* c. 330. Prudentius lived from A.D. 348 to c. 410, and wrote the *Psycho-*
leave it unto men. Eloquence is not convenient nor fit for women, although the Corneliæ of the Gracchi, the Mutiæ, the Lelîa and the Hortensia be much commended, not that because they spake a few things purely and incorruptly, for they never learned that art, but received it by the familiar custom of their fathers, without any pain or labour. But nowadays they call her eloquent, that with long and vain confabulation, can entertain one, and what should a man think that she being unlearned, should talk with a young man little wiser than herself, but that, that is either foolish or filthy? And this they call the gentle entertainment of the court, that is to say, of the school, where they learn other like arts of their master the devil. See now whereunto the manners and customs of men be come, and how all things do turn, for now it is esteemed as vile, that a woman should hold her

machia, an allegory of Bible history. Sedulius (c. 440) wrote a Christian epic poem entitled Paschale Carmen. Cf. Vives' list drawn up for the instruction of the Princess Mary, de Ratione Studii Puerilis, p. 147.

1 Erasmus writes with more detail just as emphatically on the Court schools: "Amongst some nations the education of girls takes place in the Court." Then follows his description: "The morning glows with the work of hair-dressing and face-painting. Then follows chapel, to see and be seen by turns; soon comes breakfast, then talk. After this, dinner. Then sitting in public places, with jests and drolleries. Here and there girls lie down on the ground, with men leaning over on to their laps. This is all passed by without remonstrance, and for the most part praised as affability. Then senseless games, sometimes none too modest. So is passed the afternoon until the time of supping arrives. After supper there is a repetition of the affability, as after dinner. In some such manner the boys and tender maids of princes are brought up. With not much more innocence is education of the same children carried on in the country. The sons and daughters of nobles
peace: that is, that her most fairest virtue should seem to be deforme and filthy. How great labour shall we conjecture, that Satan took to persuade man to believe this? But thou shalt number silence among other thy wife's virtues, the which is a great ornament of the whole feminine sex. And when she speaketh, let her communication be simple, not affectate, nor ornate, for that declareth the vanity of the mind. And all such as were praised of our elders for their eloquence, were most extolled and lauded, forasmuch as they kept the language of their forefathers, sincere and clean, as Cicero declareth in his book of an Orator. And Juvenal, even crabbedly and not without a cause, doth say, Let not thy wife be overmuch eloquent, nor full of her short and quick arguments, nor have the knowledge of all histories, nor understand many things, which are written. She pleaseth not me that giveth herself to poetry, and observing the art and manner of the old eloquence, doth study to speak facundiously. This holy and sincere institution shall increase through the good example of the husband, the which to inform and fashion the woman's life and his family withal, is of no less valure and force, than the example spend whole days amongst sated and indolent servants, very often squalid, and of impure morals. How otherwise should they pass the time? But would not time be passed far more desirably by weaving tapestry? Aristotle does not wish children to be mixed up with the crowd of slaves on account of their morals and illiberal talk. And the ancients had their men's quarters [andronitides], in which men lived, and women's quarters [gynaeconitides], in which were the women; and they had girl's quarters [parthenones], in which maids used to reside."—de Matrimonio Christiano (1526), ed. of 1650, p. 425.

1 This form is nearer to the Latin valor than our "value"; here used as equivalent to "avail."
of a prince to inform the public manners and customs of a city, for every man is a king in his own house, and therefore as it becometh a king to excell the common people in judgment, and in example of life and in the execution and performance of the thing that he commandeth, so he that doth marry must cast off all childishness, and remember the saying of the poet, This age requireth another manner of life and other manners, and so to take unto himself the counsel and mind of him that is aged, to maintain the duty and office of an husband, declaring a good life not in words only but also in life and in deed. The which two things to rule man withal are very necessary, that is wisdom and example, and that thou thyself fulfil the thing that thou commandest to be done.

[Then follows the citation of: Fabius, Christ, Claudian, Themistocles, who insist on the force of example. Vives continues:]

Nor thou shalt not only rehearse unto her, old and ancient names as Sarah, Rebecca, Penelope, Andromache, Lucretia, Cleobulina, Hipparchia, Portia, Sulpitia, Cornelia, and of our saints as Agnes, Catharine, Agatha, Margaret, Godolina, Barbara, Monica, and Apollonia, but also those that [are] more fresher, as Catharine Queen of England, Clara Cervent\(^1\) the wife of Valdaura, and Blanca Marca, albeit I do fear to be reproved that I do thus commend my mother,\(^2\) giving myself too much to love and piety, the which truly doth take much place in me, but yet the truth much more. There cannot lack in every nation and city, honest and devout matrons, by

\(^{1}\) \textit{i.e.}, Vives' mother-in-law. \(^{2}\) Compare p. 131 \textit{supra}.\n
whose examples they may be stirred and provoked, but yet the familiar examples, as of the mother, the beldame,\(^1\) the aunt, the sister, the cousin, or of some other kinswoman or friend, should be of more force and value.

**The Fruits of a Well-Instructed Woman:**

A woman well brought up is fruitful and profitable unto her husband, for so shall his house be wisely governed, his children virtuously instructed, the affections less ensued and followed, so that they shall live in tranquillity and virtue. Nor thou shalt not have her as a servant, or as a companion of thy prosperity and welfare only, but also as a most faithful secretary of thy cares and thoughts, and in doubtful matters a wise and a hearty counsellor. This is the true society and fellowship of man, not only to participate with him over pains and travails, but also the affections and cares of our mind the which do no less trouble the body, than to plough, to dig, to delve, or to bear any heavy or weighty burden, for if their full and burning hearts should not declare and open themselves, they would none otherwise break than a vessel replenished with fire that hath no vent, for carefulness and thoughts are fire that doth inflame and consume the heart.\(^1\) And therefore we see certain men, the which (as though they were with child through care and commotions of the mind) do seek for some one, upon whom they may discharge them of their burden, as Terence saith, "O Jupiter, how happeneth this, that I meet with no curious fellow, the which would instantly ask me, wherefore I am thus merry, whither I go, from whence I come, etc."

\(^{1}\) The grandmother.
[Then follows the praise of friendship, and Vives suggests a wife is the best of friends, who will give good counsel, and "will counsel in man as she would herself considering that she loveth thee no less than she loveth herself." Still it is wisdom "not to show our secrets to women." ]
VII

SIR THOMAS ELYOT: THE DEFENCE OF GOOD WOMEN

[Between 1531 and 1538.]

The Defence of Good Women, devised and made by Sir Thomas Elyot Knyght (Brit. Mus. copy, 1545. Written between 1531 and 1538).

[Sir Thomas Elyot says in the Boke named the Gouvernoyr, published in 1531, "I purpose to make a book onely for ladies; wherein her laud shall be more amply expressed." In 1540, in his Preface to his Image of Governance, we learn that the book was certainly in existence, for he says: "My little book called the Defence of Good Women, not only confoundeth villainous report, but also teacheth good wives to know well their duties." In the same preface, Elyot refers to his Dictionary as not yet ready. Since that book was first issued in 1538, it is clear that the Defence of Good Women must have been written before that date. This tractate is probably the first imitation in English of the Platonic dialogue. It is interesting in the history of education in the light of Elyot's views, expressed in the Gouvernoyr, the most distinctively Renascence treatise on education in England as to the study of Plato. "Above all other[s]," says Elyot, "the works of Plato should be most studiously read when the judgment of a man is to come to perfection, and by the other studies
is instructed in the form of speaking that philosophers used. Lord God, what incomparable sweetness of words and matter shall he find in the said works of Plato and Cicero; wherein is joined gravity with delectation, excellent wisdom with divine eloquence, absolute virtue with pleasure incredible, and every place is so infarced with profitable counsel, joined with honesty." The Defence is further interesting, since it deals with "one example among us, as well of fortitude, as of all other virtues." Under the name of Zenobia, it surely was meant by Elyot that the discarded Queen Catharine of Aragon should be in the background of the mind of the reader; even the word Surry for Syria, as though a slip, may be a realistic reference to Catharine's retreat to Richmond in 1530 when Henry VIII. was with Anne Boleyn in London. Elyot thus belongs to the group of the friends of Queen Catharine of Aragon—Vives, Hyrde, and Sir Thomas More.

The Defence of Good Women, as to the title of which, Thomas Fuller passed the bon mot "such are hardly found, and easily defended," is not so strictly concerned with education as are the preceding treatises. It rather belongs to the group of books in praise of women, based on historical examples. Thus, in 1529, Cornelius Agrippa wrote de Nobilitate et Prae excell entia Foeminei Sexus, which is the more noteworthy, since it was translated into English by David Clapham in 1542, under the title of The Excellency of Woman-kind. There was a considerable literature of women's books in the time of the Renascence. These books in the praise of women ordinarily were written to secure the patronage of some lady of rank. Elyot's book, it is worth noticing, is undedicated. This is negative confirmation that he

1 Stuffed up, crowded.
had Queen Catharine in mind, for naturally her star having set, a dedication to her would be unsafe for anyone to dare. Her death in 1536 may, indeed, have been the occasion for the production of this booklet, which we have seen to have been written by 1538. The Defence of Good Women, apart from the interest of its imitation of the Platonic dialogue, is interesting as a document in the history of the English language. It has never been reprinted since 1545, till its inclusion in the present volume.

The Argument.

A contention between two gentlemen, the one named Caninius, the other Candidus. Caninius, like a cur, at women's conditions is always barking, but Candidus, which may be interpreted, benign or gentle, judgeth ever well, and reproveth but seldom. Between them two, the estimation of womankind cometh in question. After long disputation, wherein Candidus (as reason is) hath the pre-eminence, at the last, for a perfect conclusion, Queen Zenobia (which lived about the year after the Incarnation of Christ 274, the noble Aurelian being Emperor of Rome), by the example of her life, confirmeth his arguments, and also vanquisheth the obstinate mind of froward Caninius, and so endeth the matter.

Caninius, Candidus, Zenobia.

Caninius. Such is the condition of Venus' darlings, so long as they be stirred with pleasant affections, they be still insensible in the feeling of sapience. Ye all do know Candidus, kinsman to Aurelian the Emperor that now is, an honest young gentlemen, well learned and courteous, so that his nobleness doth appear in his manners. Yesterday did I see him devising with ladies, whereby I conjectured that he was a lover, and therefore I lamented. And as he happened to come by me, I round ed him in the ear and said to him softly: Beware noble young man, I perceive ye be gyved, pluck
out your legs ere the bolts be rivetted. Thereat he smiled and laying his hand upon mine, he said to me privily: I wot what ye mean. I pray you be tomorrow with me at Tiburtum, which is but a little out of the city, where I have a fair and commodious lodging, there shall we sup with some other gentlemen. And there will I vanquish your wilful opinion conceived against women, or else I being vanquished with sufficient reason, will from henceforth leave all mine affection. And so departed he from me. This is Tiburtum, for yonder is the palace of Hadrian. Well, Candidus will not be long; his noble nature will not let him break promise; for lack of faith defaceth all virtues.

Candidus. Ye spake never a more true sentence, nor a more honest, for undoubtedly faith, which some do call trust is of justice so great a portion, that without it, neither God may be pleased, nor any weal Public may be surely [e]stablished. And they which do lack it themselves, with a little touch broken, be not a little offended.

Canin. It is truly spoken, and now to talk of the matter, for the which ye willed me to meet with you, here is now happened a right good occasion.

Candi. Ye mean the matter concerning women, which we two now have taken upon us!

Canin. Even the same, Master Candidus.

Candi. Go to, in God’s name. What have ye to charge with all women?

Canin. Nay, first, I pray you tell me one thing that I will ask of you. Be not ye of that sect of philosophers called Pirhonici?

1 Pyrrhonists, followers of Pyrrho, founder of sceptical school of philosophy.
ELYOT: DEFENCE OF GOOD WOMEN

CANDI. What mean ye thereby? I know not that sect, yet have I seen a good part of philosophy.

CANIN. It is the sect which affirmeth that nothing is indeed as it seemeth to be, saying, that snow is black and not white, the earth is not stable, but ever moving, and many another froward affection contrary to truth and all common reason.

CANDI. No, no, Caninius. I never favoured such vain opinion.

CANIN. Yet many [a] one doth, changing only the terms. For, since snow is oftentimes seen, they fear to say it is black, lest they should therefore be laughed to scorn. But virtue, who is not so commonly seen, and of so many never looked on, is now of divers men so perversely esteemed, that it is of some called folly, of many men fantasy, and of some, curiosity. Also the favourers thereof are little set by, as persons unprofitable and nothing worldly. But to our purpose, I asked of you, if ye were of the sect called Pirhonici, for if ye so were, I would think it vain to reason then with you. But ye say, ye be not of that sect, then is it as I said at my first coming hither.

CANDI. What is that, I pray you?

CANIN. Ye that be lovers be dull and insensible in seeing of sapience, for although ye be informed by daily experience, that in woman kind faith never rested, yet be you still as blind as your little god Cupid, for the childish affections which ye bear to your ladies, causeth you to think the things which you see to be nothing but vanities.

CANDI. Now in good faith, that is merrily spoken.

CANIN. Well yet, some have repented them bitterly,
finding the link suddenly broken, and in the stead of faith, falsehood and treachery.

CANDI. Nay, ye now do but rail. I promise you truly, indeed both by reading and hearsay, I have found women much blamed for their inconstancy, but for mine own knowledge I never perceived any such lack to be in them, but rather the contrary.

CANIN. Sir, by the consent of all authors, my words be confirmed, and your experience in comparison thereof is to be little esteemed.

CANDI. I perceive ye be of the company, which disappointed some time of your purpose, are fallen in a phrensy, and, for the displeasure of one, do spring on all women the poison of infamy. But now, Caninius, since ye be wise and well learned, subdue your passion,—for unpatient hearing with words hastily and unadvisedly spoken, is a sure sign of folly and little discretion. Wherefore now, hear me speak though it shall not favour to your opinion. The authors whom ye so much do set by, for the more part were poets, which sort of persons among the Latins and Greeks were never had but in small reputation. For I could never read that in any weal public of notable memory, poets were called to any honourable place, office or dignity. Plato out of the public weal which he had devised would have all poets utterly excluded. Tully, who next unto Plato excelled all other[s] in virtue and eloquence, would not have in his public weal any poets admitted. The cause why they were so little esteemed was, for as much as the more part of their inventions consisted in leasings\(^1\) or in stirring up of wanton appetites, or in pouring out, in railing, their poison of

\(^1\) Falsehoods, and thence seditious statements.
malice. For with their own gods and goddesses were they so malapert,\footnote{Impudent, presumptuous.} that with their adulteries they filled great volumes.

[Then Elyot cites the examples of Jupiter, Juno, Mercury, Mars, Vulcan, Venus. So, too, some poets who have tired of women, "anon arm their pens and tongues with serpentine malice, objecting against all women most beastly conditions, whereby they more detect their proper\footnote{Own.} inconstancy than women's unfaithfulness."]

\begin{description}
\item[Canin.] Now in good faith ye have well circumscribed\footnote{Described.} your masters' propeties.\footnote{Properties, qualities, characteristics.}
\item[Candi.] Whom call ye my masters?
\item[Canin.] Marry, poets, for in their works is the onely study of you that be lovers. For that book, which lacketh complaints, with weepings and sighings, is to you men that be amorous, wondrous tedious.
\item[Candi.] Truly, Caninius, ye are much abused, taking me to be of that sort of wantons. Nay, truly; true lovers, of which company I confess myself to be one, are in no part of their conditions. For onely delighting in the honest behaviour, wisdom and gentleness of ladies, or other matrons, or damsels, we therefore desire to be in their companies, and by mutual devising, to use honest\footnote{ Honourable.} solace. But show me, Caninius, what other authority have ye, to prove that in women lacketh fidelity.
\item[Canin.] Why set ye so little by poets and poetry?
\item[Candi.] Yea, when they exceed the terms of honesty.\footnote{That which is honourable.}
But if they make verses, containing quick\textsuperscript{1} sentences, void of ribaldry, or in the commendation of virtue some pretty allegory, or do set forth any notable story, that do I set by them, as they be well worthy.

\textsc{Canin.} If ye will give no credence to poets, what say ye to philosophers and writers of stories, with whom ye may find such abundance of examples, and sentences of the falsehood of women and their unhappiness, that if they should be rehearsed, I trow ye would not abide it, I know so your shamefastness.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsc{Candi.} Truly, none of them, which were themselves honest and continent, have written in dispraise of the whole kind of women. What hath Plato, Xenophon, Plotinus, and Plutarch, or other philosophers like unto them, written in that matter, whereby they have made them inferior to men? Or if they have in women anything blamed, it may appear to be but in some and not in the more part, if it be well and sincerely considered. And also in stories, where one woman perchance is for some fault dispraised, that is counterpoised with a great number for their virtue commended. Now I pray you, was Helen for whom Troy was destroyed, so much to be blamed as Hersilia the wife of Romulus and more than a thousand of her companions are to be praised, which, in the rage of battle joined between their husbands and parents, so reconciled them, that with one consent they inhabited one city, and lived together in perpetual unity? Ought the unchastity of any woman to be remembered as the continence of Queen Penelope ought to be honoured? who in the absence of Ulysses her husband, the space of xx years kept her honour and fame uncorrupted, notwithstanding that with many

\textsuperscript{1} Tending to \textit{[good] life.} \textsuperscript{2} Modesty.
divers wooers she was daily assaulted, but by no manner of mean[s] might she be founden, by deed, word nor countenance, in her chaste purpose, unconstant. And to resist carnal affections she was always seen, although she were a queen and a king’s daughter, virtuously occupied. What cause found Paris to forsake his first lady CEnone, but onely that the beauty of Helen was much more famous? And yet his cruel unkindness might not exclude love from her gentle heart, but she remaining still continent after that Paris was slain by Achilles, she with exclamations and effusions of tears entered into the chariot where his carcase lay, and when she had bained\(^1\) her fair lips in his putrified wounds, and had satiated herself with mortal solace, finally she there died, oppressed with heaviness. But because these be of some men taken for fables, I will briefly declare the faithfulness of divers women rehearsed in stories. In the host of the noble King Cyrus was a great prince (as Xenophon writeth) whose name was Abratades, who had to his wife a fair lady named Panthea of excellent beauty. This prince being slain in battle, she attaining his body, and with her own hands washing the wounds, and embalming it after the fashion of her own country, she in the presence of Cyrus with a knife which she had privily hidde[n], seeming in words and countenance desirous to be with her husband, whom she most tenderly loved, she pierced her own heart, and with him was buried, notwithstanding that of King Cyrus, whom her husband had much praised a little before, she was in marriage desired. Portia, daughter to the wise Cato, and wife unto Brutus, when she had heard of the death of her husband, finding occasion to be alone from her

\(^1\) *French* bain, bathed.
servants, she taking the hot burning coals out of a chimney, devoured them hastily, and so forthwith died. Also when Seneca, by the sentence of the cruel Nero the Emperor, was condemned to die, his wife called Paulina, desirous to be continual companion with her old husband, caused also her veins to be pierced, and so would have died, had not Nero commanded her veins to be bound, and the blood to be stopped. She, notwithstanding, afterward lived in sorrow continual, more painful than death, and during her life, her deadly pale colour declared to all men, which before knew her, the bitter sorrows, which for her husband, she alway sustained. In the time of the cruel confederacy of Lepidus, Octavian and Anthony, a gentleman called Ligavius, was by his wife and a maiden servant, kept at Rome in his house privily, but what for fear of punishment, and hope of reward he at the last was discovered, whom being led to be beheaded, his loving wife continually followed, desiring the ministers to put her also to death with her husband, alleging that also to die she had well deserved, for as much as she had kept her husband at home, after that she knew that he was attainted. But seeing that no man did take regard to her hearty request, she returned home to her house, and shutting fast all the doors, and abstaining from all meats and drinks, finally with sorrow and famine she ended her life, and departed to her husband, whom she so much loved. But lest we should be too long from our supper, I will cease to recite any more stories, whereof there be no little number, declaring the constance of ladies and damsels. And if ye would say that there hath been, and is, a much greater number of them that are evil, and full of unfaithfulness, yet if that
were true then must ye consider, that in all kinds of things are commonly found more worse than better, or else should good things lack their estimation, as shall appear by this conclusion. For he that never hath seen any other metal than gold, marvells not at it, nor in his estimation setteth much by it. And where there be none other stones found but Diamonds, Sapphires, Emeralds and Rubies, there, men do tread on them and sell them for trifles. But if one should come to a country, which seemed barren, covered with an infinite number of stones ragged, of ill colour and fashion, if he chance to find here and there a pointed Diamond, well proportioned and orient, I dare say, he will lay up those few Diamonds as a great treasure, and not remembering the ragged stones in the beholding of them, take no little pleasure. Semblably, although a great number of women perchance were vicious, yet ought not a man [to] reproach therefore the whole kind of women, since of them undoubtedly many be virtuous.

Canin. Ye have well assembled things for your purpose. But what say you to Aristotle, whom ye have skipped over, in the naming of philosophers? He saith that a woman is a work of nature unperfect. And moreover that her proprety\(^1\) is to delight in rebuking, and to be alway complaining and never contented. Now take heed, Master Candidus. Perfection is ever constant and never changeth, but a woman is a creature unperfect, she therefore may never be stable or constant. Ye know this form of argument, for I espy by your talking, ye are learned in Logic. Moreover, rebuking is a misliking, and no man misliketh the thing that he loveth,

\(^{1}\) That which is proper to her, or naturally characteristic of her.
but all that he loveth he favoureth and liketh; but women of their nature do delight in rebuking, and the thing, wherein any person delighteth, he coveteth, and coveting it, he will at the last (if it be in his power) execute it. Women, therefore, lacking some other[s] on whom they may practise their proprety, will rebuke some time their husbands, whom perchance they loved, and then misliketh she the thing that she erst loved, wherefore ye must grant that she is unconstant. Also who that is never content, may never be constant, the cause why is to all men apparent. Wherefore there needeth not any more argument, women for these reasons that I have rehearsed be of their nature alway unconstant, is it not thus? Now knack\(^1\) me that nut, Master Candidus. I trow it be too hard for your teeth, although ye were as well toothed as Curius Dentatus, which, as men say, held fast a ship with his teeth, until it was taken.

CANDI. In good faith, Caninius, ye are a merry companion. But although my teeth be not so strong, yet that I so use my tongue in the stead of my teeth, that I will therewith open your cobweb [of reasoning], that to all them that will be contented with reason, it shall appear well that it is pipped.

CANIN. In faith, ye be a meet advocate for women, since ye have teeth in your tongue, for likewise have they all, [even] if they be toothless.

CANDI. And it seemeth that ye lack teeth to hold in your tongue that it go not too lavish. But now will I essay to knack your nut, Master Caninius, where ye said that, of a purpose, I skipped over Aristotle, there ye said truly. In good faith, so did I. And here have

\(^1\) Another form for “crack.”
at your block house,\(^1\) out of the which is shot against women all this artillery. Sir, when I affirmed that none of the philosophers, which were honest and continent, wrote any thing in dispraise of womankind, I remembered even then your Master Aristotle, and judged him not worthy to be of that number, but his report much less to be regarded than the feignings of poets, whom I have rehearsed and for this intent. For poets wrote against women in wanton ditties, to content men with new fangled devises. But the reproach to women given by Aristotle, was in treating of matter, weighty and serious, whereby it appeareth that the said words so spitefully spoken, proceeded only of cankered malice, whereunto he was of his own nature disposed, which may be of them shortly perceived, that beholdeth in his works, none other philosopher escapeth unrebuked. Ne [nor] truly he was ashamed to rent with rebukes the immortal fame of Plato, his master, of\(^2\) whose divine mouth he had twenty years sucked the most sweet honey of noble philosophy, which malice grew of this occasion, as ancient authors have made thereof mention. For as much as where he was more curious in his apparel and decking than was convenient\(^3\) to his profession, also more light in countenance, and dissolute in living than became an instructor in virtue and wisdom, Plato therefore preferred other[s] his scholars before him, which he very displeasingly taking, sought occasion to rebuke his master, when he was dead, which he never dared while he was living. That Aristotle was dissolute and also inconstant, it may appear by this, which is written of him. For to Hermia [his mistress] he did sacrifice

\(^1\) A building loopholed and embrasured for firing.
\(^2\) From.
\(^3\) Suitable.
and made solemn hymns while she was living. Can ye compare any madness or folly to this man's abuse and unconstancy? May there be so great an abuse as to give divine honours to a mortal creature? What unconstancy was in him, which calleth that a creature unperfect, to whom he did solemn sacrifice, sang devout hymns, and often times kneeled! Wherefore, Caninius, to blaspheme so his goddess, ought not this great philosopher to be foul ashamed? Wherefore, Caninius, by mine advice, do ye not lean more to his authority than unto truth, virtue, and honesty, but consider his nature inclined to malice, his fond error and vain curiosity, and that which ye dispraise in women, apparent\(^1\) inconstancy.

Canin. Ye have a great affection to Plato, I perceive verily, but will ye deny that a woman is of her nature unperfect?

Candi. Yea, marry, will I so. For wherein do you note her to be unperfect? Is it in the soul or in the body?

Canin. In both of them truly, for they be weaker than men, and have their flesh softer, less hair on their visages, and their voice sharper, and as I have read, they have in some parts of their bodies, their bones fewer. And as concerning the soul, they lack hardiness, and in perils are timorous, more delicate than men, unapt to painfulness, except they be thereto constrained, or stirred by willfulness. And the wit that they have is not substantial but apish, never flourishing but in ungraciousness, or in trimming themselves with pretty devices, or excusing their faults with unstudied answers, or in pretty mocks or scornful dalliance, or to invent mischiefs to

\(^1\) Manifest.
satiate their malice. In other things, it is unapt unto knowledge, except one or two which I have read of, who in Rome have pleaded as orators. But that is not to be marvelled at, since they being instructed in eloquence, their domestical exercise, I will not say chiding, maketh them bold to contend in pleading. In the parts of wisdom and civil policy, they be founden unapt and have little capacity. But their worst imperfection is their inconstancy, which proceedeth of their said natural debility. For whereas the affection of much dread or much love aboundeth, stability lacketh, and wit little prevailleth. Contrary to this I dare say ye can make none evasion.

Candi. Yes, and disprove all your malicious conclusion. But I pray you, Caninius, let me ask you a question. Be all the books of your master Aristotle of equal authority?

Canin. Yea, that they be verily.

Candi. In the Institution of Household Keeping called *Economic*, Aristotle writeth in this wise. The company most according to nature, is that which is ordained of man and woman, which was constitute, not to the intent onely to bring forth their semblable, but for love specially, and mutual assistance, and he saith also in the same book and not far from thence: This company is not [such that] each of them hath in every thing and the same all their virtues, like profitable, but some of their virtues seem to be contrary one to another, and yet in conclusion they agree to our purpose. For nature made man more strong and courageous, the woman more weak, fearful, and scrupulous to the intent that she, for her feebleness should be more circumspect, the man for

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1 See Elyot's *Gouernour*, ed. Crofts, vol. ii., p. 79 n.
his strength much more adventurous. Be not these the words of your master? How say you?

Canin. Where ye say truth, I will not deny you; it is of his sentence the very pith and effect. For he wrote in Greek ye know well enough, wherefore they be not in the same words as ye do speak them.

Candi. It maketh no matter, if I do truly interpret them. But now to our purpose. Is perfection and unperfection in things, any thing else than abundance and lack of that which is expedient to the end whereunto nature hath ordained them?

Canin. Nay in good sooth, for I think that a true definition.

Candi. But let me see where I called it abundance, I might better have named it sufficience, for abundance doth properly signify more than is necessary. Sufficience descriveth⁴ the thing with bounds and limits, the excess whereof is called superfluity, and the lack may be named necessity.

Canin. In faith ye be too curious.² Perdy,³ the word neither made nor marred any thing of your purpose. For abundance and sufficience is commonly taken for one thing.

Candi. Yea, and that hath subverted the order of all thing[s]. For truly words used in their proper signification do bring things to a plain understanding. And where they be much abused and wrested from their true meaning, they cause sundry errors and perpetual contention. But let us now return to our question. Clay is a kind of earth soft and clammy, and for those qualities serveth to make walls for houses, and to that end hath his perfection, although a stone be a matter

¹ Describeth. ² Careful, painstaking. ³ Par Dieu.
hard and consolidate, and serveth also for walls, and maketh them stronger to serve for munition. The horse hath much strength, and therefore is apt for tourneys and burdens; the sheep is feeble and fearful and may therefore easily be shorn. And yet each of these in his kind hath his perfections. To men nature hath given puissance in members, braveness, hard and consolidate, the skin thick, perchance more bones as ye say, to sustain outward labours. And to seem the more terrible, much hair on the visage. To women she hath given the contrary, to the end and intent, which your master rehearsed, that her debility should make her more circumspect, in the keeping (saith he) at home such things as her husband by his puissance hath gotten, for those words also he added to them, which are before spoken. Is not that a company according to nature, where the one diligently keepeth that which the other by labour prepareth? For what profiteth it to prepare, where false keeping lacketh. In preparing is labour or study; of keeping cometh use and commodity, and therefore to speak indifferently, it deserveth much more praise than the getting. But now tell me one thing. Wherein suppose you doth a man excell all other creatures? Is it in greatness or puissance of body?

Canin. No, verily.

Canidi. Then, wherein suppose ye?

Canin. In that that his soul is adorned with reason.

Canidi. Stop there, I pray you a little season. What call ye reason?

Canin. Why be ye now to learn what thing is reason?

Canidi. Yea, by my holy Dame. And this is the cause. For many men lean to their singular opinion, judging

1 Defence. 2 Is absent. 3 Impartially.
all that is contrary, to stand with no reason. Wherefore I pray you, make me thereof a true definition.

Canin. I will, to content with your fantasy, although that ye can do it I know well, much better than I. Reason is the principal part of the soul, divine and immortal, whereby man doth discern good from ill. This thing whiles it discerneth or severeth the one from the other, it is called Discretion. Where it taketh the one and leaveth the other, it is named Election; Judgment, of some men. The exercise thereof is called Prudence; of some Circumspection. And yet is every of these things nothing but reason, which to man is so proper, that lacking it, he loseth his denomination.

Candi. In good faith, ye have made of reason a right good description. And now I perceive that the thing whereby man excelleth all other creatures is reason only.

Canin. Yea, verily.

Candi. What think you, is reason onely in men? Is it not also in women, suppose you?

Canin. Yes, that is it naturally, for the word Man, which I named, includeth as well woman as man, when it is written or spoken so generally.

Candi. I am glad that I have found you so reasonable in talking of reason. But what say you by sharpness of wit, doth it not between man and beast make like diversity?

Canin. No, surely. For wit is of the part of man that is mortal, and that is founden by daily experience. For where the vapours in the body be pure and subtile, which do ascend into the brain, the wit becometh sharp and delicate. And where they be gross, ponderous and smoky, the wit is dull and nothing pleasant. And

1 Elyot has "suttil."
therefore physicians have experienced by clarifying and temporating the corporal humours to correct the wit, which is either with gross matter oppressed, or with adust vapours smoulded or choked. But reason might never be brought in to a beast, which by nature lacketh it. And yet in divers of them have been perceived too subtile wits, that therein men have seemed to be of them vanquished.

Candi. I think it to be true that ye say. Then in whom reason most doth appear, ye will affirm, he doth most excell a beast in his nature.

Canin. Yea, Master Candidus, that may ye be sure.

Candi. And ye were agreeable while ere, that to keep diligently that which is gotten is worthy more praise than in the getting?

Canin. Yea, for there cometh more effect of the keeping.

Candi. And so ye conclude that the power of reason is more in the prudent and diligent keeping, than in the valiant or politic getting. And that Discretion, Election, and Prudence, which is all and in every part reason, do excell strength, wit and hardiness. And consequently they in whom be those virtues, in that they have them, do excell in just estimation them that be strong, hardy or politic in getting of anything.

Canin. Ye have well gathered together all that conclusion.

Candi. Behold, Caninius, where ye be now. Ye have so much extolled reason, that in the respect thereof, bodily strength remaineth as nothing, forasmuch as the corporal powers, with powers of the soul can make no comparison. And ye have not denied, but that this

1 Scorched, parched.
word, Man, unto whom reason pertaineth, doth imply in it both man and woman. And agreeing unto Aristotle's saying, ye have confirmed, that prudence, which in effect is no thing but reason, is more aptly applied to the woman, whereby she is more circumspect in keeping, as strength is to the man, that he may be more valiant in getting. And likewise ye have preferred the prudence in keeping for the utility thereof, before the valiantness in getting. And semibly them which be prudent in keeping, before them that be only strong and hardy in getting. And so ye have concluded that women, which are prudent in keeping, be more excellent than men in reason, which be onely strong and valiant in getting. And where excellency is, there is most perfection. Wherefore a woman is not a creature unperfect, but as it seemeth is more perfect than man.

CANIN. Why have ye dallied herefor all this long season?

CANDI. Surely I have used neither dalliance nor sophistry, but if ye consider it well, ye shall find it but a natural induction, and plain to all them that have any capacity. But yet have I somewhat more to say to you. Ye said, moreover, Caninius, that the wits of women were apt onely to trifles and shrewdness, and not to wisdom and civil policy.\(^1\) I will be plain to you. I am sorry to find in your words such manner of lewdness.\(^2\) I cry you mercy. I would\(^3\) have said so much ungentleness and in your own words so much forgetfulness.

CANIN. What mean ye thereby?

CANDI. Ye have twice granted that natural reason is in women as well as in men.

\(^1\) P. 225 *supra.* \(^2\) Ignorance, absence of learning. \(^3\) Should.
ELYOT: DEFENCE OF GOOD WOMEN

Canin. Yea, and what then?

Candi. Then have women also Discretion, Election and Prudence which do make that wisdom, which pertaineth to governance.\(^1\) And perdy, many arts and necessary occupations have been invented by women, as I will bring now to your remembrance. Latin letters were first founden by Nicostrata, called also Carmentis. The seven Liberal Arts and poetry by the Nine Maidens called the Muses. Why was Minerva honoured for a goddess but because she found first in Græcia, planting or setting of trees; also the use of armour, and as some do testify, she invented making of fortresses and many necessary and notable sciences. Also that the wits of women be not unapt to laudable studies, it appeareth by Diotima and Aspasia, two honest maidens, which in all parts of philosophy were so well learned, that Socrates, master to Plato, nothing disdained to come to their lessons, and called Diotima alway his mistress. Cleobulina, the daughter of Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men of Greece wrote diffuse and mystical questions in heroical verses. Also Leoncium, a woman, excelled all men of her time in wisdom and eloquence, in so much as she wrote against Theophrastus, the most eloquent disciple of Aristotle, in women’s defence, which book, if it now had remained, should have been sufficient to put you to silence. If the learning and wisdom of the lady Cassandra, daughter to King Priam, had been regarded more than the counsel of flatterers, the city of Troy and kingdom of Phrygia had longer remained, and Priam with his noble succession had many years reigned.

\(^1\) It would seem that Mr. Crofts’ account of Elyot’s views on women in politics require modification, or else that Elyot’s views underwent some change between 1531 and 1538.
Behold our noble progenitors, the ancient Romans, in all extreme dangers, when other counsel utterly failed, did not they resort to the books of Sybilla Cumana, called also Amalthea, and pursuing her advice, which she had there declared, did they not escape the perils which then were imminent? Hundreds of such women are in stories remembered, but, for speed of time, I will pass them over, since I trust that these be sufficient to prove, that the whole kind of women be not unapt unto wisdom, as ye have supposed. As concerning strength and valiant courage, which ye surmise to lack in them, I could make to you no less replication,¹ and, by old stories and late experience, prove that in arms, women have been found of no little reputation, but I will omit that for this time, for as much as to the more part of wise men it shall not sound much to their commendation; seeing that we now have one example among us, as well of fortitude as of all other virtues, which in mine opinion shall not be inconvenient to have at this time declared, and so of this matter to make a conclusion.

CANIN. And I have mine ears thereto prepared.

CANDI. The best matter is ever good to be spared, until the tale be almost at an end, and then shall the hearers with the length thereof be little offended. Sir, there dwelleth here by me a lady, late a great queen and wife to Odenatus King of Palmyra, which is a city and country in Surry.² Her name is Zenobia. She hath had of our host victory twice, and now late was taken prisoner by Aurelian the Emperor, albeit for her nobility, virtue and courage, she was pardoned of her life, and a fair home is appointed to her in this village. She

¹ Unfolding, exposition.
² So Elyot writes the word, which is evidently our Syria.
is well learned in Greek, and doth competently understand Latin, but excellently the Egyptian language. She herself teacheth her children good letters, and being now vacant from other business, writeth, as they say, of Alexandria and the other eloquent stories. I have bidden her to supper. It will not now be long or [ere] she come hither. And when ye do hear her, I dare well say you will be changed from your opinion, and confess that in women is both courage, constancy, and reason.

**Canin.** But I pray you of this matter, say to her nothing.

**Candi.** Ah, I see well ye be loath to come to a reckoning. Thus do they all that be of your fashion. In wise women's absence, [they] speak reproachfully, and when they be present, flatter them pleasantly. But lo! where she cometh. Let us meet with her. Your ladyship is very heartily welcome.

**Zenobia.** Ye have caused me to do that I have used very seldom.

**Candi.** What is that, madame?

**Zeno.** To be out of mine own house at this time of the night.

**Candi.** I thank therefor your ladyship, for I think the same, but I will promise you, nothing shall come to your hearing or sight but that both to hear and see may stand with your worship.

**Zeno.** I heartily pray you, for the remembrance of my princely estate may not sustain words of dishonesty. And because I am now as a private person, I fear the common success\(^1\) of familiarity.

**Candi.** What is that, madame, I pray you heartily?

\(^1\) That which follows, consequence.
Zeno. For I dread infamy, I tell you plainly more than ever I did the loss of my liberty.

Candi. No such thing shall happen, madame, I promise you truly. For here ye shall find no men but of honest condition.¹

Zeno. Yet some in devising² with ladies, rejoicing to be therefore had in a certain suspicion, will by the way of dalliance convey from them some thing, which being shewed, do ingender in the beholders some dishonest opinion. Divers be not ashamed to make their advaut³ that they have received, which of her that they speak of, was never once proffered. These things, Master Candidus, have made me afraid to come to suppers and banquets.⁴

Candi. Marry, that is well said. And yet some time such things have been seen offered.

Candi. Perchance of some young maidens, which did it of courtesy, yet much more hath been asked that hath been denied. I have known it myself, I promise you faithfully.

Zeno. Truly, I like not such manner of folly, I have been brought up in other study.

Candi. I pray you, madame, let me ask you a question, but first pleaseth you to sit down and rest you, for I trow your supper is not yet ready.

Zeno. Now what is your demand? Speak on hardily.

Candi. Of what age was your ladyship when first ye were married?

Zeno. Twenty years and above.

Candi. It was great pity that you so long tarried.⁵

¹ Honourable nature, or disposition.  
² Talking, chatting.  
³ Boast.  
⁴ Compare p. 10 supra.  
⁵ Delayed, postponed.
Zeno. But it was the more for my commodity.\(^1\) For I knew the better what [be]longed to my duty.

Candi. Your duty, madame, what mean ye thereby?

Zeno. For by my study in moral philosophy, wherein I spent the years between sixteen and twenty, I perceived that without prudence and constancy, women might be brought lightly into error and folly, and made therefore unmeet for that company whereunto they were ordained, I mean to be assistance and comfort to man through their fidelity, which other beasts\(^2\) are not, except they be by the force of man thereto constrained. I found also that Justice teacheth us women to honour our husbands next after God, which honour resteth\(^3\) in due obedience, whereby mutual love betwixt them is in a more fervency, for undoubtedly no woman him loveth, whose hate or displeasure, she nothing feareth. Also Justice restraineth us to do\(^4\) any thing which is not seemly. By fortitude are we still kept in a virtuous constancy, as well in resisting affections and wanton persuasion, as also to sustain (when they do happen) afflictions patiently. But in a woman, no virtue is equal to Temperance, whereby in her words and deeds she alway useth a just moderation, knowing when time is to speak, and when to keep silence, when to be occupied, and when to be merry. And if she measure it to the will of her husband, she doeth the more wisely, except it may turn them both to loss or dishonesty. Yet then should she seem rather to give him wise counsel than to appear disobedient or

\(^1\) Benefit, advantage.

\(^2\) "Beast" originally was used as equivalent to "a living being," and "in early times explicitly included man" (Murray's *Oxford Dict.*).

\(^3\) Consists.

\(^4\) From doing.
sturdy.\(^1\) In every of these things consisted my duty, which I should not so well have known, if to my husband I had sooner been wedded.

**Canin.** Indeed, ye had been past learning thereof, when ye had once been wedded.

**Zeno.** In good faith, ye say truly, for when I had been out of the dread of my father (who kept me in this study continually) and had once tasted the pleasant devices which are provided for Queens and other great ladies, ye may well suppose I should soon have lost that delectation which I had in study.

**Candi.** Ye say even truth, by the faith of my body, but, madame, after that ye were married, what profit was to you, the knowledge of letters\(^2\)?

**Zeno.** Much, Master Candidus, I promise you verily. For during the life of my noble husband of famous memory, I was never, or seen, say or do anything which might not content him, or omit anything which should delight him, such circumspection good learning ministered unto me, that in hunting and other pastimes, I retained alway such gravity, that of any dissolute appetite, none could conceive of me any suspicion, and yet my learning was had of none honest men in any derision. But after the death of my husband, I found of learning a marvellous treasure. For when I considered the state of things which then happened together, what danger was to the realm imminent for lack of a governor, and that my children for their tender youth should be little regarded, and I being a woman should nothing be feared. Also what tutors my children

\(^{1}\) Obstinate, dogged.

\(^{2}\) Compare Sir Thomas More’s views as to the continuation of studies by women after marriage (p. 193 supra).
should have, it was very uncertain. Ambition alway reigning in every country, which cannot gladly suffer in any one person such manner of sovereignty, that under the name of protection he should have in subjection all the nobility. And although that such one might happen to be, yet having in remembrance as well ancient histories as late examples! I dreaded,¹ lest in so great authority, Ambition and Avarice might cause men to forget their obedience, trust and fidelity. I considered also that the realm of Palmyra was environed with enemies. For on the one side was the host of the Romans, which alway waited to find opportunity to invade my realm, and to subdue it under their empire. The thieves of Arabia were on the other side, which already were entered the marches, and spoiled the country. The King of Media, to be discharged of his tribute, joined with our enemies, willing to bring my realm in perpetual captivity. Was it any marvel, if all these things did exceedingly trouble me?

Candi. But finally, madame, what remedy found ye?

Zeno. After that I had a little bethought me, I determined to prepare remedies quickly, and to sustain fortune at all times patiently. And to the intent that the name of a woman should not among the people be had in contempt, I used so my proceedings that none of them might be said to be done womanly. Wherefore I sat alway abroad² among my nobles and councillors and said mine opinion, so that it seemed to them all that it stood with good reason. I came oftentimes among the people, and remembered unto³ them the liberty and

¹ Elyot’s word is “dredde.”
² Freely moving about (Murray’s Oxford Dict.).
³ Reminded of.
honour which they had received by the excellent prowess of my noble husband, shewing to them my children, which for tender age then were but feeble, exhorting them with sundry orations to retain their fidelity. I visited all the whole realm, and the marches, re-edified fortresses, and new made also sundry munitions. Moreover, I caused good laws to be published, observing them first in mine own household, and caused them in all other places to be well executed. I made Justice chief ruler of mine affection, and in all consultations would I be present, where I heard all other people speak first, that I would not be ignorant, and then shewed mine advice wherein I seemed not to be negligent. Touching my servants, I used such a diligent scrutiny, that they were alway persons of singular honesty. By this manner [of] industry I quietly governed the realm of Palmyra. And [I] also added much more to mine Empire, not so much by force, as by renown of just and politic governance, which all men had in such admiration that divers of our said enemies, which against the realm erst did conspire, and had invaded my jurisdiction, chose rather to leave their hostility, and to remain in our subjection, than to return to their own country. To the which wisdom and policy, I attained by the study of noble philosophy. Also, thereby I acquired such magnanimity that now I keep in as strait subjection all affections and passions, as the Romans do now me and my children. All this considered, my study was to me much more commodious because it was so long or I were married. Wherefore I may conclude that I had well tarried.

CANDI. Ye have said very well, by the faith of my body. And all that ye have spoken, I have before heard

1 Defences. 2 Profitable. 3 Ere, before.
as well of your friends, as of your enemies, confessed. How say you, Caninius, be you any thing changed in your opinion?

Canin. I would never have looked for such a conclusion. I see well enough that women being well and virtuously brought up, do not onely with men participate in reason, but some also in fidelity and constancy, be equal unto them.

Candi. Madame, your supper is ready, may it like you to enter in toward it.

Zeno. With right good will, but yet if this gentleman hath aught to say against women, I am not unprovided for, to defend them.

Canin. No, madame. I am by your ladyship already satisfied. He is wise that with reason is shortly contented. And where reason serveth not, silence is praised.

Zeno. Yet a good mind in silence is ever well occupied.

Candi. And he that thinketh well, and speaketh truth is most to be loved. Madame, I will lead you the way into my house.

Zeno. With good will, I follow you.

Canin. The conclusion is good, where both part[ie]s are pleased. And if they both be wise, it maketh no matter though fools be offended.

Thus endeth the defence of good women.

Londini in aedibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.
APPENDIX

J. L. VIVES: THE PLAN OF STUDIES FOR A BOY

(De Ratione Studii Puerilis ad Carolum Montjoium
Guilielmi filium)

[This treatise of Vives is important for the purpose of comparison with his plan of studies for a girl, the Princess Mary (see Introduction, pp. 20, 21 supra), for Vives by no means approves of the same details of an educational curriculum for both, even when they are both studying Latin. The Epistola, as it is called, was written to Charles Mountjoy, the son of William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was, in 1496, the pupil of Erasmus. It was written in 1523, the same year in which Vives wrote the de Ratione Studii Puerilis, for the Princess Mary, which he addressed, not to her, but to her mother, Queen Catharine of Aragon. See p. 137 et seqq.]

JOANNES LUDOVICUS VIVES.

To CHARLES the son of WILLIAM MOUNTJOY.

Since I have desired to show to your Father (a most distinguished man, adorned in the highest degree with every kind of virtue) how much he was loved by me, and how he has always treated me with singular benevolence, I determined to write something for you on the beginning of your studies, in which all the virtue and method of erudition should show themselves as does the sap in the seed of future plants and fruits. I took pains not to overwhelm you by the copiousness of precepts, or to deter you by needless difficulties. Everything has been adapted, as far as it was possible to do so beforehand, to the capacity of your age, or that of a slightly older age than yours. In sending you this little book I think of it as going to your Father, the maintenance of whose own character and the promotion of the education of yours are his care, as much as the continuance of his life, so that he may love you, if you so turn out, as he desires, to be a thoroughly honourable and learned man. For this purpose this little book has been put in your hand
to follow it out with inclination and industry. Farewell, and imitate the example which you have at home of your extremely wise Father.—London, 1523.

Religion.

Since wisdom, virtue, and knowledge come from God alone, it is fitting that the first entrance to all these should be through God, towards Whom it behoves thee always to comport thyself with the greatest piety, and in His affairs to bear a most religious mind, nor to carry out any work of His in a light, sluggish, or perfunctory manner.

Work.

Since God does not give His gifts to idle people, there is need of labour and diligence in the pursuit of letters and virtue.

Memory.

Know that memory is the treasure of all erudition, and that, if it is lacking, all labour is superfluous, as if you were to pour water into a wide-mouthed jar perforated at the bottom. But no one has a memory so unfortunate that he cannot make it tolerable if he develops it by practice. For there is nothing which gives more joy if work and labour is applied to it than memory, whilst nothing is more easily corrupted or perishes than memory if allowed rest and ease. Therefore every day something should be learned by heart, even when it is not necessary, merely lest a torpor should attack the memory, than which there is no more pernicious a disease. Sound health contributes to a sound memory; therefore be on your guard, in the first place, against repletion, against drunkenness, against immoderate amount of wine, against strong beer (cereuisia), and against lying on a couch.

The Tutor.

The teacher is no less to be loved, esteemed, revered than a father. Truly teachers bear a certain image of our fathers to us, for you can receive no greater kindness than that of being made more scholarly (eruditus) and better morally—for to these two gifts nothing in life can be compared. Add to this, if you love your teacher, you learn more easily. You will then never despise what he says, nor neglect his behests. Always in your mind accord dignity to the teacher, and treat his words as oracles. Do not merely love him, but strive to be loved in return by him, that so he will teach you the more diligently. By obeying his precepts closely and modestly, and by observing, honouring him in all he says or does, or esteems in life or speech, so act that he will feel that you also approve it. If he disapproves anything, then do you also shun it. Listen to him intently—to his words, his forms of speech, note down his opinions, and make yourself as far as possible, like him;
take him for example, because when the teacher shall see this he will take pains that you shall not possibly receive from him anything which would be unworthy of imitation.

**Fellow-pupils.**

Fellow-disciples are, as it were, brothers (*fratrum loco*). For you are born from the same master, as if from the same father. You are bound by the sanctity of literature not less than that of blood. Therefore you should wish their welfare no less than that of brothers. If one is more learned than thyself, do not hate him for this reason, but applaud his ability and strive to be equal to him in learning and virtue, even to surpass him, so that a like approval may be thine.

**Emulation.**

Do not strive enviously, or with malevolence, against those better or wiser than thyself, but with virtue, honour, zeal. Do not look down on those inferior to thyself; rather help and raise them that they may grow strong to climb up. For thou thyself art neither worse nor less skilful if thou hast others equal to thee: but then are so much the better thyself if others have risen upwards by thy assistance. But, if all are ignorant, there will be no one even to understand, and much less admire, what is good in thee. It is certainly splendid to contend with the good; it is very splendid to improve on them, if it be done in a right way and by means of virtue, and without any sort of deceit.

**Making Notes.**

Make a book of blank leaves of a proper size. Divide it into certain topics, so to say, into nests (*nidos*). In one, jot down the names of those subjects of daily converse, e.g., the mind, body, our occupations, games, clothes, divisions of time, dwellings, foods; in another, rare words, exquisitely fit words; in another, idioms, and *formulae dicendi*, which either few understand or which require often to be used; in another, *sententiae* (maxims); in another, joyous expressions; in another, witty sayings; in another, proverbs; in another, difficult passages in authors; in another, other matters which seem worthy of note to thy teacher or thyself. So that thou shalt have all these noted down and digested. Then will thy book alone know what must be read by thee, read, committed, and fixed to the memory, so that thou mayst bear in thy breast the names thus written down, which are in thy book and refer to them as often as is necessary. For it is little good to possess learned books if your mind is unfurnished for studying them.

**Industry in Writing.**

Take care that thou hast a practised hand in writing. Never go to the lessons of thy teacher unprovided with pen and paper, so
that thou let not fly by thee any elegant, rare, or necessary word, or a useful *formula loquendi*, or a significant, weighty, or wise saying. Then do thou at once, having heard it, enter it into thy treasures. So wilt thou prepare for thyself the greatest riches of erudition, and these within a short space of time.

**Reading.**

Do not read any book without selecting passages in the same way as I have said in speaking of the tutor's conversation. Never read any thing with a loitering mind, or a mind intent on other things; let it be intently fixed on the reading, in which these points are to be considered; words, *formule loquendi*, and ideas. Consider carefully what words are applied by the writer to explain the subjects on which the author treats, what idioms, what forms of speech. Then the matter itself must be observed, what the author means by the language he uses. One by one you must consider what you can single out, what retain, what turn to use (*in usum tuum vertas*). Always have pen and paper that you may write out notes of what you admire and what delights you. So, too, those points which cause you delay, mark them out, so that you can get them resolved by your teacher or fellow-pupil.

**Questioning.**

Do not be ashamed to ask questions concerning what you do not know. For this is not disgraceful. It is ignorance which is disgraceful. Do not wish to persuade others that you know what you do not know. You will then deceive yourself, not the others, and when you are thus caught in your ignorance, it will raise a laugh against you.

**Correction.**

Take care not to forget what you see blamed or corrected, not only in yourself, but also in others. Never let it be necessary to be blamed twice for the same sort of fault. Make use of the mistakes you see in others to your own improvement. For a wise man often amends his own life by the errors that he sees in the lives of others.

**Conversation (sermo).**

Speak yourself as you hear the instructed speak, or as you read in Latin writers. Shun the words which you consider of doubtful value both in speech and in writing, unless first you have got to know from your teacher that they are Latin. With those who speak Latin imperfectly, whose conversation may corrupt your own, rather speak English or any other language in which there is not the same danger. Converse gladly with those who are wise and fluent. No pleasure is greater than to hear those who, in their speech, have instantaneous balm (*presentanea medicamenta*) for all the ailments of the mind.
Style.

Repeated practice is the best master for the attainment of good style, and the fashioner of speech. In the beginning use not only words taken from Latin authors, but also short sentences collected from them. They should be so aptly put together that for the most part they are another's. But little by little you will mix your own composition until the time when your stage of erudition has developed, your writing can become all your own. First write few words at a time, but with accuracy, so that you may observe not how much, but how well it, is done. For, as the practice increases, you will retain the carefulness. Speed and facility will be produced by exercise so that you will come to write at the same time with ease and excellence.

Authors (for conversation).

In the meantime, whilst thou canst not at thy age judge concerning the value of authors, I give you my opinion on those authors who are to be esteemed especially from the point of view of increasing the richness of vocabulary, and for increasing knowledge of subject-matter. For daily conversation Terence is of great importance. Cicero made considerable use of him. Indeed, on account of the charm and gaiety of speech in his plays many thought they were written by nobles of the highest families. Also the letters of Cicero, especially those to Atticus, teach much and may render ready practice for purposes of conversation. For in them the conversation is pure and simple, such as Cicero himself used with his wife, his children, his servants, his friends, at dinner, in the bath, on his couch, in the garden. There are, too, the familiar Colloquies written by Erasmus, which are as pleasant as they are useful. These are of no small importance, since Erasmus is a man of cultivated and refined intellect. The letters of the younger Pliny may supply many ideas (sententias) for any kind of letter, which the writer of letters may need. They seem as if they had been composed almost so as to describe a few events, very much like Cicero. On the other hand, they differ from his treatment in the times concerned. The opinions expressed are often charming, and afford material for enriching the expression in letter-writing. The letters of Politian have much the same characteristics, except that sometimes they have been composed with too great carefulness, whereby they are somewhat more laboured. Their writer has taken pains that nothing should be included which is not polished in the highest degree. On this account he will not let pass by any good word which he can appropriate. An anxiety of this kind is not very conducive to composition suitable for epistles. There are, too, the letters of Philadelphus, which have more verbosity than grace, and the pleasainties of Calentius. If you have time, you may read Apollinaris Sidonius and Apuleius' Asinus and Florida.
Histories.

Histories can also build up a knowledge of language, as those of Livy, in which is a very delightful fluency, and, as Jerome says, a milky fountain of eloquence. There is Suetonius, in whom there is that marvellously close appropriateness of speech which has more nerves than body. Cornelius Tacitus would be a great help if he had come down to us whole and corrected, and, such as he is, he is emphatically of use. In Caesar's Commentaries is shown that chastity of style of Roman conversation which was in the pristine Roman nobility; nothing can be imagined more terse, polished, elaborate. These Commentaries should be known accurately. They will greatly enrich materials of speech and will make it readier for use. Sallust was the brightest writer of Roman affairs, as Tacitus says. He is often in the hands of boys, although he seems to me to be more suited to those who have made considerable progress in the language. His grace of writing is inimitable, and, however often any reader goes back to Sallust, he never feels tedium or satiety.

Agricultural Writers.

Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Pliny, and the architect Vitruvius suggest words for various subject-matter, and are, therefore, to be read diligently, and the words used to be referred to the things described, so that we do not translate wrongly. Pliny is as varied in expression as the nature of the subjects on which he treats. There is, therefore, in him a great wealth of both subject-matter and of expression. Vitruvius will provide by no means a small store of language. If his subject-matter were changed to suit the present time, they would not be so obscure.

Poets.

Poets are also to be studied for the sake of the mind; for they often relieve the tedium of business, and of the reading of unfettered speech. This alternation of verse and prose keeps the mind intent on studies for a longer time. Moreover the poets abound in unusual words and figures of every kind which common speech at one time or another requires. The poets are, in invention, sublime, pleasant, keen, weighty, facile; in words, sweet, charming, gay. They raise up every emotion as the occasion demands. Virgil holds the first place, and rightly so, in my opinion, on account of his seriousness and his ideas. Horace is joined with him as being so polished in his verses, singular in his expression, and, for the most part, perceiving life wisely. Silius Italicus has shown great industry. Of the Latin tragedians Seneca alone has survived to our age. But, in my opinion, Lucan holds the victory over all, in the majesty of his words and the force of his subjects, in the value and number of his thoughts. Also the poets of our religion should be
read, Prudentius, Prosper, Paulinus, Servilius, Juvencus, and Aratus, who, whilst they discuss matters of the highest kind, for the salvation of the human race, are neither crude nor contemptible in speech. They have many passages in which, by their eloquence and charm of verse, they vie with the ancients. Some even think they surpass them.

**Grammarians.**

In all the authors you read notice how the grammatical forms are preserved and where they are neglected. For in many of them the use of them is varied and multiform, and cannot be enclosed within the norms and rules. Now that which is constituted by actual use must be followed rather than the grammatical art, and not contrariwise. Yet that art, on this account, is not to be despised. Only do not follow it so closely as to be strangled by it (*ne sit superstitiose anxia*). In our time we need rules, since we have not the Roman people to whom to talk, and all these rules have to be wrested out of the Latin authors. If we do not get help from them for the right way of speaking, we shall be forced on solecisms as being a great help. For we have different material of thought from the ancients, and modern writers must speak therefore in other terms. Even when the same language was spoken in Latium and Greece by the learned and the people, they could not do without rules. Many have written grammars; but one or other of the best should be chosen—Perottus or Aldus, Nebrisensis, Mancinellus, Sulpitius, Ninivita. For elegancies of speech Valla should be diligently perused: he is too pedantic, but most apt for rendering students more wary.

**Expositors.**

You will at your age, and even at a later age, need expositors in reading authors. For there are in writers many difficult places which you can hardly successfully attack, even with the most troublesome labour. Expositors explain everything, with a minimum of time and work, which leads to usefulness and advancement of knowledge. In the number of such expositors are Servius on Virgil, Donatus on Terence, Acron and Porphyryion on Horace, as well as some more recent commentators. Vocabularies are also to be had which I should wish you always to have at hand whilst studying, so as to consult them when doubtful as to any word. We have in this respect a great lack in the study of Latin literature. For the most learned are these: Varro, Festus, Marcellus; but they are too difficult for the learner, and only to be understood by those who are somewhat learned already, and they do not treat of all the matters which we now need. The *Cornucopia* of Perottus, and the work of Calepinus, which we all use, are not sufficiently comprehensive, and lack in scholarship; nor are they safely to be trusted. Perottus accomplished what he could; but what he left undone is considerable. Calepinus, indeed, quaffed
the horn of Perottus—i.e., the *Cornucopia*, as Perottus called his book (see also p. 147), but took upon himself to teach others when he himself rather needed a teacher. But in the meantime we must make use of these dictionaries until there shall be forthcoming for the world some other, which shall hand down this part of scholarship more happily. Budæus, in his *Annotationes Pandectarum* and the *De Asse* digs out many subjects hitherto hidden in the deepest darkness, and also has disclosed and brought forward what was unknown even to the learned—a great work for the revival of learning.

You must also read the authors for yourself, and not wait till your tutor has explained them all: else you will never understand anything without it being read and explained to you. So when that comprehensive treatise of words and things shall be prepared it will have to be sought from a very large number of writers on varied subjects from the discernment of one or another author, whom the teacher explains, and there will have to be given to this study an application neither sluggish nor feeble. Many others must be known by the compiler. There are words and *formule loquendi* the same in all, by comparison of which the meaning is gathered; so that there is no book which, rightly understood, may not be a teacher of the understanding of many others, if only the judgment is applied and what is already known is sown amongst those topics under consideration. It is not for nothing that it is said that one book is opened by another.

**Greek Letters.**—*Production of Sounds.*

Quintilian thinks that the Greek letters could be learned equally well at the same time as the Latin letters. First, the sounds of the letters should receive diligent attention, and, as far as possible, be purely and perfectly pronounced; for it is no greater labour from the first to learn them well than ill, though the fruit is so greatly richer. You will observe how the learned pronounce, and imitate them; for it is necessary that you become equal to them, or at least that you pronounce not unlike the way they pronounce theirs, by comparing yourself with them as your example. On the practice of the right pronunciation Jerome Aleander has written his learned *Tabellae*. Only take care that you do not so accustom yourself to Greek pronunciation so as to pronounce the Latin in the same manner. And do not confound the methods of accents, which are diverse in the two languages. The Greek generally puts the accent on the last syllable; the Latin on the penultimate.

**Inflexions.**

Then we shall come to the inflexions of nouns and verbs, which you fix thoroughly in the memory, so that ignorance of them shall not compel you to hesitate and blunder later on in your reading.
There are the first two books of Theodore Gaza, which teach this subject in very short compass and with skill. Then you can have in collected form the rules of accents and orthography—for the most part in the third book of Theodore Gaza. Lest you should have to read the whole of that volume—a troublesome task, and of slight value in many places—the parts selected by Ceporinus from Gaza will suffice at this stage.

First Exercise in Reading of Authors.

It will be useful, for the sake of getting a vocabulary, to hear some authors read by your teacher, and especially some which are easy and clear. Of this kind are some of the Dialogues (especially those which do not make white black), the short orations of Isocrates, Plato, and the epistles of some others, and the fables of Æsop, in which you will understand before all, which words are used to signify a particular thing and in what manner they are inflected.

Syntax.

Single words are joined together in speaking. Concerning construction more works are written by the Romans than the Greeks. Gaza, in his fourth book, has taught in a difficult manner. He followed Apollonius, who was himself somewhat misty. Lascaris at great length tried to reduce all Greek words to those five kinds and rules of Latin words—with ill success, as I think. It will be best to notice the forms of Greek speech in the reading of authors, and especially how the idioms of Greek and Latin should differ from each other.

Reading.

To begin with, I think the orators should be read—Isocrates, Demosthenes, Lysias, Æschines, Aristotle, and part of Lucian. Then the philosophers—Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Theophrastus. Next those ironlike writers—Thucydides and Plutarch. If you have learned to know any works of these in a Latin translation, read those works first, so that the understanding of the meaning of the words may be the readier. Before you attack the poets read Apollonius and Johannes Grammaticus on the Greek dialects; then chiefly translate, to begin with, the Attic writers are the easiest, such as Aristophanes, and, afterwards, Homer, the fountain of the rest. Then, Euripides and Sophocles. Have a lexicon by you—say Suidas or Hesychius. It will be helpful to possess a Greek-Latin dictionary, from which a word will sometimes become clearer in Latin, whilst, if it were explained in Greek in the lexicon, you would not sufficiently understand it.

Expositions.

Compare the Greek with its version in Latin if there are verbal translations, as the Fables of Æsop, the Tabula Cebetis, and
part of the *Dialogues* of Lucian which Erasmus and More translated. Then turn to those who altogether, according to their own fancy, chose their words so as to render freely the sense of the author whom they were interpreting—*e.g.*, Thucydides and Herodotus, a translation of which authors was made by Laurentius Valla. But before all others rank the translation by Politian of Herodianus, and some small works of Plutarch translated by Budarus. Hermolaus, in translating Themistius, has been carried too far away from the original by the heat of youth and by the desire of ostentation. The prince of translators, by the consent of everyone, is Theodore Gaza (who translated the *De Animalibus* and *De Problematis* of Aristotle and the *De Stirpibus* of Theophrastus). Gaza is the best translator, whether it be for the dignity and elegance of his version or the copiousness of his Latin, in which he vies with Greek, or the happy boldness with which he invents words or takes refuge in analogies so that he may render the Greek more neatly.

*The Fruit of Greek Learning (Fructus Graecitatis).*

To the one who has acquired the knowledge of the Greek tongue, the fountains of all branches of learning stand open, for these have issued from the Greeks. He is admitted to the knowledge of the greatest minds in which Greece was always so prolific. Moreover, his copiousness of Latin speech is deeper founded, both because the Latin people sought from Greece the schemes and figures of speech and colours of subject-matter, and also because, when the Latin vocabulary is not at hand for signifying a thing, a term can be borrowed from the Greek, which is so full of words. Nay, also the Latin authors after the time of Cicero were so studious of Greek, or such displayers of their knowledge, that a great part of their idioms were poured across into Latin.

Herewith, my Charles Mountjoy, thou hast what suggestions I thought might help thee to the rudiments of thy studies. Do thou strive hard that thou mayest be, in a short time, thy own great teacher in these matters, and of that highest kind of good people who of themselves, by their own efforts, have acquired a knowledge of all things.
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