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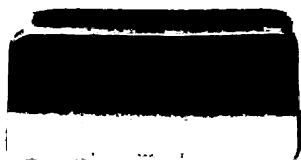
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The Select Works
of
Robert Crowley,

Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford (1559-1567),
Vicar of St Lawrence, Jewry, &c. &c.

NAMELY, HIS
EPIGRAMS, A.D. 1550; VOYCE OF THE LAST TRUMPET, A.D. 1550;
PLEASURE AND PAYNE, A.D. 1551; WAY TO WEALTH, A.D. 1550;
AN INFORMACION AND PETICION.



EDITED

With Introduction, Notes, and Glossary,

BY

J. M. COWPER,

EDITOR OF 'ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,'
'THE TIMES' WHISTLER, ETC.

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TO

My Sister Liz,

OF OLYRO, RADNORSHIRE,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME OF THE WORKS

OF THE OLD

ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD.

CONTENTS.

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION	ix
NOTES	xxiv
Epigrammes	1
The Voyce of the Last Trumpet	53
Pleasure and Payne	105
The Way to Wealth	130
An Informacion and Peticion	151
GLOSSARIAL INDEX	177
GENERAL INDEX	181

INTRODUCTION.

ROBERT CROLE, Croleus, Crowlæus, or Crowley, is said to have been born in Gloucestershire, but the place of his birth and the condition of his parents are alike involved in obscurity. In or about the year 1534 he entered the University of Oxford and soon became a demy of Magdalene College. In 1542, having taken his degree of B.A., he was made a probationer-fellow. In 1549 he commenced printing in London, and carried on the business for about three years, the latest production of his press bearing date 1551.¹ His printing he carried on in Ely Rents, Holborn, where he earned the honour of being the first to print and publish "The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman," three different impressions of which were issued by Crowley in 1550.²

But printing did not absorb the whole of Crowley's energies. To his labours in disseminating knowledge by means of the press, he added the not less important—perhaps in his day, when books were dear and readers comparatively scarce, the more important—work of preaching in London and elsewhere, having been ordained a deacon by Ridley on 29th Sep. 1551.³

As soon as Mary succeeded to the throne of her brother, Crowley, with other English Protestants, retired to Frankfort, where they remained till her death rendered it safe for them to return to this country. Crowley's popularity as a preacher soon brought him into notice. In 1559 he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of Hereford,

¹ Collier, *Bib. Cat.* i. 489.

² *The Vision, etc.*, ed. Skeat, xxxi.

³ In Ridley's register Crowley is styled Stationer of the parish of St Andrew, Holborn. *Machyn's Diary*, Camd. Soc., n. p. 376.

and in the following year he was instituted to the Stall or Prebend of "Pratum Majus" in the Cathedral of that city.¹ On the 19th October, 1559, and again on the 31st March, 1561, he was the Preacher at Paul's Cross, and about this time he was parson of St Peter the Poor.²

In 1563 he was collated to the prebend of Mora in the Cathedral of St Paul, but was deprived in 1565.³ In the following year he held the Vicarage of St Giles's, Cripplegate, of which he was deprived and prohibited from preaching or ministering the Sacraments within twenty miles of London. The causes which led to his deprivation are found in Abp Parker's Correspondence with Cecil,⁴ from which it appears that Crowley and his curate expelled from the church divers clerks who were there in their surplices to bury a dead body. The clerks alleged that it was the custom, and that "my Lord of London" had commanded them to wear surplices within the churches. This gave rise to some tumult, and when Crowley appeared before Parker to answer for his behaviour, his conduct was such that the Archbishop "could do no less" than order him to be imprisoned in his own house. The Lord Mayor, too, lodged a complaint against Crowley, who answered "that he would not suffer the wolf"—"meaning the surplice man"—to come to his flock. This led to his further committal, and a Mr Bickley was sent to preach in his parish. In the further examination of Crowley it appears that he quarrelled with the singing men about their "porters' coats," that he said he would set them fast by the feet if they would break the peace, that he gave utterance to many "fond paradoxes that tended to Anabaptistical opinions, that he would preach until deprived, and that he would be deprived by order of the law." "But I dulled his glory," says Parker, who thought the suspension and secret prison would prove "some terror." In 1567 he is reported to have said that "he would not be persuaded to minister

¹ For the dates referring to Hereford, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. F. P. Havergal of the College, Hereford. To him my best thanks are due for his prompt attention to my letters on this subject.

² *Zurich Letters*, 2nd Series, 147, n. 6, Park. Soc. See also *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 215, 229.

³ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

⁴ *Parker's Correspondence*, Parker Society, pp. 275—278.

in those conjuring garments of popery," meaning the surplice, which seems to have been the cause of as much bickering three hundred years ago as it is now.¹

During his suspension he was ordered to remain with the Bishop of Ely, but after a time he was permitted to return to London for twelve days that he might put his household affairs in order, "provided always that during the time of his abode in London, he do not privily nor publicly preach, read, nor minister the Sacraments," except licensed so to do by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. In 1567 he resigned his Archdeaconry, and in the next year (1568) he was succeeded in his prebendal stall in Hereford Cathedral by another clerk. On the 5th May, 1576, Crowley was collated to the Vicarage of St Lawrence, Jewry,² but this he resigned in 1578.³ In 1580 he was appointed with another to confer with the Romanists confined in the Marshalsea and White Lion in Southwark. One of the prisoners "pulled a pamphlet out of his bosom, read it, and delivered it" to Crowley to be answered. The pamphlet was entitled "Six Reasons set down to show that it is no orderly way in controversies of faith to appeal to be tried only by the Scriptures (as the absurd opinion of all the Sectaries is), but the Sentence and Definition of the Catholic Church," etc. To this "I drew up," says Crowley, "an answer now published the 6th of January," 1580-1, entitled "An Answer to Six Reasons," etc.⁴

A Puritan of the narrowest school, he was constantly engaged in controversies upon religious matters, and his zeal in this respect must have been a sore trial to the Bishops. "His pulpit and his press," says Warton,⁵ "those two prolific sources of faction, happily co-operated in propagating his principles of predestination: and his shop and his sermons were alike frequented. Possessed of those talents which qualified him for captivating the attention and moving the passions of the multitude, under Queen Elizabeth he held many

¹ Remains of Abp Grindal. Parker Society, p. 211.

² Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

³ T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Post.*, pt iv. p. 540.

⁴ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.

⁵ *Hist. Eng. Post.*, iii. 187. But Warton was not quite right, for it seems Crowley left off printing about the time of his ordination.

dignities in a Church whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy." He seems to have preached anywhere, under any circumstances; at one time before Bonner's prison door, when the haughty prelate was confined in the Marshalsea,¹ at other times at Paul's Cross, as we have seen above; now to a "grett audyens" at a funeral, and soon after at Bow on occasion of the marriage of "Master Starke to the dowthur of Master Allen."² He closed his long and active but stormy career in 1588, when about 70 years of age, and was buried in the church of St Giles,³ Cripple-gate, of which, two and twenty years before, he had been vicar.

For further particulars of Crowley and references to him and his works, the reader may consult Lansd. MSS. 9 ff. 157—162; Ib. 982, ff. 94, 104; *Writings of Bradford*, Parker Society, ii. 207, n. 3; *Tyndal's Answer to More*, etc., Parker Society, p. 220; *Fulke's Answers*, Parker Society, p. 3; Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. pt 2, pp. 465—472; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*; Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry*; Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 210; Herbert's *Ames*, p. 757; Collier's *Bib. Cat.* i. 489; Skeat's Intro. to the V. of P. the Plowman; W. Carew Hazlitt's Hand-Book; and Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, pt iv.

To give a mere outline of the numerous Pamphlets, Sermons, Answers, &c., which came from Crowley's pen would occupy more space than I have at my command, and more time than I should care to give. Those who are desirous to know more than this brief Introduction contains will find their labours somewhat lightened by the references to books given above.

The Five Tracts printed in this volume are thought to be the most interesting as they are the most valuable, historically speaking, of the old Puritan's writings. Laying aside, as much as such a man could lay aside, his controversial nature in these, he deals with the faults, the weaknesses, the trials, the wrongs, the foolishnesses of his countrymen, and causes the different classes of men to stand and live before us.

¹ T. Corser, *Collect. Ang. Post.*, pt iv. p. 540.

² See *Machyn's Diary*, Camd. Soc. pp. 269, 278, 295, 311.

³ His Epitaph is given in Dibdin's *Herbert's Ames*, iv. 326, note—

"Here lieth the body of Robert Crowley Clerk, vicar of this Parish, who departed this Life the 18th daie of June Anno Dni. 1588."

Taking these tracts in the order in which they stand in this volume we have—

(1.) *One and Thyrtye Epigrammes, wherein are bryefly touched so many Abuses that maye and ought to be put away.* 1550.

These Epigrams were thought to be lost. Even the indefatigable W. Carew Hazlitt did not know of a copy, and they were chiefly remembered from fifteen quoted by Strype.¹ But Mr Furnivall was fortunate enough to discover a copy in the Cambridge University Library.² This is the only copy which is known to be in existence.

Why "one and thirty" it is difficult to say, as there are "three and thirty" in addition to "The Boke to the Reader." First the Abbeyes come under notice, and the writer could not fail to see what an opportunity had been lost for restoring them to their original purposes as fountains of learning and of relief to the poor and needy. We all know how Henry laid his iron grasp on the property of the Religious Houses, and how he was encouraged in his evil designs by the crowd of sycophants who hoped, and not in vain, that some of the crumbs which fell from him might drop into their laps. The simple people, encouraged with the prospect of seeing better days, acquiesced in the spoliation, and saw, when too late, how they had been deprived of their birthright without the poor consolation of the "mess of pottage" which is usually the reward of men who barter away that which their fathers have painfully gained.³ The poor expected to profit by the suppression of the Abbeyes, but how their hopes were dashed has been already pointed out.⁴

The alleys of two kinds, the bowling alleys and the alleys in which the hordes of miserable wretches, driven from their homes in

¹ *Ecc. Mem.* ii, pt 2, p. 465—472. The fifteen quoted by Strype are those commencing on pages 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 27, 33, 43, 45, 47, 48, and 49.

² The proofs have been read with the original by Mr D. Hall of Cambridge.

³ For valuable information on the purposes of endowments the reader is referred to Mr Toulmin Smith's *The Parish*, 2nd ed. 1857, pp. 28, 30, 95, 597—604. For directing my attention to this work, and for the loan of a copy, as well as for other valuable aid, I have to tender my best thanks to Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith.

⁴ See *A Supplication of the Poore Commons* in "Four Supplications," ed. Furnivall and Cowper, pp. 79, 80; *Westminster Review*, No. lxxvii, January, 1871, p. 101; and the *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*, to be edited for this Series.

the country to beg their daily bread in London, sheltered themselves at night, present a picture of London life not yet extinct. Then it must have been horrible. It is curious to notice how long it takes to remove what all men are willing to acknowledge abuses. The streets of London at that time were little better, perhaps no better, than narrow lanes, undrained, often unpaved, unlighted, and the nightly receptacles of filth of all kinds. Now our streets are better. We strike out a new street through the most densely populated districts, such as Tothill Fields, Westminster, and we build a row of magnificent houses on each side. We let in the light, but do we care to follow with our eyes the darkness which has been made more dark? Do we care to inquire what becomes of the thousands who, thronging the district before, are now compelled to huddle more closely than ever, inasmuch as, while their numbers are ever on the increase, the space allowed for them is diminished? Until we provide homes for the poor who are to be unhoused, before we make these gigantic improvements, we are far from acting up to our convictions and our knowledge.¹

But moralizing is not our duty—we can see with our own eyes the bawds, the beggars, honest and dishonest; the swearers we can hear, the drunkards, the liars, the gamblers, the flatterers, the fools, the godless, the idle—many from necessity, not a few from choice; the “inventors of strange news,” the men who hold divers offices—the “double-beneficed men,” who, in our day, are not so often found in the ranks of the clergy as they are in the ranks of the army, where nothing seems more common than “double benefices,” one civil, the other military; the “nice” women with their hair dyed and laid out in “tussocks as big as a ball;” the vain writers, the vain talkers, and vain hearers, how they all stand forth in our own day, more refined, changed in dress, changed in manners, but how like! Are we *much* better than those whom Crowley sketched upwards of three hundred years ago? Let the reader read and judge.²

(2.) *The Voyce of the Last Trumpet . . . calling al estates of*

¹ See note, p. xxiv.

² For the condition of Scotland about this time refer to Mr Furnivall's Preface to *The Minor Poems of William Lauder*, E. E. T. S., 1870.

men to the ryght path of theyr vocation, etc., printed in 1550, is a kind of metrical sermon containing twelve lessons addressed "to twelve several estates of men." Wood¹ says, "The said [John] Plough also wrote . . . *The Sound of the Doleful Trumpet*"—but when or where it was printed "I cannot tell, for I have not seen" it. I do not find the name of Plough in Bohn's *Loumdes*. The title given by Wood sounds very much like our "Voice of the Last Trumpet."

The unique copy which we have used was kindly placed at the disposal of the E. E. T. S. by Mr F. S. Ellis, of 33, King Street, Covent Garden, in whose possession it was, but it has since been purchased for the British Museum. The edges have been cut and many of the references to texts of Holy Writ destroyed. These I have supplied as nearly as I could, denoting letters and numerals so supplied by placing them in brackets. Sometimes the reader may doubt the accuracy of my references, and I shall not be surprised, for I am by no means convinced that I have given those which were lost. The vagueness of some of them, and the fact that they were taken from an early version of the Bible, rendered the task by no means an easy one.

In the "Book to the Reader" Crowley confesses that though he barks at the faults of men, he is unwilling to bite if he can accomplish any good by barking. The aim of the Sermon is to inculcate a spirit of obedience and submission in those who are under subjection, on the principle that "whatever is, is best." In the Epigram on Beggars (p. 14) he would make the lazy work, and he exposes some of their tricks, but here he seems only to deal with those who were beggars by compulsion. There is something of the ludicrous in the tone he assumes towards these poor creatures, but there is no reason to think he was "chaffing" them:—

"Thus leave I thee in thy calling,
Exhorting thee therein to stand;
And doubtless at thy last ending
Thou shalt be crowned at God's hand."—(p. 59.)

The same spirit pervades the Servant's Lesson (p. 59) and the

¹ *Athens Oxon.*, fol. 126.

Yeoman's (p. 63). They are to bear all, to do all, and to possess their souls in patience, looking for no change in this world, unless one for the worse! The servant who is "sturdy and does his service with grudging" is promised scourging, drudgery, slavery, and, if he runs away, a worse master than the one he has left. Crowley's advice is excellent, but in the then condition of things "flesh and blood," it is to be feared, often rebelled against it.

The yeoman is to "plow, plant, and sow;" to beware of even the wish to rise; to be charitable and contented. If he dared to hoard up riches, God's wrath was threatened. Hardest of all, if his landlord raised his rent (and how universal the practice!) he was enjoined to pay it, and to pray for his oppressor! The doctrine of absolute submission is taught in all its ugly deformity, with the addition of the divine right of kings.

The unlearned priest (p. 70) is severely handled for his ignorance, his immorality, and his false doctrine. The wide-spread hope that the Mass would be restored is referred to—

"Put not the ignorant in hope,
That they shall see all up again
That hath been brought in by the Pope,
And all the preachers put to pain."

Yet three short years saw "all up again," and the preachers not only put to pain, but Crowley himself fleeing for his life, and "putting the sea between" him and his Queen. But there is one gem of advice, applicable not merely to the unlearned priests of Crowley's time, but to learned and unlearned of all times—

"Be ever doing what thou can,
Teaching or learning some good thing,
And then, like a good Christian,
Thou dost walk forth in thy calling."

The Scholar's Lesson is interesting as giving a glimpse of that muscular education which, as a nation, we are only now beginning to learn afresh. The scholar was to "recreate his mind" by fishing, fowling, hunting, hawking; while trials of strength, skill, speed—still to recreate the mind—were to be made in shooting, bowling, casting the bar, tennis, tossing the ball, and running base like men

of war¹ (p. 73). The whole lesson contains good advice and is quite worthy of its author.

Learned men, it appears, were not faultless. It is implied that they lived dissolutely and needed amendment of life as much as others. They seem to have had failings in the matters of dress, usury, and simony. This Learned Man's Lesson applies to clergy and laity alike.

The physician is severely dealt with. Covetous of gain and ignorant, he neglected the poor for the sake of the rich. A quarter of a century later, in *News out of Powles Churchyard*, there was ground for similar charges. In the *News* the physicians are ranked next to the lawyers, and

“*Vnguentum Aureum*, or suchlyke,”²

was required to make them hasten to see their patients. They gained money, but no man knew how they spent it, and no man heard of any good deeds that they did. The Lawyer here follows the physician—generally where any ill was to be said, the lawyer took the lion's share, or, at all events, an equal share with the clergy. Crowley in this lesson taxes them with an insatiable greed, with bawling like beasts, and warns them to assist the poor as well as the rich, to fear no man's power, to do justice to all men, to show no favour. The old charges of bribery are brought against them in the *News out of Powles*³ and in the *Times' Whistle*,⁴ but in these two works we get a redeeming feature: *all* are not corrupt:—

“I know, friend Bertulph, some there be
Whose hands regard no meed,
Whose hearts dye no deceit at all,
From whom no harms proceed.

¹ Henry VIII., it is said, after his accession to the throne retained the casting of the bar among his favourite amusements. At the commencement of the seventeenth century such athletic games were by no means “beseeching of nobility.”

Base, or Prisoners' Bars, a game, success in which depended upon the agility and skill in running. The game is still known in Kent under the name of Prisoners' Base. In the reign of Edward III. it was prohibited to be played in the avenues of Westminster Palace. A game exceedingly popular among the young men of this part of Kent, and known as “Goal Running,” seems to be a modification of the ancient game of Base. For further information, see Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

² *News out of Powles, &c.*, Sat. 3 (1576).

³ Sat. 2.

⁴ p. 42.

CROWLEY.

b

And sure I am when cause of truth
 Before such men is tried,
 With simple truth they justice yield
 And justly do decide."¹

And the *Times' Whistle* :

" And you, which should true equity dispense,
 Yet bear a gold-corrupted conscience,
 Looke for some plague vpon your heads to light,
 That suffer rich wrong to oppresse poore right.
 All lawyers I cannot heerof accuse,
 For some there are that doe a conscience vse
 In their profession. This our land containes
 Some in whose heart devine Astræa raignes.
 To these, whose vertue keeps our land in peace,
 I wish all good, all happines encrease.
 Go forward then, and with impartiall hands
 Hold iustice ballance in faire Albians lands."²

The Merchant, the Gentleman, and the Magistrate come next in order, the shortcomings of each being pointed out, and the results of their wrong-doing laid before us.

The Woman's Lesson comes last. It is the old, old story—they would talk, dress, dye their hair, paint their faces; they ought to be modest, obedient, industrious, and to see that their children were well brought up, and their servants cared for.

(3.) *Pleasure and Payne*, etc., is dedicated to Lady Dame Elizabeth Fane, wife of Sir Ralph Fane, Knight,³ and from this dedication we learn that Crowley's object in writing this was to cause men "to stay at the least way, and not proceed any further in the inventing of new ways to oppress the poor of this realm, whose oppression doth already cry unto the Lord for vengeance" (p. 108).

My attention was drawn to this "excessively rare metrical tract" by the mention of it in the *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* of Mr Corser, who was in possession of a copy. Our reprint is taken from a copy

¹ *News out of Powles, &c.*, Sat. 2.

² p. 50. For more on lawyers and bribery see my Preface to *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. cxv.—cxviii.

³ A Sir Ralph Fane, knight banneret, is mentioned in the Patent Rolls of Edward VI. Crowley was the first Englishman who versified the whole Psalter. In this work he may have been assisted by Lady Elizabeth Fane, for in Dibdin's *Typ. Ant.* iv. 331 n., mention is made of the Lady Elizabeth Fane's 21 *Psalms* and 102 Proverbs. See note, p. xxviii.

in the Bodleian Library.¹ It has been found more convenient to print two lines in one than to follow the original, which runs—

“When Christ shall come
to iuge vs all,
His Fathers frendis
then will he call.”

This alteration of the lines and the revision of the punctuation and the use of capitals are the only liberties which have been taken with the Bodleian copy. And here it may be remarked that, as far as punctuation and the use of capitals are concerned, an endeavour has been made to conform to modern use in the whole of these tracts.²

There is no necessity to enter into any detailed account of subjects dealt with in this tract. The reader who cares to know, and once begins to read it, will not lay it down until he has finished the task.

(4.) *The Way to Wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present Remedy for Sedicion,*³ is the most important of Crowley's works, inasmuch as it enters more deeply into the causes which led to the disturbances in Edward's days, and the means by which the condition of the poor might be ameliorated—it “holds the candle” to the men who had the power and the will to root up “the stinking weed of Sedition,” which was rapidly spreading its poisonous influences over the land.

It is needless here to go over the history of the country during the twenty years which preceded the appearance of the *Way to Wealth* (1530—1550). The suppression of the abbeys, the casting loose upon the country—often homeless and almost always friendless—the men and women who by their education and living were unfitted to cope with the outer world and earn their daily bread; the grievous disappointment of the many who hoped for some other and better relief than they had obtained from the monks; the cruel spirit of oppression which took possession of the men who reaped

¹ Mr G. Parker read the proofs with the original.

² This modernizing of the punctuation and the making the use of capital letters uniform are the only things to be desired in Mr Arber's most valuable Reprints.

³ From the Bodleian copy. The proofs were read with the original by Mr G. Parker.

the advantage of the change from the old order of things ;—all these may be seen by a reference to books which are in the hands of the readers of these "Texts," and Mr Furnivall's *Ballads from Manuscripts*.¹ Still those who have read so far will do well to read with increased care this passionate appeal of the old Puritan, who stands up and boldly rebukes the wrong-doer ; whether he be the king on his throne, or the beggar dying by the wayside of hunger, and disease, and neglect. The farmers, the graziers, the butchers, the lawyers, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords—all who lived as "cormorants and gulls," by the plunder and oppression of the poor and needy—are here called to account, and have their misdeeds placed before them, and the charges which were commonly made against them by the suffering poor proclaimed in powerful language. That Crowley pitied these men, and longed to improve their condition is beyond doubt. But he could see and had the courage to

¹ "It has been already shown that an essential and principal part of the first bestowal and purpose of those endowments which have now become entirely diverted to ecclesiastical purposes, or engrossed by lay impropiators, was the relief of the poor. The task of that relief was thus made a local one ; and it was committed in each place to those who had the two counter checks continually present, of self-interest not to promote or yield to extravagance, and of the continual liability to be presented, by those not then 'excused,' for unfaithfulness, if they neglected what true need required.

"Under cover of the 'Reformation,' Henry VIII. got to himself a vast proportion of what was thus expressly given in trust for the poor. He got it under false pretences [quotes Coke, 4th Inst. p. 44]. He gave it to his favourites, in breach of honour, honesty, and his pledged faith. This monstrous pillage of the poor, and gross fraud upon the nation, produced an immediate effect. The real and deserving poor, robbed of what was thus from of old set apart to meet their true needs, were flung upon society. Vagrancy had thus everywhere a colourable excuse given to it, and soon largely increased. Instead of the true remedy being applied, and a part of what had been wrongfully misappropriated being restored, a new burthen was cast upon the country for the support of the poor as a class. Thenceforth 'pauperism' became a caste in England.

"It is not surprising that, under the anomalous state of things thus arising, anomalies were created in the endeavour to meet it. Acts distinguished by their attempts to keep down the natural fruits of such wrong-doing by force, terror, and barbarity, were passed, altered, and repealed. It was attempted—however paradoxical it may sound—to enforce voluntary alms. Almost the only provision that can be said to be marked by wisdom, is one found in an Act of 27 Henry VIII. cap. 25, which forbad the giving of alms in money, except to the common fund, or 'Stock,' of the parish or other place. In the same Act is found the first suggestion as to Overseers," &c., &c.—*The Parish*, by Toulmin Smith, 2nd edition, p. 144, 145.

declare that, though oppressed and trodden underfoot, they were not free from blame, and he endeavours to soothe their rebellious spirits by reasoning with them and arguing with them, and showing them that their open resistance to authority only put a whip into the hands of the rich who sought excuses for their evil deeds.

Not only were the poor commons pilled and polled by the rich laity, but, worst of all, the reformed clergy, the bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, parsons, and vicars were intent upon grasping all the wealth within their reach. They ate the fat and decked themselves with the wool, but the simple sheep were left untended and unfed in the wilderness. The sorrowful and sad were left uncomforted, the sick unhealed, the broken not bound up, the wanderers unrestored. Churchmen were busy, but it was in obtaining lands for their heirs and fine-fingered ladies, who were clothed in "fine frocks and French hoods," but were naked "of al pointes of honest housewifery." Things were bad enough before the Reformation, and it is no consolation to say so, but surely they must have appeared worse after it, when men had the Bible in their own hands, and were unable to lay all the odium at the door of "the Pope and his shavelings." Religion and the Bible were not to blame for this state of things. Men by a violent effort had shaken off the yoke, and, being free, were ignorant how to use their freedom to the common advantage, and so they used it in oppression and wrong. It had been so before, and it has been so since. The oppressed set free is apt to become the oppressor.

Crowley taxes the curates with having "been the stirrers-up of the simple people in the late tumults," a not unlikely charge to be brought against a body of men who by their virtues and learning had not yet won the esteem of their countrymen. Nor was it unlikely that they did so. The Church, wisely or unwisely, has often had the courage to enter its protest against the oppressions of the mighty, but in this case caution is necessary in accepting the charge as true. Such abject submission as Crowley taught, has, luckily for us, not been common among our religious teachers; if it had our bondage might have been worse than Egyptian.

The whole is a masterly discourse, and will be read with much

interest as a sketch made by an eye-witness of the condition of things described in it.

(5.) *An Informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme* is a Petition to the Parliament of Edward VI. Of the many subjects which will have to be discussed, Crowley can see none demanding speedier attention than the oppressions under which the "pore communes" groaned, clergy and laity uniting to inflict the most cruel wrongs. Religious matters too demanded redress, because, while the people were ignorant and superstitious, the clergy were more apt to play the butcher than the shepherd. They abused the rites and sacraments of the Church, using them as matters of merchandise, the clergy of London setting the example.

The possessioners, leasemongers, and landlords, "making the uttermost penny of all their grounds," exacting unreasonable fines, and racking their rents, receive scant mercy at Crowley's hands. It was a time for plain speaking even in the churches, as the following extract from "The Prayer for Landlords," in one of Edward's Liturgies, will show :—

"We heartily pray Thee that they (who possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling-places of the earth) may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to others that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor. . . . Give them grace also that they may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house nor couple land to land to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling-places."

The mischiefs which flowed out of "this more than Turkish tyranny" are graphically described. The honest householders reduced to the condition of menials; the honest matrons to the "needy rock and cards;" the men children of good hope, driven to handicrafts and day labour; the chaste virgins, to marry perpetual poverty, the immodest to Bankside, the stubborn, after a life of crime and misery, to the gallows; the universal destruction which "chances to this noble realm!"

In conclusion, I wish to express my thankfulness that it has fallen to my lot to prepare these Reformation Tracts for the press, however unworthily I may have performed my task. Often disagreeing with the writers, often doubting the truthfulness of the charges brought by foes against foes, I have learnt to receive alike with caution the glowing accounts given by some of the condition of the people, and the crimes and neglect laid at the door of the vanquished by the successful. Robbery and recrimination were all too common. The State plundered the Church, taxing it with every conceivable crime; the rich plundered the poor, charging them with harbouring seditious designs; the Puritan taxed the papist with idleness, ignorance, and immorality, and when he had gained his churches and his tithes, proceeded to open the doors to "seven other spirits," each of which was worse than the one driven out; and the poor man, plundered by all, and suffering from the divisions and quarrels of the classes above him, endured in his own body all the calamities which could befall a man. The times are times we should study, not envy; and if now and again we feel a tingle of shame in our cheeks at what our Protestant forefathers were guilty of in their gigantic work, we may ask ourselves whether, if the task fell to our lot, with all our intelligence and all our enlightenment and all our science, we should have been likely to do it better. They did what they could—imperfectly, with motives and by means which will not always bear examination. Let us be thankful, and do the part which remains to us.

J. M. COWPER.

Davington Hill, Faversham, 1871.

N O T E S.

Sunday drinking, &c., page 9. "What should I tell men in manye words, that which al men see & feele in continual & lamentable experience. Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies, there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes, there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres, there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse, as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey, and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God, to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tanernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—*The Vnlaofull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sig. B. 3, back, ab. 1584. There is a copy of this small work in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, Shelf Mk. Z. 9. 28.

Homes of the Poor, pp. xiv., 10. The following "cuttings" from the *Standard* of April 6 and 7, 1871, are worth preserving. It is only fair to add that "official explanations proved" that the man had no grievance whatever!

"GUILDHALL.

"ATTEMPTED SUICIDE THROUGH THE STRINGENT CITY POLICE REGULATIONS.—*Mary Ann Folkard*, the wife of one of the City police-constables, was charged before Sir Thomas Gabriel with attempting to commit suicide by endeavouring to throw herself from Paul's Wharf into the river."

"Mr Alfred Oxley said he lived at 49, Gloucester-street, St John's-road, Hoxton, and about half-past one o'clock the previous day he saw the prisoner on Paul's Wharf trying to get away from her daughter so that she might throw herself into the river. He assisted in stopping her, and gave her into custody. At the station she said that she was not drunk, she knew what she was about, and that it was her intention to commit the act.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her why she did it.

"The Prisoner (a very respectable-looking woman) said she would not have done it if she had had a home to go to.

"Folkard, the husband of the prisoner, was called forward, and, in reply to Sir Thomas Gabriel, said that his wife was a most sober, steady, industrious woman, and had never made any attempt on her life before. The reason she had done so now was, because they could not find a home to go to. By the City police regulations they were bound to live within the City boundary, and in consequence of the many poor houses that had been pulled down for railways and improvements they were not able to find a place to live in. He first took a place that was not fit for a dog to live in, until he got a house, and he stayed in that until the roof was taken off and the dust from the ceiling fell on their heads and compelled them to leave. The only place he could find was a large warehouse, where he and his family were permitted to live, and it was that, he believed, that had turned his wife's brain. To his knowledge four other constables were in the same condition as himself.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said it was a very foolish thing of her to do, because if she had no lodging to-day she might have one to-morrow.

"Folkard said that was their difficulty ; they could not get lodgings in the City.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said—Then why not live out of it ?

"Folkard replied that the police regulations would not let them live out of it.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked if he had made any representation of that to the Commissioner of Police.

"Mr Martin, the chief clerk, said they had not, for the policemen were afraid to make any representation.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he thought there ought to be some representation made to the police authorities, and he should see to it. Could they not live in those model lodging-houses ?

"Mr Martin thought they were all outside the City, and appealed to Inspector Foulger on that point.

"Inspector Foulger said they were.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said—But surely some accommodation should be got for these men. He asked Inspector Foulger what objection there could be to the men living, for instance, in the model lodging-houses in the Farringdon-road ?

"Inspector Foulger said they were outside the City, and the regulations of the force did not permit them to live outside the City.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked whether they had not accommodation for the men within the City.

"Inspector Foulger replied that the number of houses that had been pulled down had rendered it very difficult for the officers to find accommodation for themselves, their wives, and families.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said it was a pity they were not allowed to live out of the City.

"Inspector Foulger said that all round the City boundary there was ample accommodation for the men if they were permitted to avail themselves of it, and in many instances they would be able to live nearer to

their duty than they were at present. For instance, a man living near Temple Bar might have to be on duty on Tower-hill, and, if permitted, might live just outside the boundary, within a few minutes' walk of his duty.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked Folkard if he would take his wife home and take care of her.

"Folkard said he would take her home, but as he had his duty to perform he could not take more care of her than he had done. She was a very good wife and mother.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her if she would promise not to attempt to destroy herself again.

"The Prisoner said she would not if she had a home to go to.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he could not let her go while she was in that state of mind, and appealed to Inspector Foulger as to whether a home could not be got for her.

"Inspector Foulger said that plenty could be got for her outside the City, but they were not permitted to take them on account of the police regulations.

"Sir Thomas Gabriel said he should remand the prisoner, and in the mean time communicate with Colonel Fraser, to see what could be done, in order to allow the police proper accommodation.

"The Prisoner was then remanded."

"As strange a story perhaps as was ever related in that great rival to works of melodramatic fiction, a police court, was narrated on Wednesday at Guildhall. The wife of a City police constable was charged before Alderman Sir Thomas Gabriel with attempting to commit suicide by flinging herself into the river from Paul's Wharf; and it was with difficulty that she had been rescued. When asked her motive for the desperate act, she replied that she would not have tried to kill herself if she had possessed a home to go to. Her husband told the Alderman that she was a sober, steady, and industrious woman, and had never before attempted suicide; but she had been reduced to despair through the want of a home. By the City police regulations the constables are bound to reside within the civic boundaries, and, according to the prisoner's husband, so many houses of the poorer class have been pulled down for railway and street improvements that the married policemen were quite unable to find such tenements as they could afford to rent. This man had first found a place 'not fit for a dog;' next he got into a house and stayed there until the roof was taken off and the hovel filled with dust and cinders from the railway; and then he and his family took shelter in a deserted warehouse. There were four other constables, he said, in a similarly homeless condition. 'Why not live out of the City?' asked logical Sir Thomas Gabriel. 'Because the police regulations will not allow us to do so,' replied the equally logical constable; and his statement seems to have been confirmed by Mr Martin, the chief clerk, who added that the constables were afraid to

make any representations of their grievances to the Commissioner of the City Police. There were model lodging-houses in plenty available as residences for policemen and their families; but they were beyond the City boundaries. Inspector Foulger, a very well-known and deserving officer of the City Police, spoke even more strongly as to the sad plight of the homeless constables. The Alderman asked the woman if she would promise not to attempt to kill herself again, but she only replied conditionally, 'that she would not do so again if she had a home to go to.' At last, as it seemed, fairly puzzled, Sir Thomas remanded the prisoner, saying that in the mean time he would communicate with Colonel Fraser to see what could be done in order to allow the police proper accommodation. Until we hear what Colonel Fraser has said to Sir Thomas Gabriel, and how this wonderful Gordian knot of Blue Tape is to be cut or unravelled, it would be difficult to fix upon the right moral of this truly strange tale."

Paris Garden, p. 17. The place where the bears were kept and baited. It was so named because Robert de Paris had a house and garden there in the time of Rich. II., who ordered the butchers to purchase the garden that their refuse might be placed there. Paris Garden seems to have been first used for bear baiting in the time of Henry VIII. In 1583 a fearful accident happened there on a Sunday, when the stage fell, killing and wounding great numbers. A detailed account of this accident is given in the *Anatomie of Abuses* (p. 211) and several contemporary writers. See Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*, Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, and the *Diary of Dr Dee*.

Swearing, pp. 18, 19. "They (the English) are also inconstant, arrogant, vain-glorious, haughty-minded, and above all things inclined to swearing, insomuch as if they speak but three or four words, yet must they needs be interlaced with a bloody oath or two."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 147. For a later view of this detestable habit see *Times' Whistle*, p. 24.

Wool, Tin, and Lead wrought within the realm, p. 38. For much information on imports and exports and suggestions for improving trade, and through it the condition of the people, see *England in the Reign of Henry VIII*.

Painting Faces, p. 44. "The women of Ailgna (many of them) use to colour their faces with certain oils, liquors, unguents, and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beauty is greatly decored."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 55. See also *The Times' Whistle*, pp. 24, 34.

Dress, pp. 44, 45. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the *Anatomie of Abuses*, the evils of the author's days are thus briefly touched upon: "For as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of manners and amendment of life was never more needful; for was pride (the chiefest argument of this book) ever so ripe? Do not both men and women (for the most part) every one in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not? Which are attire only for the nobility and

gentry, and not for the other at any hand. Are not unlawful games, plays, interludes, and the like, everywhere frequented? Is not whoredom, covetousness, usury, and the like, daily practised without all punishment of law or execution of justice?" p. xi.

In the *Anatomie*, p. 17, it is said, "Now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparel in Ailgna (Anglia), and such preposterous excess thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparel he lusteth himself, or can get by any kind of means. So that it is very hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not." See also *Four Supplications*, and *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. clxxiv., 89, 90.

Rent-raisers, pp. xx., 46,

"The landlord is a thief that racks his rents
And mounts the price of rotten tenements,
Almost unto a damned double rate,
And such a thief as that¹ myself had late."

Taylor's Works, folio, 280, and note.

Lawyers, p. 82; *Judges*, p. 84. Consult *The Utopia*, *Ballads from MSS, England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Latimer's *Sermons*, *Newes out of Pooles Churchyard*, &c., on these topics.

Lady Elizabeth Fane, pp. xvi., 107. Lady Elizabeth Fane's Psalms and Proverbs were printed and published by Robert Crowley. Sometimes the name appears as Vane. She has been supposed to be the wife of the Sir Ralph Vane who was hung in 1551-2 as one of the principal adherents of the Duke of Somerset. She died 'at Holburne' and was buried at St Andrew's, Holborn, on the 11th June 1568. For letters addressed to her by John Bradford, see Foxe, edit. 1631, iii. pp. 331, 332, 339. See also *Narratives of the Reformation*, Camb. Soc., 1859, pp. 93, 94, 346. For further references consult the General Index to the *Parker Society's Publications*.

Poor in London, p. 116. "There is a certain city in Ailgna² called Munidno³ where as the poor lie in the streets upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that too, or else in the mire and dirt as commonly it is seen, having neither house to put in their heads, covering to keep them from cold, nor yet to hide their shame withal, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing else, but are suffered to die in the streets like dogs or beasts, without any mercy or compassion showed to them at all."—*Anatomie of Abuses*, 1836, p. 50. Three hundred years have not remedied matters. The following are from the *Standard* of June 10 and June 28, 1871 :—

" BOW-STREET.

" LIFE IN LONDON.—*James Lintott*, a ragged, shoeless young urchin of about 13, with long matted hair, and with hands and features almost

¹ "One that eight years since bought many houses where I and many poor men dwelt, and presently raised our rents from three pounds to five pounds."—*Taylor*, *ib.* ² Anglia. ³ Londinium.

untraceable through the dirt by which they were begrimed, was brought before Mr Vaughan, charged with being found in Somerset-street, Strand, with a box of flowers in his possession supposed to be stolen.

"Police-constable Sergeant, E division, stopped the boy at twelve o'clock at night. He said a chap gave him the box to take to a coffee-house in Hart-street, but he was walking in the opposite direction.

"It was proved that the box contained cut flowers worth 2*l.* 2*s.*, and had been stolen from a van belonging to Mr Reeve, florist, Acton.

"Mr Vaughan, to prisoner.—Where do you live?

"Prisoner.—I don't live nowhere.

"Have you no friends in London?—No; I ain't got no friends.

"But where do you sleep at nights?—Under the show-board agin the Lyceum Theatre.

"Mr Vaughan.—What does he say?

"Gaoler.—He says he sleeps under the large posting board in front of the Lyceum Theatre.

"Mr Vaughan.—Do you mean by that you sleep there every night?

"Prisoner.—No, I don't sleep there every night. Sometimes I gits under other boards.

"But have you no home—no father or mother?—I has a father and mother, but they won't let me go home. When I goes home they turns me out agin. Father says he won't have me there.

"Why does he refuse to have you there?—'Cause I stopped out two or three nights, and then he wouldn't never take me back agin.

"Where does he live?—Over a boot-shop in Red Lion-street. I don't know the number.

"What is your father? Where does he work?—In Common Garden Market

"Gaoler.—He is a porter in the market, your worship.

"The prisoner was then remanded for a week."

"MANSION HOUSE.

"*John Stevens*, a boy in rags, eleven years of age, was charged under the Industrial Schools Act with having been found wandering, not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence.

"The case was originally heard by Sir Robert Carden, about a week ago, and then, as now, excited considerable interest from being the first charge of the kind that had been preferred in the City of London since the Elementary Education Act came into operation. The complainant and only witness on the first occasion was Joseph Willes, who described himself as an industrial school officer to the London School Board. A week ago he found the boy wandering in Lower Thames-street about midday in a miserable plight, and asked him a few questions. The boy in reply said his mother had sent him out to beg, and that he was not to return home for a week; that his parents lived in the neighbourhood of the New Cut, Lambeth; that his father was 'sometimes an engineer and

sometimes a cab driver ;' that he had never been to any school, and that while he had been from home he had slept at nights, with about 20 other boys, under some tarpauling, and among empty fish-boxes in Billingsgate-market. The witness, thinking it a case contemplated by the Industrial Schools Act, and desiring to reclaim the boy from the streets, to have him educated and taught a trade by which he might gain his own living, took him to the Seething-lane Police-station, and had him formally charged. Sir Robert Carden, before whom the boy was first brought; commended the witness very much for the course he had taken, and expressed a hope that many scores of poor destitute children would be taken from the streets of the City, and educated and taught some handicraft by which they might earn an honest livelihood, adding that he himself had for years in his own way been a 'boy's beadle,' long before that expression was in use. The case was eventually adjourned to admit of the attendance of the boy's parents, Mr Oke, the chief clerk of the Lord Mayor, doubting whether it was one which exactly came within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, according to which a child to be dealt with according to its provisions must be without home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence. Meanwhile the boy was sent to the union.

"Yesterday his mother, a poor but honest-looking woman, attended, and in answer to the Bench, said her husband was sometimes out of work; that she was a tailoress and worked hard to maintain the family, of whom there were three besides the boy in question, younger than he, and that she was willing to take him home and look after him, although, she added, if he preferred to be sent to school, she would be thankful. The boy himself, crying, begged that he might be allowed to go home.

"Mr Alderman Lusk said he was loth to separate parent and child, if the mother would promise to take care of the boy and do her duty to him.

"She gave the required undertaking, and was allowed to take her son away, after he had received an admonition from the Bench."

The reader may also consult Mr Furnivall's *Ballads from MSS.*, our *Four Supplications*, and my *England in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, &c., § 4, p. cx.

Patrons, p. 118; *Simony*, pp. 118, 120. In 1585 it was said, "For euen our plough boyes know it to be a common practiae almost euey where amongst patrons, that either they take a great summe of mony, or mony worth, as it were a fine, with such sleighty conueiance, as if they were iuglers, that no man shal espy them or any law preuent them, or make some reseruatiō of the tithes and glebeland, as it were a rent, & many times all these practises be vsed together, whose rauinous teeth, and also the payment of the first fruites and tenthes, which the charge of their lawfull family, which the papists neuer knew, and also their tithes not paid them in so large a sise as heretofore hath bene doue, hath brought the churchmen vnto such an ebbe, that after their

death their executours doe not blesse them, except it be certaine of them which haue sundry benefices."—*A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Supplication, To The High Court Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministry.* In Anno. 1585, Sig. C. A copy is in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, Shelf Mk. Z. 9. 28.

Sedition, pp. 131, 141. "The breakefaste they had this laste somer" refers no doubt to the slaughter inflicted upon the rebels in the West and East of England in the summer of 1549, when half England was in a state of rebellion. See *Froude's History*, v.

This present Parliament, p. 153. The Parliament here referred to was most likely that which met in January, 1549. Its first measure was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. This "Informacion and Petition" was probably published while this Parliament was sitting, and before the outbreak mentioned in *The Way to Wealth*.

The King's Visitation, p. 154. This visitation was made during Somerset's absence in Scotland. He returned to London from this expedition on the 8th October, 1547. See *Froude*, v. 56.

Articles, p. 170. These "Articles" were the "Six Articles." See my note to *Four Supplications*, p. 103.

Usury, p. 172. The Act legalising usury was passed, 37 H. VIII., c. 9, 1545. See *Four Supplications*, pp. 82, 84.

[leaf 1]

A One and

thyrtyge Epigrammes, tohereln are
bryefly touched so many Abuses, that
maye and ought to be put away.

Compiled and Imprinted by

Robert Crowley, dwel-

lynge in Elye rentes

in Holburne.

Anno domini,

1550.

i. Cor. xiiii.

What so euer ye do, let the same be done to edifie toghthall.

Gal. i.¹

If I shoulde study to please men: than coulde I not
be the seruant of Christe.

Orig. vi.

[Leaf 1, back, is a blank.]

[leaf 5] ¶ The Table of the Contentes
of thys Boke.

A.

Of Abbayes	...	...	...	...	(p. 7)
Of Alehouses	...	...	...	...	(p. 8)
Of Allayes	...	...	...	...	(p. 9)
Of Almes houses	...	...	...	...	(p. 11)

B.

Of Balyarrantes	...	...	...	...	(p. 12)
Of Baudes	...	...	...	...	(p. 13)
Of Beggarrs	...	...	...	...	(p. 14)
Of Berebaytyng	...	...	...	...	(p. 16)
Of Brawlars	...	...	...	...	(p. 17)
Of Blasphemouse Swerars	...	...	...	...	(p. 18)

C.

Of Colyars	...	...	...	...	(p. 20)
Of Commocionars	...	...	...	...	(p. 21)
Of Commune drounkards	...	...	...	...	(p. 23)
Of Commune Lyars	(p. 24)

D.

Of Dyce playars	(p. 25)
Of Double beneficed men	(p. 27)

[E.]

Of the Excheker	(p. 29)
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[leaf 2, back]

F.

Of Flatterars	(p. 30)
Of Foles	(p. 31)
Of Forestallars	(p. 33)

G.

Of Godles men	(p. 35)
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I.

Of Idle persons	(p. 37)
Of Inuentars of straying newes	(p. 38)

L.

Of Laye men that take tythes	(p. 39)
Of Leasemongars	...	...	...	...	(p. 40)

M.

Of Marchauntes	...	...	...	...	(p. 41)
Of Men that haue diuers offices	...	...	...	...	(p. 42)

N.

Of Nice wyues	(p. 43)
---------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

O.

Of Obstinate Papistes	(p. 45)
-----------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

R.

Of Rent raysars	(p. 46)
-----------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

U.

Of Uayne wrytars	...	...	...	...	(p. 47)
Of Unsaciabie Purchaysars	...	...	...	...	(p. 48)
Of Usura[r]s	...	...	...	...	(p. 49)

The Boke to the Reader.

[leaf 3]

I F bokes may be bolde to blame and reproue The faultes of all menne, boeth hyghe and lowe, As the Prophetes dyd whom Gods Spirite did moue, Than blame not myne Autor ; for right well I knowe Hys penne is not tempered wayne doctrine to sowe, But as Esaye hath bydden, so muste he nedes crye, And tell the Lordes people of their iniquitie. Nowe, if I do the worldelinges in anye poynte offende, In that I reproue them for their wyckednes, It is a plaine token they wyll not emende. I take all the wyse men of the earth to wytnes To them ; therefore mine Autor biddeth me confesse,	<p>If booke may reprove faults</p> <p>4</p> <p>as the Prophetes did, do not blame the Author.</p> <p>8</p> <p><i>Esai. 58.</i></p> <p>12</p> <p>He must tell the people of their sin.</p> <p>If I offend men</p> <p>16</p> <p>it is clear they will not amend ;</p> <p>20</p> <p>[leaf 3, back]</p> <p>24</p>
---	---

and since they
will not, he
accounts them
brands of hell.

That, sith they be determined
styll in their synne to dwell,
He accounteth them no better
than fire brandes of hell. 28

He has not
written for such
as will not
amend,

Wherefore he bade me bid them
holde them contente ;
He hath not written to them
that will not emende ; 32

except to tell
them they will go
to the devil,

For to the willinge wicked
no prophete shall be sente,
Excepte it be to tell them
that, at the laste ende, 36

but for such as
have no delight
in wickedness,

They shal be sure and certayne
wyth Satanas to wende.
For before suche swyne
no pearles maye be caste, 40
That in the filthye puddell
take all their repaste.

[leaf 4]

and such as
reform when they
hear their faults.

To suche onely, therefore,
I muste his message do, 44
As haue not their delite
in wickednes to dwell ;
But when they heare their fault,
are sorye they dyd so, 48

Such will take
the warning in
good part.

And louingely imbrace
suche men as do them tell ;
Reformynge euermore
their lyfe by the gospell,— 52

To these men am I sente,
And these, I truste, will take
My warnynge in good parte,
And their euill forsake. 56

John .viii.

He that is of God, heareth the
worde of God.

Finis.

Of Abbayes.

- A**S I walked alone,
 and mused on thynges
 That haue in my time
 bene done by great kings,
 I bethought me of Abbayes,
 that sometyme I sawe,
 Whiche are nowe suppressed
 all by a lawe.
 O Lorde (thought I then)
 what occasion was here,
 To prouide for learninge
 And make pouertye chere?
 The landes and the jewels
 that hereby were hadde,
 Would haue found godly prechers,
 which might well haue ladde
 The people aright
 that now go astraye,
 And haue fedde the pore,
 that famishe euerye daye.
 But, as I thus thought,
 it came to my mynde,
 That the people wyll not see,
 but delyte to be blynde.
 Wherefore they are not worthy
 good prechars to haue,
 Nor yet to be prouided for,
 but styll in vayne to craue.
 Than sayde I (O Lorde God)
 make this tyme shorte,
 For theyr sake onlye, Lorde,
 that be thy chosen sorte.
- [leaf 4, back,
 is a blank]
- [leaf 5]
- As I mused I
 thought of
 Abbeyes I had
 seen,
- 60
- but now are
 suppressed.
- 64
- What an oppor-
 tunity to provide
 for learning was
 here!
 The lands would
 have maintained
 good prechers.
- 68
- 72
- 76
- [leaf 5, back]
 But the people
 are blind, and do
 not deserve them.
- 80
- 84
- Matth. 24.*
- 88

Of Alehouses.

We must have
houses for re-
freshment.

NEdes must we haue places
for vitayls to be solde,
for such as be sycke,
pore, feble, and olde. 92

But in each ham-
let and town
they haue become
places of waste,

But, Lorde, to howe greate
abuse they be growne !
In eche lyttle hamlet,
vyllage, and towne, 96
They are become places
of waste and excesse,

[leaf 6]

and are so placed
that a man must
pass them on his
way to church.

And herbour for such men
as lyue in idlenes. 100
And lyghtly in the contrey
they be placed so,
That they stande in mens waye
when they shoulde to church go. 104

Men who don't
like to hear their
faults go to the
Alehouse.

And then such as loue not
to hear theyr fautes tolde,
By the minister that readeth
the newe Testament and olde, 108
do turne into the alehouse,
and let the church go ;
Yea, and men accompted wyse
and honeste do so. 112

*A commen-
dation of
London.*¹
London is not so
bad.

But London (God be prayسد)
all men maye commende,
Whych doeth nowe this greate
enormitie emende. 116

In service tyme
alehouses are
shut up.

For in seruice tyme
no dore standeth vp,
Where such men are wonte
to fyll can and cuppe. 120

¹ The side-notes of the original are printed in *Italic* throughout.

- Wolde God in the countrey
 they woulde do the same,
 Either for Gods feare,
 or for worldly shame ! 124
 How hallow they the Saboth,
 that do the tyme spende
 In drynkinge and idlenes
 tyll the daye be at an ende ? 128
 Not so well as he doeth,
 that goeth to the plowe,
 Or pitcheth vp the sheues
 from the carte to the mowe. 132
 But he doeth make holye
 the Sabothe in dede,
 That heareth Goddes worde,
 and helpeth suche as nede. 136

Would that the
country would
do so.

[leaf 6, back]
They who spend
the Sabbath in
drinking do
worse than those
who plow.

Luko¹ ciii.
He keeps it best
who does works
of need.

Of Allayes.

- T**wo sortes of Allayes
 in London I finde ;—
 The one agaynste the lawe,
 and the other againste kinde. 140
 The firste is where bowlinge
 forbidden, men vse,
 And, wastynge theyr goodes,
 do their laboure refuse. 144
 But in London (alas !)
 some men are deuillishelye
 Suffered to professe it,
 as an arte to lyue by. 148
 Well, I wyll saye no more,
 but suche as lyue so,
 And officers that suffer them,
 shall together go 152
¹ Orig. Mat.

Two sorte of
alleys in Lon-
don—

bowling-alleyes, in
which men waste
their goods.

*A dispraise
of London.*
Some live by the
game, and pro-
[leaf 7]
fess it as an art.

These and those
who allow it

will go to their
father Satan.

Evo. awiii.

*Allayes
agaynste
kynde.*
The other sort
of alleys make a
man weep.

In them are poor
beggars innumera-
ble.

[leaf 7, back]

You Aldermen
that take the
rents,

why don't you
find work for
these poor ones ?

To Satan their sire,
for of God they are not,
Who commaundeth to laboure
syxe dayes, ye wotte, 156
And the seuenth he commaundeth
all menne to sanctife,
In beyng well occupied,
and not idleye. 160
The other sorte of Allayes,
that be agaynste kynde,
Do make my harte wepe
whan they come to my mind. 164
For there are pore people,
welmoste innumerable,
That are dryuen to begge,
and yet to worcke they are able, 168
If they might haue al thinges
prouided aright.
Alas ! is not thys
a greate ouer syght ? 172
Ye Aldermen and other,
that take Allaye rents,
Why bestowe ye not the riches,
that God hath you sente 176
In woule or in flaxe,
to finde them occupied,
That nowe lye and begge
by euerye highe waye side ? 180
And you that be chiefe,
and haue the commune treasure,
Why can you neuer finde
a time of leasure, 184
To se where the treasure
will finde them workinge,
To the profit of the Citye,
in some maner thinge ? 188

But (alas !) this my tale
 is to deafe men tolde ;
 For the charitie of rich men
 is nowe thorowe colde.
 And this is a Citye
 in name, but, in dede,
 It is a packe of people
 that seke after meede ;
 For Officers and al
 do seke their owne gaine,
 But for the wealth of *the* commons
 not one taketh paine.
 An hell with out order,
 I maye it well call,
 Where euerye man is for him selfe,
 And no manne for all.

Alas ! I talk to
 deaf men, for
 rich men's
 charity is cold.

192

*Loks the de-
 finition of a
 Citie, you*
 [leaf 8]
that be

196

lorned.
 The City is a
 pack of people
 all seeking gain.

200

It is a hell with-
 out order, where
 every man is for
 himself.

204

Of Almes Houses.

A Marchaunte, that longe tyme
 hadde bene in straunge landis,
 Returned to his contrey,
 whiche in Europe standes.
 And in his returne,
 hys waye laye to passe
 By a Spittlehouse, no farre from
 where his dwelling was.
 He loked for this hospitall,
 but none coulde he se ;
 For a lordely house was builte
 where the hospitall should be.
 Good Lorde (sayd this marchaunt)
 is my contrey so wealthy,
 That the verye beggers houses
 be builte so gorgiouslye ?

A merchant
 returning to his
 country

208

had to pass an
 hospital,

212

but in its place he
 found a lordly
 house.

216

[leaf 8, back]

"Is the country
 so rich that beg-
 gars' houses are
 so fine ?"

220

	Than, by the waye syde, hym chaunced to se A pore manne that craued of hym for charitie.	224
He soon saw a beggar, who told him they were all turned out.	Whye (quod thys Marchaunt) what meaneth thys thyng? Do ye begge by the waye, and haue a house for a kyng?	228
	Alas ! syr (quod the pore man) we are all turned oute, And lye and dye in corners, here and there aboute.	232
Rich men had bought the place.	Men of greate riches haue bought our dwellinge place, And whan we craue of them, they turne awaye their face.	236
The merchant had never seen such cruelty even in Turkey.	Lorde God ! (quod this marchaunt) in Turkye haue I bene, Yet emonge those heathen none such crueltie haue I sene.	240
[leaf 9]	The vengeaunce of God muste fall, no remedye, Vpon these wicked men, and that veye shortelye.	244

Of Baylife Arrantes.

A Bailiff of the West Country, in serving his write,	A Baylife there was in the weste contrey, That dyd as they do in all quarters, men saye.	248
excused those who bribed him.	He serued with one wryte an whole score or tweyne, And toke in hand to excuse them, hauinge pence for his payne.	252

- And when he should warne a guest
in sessions to appeare,
He woulde surely warne them
that woulde make hym no cheare ;
And then take a bribe
to make answer for them.
But when he mette his frendes,
than woulde he saye but, hem ;
But such as had no cheare,
nor money to paye,
Were sure to trudge
to the sessions alwaye.
Ye must goue him some thyng,
to sowe his hadlande,
Or else ye can haue
no fauoure at his hande.
Some puddyngis, or baken,
or chese for to eate,
A bushell of barley,
some malt, or some wheate ;
His hadland is good grownd,
and beareth all thyng,
Be it baken or beffe,
stockefyshe or lynge.
Thus pore men are pold
And pyld to the bare,
By such as shoulde serue them,
to kepe them from care.
- 256 He was sure to warn those who did not pay him, but only said "ahem!" to his friends.
- 260
- 264 [leaf 9, back] *The baylefe had lands.* You must give him something—
- 268 puddings, bacon, chese, barley, malt, wheat,
- 272
- 276 beef, or fish.
- 280 Thus the poor are robbed by those who should serve them.

Of Bawdes.

- T**He bawdes of the stues
be turned all out ;
But some think they inhabit
al England through out.
- Bawds are turned out of the stews,
- 284

[leaf 16]
but they may be
found in taverns,
if officers would
seek them.

In tauerns and tipling houses
many myght be founde,
If officers would make serch
but as they are bounde. 288

Well, let them take heede,
I wyll say no more ;
But when God reuengeth,
he punisheth sore. 292

It is horrible to
fall into the
Lord's hands.

Hebr. [x.]

An horrible thyng
it is, for to fall
Into that Lordis handis,
that is eternall. 296

Of Beggars.

Beggars whom
need compels
ought to have
relief,

THe beggars, whome nede
compelleth to craue,
Ought at our handis
some reliefe to haue ; 300

but sham ones
should labour,

But such as do counterfayt,
haueynge theyr strength
To labour if they luste,
beyng knowne at the length, 304

[leaf 10, back]

as beate Chris-
tians.

Ought to be constrayned
to worcke what they can,
And lyue on theyr laboures,
as besemeth a Christyan ; 308
And if they refuse

2 *Thess.* 1 3.
If they refuse,
let them fast.

to worcke for theyr meate,
Then ought they to faste,
as not worthy to eate. 312

The sick ought to
be cared for.

And such as be sore,
and wyll not be healed,
Oughte not in any case
to be charished. 316

¹ Orig. 1 Tim.

- I heard of two beggars
 that vnder an hedge sate,
 Who dyd wyth longe talke
 theyr matters debate.
 They had boeth sore legges,
 most lothsome to se ;
 Al rawe from the fote
 welmost to the knee.
 " My legge," quod the one,
 " I thank God, is fayre."
 " So is myne," (quod the other)
 " in a colde ayre ;
 For then it loketh rawe,
 and as redde as any bloud,
 I woulde not haue it healed,
 for any worldis good ;
 For were it once whole,
 my lyuinge were gone,
 And for a sturdye begger
 I shoulde be take anone.
 No manne woulde pittye me,
 but for my sore legge ;
 Wherefore, if it were whole,
 I might in vaine begge.
 I shoulde be constrained
 to laboure and sweate,
 And perhaps sometime
 wyth schourges be beate."
 " Well " (sayde the tother)
 " lette vs take hede therefore,
 That we let them not heale,
 but kepe them styll sore."
 An other thyng I hearde
 of a begger that was lame,
 Muche like one of these,
 if it were not the same ;
- Of trooe
 beggars.*
 Two beggars sat
 talking under a
 hedge.
- 320
- 324
- " My leg is fair,"
 said one ;
- 328 " so is mine,"
 said the other,
 " in a cold air,
 for then it looks
 raw.
- [leaf 11]
- 332
- If it wert healed
 my living were
 gone,
- 336
- 340
- and I should
 have to work."
- 344
- " Let us be care-
 ful," said the
 other, " to keep
 'em sore."
- 348
- Another beggar
- 352

	Who, syttinge by the fire, wyth the cuppe in his hande, Began to wonder whan he shoulde be a good husbnde.	356
[leaf 11, back] began to wonder whan he shoulde be a husbnd.	" I shall neuer thrius " (quod this begar) " I wene ; For I gate but .xvi. d. to daye, and haue spente eyghtene.	360
He had gained 1s. 4d., and spent 1s. 6d. that day.	Well, let the worlde wagge, we muste neades haue drynke ; Go fyll me thys quarte pot, full to the brynke.	364
But he must drink to make his tongue wag.	The tonge muste haue bastynge, it wyll the better wagge, To pull a Goddes peny out of a churles bagge."	368
But still give to all. If they deceive, you will have your reward.	Yet cesse not to gyue to all, wythoute anye regarde ; Thoughe the beggers be wicked, thou shalte haue thy reward.	372

Of Bearbaytynge.

What a folly to keep a dog and a bear	W Hat follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger, A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule onglye beare ?	376
[leaf 15] to see them fight !	And to thys onelye ende, to se them two fyght, Wyth terrible tearynge, a full onglye syght.	380
But they are the biggest fools who have little money	And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all, Whose store of money is but verye smale,	384

- And yet euery Sondaye
they will surelye spende
One peny or two,
the bearwardes lyuyng to mende. 388
At Paryse garden, eche Sundaye
a man shall not fayle
To fynde two or thre hundredes,
for the bearwardes vaile. 392
One halpenye a piece
they vse for to giue,
When some haue no more
in their purse, I belieue. 396
Well, at the laste daye,
theyr conscience wyl declare
That the pore ought to haue
all that they maye spare. 400
For God hath commaunded,
that what we maye spare
Be geuen to the pore,
that be full of care. 404
If you giue it, therefore,
to so a beare fyght,
Be ye sure Goddes curse
wyl vpon you lyght. 408

and yet giue to
the bearward
every Sunday.

*Parise
garden.*

They giue him a
halfpenny, and
perhaps that is
all they haue.

The poor
ought to haue
what we can
spare.
[leaf 12, back]
Eccles.¹ 4.

A brawler is like
a cur

that sets upon a
mastiff,

Of Brawlers.

- A** Brawler, that loueth
to breake the kinges peace,
And seke his owne sorowe,
his fansye to please, 412
Is lyke a curre dogge,
that setteth vpon
Eche mastyfe and hounde
that he may light on. 416

¹ Ecclesiasticus.

and meets with his master now and then.	He getteth hym hatered of euerye manne ; And meteth with his maister euer nowe and than.	420
He is profitable to the surgeon and the gaoler.	To hurte other menne, he taketh greate payne ; He turneth no manne to profite or gayne ; Except it be the surgian, or the armore, The baylife, the constable, or the jayler.	424
If he escape Tyburn he will hang in hell.	This is a worthy membre in a commune wealth, That to worcke other wo will lose his owne health. What other men will iudge, I can not tell ; But, if he scape Tiburne, I thinke he wyll hange in hell.	428 432 436

Of Blasphemous Swerers

The son of Sirach says <i>Ecol[es]</i> . [xx]iii.	T He sonne of Syrach wryteth playnelye Of suche menne as do swear blasphemouselye.	440
a swearer shall be filled with iniquity.	“The manne that sweareth muche shall be fylled,” sayeth he, “Wyth all wicked maners, and iniquitie.	444
[leaf 13, back]	In the house of that manne the plage shall not cease ; He shalbe styll plagued either more or les.”	448

Christe byddeth all his affirme and denie,	Christ told us to say yea and nay.	
Wyth yea, yea ; nay, nay ; affirmyng no lye.		452
" Whatsoever ye ad more " (saith he) " cometh of iuell,		
And is of the wycked suggestion of the deuyll."		456
But we can not talke wythouten othes plentye.	But we can't talk without oaths.	
Some sweare by Gods nayles, hys herte, and his bodye ;		460
And some sweare [by] his fleshe, his bloude, and hys fote ;	Some swear by God's blood,	
And some by hys guttes, hys lyfe, and herte rote.		464
Some other woulde seme all sweryng to refrayne,		
And they inuent idle othes, such is theyr idle brayne :—		468
By cocke and by pye, and by the goose wyng ;	some by cock and pye, [leaf 14]	
By the crosse of the mouse fote, and by saynte Chyckyn.		472
And some sweare by the Diuell, such is theyr blyndenes ;	<i>Math. v.</i> some by the devil.	
Not knowyng that they call these thynges to wytnes,		476
Of their consciences, in that they affirme or denye.		
So boeth sortes commit Moste abhominable blasphemie.	They all commit blasphemy.	480

Of the Colier of Croydon.

A collier at Croydon might have been a knight,

IT is sayde, that in Croydon
there dyd sometyme dwell
A Colier, that dyd
all other Coliers excell. 484

but he would not.

For his riches thys Colier
myght haue bene a knight ;
But in the order of knighthode
he hadde no delyght. 488

It would be well
if knyghte cared
no more for coal-
ing than this
collier did for
knighting,
[leaf 14, back]

Woulde God all our knyghtes
dyd minde colinge no more,
Than this Colier dyd knyghtyng,
as is sayde before ! 492

For when none but pore Colyars
dyd wyth coles mell,
At a reasonable price,
they dyd theyr coles sell ; 496

for since they
have sold coals
we have paid
more and had
less.

But sence oure Knyght Colyars
haue had the fyrste sale,
We haue payed much money
and had fewe sakes to tale. 500

A lode that of late yeres
for a royall was solde,
wyll coste nowe .xvi. s.
of syluer or golde. 504

God graunt these men grace
theyr pollyng to refrayne,
Or els bryng them backe
to theyr olde state agayne. 508

Men think the
Croydon Collier
is cousin to the
collier of hell.

And especially the Colyar
that at Croydon doth sell ;
For men thyncke he is cosen
to the Colyar of Hell. 512

Of Commotionars.

- W**hen the bodye is vexed,
 through humors corrupted,
 To restore it to helth
 those humours muste be purged. 516
- For if they remayne,
 they wyll styll encrease
 Euery daye, more and more,
 and augment the disease ; 520
- So that in short tyme
 the body muste decaye,
 Except God geue health
 by some other waye. 524
- Euen so doth it fare
 by the weale publyke,
 Whych chaunceth to be often
 diseased and sycke, 528
- Through the mischeuouse malice
 of such men as be
 Desyrouse to breake
 the publyke unitie. 532
- Eche publyke bodye
 must be purged therefore,
 Of these rotten humours,
 as is sayed before. 536
- Els wyll it decay,
 as do the bodyes naturall,
 When rotten humours haue
 infected them ouer all. 540
- But if the publyke bodye
 can not be purged well,
 By force of purgation,
 as phisickes rules do tell : 544
- When bodyes be weake,
 and so lowe brought,

[leaf 15]
 When ill hu-
 mours corrupt
 the body

it must decay,
 except God give
 health.

So it is with the
 Commonwealth,
 which is often
 diseased.

The public body
 must be purged
 of its humours,

[leaf 15, back]
 else it will decay.

If it cannot be
 purged,

	That by purgation, no health can be wrought :	548
	Then must there be sought some easyar waye,	
some easier way must be found to kill these hu- mours.	To kyl <i>the</i> strength of those humours : thus doth phisicke saye.	552
	When the swerde wyl not helpe in the common wealth,	
	To purge it of Commotionars and bryng it to health :	556
	Then must discrete counsell fynde wayes to kyl	
	The powr of those rebelles, and let them of theyr wyll.	560
[leaf 16]	And that must be by cherishyng the humours naturall,	
Natural humours, that is, true sub- jects, must be cherished.	And by quickenyng agayne of the spirites vitall ;	564
	Whych, in the commune wealth, are the subiectes trew,	
	That do alwaye study sedition to eschew.	568
	When these men, through cherishing, do growe and be strong,	
	Then can no Commotionars continew long.	572
	For as, when the strength of ill humours is kylled,	
	In a naturall bodye they be sone consumed,	576
	Or made of iuell good, as it is playne to se :	
	So wyl it bytyde of such men as be,	580
	In the Commune wealth, geuen vnto sedition,	
When they see that they cannot do what they wish they will soon vanish.		

- When they se they can not
fynshe theyr intention. 584
- And what is their power,
but the people ignoraunte,
Whom thei do abuse
by their counselles malignaunt ? 588
- When the hertes of the people
be wonne to their prince,
Than can no Commotioners
do hurte in hys prouince. 592
- If this wyll not help,
than God wyll take cure,
And destroy these Commosioners,
we may be right sure : 596
- Excepte the tyme be come
that the bodye muste dye ;
For than there canne be found
no maner remedy. 600
- God graunte that our synne
have not broughte vs so lowe,
That we be paste cure :
God onely doeth thys knowe ; 604
- And I truste to se healthe agayne,
if the finall ende
Be not nowe nere at hande ;
whyche the Lorde shortelye sende. 608

Of Commen Drunkardes.

[leaf 17]

- E**Saye lamenteth,
and sayeth, " oute, alas !
Muche wo shall betide you,
that do youre tyme passe 612
In eatinge and drinckynge,
from morninge to nighte,
- Isaiah laments
Esaye .v.

	Til none of your membres canne do his office righte.	616
	Woe be to you," sayeth he, "that do so earlye rise, To fyll your selues wyth drincke in suche beastelye wise."	620
because the Jews rose up early to drink like beasts.	But if he were nowe liuyng, and sawe this worldes state, He wold saye this of our drunkards, that sytte vp so late.	624
If he saw our drunkards he would see they did not rise early, but sat up late.	For fewe of oure drunckardes do vse to rise earelye ; But mucche of the nighte they wyll drincke lustelye.	628
i. Cor. v. ¹	Well, Sainte Paule doeth warne all that be of pure mynde, To anoide drunckardes company, where so euer they do them finde.	632
[leaf 17, back] Paul tells us not to eat or drink with drunkards,	Se ye neyther eate nor drincke wyth suche menne, sayeth he, That be geuen to drinkinge, what so euer they be.	636
but, alas! our curates excel their parishioners in drinking.	But, alas! manye curates, that shoulde vs thys tell, Do all their parishioners in drynckyng excell.	640

Of Commune Liars.

Solomon says a
liar slays the soul.
Sapi. i.

Solomon the sage,
in Sapience doeth saye,
That the mouthe that lyeth
doeth the verye soule aleye.
 644 |

If the murderer of bodies
be worthye to dye,

¹ Orig. i.

The murderer of soules shoulde not escape, trowe I. For as the soule doeth the bodye excell, So is his treaspance greater, that doeth the soule quell. But lyars (alas !) are nowe muche set by, And thought to be menne in a maner necessarie To be entertayned of eche noble manne, Who are muche delighted wyth lyes nowe and than. But this delite will be sorowe, I feare me, at the laste ; Whan the liar, for hys lyngge, into paynes shall be caste.	<p>Liars are not punished,</p> <p>648</p> <p>652</p> <p>but are thought much of,</p> <p>[leaf 18]</p> <p>656</p> <p>and are thought necessary to noblemen.</p> <p>660</p> <p>This delight in lies will not last.</p> <p>664</p>
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Of Dicears.

E Monge wyttie saynges, this precept I finde, To auoid and fle dice (mi son) haue euer in mynde. For diceyngge hath brought many wealthye menne to care ; And manye ryche heyre it hath made full bare. Some menne it hath sette vp, I wyll not denye, And brought to more worship, than they be worthye. God knoweth to what ende he suffereth thys thing ;	<p>Cato advised to see dice-playing,</p> <p><i>Cato.</i></p> <p>668</p> <p>which has stripped many.</p> <p>672</p> <p>It has set up some,</p> <p>676</p> <p>[leaf 18, back]</p>
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perhaps to re-
ward them in
hell.

Perchance to rewarde them
wyth hel at their endyngē. 680

For doubtlesse those goodes
are gotten amisse,
That are gotten from him
that prodigall is ; 684

At dice both
intend to get
others' goods.

And especially at the dyce,
where boeth do intende
To get others goods,
or else hys owne to spende. 688

Nowe if prodigalitye
or couetise be vyce,
He cannot but offend
that playeth at the dyce. 692

Prodigality and
covetousness
reign in both.

For be they two or mo,
thys thyng is certayne,
Prodigalytie and couetise
do in them all raygne. 696

Besyde the wycked othes,
and the tyme myspent,
Wherof they thincke they nede not
them selues to repent. 700

[leaf 19]

If dicing is not
sinful,

But thys I dare saye,
that though dyceyng were no sin,
Nor the goodis mysgoten,
that men do ther at wyne ; 704

the oathe and
the myspent
time will be the
condemnation of
the players.

Yet the othes that they swere,
and the tyme myspent,
Shall be theyr damnacion,
vnlesse they repent. 708

Leaue of your vayne dyceyng,
ye dycers, therefore,
For vnlesse ye repent,
God hath vengeaunce in store ; 712

And when ye thynke least,
then wyl he pour it oute,

And make you to stoupe,
be ye neuer so stoute.

God will make
them stoop un-
less they repent.
716

Of Double Benificed Men.

THe kyng of that realme,
where iustice doeth reygne,
Perused olde statutis,
that in bokis remayne.

A certain king
looked over some
statutes which
said benificed
men should be
resident.
720

And as he turned the boke,
him chaunced to se,
That such as haue benifices
shoulde resident be ;

[leaf 19, back]
724

And haue theyr abydyng,
whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure,
Emong them, ouer whome
God hath geuen them cure.

728

Then sayed he to him selfe,
" I thyncke well there is
No lawe in thys realme
worse obserued then this.

He thought no
law was so little
observed.
732

Yet can there nothyng
My flocke more decaye,
Then when hyrelynges suffer
My shepe go astraye."

736

Then called he his counsell
And tolde them his mynde,
And wylled that they shoulde
some remedy fynde.

He called his
Council,
740

Whoe, wyth good aduice,
agreed on this thyng,
That visitours should be sent,
wyth the powre of the kyng,
To punyshe all such
as herein dyd offende,

and sent visitors
to punish all that
should disobey
this law.
744

- [leaf 20]
- Vnlesse they were founde
thorowe wyllynge to amende. 748
- The visitours
found only one
priest who would
surrender none.
Osee .iiii.
- These visitours found many stout
priestes, but chiefye one
That hadde sondrye benefices,
but woulde surrender none. 752
- Than was this stoute felowe
brought to the kynge,
Who sayde vnto hym,
“Syr, howe chaunceth this thing? 756
Wyl ye transegresse my lawes?
and than disobeye
Menne hauing my power?
Syr, what can you saye?” 760
“If it mai like your grace,” (quod he)
“loe, heare is to se,
Your seale at a graunte
of a pluralitie.” 764
“Well,” saide the kinge than,
“I repente me of all yll;
But tell me, maister doctoure,
wil you haue your benefices styll?” 768
“If your grace do me ryghte,” (quod he)
“I must haue them my life tyme.”
“So shalt thou,” (quod the kynge)
“for to morow by pryme, 772
God wyllynge, thy body
shalbe diided, and sent,
To ech benefice a piece,
to make the resident. 776
Away wyth hym” (quod the kyng)
“and let al thyngis be done,
As I haue guen sentence,
to morow ere none. 780
For syth thou arte a stout¹ priest,
an example thou shalt be,
¹ stout in original.
- He was brought
to the king, and
pleaded the royal
“grant of a
plurality.”
- and said if he had
right he must
keep them for his
lifetime.
[leaf 20, back]
- “So shalt thou;
for to-morrow
thy body shall be
divided, and part
sent to each
benefice,

That all stourburne priestes
may take warnyng by the."

784 that all may take
warning."

Of the Exchecker.

IN the weste parte of Europe
there was sometyme a kynge,
That had a court for receyte
of money to him belongeing.

788 In the West a
king had a court
for the receipt of
money.

But the ministers of that court
dyd longe, and many a daye,
Take brybes to bare with suche men
as should forfaytis pay.

792 The officers took
bribes.

At the laste, to the Kyng
this theyr falshode was tolde,
By suche as about hym,
were faythfull and bolde.

[leaf 21]

796

Then dyd the Kyng sende
for these ministers ill,
And layde all theyr faltres
before them in a byll.

When the king
heard of it he
sent for them.

800

Then were they abashed,
and had nought to saye,
But cryed for hys perdon ;
but he bade, " Awaye ;

804 They cried for
mercy, but he
sent them away

Ye haue borne wyth theues,
and haue robbed me,
And suffered my people
impoueryshed to be.

808

No statute coulde cause
thoffendars to emende,
Because you bare wyth them,
when they dyd offende.

812

Awaye wyth them all,
laye them in prison,

to prison to await
judgment.

	Tyll we haue determined, what shall wyth them be done." 816
[leaf 21, back]	What iudgment they had I haue not hearde yet ;
They deserued a Tyburn tippet.	But well I wot they deserued a Tiburne tippet. 820

Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is worse than an enemy.	A Flatterynge frende is worse then a foe ; For a frende is betruſted, when the other is not ſo. 824
ii. <i>Re.</i> iii.	Of an open enimie, a man may be ware ; When the flatterynge frend wyl worcke men much care. 828
If Abner had knowne Iob's heart	For if Abner had knowne what was in Iob's harte, I do not doubt but he would haue out of his waye ſtarte ; 832
he would haue avoided him.	Or, at the leaſte, he would not haue admitted hym ſo ny As to be embraced of hym, and on his dagger to dye. 836
	Wherefore I aduertise al men to be ware
[leaf 22]	Of all flatterynge frendis, that bring men to care. 840
Trust open ene- mies if you like.	As for open ennimies, truſt them if ye wyl ; I can not forbyd you to admyt your owne yll. 844
	Woulde God all men woulde ſuch flatterars trye,

- As hange at theyr elbowes,
to get some what therby. 848
- But (alas !) nowe adayes,
men of honour do promote
Many a false flatteryng
and lewde harlot ; 852
- Whych thyng may at the lengthe
be theyr owne decaye ;
For if the wynde turne,
the flatterars wyll awaye. 856
- The swallowe in sommer
wyll in your house dwell ;
But when wynter is commynge,
she wyll saye farewell. 860
- And when the short dayes
begyn to be colde,
Robinredbreast wil come home to ye,
and be very bolde ; 864
- But when summer returneth,
and bushes wax grene,
then Robyn your man
wyll no more be sene. 868
- So some of your flattera[r]s
wyll in prosperitie,
be of your householde,
and of your family ; 872
- And some other wyl,
when nede doth them payne,
Sue to do you seruice,
tyll they be welthy agayne. 876

Now-a-days men
of honour pro-
mote flatterers,

who, if the wind
turns, will leave
them,

as the swallow
leaves man in
winter,

[leaf 22, back]
and the robin in
the summer.

Some flatterers
will remain
while you are
prosperous :

others will seek
you when they
are poor.

Of Foles.

THe Prechar sayeth thus,
"a pore wytty ladde

A witty lad is
better than a
Eccle. iiii.
foolish old king.

	is better then an olde Kynge, whose wytte is but badde."	880
	The wyse man in pouertie is ryght honourable, Whan the fole in his ryches, is worthy a bable.	884
[leaf 23] Some natural foles understand nothing;	Some foles there be of nature, that vnderstande nought ; Some other vnderstand thynges, but haue euer in theyr thought,	888
the biggest foles of all think themselves wisest.	That they them selues be wysest ; whych folly passeth all, And doeth soneste appeare, as well in greate as small.	892
	These foles wyll not heare any mans reade or counsell, And what soeuer they them selfe do, is excedyng well ;	896
	But other mens doynges they wyll euer dyprease, For other can do nought that may theyr mynde please.	900
They meddle with everybody's business,	And, further, they thyncke it becometh them well, in euery mans matter them selfe to entermel.	904
	And when they come in place where is any talke, No man shal fynde a tyme to speake, so faste theyr tonges shal walke.	908
and allow no man to speak.	Of theyr owne dedis and goodes, they wyll bragge and boaste, And declare all theyr mishaps, and what they haue loste.	912
[leaf 23, back]		
If you tell them of their faults they'll fight.	If ye tell them of theyr fautes, then wyll they nedes fyght ;	

- Ye must saye as they saye,
 Be it wrounge or ryght. 916
 In fine, ye must prayse them,
 and sette forth theyr fame ; You must praise
 them.
- And what soeuer they do,
 you may them not blame. 920
- If ye tell them of knowledge,
 they saye they lacke none,
 And wyshe they had lesse,
 and then they make mone, 924
 For the losse of vayne toyes,
 wherin they delyte ;
- And then, if ye reasone farre,
 beware, they wyll fyght. 928
 All wise men, take hede,
 and shunne theyr companye,
 For of all other men,
 they are most vngodly. 932

Of Forestallars.

[leaf 24]

- T**He fryses of Walis
 to Brystowe are brought ; Welsh frizes are
 bought before
 they are woven.
- But before thei were wouen,
 in Walis they are bought ; 936
- So that nowe we do paye
 foure grottes, or els more,
 For the fryse¹ we haue bought
 for eyght pens heretofore. 940
- And some saye the woule
 is bought ere it do growe,
 And the corne long before
 it come in the mowe. 944
- And one thyng there is
 that hurteth moste of all ;

¹ Orig. "fryfe"

Reversions of farms and benefices are bought.	Reversions of fermes are bought long ere they fall.	948
	And ryght so are benefices in euery coaste, So that persons and vicars kepe neyther sodde nor rosta.	952
[leaf 24, back]	The pore of the paryshe, whome the person shoulde fede, Can haue nought of oure tythis, to succoure theyr nede.	956
Old tenants must pay well if they would remain.	Reversions of fermes are bought on ech syde ; And the olde tenant must pay well, if he wyll a byde.	960
	And where the father payde a peny, and a capon or twayne, The sonne muste paye ten pownde : [t]his passeth my brayne.	964
The clerk of the market will punish these engrossers and forestallers.	Well, let thes forestallars repent them bytyme, Leste the clarke of the market be wyth them ere pryde.	968
	For he, when he cometh, wyll punysh them all, That do any nedeful thyng ingrose or forestall.	972
When he went away his seruant told us not to seek our own profit.	For well I wotte thys, when he went laste awaye, He sent vs his seruaunt, and thus dyd he saye.	976
i. Cor. v.	Se that among you none seke his owne gayne, But profyde ech other wyth trauayle and payne.	980
[leaf 25]		

Of Godlesse Men.

H Olye Dauid, that was boeth propheth and kinge, Sawe in hys tyme (as appeareth by hys wrytynge) That in those dayes there were men of wycked hert, That dyd all godlye wayes vtterlye peruerte. And so there are nowe, the pitye is the more, That lyue more carnalye than euer men ² dyd before. These men (sayeth kinge Dauid) in their hertes do saye, Surelye there is no God, let vs take our owne waye. Thus iudged kyng Dauid, and that for good skyll, Bicause he sawe their worckes, were wycked and euyll. They are (sayeth he) corrupt, and nought in all theyr wayes, Not one doeth good ; and therfore he sayes, That they thincke there is no God, theyr worckis do declare, For to do the thyng that good is they haue no maner care. But what would Dauid saye, if he were in these dayes, When men wyl do ill, and iustifie theyr yl weyes ?	<p>David in his time saw wicked men,</p> <p>984 <i>Psalm xiv.</i>¹</p> <p>988 who perverted godly ways.</p> <p>So now there are men more carnal than ever.</p> <p>992</p> <p>996 They say there is no God,</p> <p>1000</p> <p>[leaf 23, back]</p> <p>1004</p> <p>and their deeds declare it.</p> <p>1008</p> <p>What would David say now ?</p> <p>1012</p>
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¹ Orig. i.² Repeated in orig.

	They leaue the good vndone, and do that yll is ; And then they call that yll good— what woulde Dauid saye to this ?	1016
Isaiah would curse them apase for calling evil good, and good Esai. c. evil.	I know not what Dauid would saye in this case ; But I knowe that good Esay doeth curse them apase. Woe ! sayth this prophete, to them that do call That thyng good that euell is. but this is not all :	1020
	He sayeth woe to them that call dearkenens lyght, Preferryng theyr fansey before the worde of myght.	1024
(leaf 20)	If they fynde a thynge wrytten in Paul, Luke, or John, Or any other scripture, they wyll therof none, Except they may easily perceyue and se That, wyth theyr fleshly fansey, they may make it agre.	1028
If they find any- thing in the Bible	All other textis of scripture they wyll not stycke to deny ; Yea, some of them wyll God and his scripture defie, And say they wyl make merie here, for when they be gone They can haue no ioye, for soule they haue none.	1032
they will none of it if it do not agree with their fancy.	If these menne be not godles, muche meruell haue I. Well, the cause is the Lordes, lette hym and them trye.	1036
They say they have no souls.		1040
The cause is God's,		1044
		1048

I knowe at the laste,
 they shall fynde him to strong :
 The daye of his vengeaunce
 wyll not tarye long.

[leaf 26, back]
 and they will find
 Him strong.

1052

Of Idle Persons.

Idlenes hath ben cause
 of much wyckednes,
 As Ecclesiasticus
 doeth playnely wytnes,
 Idle persons, therefore,
 can not be all cleare,
 As by the storie of Sodome,
 it doeth well appeare.
 But that we may come nere
 to our owne age,
 The idlenes of abbays
 made them outrage.
 Yet let vs come neare,
 euen to the tyme present,
 And se what myschyfe
 Idle persons do inuent ;
 What conspiracies haue ben wrought,
 Wythin this lyttle whyle,
 By idle men that dyd
 the commons begyle ;
 And what haue idle men
 always practised,
 To breake the peace of prynces,
 that they myght be hyered.
 I wyll not saye what
 the idlenes of priestes hath done,
 Nor yet the idlenes
 of seruautis in London.

Idleness causes
 much wickedness,

Eccles. 33.

1056

as was seen in
 Sodom,

1060

and the abbays.

1064

1068 Now idle persons
 hatch con-
 spiracies.

1072 [leaf 27]

1076

1080 What the idleness
 of priests and
 servants in Lon-
 don has done,

let every man see
for himself.

Let eueri man search
his owne household well,
And whether the thyng
be true that I tell. 1084

Yea, what abuse dyd euer
emonge the people rayne,
But the same dyd fyrst sprynge
out of an idle brayn? 1088

It is the gate of
all mischief.

Idienes, therefore,
maye ryghte well be named
The gate of all mischiefe
that euer was framed. 1092

You masters,
keep your
families,

Ye masters and fathers, therefore,
that feare God omnipotent,
Kepe youre families,
leaste ye be shente; 1096

[leaf 27, back]

For if thorowe their idlenes
they fall into outrage,
Your iudgemente shall be strayght,
for they are committed to your charg. 1100

for they are
committed to
your charge.

Kepe them, therefore, styll occupied,
in doynge youre busines,
Or els in readyng or hearyng
some bokes of godlines. 1104

Would that
magistrates
would set men
to work!

And woulde God the maiestrates
woulde se men set a-worke,
And that within thys realme
none were suffered to lurke. 1108

This realme has
three commodi-
ties, wool, tin,
and lead, which
should be wrought
at home.

This realme hath thre commoditie
woule, tynne, and leade,
Which being wrought within the realme,
eche man might get his bread. 1112

¶ Of Inuenters of Straunge Newes.

Some men delight
to invent newes

Some men do delite
straunge newes to inuente,

- Of this mannes doynge,
and that mannes intente ; 1116
What is done in Fraunce,
and in the Emperours lande ; of Foreign parts,
[leaf 23]
- And what thyng the Scottes
do nowe take in hande ; 1120
What the Kynge and his counsell,
do intende to do ;
Though for the most parte
it be nothyng so. 1124
Such men cause the people,
that els woulde be styll,
To murmour and grudge,
whych thyng is very ill. 1128
Yea, sometyme they cause
the people to ryse,
And assemble them selfe
in most wycked wyse. 1132
In Plato hys common wealth,
such men shoulde not dwell,
For poetes and oratoures
he dyd expell. 1136
Oh ! that these newes bryngars
had for theyr rewarde,
Newe halters of hemppe,
to sette them forwarde ! 1140

which for the
most part is
untrue.

Such men make
the people
murmur.

*We sawe the
experience of
thys of late.*

Plato expelled all
poets and orators
from his com-
mon wealth.

They want new
halters.

¶ Of Laye Men that take Tithes,
and Priests that vse theyr Ti-
t[h]es priuatly.

[leaf 23, back]

- W**Han Iustice began
in iudgment to syt,
To punysh all such men
as dyd fautes commit ; 1144

When Justice
began to sit in
judgment

	Then was there a man before hyr accused, For tythes that he toke, and priuately vsed.	1148
a man was accused of using tithes for private purposes.	When dewe proufe was had, and the thyng manifeste, The wyttnesses sworne, and the treaspace confeste ;	1152
He was deprived of all his goods,	Then gaue the iudge iudgement and these wordes he spake :— “ Se that from this caytyfe ye do all his goodes take ; For seyng he made that priuate, that commune shoulde be, He shall haue this iustice, by the iudgment of me.	1156 1160
[leaf 23] which were divided among the poor, <i>Jacob ii.</i>	Those pore men, that by the tithes shoulde be releued, Shal haue all his goodes emonge them diuided.	1164
and then he was hanged.	And because he shewed no mercie, no mercie shall he haue. The sentence is geuen, go hange vp the slaue.”	1168

Of Leasemongars.

A leasemonger's conscience pricked him when he thought he was a-dying.	O F late a leasemongar of London laye sycke, And thynckying to dye, his conscience dyd him pricke.	1172
So he sent for a preacher.	Wherefore he sayde thus wyth hym selfe secretly, “ I wyll sende for a prechar, to knowe what remedy.”	1176

- But whilse he thus laye,
 he fell in a sloumber,
 and sawe in his dreame
 pore folke a greate number,
 Whoe sayde they had learned thys
 at the preachers hande,
 To paye all wyth patience,
 that theyr landlordes demaunde. 1180
 For theyr for theyr sufferance,
 in such oppression,
 Are promised rewarde
 in the resurrection. 1184
 Where such men as take leases
 them selues to aduance,
 Are sure to haue hell
 by ryght inheritaunce. 1188
- Then he dreamed
 that poor folks
 said they had
 learned to pay
 what landlords
 demanded,
- [leaf 29, back]
- because they
 would be re-
 warded in the
 resurrection, but
 leaseholders
 are sure of hell.
- 1192

Of Marchauntes.

- I**F Marchauntes wold medle
 wyth marchaundice onely,
 And leaue fermes to such men,
 as muste lyue thereby ; 1196
 Then were they moste worthy
 to be had in price,
 As men that prouide vs
 of all kyndes marchaundice. 1200
 But syth they take fermes,
 to let them out agayne,
 To such men as muste haue them,
 though it be to theyr payn : 1204
 And to leanye greate fines,
 or to ouer the rent,
 And do purchayse greate landes,
 for the same intent : 1208
- If merchants
 would let farms
 alone it would
 be well.
- But they take
 them and let
 them out again,
 raising the rents.
- [leaf 30]

They are un- profitable.	We muste nedes cal them membres vnprofitable, As men that woulde make all the Realme miserable.	1212
They also lend money to young merchants.	Howe they leaue theyr trade, and lende oute theyr money, To yonge marchaunte men, for greate vsurie ; Whereby some yonge men are dreuen to leaue all, And do into moste extreme pouertie fall,	1216
What is the remedy ?	It greueth me to wryte. but what remedy ? They muste heare theyr faute, syth they be so greedye.	1224
The Lord will haue them in mind,	And thus I saye to them, and trewe they shall it fynde, The Lorde wyll haue all theyr iuell doynge in mynde.	1228
[leaf 30, back]	And at the laste daye, when they shall aryse, All shall be layed playne before theyr owne eyes,	1232
and they will get iudgment without mercy.	Where iudgemente shall be geuen, as Saynte Iames doeth wytnes, Wythoute all mercye to suche as be merciles	1236
<i>Iacob .ii.</i>		

Of Men that haue Diuers Offices.

In Rome ambi-
tion was punished
with exile,

WHan the Citty of Rome
was ruled aryght,
As aunciente attours
do recorde and wryte

1240

- Ambition was punished
 wyth vtter exile ;
 Yet were there some that dyd
 venter some whyle. 1244 yet some ven-
 tured to return.
- But we reade not of anye
 that euer wente aboute,
 To haue two offices at once,
 were they neuer so stoute. 1248 But none seem
 to have had two
 offices at once, as
 they do here.
- But, alas ! in this Realme,
 we counte hym not wyse,
 That seketh not by all meanes
 that he canne deuise, 1252
 To take offices together,
 wythoute anye staye. [leaf 31]
- But Christe shal saie to these menne
 at the laste daye, 256 At the last day
 Christ will de-
 Luke .xvi.
 mand an account
 of your steward-
 ship.
- Geue accounts of your baliwickes,
 ye mene wythout grace,
 Ye that soughte to be rulers
 in euerye place, 1260
- Geue accountes of your baliwike,
 for come is the daye
 That ye muste leaue youre offices,
 and walke your fathers waye. 1264

Of Nice Wyues.

- T**He sonne of Sirache
 of women doeth saye,
 That their nicenes & hordom
 is perceiued alwaye 1268
 By there wanton lokes,
 And lyftyng vp of eyes,
 And their lokinge ascoye,
 in most wanton wise. 1272 The son of Sirach
 says, a woman
 Eccles. 26.
 may be known by
 wanton looks.

- And in the same
 Iesus Syrach, I fynde
 That the gate and the garment
 do declare the mynde. 1276
 If these thynges be trew,
 (as, no doubt, they be)
 What shold we thynk of *the* women
 that in London we se? 1280
 For more wanton lokes,
 I dare boldely saye,
 Were neuer in Iewyshe whores,
 then in London wyues thys daye. 1284
 And if gate and garmentes
 do shewe any thyng,
 Our wiues do passe their whoris
 in whorelyke deckyng. 1288
 I thynk the abhominable
 whores of the stews
 Dyd neuer more whorelyke
 attyrementes vse. 1292
 The cappe on hyr heade
 is lyke a sowes mawe;
 Such an other facion
 I thynk neuer Iewe sawe. 1296
 Then fyne geare on the foreheade,
 sette after the new trycke,
 Though it coste a crowne or two,
 What then? they may not stycke. 1300
 If theyr heyre wyl not take colour,
 then must they by newe,
 And laye it oute in tussockis:
 this thyng is to true. 1304
 At ech syde a tussocke,
 as bygge as a ball,—
 A very fayre syght
 for a fornicator bestiall. 1308

Eccles. xi[x].

He also says that
 the walk and the
 [leaf 31, back]
 dress declare the
 mind.

If so what are we
 to think of the
 London women?

"If gait and
 garments show
 anything," our
 wives surpass all
 whores.

Their caps are
 like a sow's maw;

[leaf 32]

If their hair won't
 dye they buy
 new, and lay it
 out in tussocks,

one on each side
 as big as a ball.

- Hyr face faire paynted,
to make it shyne bryght,
And hyr bosome all bare,
and most whorelyke dight. 1312
Hyr mydle braced in,
as smal as a wande ;
And some by wastes of wyre
at the paste wyfes hande. 1316
A bumbe lyke a barrell,
wyth whoopes at the skyrte ;
Hyr shoes of such stuffe
that may touche no dyrte ; 1320
Vpon hyr whyte fyngers,
manye rynges of golde,
Wyth suche maner stones
as are most dearye solde. 1324 [leaf 32, back]
Of all their other trifles,
I wyll saye nothyng,
Leaste I haue but small thanckes,
for thys my writyng. 1328
All modeste matrons
I truste wyll take my parte,
As for nice whippets, wordes
shall not come nye my hert. 1332
I haue tolde them but trueth,
let them saye what they wyll ;
I haue sayde they be whorelike,
and so I saye styl. 1336
- Their faces are painted, their bosoms bare.*
- Their waists are braced in,*
- and their bums like a barrel.*
- Shoes must not touch the dirt.*
- Rings on fingers.*
- All modest matrons will, I hope, take my part.*
- I have said they are whorelike, and so they are.*

Of Obstinate Papistes.

- A**N obstinate papiste,
that was sometyme a frier,
Hadde of his friers cote
so greate a desire, 1340
- A friar so desired to wear his friar's coat*

that he went to
Louvain to put
it on.

That he stale out of England,
and wente to Louayne,
And gate his fryers cote
on his foles backe agayne. 1344

[leaf 33]

A wilfull beggar
this papist wyl be,
A fole and a fryer,
and thus is one man thre. 1348

Would God all
the Papists were
with him!

Would God all the papistis,
that he lefte behynde,
Where wyth him in frye[r]s cotis
accordyng to theyr kynde; 1352

Unless they can
burn the Bible
they will despair.

Or els I woulde they were
wyth theyr father the Pope,
For whylse they be in England,
thei do but lyue in hope. 1356

God grant that
they may take
their naturall
prynce for their
head, and forsake
the Pope.

And excep[t] they myght get
the Bible boke burned,
Into dispeyre theyr hope
wyl shortly be turned. 1360

God graunte them the grace
this hope to forsake,
And their naturall prynce
for theyr heade to take; 1364

Forsakinge the Pope,
wyth al hys peltrye,
Whiche of longe tyme
they haue sette so much by. 1368

[leaf 33, back]

Of Rente Raysers.

A man surveyed
his lands, and
let them out deare.

A Manne that had landes,
of tenne pounde by yere,
Surueyed the same,
and lette it out deare; 1372

- So that of tenne pounde
 he made well a score
 Moe poundes by the yere
 than other dyd before. 1376
- But when he was tolde
 whan daunger it was
 To oppresse his tenauntes,
 he sayed he did not passe. 1380
- For thys thyng, he sayde,
 full certayne he wyste,
 That wyth hys owne he myghte
 alwayes do as he lyst. 1384
- But immediatlye, I trowe
 thys oppressoure fyl sicke
 Of a voyce that he harde,
 "geue accountes of thy baliwicke!" 1388
- When he was
 told it was dan-
 gerous to oppress
 his tenants, he
 said he could do
 as he liked with
 his own.
- But he soon died.
Luke .xvi.

Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers,
 and Vaine Hearers.

- O**F late, as I laye,
 and lacked my reste,
 At suche time as Titan
 drewe faste to the Easte, 1392
- Thys sayinge of Christe
 came into my minde,
 Whyche certayne and true
 all maner menne shall fynde :— 1396
- Of euerye idle worde
 ye shall geue a rekeninge ;
 Be it spoken by mouthe,
 or put in wrytyng. 1400
- O Lorde (thought I then)
 what case be th[e]y in,
 That talke and write vaynely,
 And thinke it no synne ? 1404
- [leaf 24]
 As I lay restless
- Christ's saying
 about idle words
 came into my
 mind.
- Math. xii.*
- What a case they
 are in who write
 and talk vainly!

I thought I saw
three vain men
condemned and
punished.

Than slombred I a little,
and thoughte that I sawe
Thre sortes of wayne menne
condempned by Gods lawe. 1408

[leaf 94, back]
The writer's head
was opened, and
the talker stirred
his brains with
a stick;

The one was a wryter,
of thynges nought and wayne,
And an other a talker ;
And thys was theyr payne : 1412

while the writer
pulled the talker's
tongue out a
hand-length ;

The wryter hadde the crowne
of hys heade opened,
Whose braynes wyth a stycke
the talker styrred ; 1416

and the listener's
ears were pulled
almost up to
his eyes.

And he wyth boeth handes
drewe the talkers tonge,
So that wythout hys mouthe
it was an handefull longe. 1420

The thirde was an herkener
of fables and lyes,
Whose eares were almost
drawen vp to his eyes. 1424

Of Vnsaciabie Purchasers.

A rich man rode
out, and had only
a boy with him.

AN vnreasonable ryche man
dyd ryde by the way,
Who, for lacke of menne,
hadde wyth hym a boye. 1428

" Jack, I have
bought this
ground."

And as he paste by a pasture
most pleasaunte to se,
" Of late I haue purchasid
thys grounde, Iacke," quod he. 1432

" Marry, men
say your pur-
chase is great,
but your house-
hold small."

" Mary, maister" (quod the boye)
" men saye ouer all,
That your purchase is greate,
but your housholde is smal." 1436

"Why, Iacke" (quod this riche man)
 "what haue they to do?
 Woulde they haue me to purchase
 and kepe greate house to?"
 "I can not tell" (quod the boye)
 "what maketh them to brawle;
 But they saye that ye purchase
 the Deuill, his dame, and all."

[leaf 35]
 "Why, Jack,
 would they have
 me buy and keep
 a great house
 too?"

1440

Luk. ariii.
 "I don't know
 why they brawle—
 they say you buy
 the devil and his
 dam."

1444

Of Vsurars.

A Certaine man had landes,
 little thoughte it were;
 And yet wold faine haue liued
 lyke a gentleman's peare.
 Of thys lande he made sale,
 and toke readye golde,
 And let that for double the rente
 of the lande that was solde.
 Than came there a broker,
 and sayde if he woulde do
 As he woulde aduise hym,
 he shoulde make of one penyne two.
 "Marye that woulde I fayne do"
 (quod this vsurer than)
 "I praye the teache me
 the feat if thou can."
 "You shall" (sayde thys broker)
 "lende but for a monethes day,
 And be sure of
 a sufficient¹ gage alwaye,
 Wyth a playne bill of sale;
 if the day be not kept,
 And se that ye do
 no causis accepte.

A man had a
 little land, but
 wanted to live
 like a gentleman,
 so he sold his
 land, and lent the
 money.

1448

1452

A broker came
 and offered to
 tell him how to
 make twopence
 of a penny.

1456

1460 [leaf 35, back]

"Lend only for a
 'month's day'
 with good se-
 curity, and a bill
 of sale.

1464

1468

¹ Orig. suffitience

Your interest
must be a penny
for a shilling,
then at the year's
end twelve
months will give
twelve pence."

"This will do:
my twenty pounds
will produce four
hundred, and I
can live like a
lord."

[leaf 36]

But a prophet
came, and told
him heaven was
no place for such
unlawful gain.

Psal. xv.

"You are to live
on £20 a year
till God shall
increase the
amount ;

and with the
increase you are
to profit all who
live near you.

Than muste you be sure
that your intereste be
One peny for a shylynge,
and thre pence for thre. 1472
So by the yeres ende,
twelue moneths geue twelue pens,
For the vse of a shylynge.
lo, I haue tolde you all sens." 1476
Than saide this vsurer,
"this matter goeth well,
For my twentye ponde lande,
that I chaunced to sell, 1480
I shall haue foure hundred
pounde rente by the yere,
To lyue lyke a Lorde,
and make iolye chere." 1484
Than came there a Prophete,
and tolde thys manne playne,
That h[e]auen is no place
for suche vnlawefull gayne. 1488
"Why, sir" (quod this Vsurar)
"it is my liuyng." 1492
"Yea, sir" (quod this Prophet)
"but it is not youre calling ;
You are called to liue
after twentye ponde by yere,
And after that rate
ye shoulde measure your chere, 1496
Tyll God did encrease you
by his mercifull wayes,
By encreasyng your corne,
and youre cattell in the leyes ; 1500
Whyche encrease wyth your landes
you are bounde to employe,
To the profite of all them
that do dwell you bye. 1504

- Ye are not borne to your selfe,
neither maye you take
That thyng for youre owne,
where of God did you make 1508 [leaf 86, back]
- But stuarde and baylife,
that shall yelde a rekeninge
At the Daye of Iudgmente
for euerye thyng. 1512
- And do ye not doubtte,
but then ye shall knowe,
Whether ye maye your goodes
at youre pleasure bestowe ; 1516
- And whether ye maye vse
wayes wycked and yl,
To increase your riches
at your owne will. 1520
- But chieflie to lende
yours goodes to vsurie,
Is a thinge that you shall
moste dearelye abyge ; 1524
- For Christe saieth in Luke
that the heathen do so.
Take hede lest ye flytte
frome pleasure to woe." 1528
- Luke .vi.*

Finis.

¶ Cum p[r]iuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

The Voyce of

the laste trumpet, blowen by the seuenth Angel (as is mentioned in the eleuenth of the Apocalips) calling al estats of men to the ryght path of theyr vocation, wherin are contegned .xii. Lessons to twelue seuerall estats of men, which if thei learne and folowe, al shall be
* wel, and nothing amis *

~ * ~

¶ The voyce of one cryngge
in the deserte.
Luke .iii.

¶ Make redy the Lords waie, make his pathes streight. Euery valley shalbe fylled, and euery mountayne and lyttle hyl shalbe made lowe, and thynge that be croked shalbe made streygght, & hard passages shalbe turned into plaine waies, and all flesh shall se the hea[^l]th of God.
Esaie .xl.

¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Crowley, dwellinge in Chierents in Holburn. Anno Do.
M D L.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

The Boke to the Readar.

It pleased mine autor to gene me of nam[e]		I am named the
The voice of the last trumpe (as S. Iohn doeth wryte)		Last Trumpet
Thincking therby to auoyd all the blame		to avoid all
That commenli chaunceth to such men as wryte	4	blame.
Plainly to such men as walk not upright :		
For truth gette[t]h hatred of such as be yll,		
And wil sufer nothing <i>that</i> bridleth their wil.	7	
If ought do displese you, let me bere <i>the</i> wit,		
For I am the doar of all that is done ;		
I bark at your fauts, but loth I am to byt,		Though I bark I
If by this barkyng ought myght be won :	11	am unwilling to
And for thys intent I was firste bigonne,		bite.
That, hearing your fautes, ye myght them emende,		
And raigne <i>with</i> our master Christ in the end.	14	Hearing your
		fautes, may you
		amend them.

The Contents of this Boke.

i.	The Beggars lesson	...	...	...	(p. 57)
ii.	The Seruantes lesson	...	...	...	(p. 59)
iii.	The Yeomans lesson	...	...	...	(p. 63)
iiii.	The Lewde Priestes lesson	...	...	...	(p. 70)
v.	The Scholars lesson	...	...	...	(p. 72)
vi.	The Learned Mans lesson	...	...	...	(p. 74)
vii.	The Phisicians lesson	...	...	...	(p. 79)
viii.	The Lawiars lesson	...	...	...	(p. 82)
ix.	The Marchautes lesson	...	...	...	(p. 86)
x.	The Gentlemans lesson	...	...	...	(p. 90)
xi.	Maiestrates lesson	...	...	...	(p. 95)
xii.	The Womans lesson	...	...	...	(p. 99)

The Beggars Lesson.

W hoso woulde that all thynges were well, And woulde hymselfe be wyth out blame, Let hym geue eare, for I wyll tell The waye how to performe the same.	Let those who would have all things well give ear to me.	4
Fyrste walke in thy vocation, And do not seke thy lotte to change ; For through wycked ambition, Many mens fortune hath ben strayinge.	Walk in your vocation, and don't try to change your lot.	8
THE BEGGARS LESSON.		
I f God haue layede hys hande on the, And made the lowe in al mens syght, Content thiselfe <i>with</i> that degre, And se thou walke therin upryght.	If you are a beggar, be content.	12
If thou, I saye, be very pore, And lacke thine health or any limme, No doubt God hath inough in store For the, if thou wylt truste in hym.		16
If thou wylt truste in hym, I saye, And continue in patience, No doubt he wyll fede the alwaye By his mercifull providence.	<i>Esai. [xvii.]</i> Trust in God, and He will feed you,	20
Call thou on hym, and he wyll moue The hertes of them that dwel the by, To geue the such thynges for hys loue As serue for thy necessitie.	and give you what you need : <i>Dan. xi[v.]</i> as He did Daniel in the lions' den,	24
When Daniell was in the denne Of Lions, haueynge nought to eate, Abacucke was sent to him then, With a pot of potage and meate.		28

	And when Elias fled away	
[iii. <i>Reg.</i>]	From Ahab and quene Iesabel,	
.17.	The rauens fed him by the way,	
and Elijah when	As the story of Kinges doeth tal.	32
rauens fed him.	And as King Dauid doth record,	
	The rauens byrdes left in the nest,	
[<i>Psal.</i>] .147.	Are, when they cry, fed of the Lord,	
	Though they know not to make request.	36
	Trust thou therfore in God aboue,	
[<i>Psal.</i>] .82.	And cal on him with confidence,	
He will move	And doubtles he will mens hertes moue	
men to be	To fede the of beneuolence.	40
beneuolent.	But if at any tyme thou lacke	
[<i>Luk</i>] .xiii.	Thynges nedeful, yet do not despayre,	
[<i>Psal.</i>] .lxxiii.	As thoughe the Lorde did the forsake,	
If you are in	Or ded to the displeasure beare.	44
want, do not	But in such case, cal to thy mynd	
despair.	What plenty God hath to the sent,	
	And thou shalt wel perceiue & find	
[<i>Job</i>] .xiii	That thou hast many thynges mispent.	48
You will find you	Then thincke Gods iustyce coule not leaue	
have wasted	The unplaged, for that thou hast	
many things,	Mispente the gyftes thou didst receyue	
	To lyue vpon, and not to wast.	52
[<i>Se</i>] <i>pt. xi</i>	Then must thou nedes giue God glorie	
	For his vpryght and iust iudgement,	
[<i>Luk</i>] <i>he .xv.</i>	And be most earnestly sory,	
for which you	For that thou hast his giftes mispent.	56
must be sorry.	But if thou finde thy conscience cleare,	
	As few men can I am righte sure,	
	Then let Iobs trouble be thi chere,	
<i>Luk</i> [<i>xvi.</i>]	That thou mayst pacientlie endure.	60
<i>Mat</i> [<i>iv.</i>]	Yea though <i>thou</i> shouldest perishe for fode,	
<i>Psal</i> [<i>cxvi.</i>]	Yet beare thou thy crosse patientlie ;	
Though you	For the ende shal turne the to good,	
perish, bear it	Though thou lye in the stretes & die.	64
patiently.		

Pore Lazarus died at the gate
Of the ryche man (as Luke doth tell);
But afterwarde in rest he sate,
When the riche glutton was in hel.

Luk. [xvi.]
Remember
Lazarus and the
rich glutton,
68

Stay thou thi selfe therefore vpon
These examples comfortable,
And doubtles thy vocation
Thou shalt not thinke miserable.

Mat. [xvi.]
and take comfort
from them.
72

Neither shalt thou grudge, or repyne,
That thy pouertie is so greate;
But shalt thy selfe euer encline
To Goddes wyl, who doth the viset.

You must not
grudge or repine,
76

Thou shalt not grudge when *thou* shalte craue
Of anie man his charitie,
Though at his hand *thou* canst nought haue,
But shalt praie for him herteli,

80 but pray even
for those who
refuse to give you
when you ask.
i. Joh. [iii.]

That, if he haue this worldes riches,
And yet hath not Godly pitie,
The spirite of God will him possesse,
And teache him to know his duetie.¹

84 *Mat. x [xviii.]*
Luke [iii.]
Rom. [ii.]
Actu. i [v.]

Thus doing, thou dost walke upright
In thy calling, thou maiest be sure,
And art more precious in Goddes syght
Then men that be ryche paste measure.

88

Thus leaue I the in thi callinge,
Exhorting the ther in to stande;
And doutles at thy last endyng
Thou shalt be crowned at Gods han[de]

Remain in
your calling,
ii. Tim. [iii.]
and at last you
will be rewarded.
92 [*Sap. i. iii.*]

¶ The Seruauntes Lesson.

Brother, come hither unto m[e]
And learne some parte of di[s]cipline;
For I am sent to enstruct th[e,]
And teach the some godlie doctryne.

I am sent to
instruct you,
servants, and
give you godly
doctrines.
96

¹ Orig. ouetie.

- I am sent to cal the, I say,
 Backe from thy stout & stubborne mynd :
 Take hede therefore, and beare away
 Such lessons as thou shalt here find. 100
- [*Lk.* *xi.*
 Your calling is to
 work and obey.] Fyrst, consider that thy calling
 Is to do seruice, and obey
 All thy maisters lawful biddynge ;
 Bearyng that he shal on the laye. 104
- If your master is
 cruel, pray to the
 Lord,
 If he be cruel unto the,
 And ouercharge the with labour,
 Cal to the Lord, and thou shalt be
 Shortly out of his cruel power. 108
- [*Exod.* *i.*
 and remember
 the Israelites in
 Egypt,
 whom God heard.] Remember thou Iacobe kynred,
 That in Egypt were sore oppreste ;
 But when they were most harde bested,
 The Lorde brought them to quiete reste. 112
- They could not cry so sone, but he
 Had heard and graunted their requeste :
 And right so wil he do by thee,
 And se al thi great wronges redreste. 116
- [*Mt.* *xv.*
 He will deliver
 you out of
 bondage,
 and make your
 seruants obey
 you.] He wyl, I say, deliuer the
 Out of bondage and seruitude,
 And bringe to passe that thou shalt be
 Maister of a great multitude. 120
- And bicause thou didest walke vp right,
 Shewyng thy selfe obedyent,
 Thy seruauntes shall haue styl in sighte
 The feare of God omnipotent. 124
- And like seruice as thou hast done,
 Thou shalt haue done to the againe :
 For sence the world was first begonne,
 Neuer true seruaunt lost his payne. 128
- [*Mat.* *xi.*
 and, *xi.*
 Jacob served 14
 years, and
 Gen. *xviii.*
 became rich,
 became rich,
 became rich,]
 Iacob serued full fourtene yere,
 And dealt truly with his maister,
 As in the Bible doth appeare,
 And was exceedinge rich after. 132

Fourtene yere he serued Laban,
 Who was made riche be hys labour ;
 But afterward, Iacob began
 To growe to much greater honour.

136 and increased in
 honour.
 Laban was never
 so mighty as
 Jacob.

Laban was neuer of such might
 As Iacob was within short space :
 For his true seruice, in Gods sight,
 Had purchest him favour and grace.

140

Thus seest thou how God doth regard
 The good seruice of seruauntes true,
 And how he doth in them rewarde
 The seruice that is but their due.

144

It forceth not what maner man
 Thy maister is, so that thou be
 In thy seruice a Christian,
 Doyng as Christ commaundeth the.

i Petr. [ii.]
 It does not
 matter what your
 master is.

148

But if thy maister be wicked,
 And would haue the do wickedlie,
 Then se that thy fayth be pitched
 On thy Lord God most constantly.

If he wishes you
 to do wrong, you
 must have faith,

152

Call to thy mynde good Daniel,
 Who serued his prince faythfully,
 Notwythstandyng he was cruel,
 And eke his Lorde Gods enemy.

and call to mind
 Daniel's conduct.

156

Serue him trulye, I say, for why
 God hath bade that thou shouldest do so ;
 But do thou nothinge wickedly,
 Neyther for wel nor yet for wo.

160

Se thou serue him as faythfully
 As he were thy Lord and thy God ;
 Not wyth eye-seruice fainedly,
 Neyther for the feare of the rodde ;

Serve your
 master faithfully,
 as if he were
 your God,

164 [Eph]es .vi.

But for the conscience thou dost beare
 To thy Lorde Gods commaundemente ;
 That is, for loue, and not for feare
 Of any worldly punyshmente.

[Col]oss .iii.
 but only for love,
 not fear.

168

	Do thus, and then thou shalte be sure Thy Lord wil euer prospere the ; And at his good wil and pleasure, Thou shalt not mysse to be made fre.	172
If you are sturdy you will be punished,	But if thou wilt be styl sturdy, And do thy seruice wyth grudgyng ; The Lord shall plage the worthely, With manifulde kindes of scourginge.	176
and put to drudgery,	Thou shalt be put to drudgery Many a daye, maugrea thyne head ; And be kepte stil in slauery	
and kept in slavery.	Al thy life dayes, til thou be deade.	180
If you run away, you will be caught, or get a worse master.	And if thou chaunce to renne awaye, Either thou shalt be brought agayne, Or else, when thou doest chaunce to staye, A worse master shal the retayne.	184
	Once thou shalt be certeine of this, That, if thou refuse thy callyng, Of misery thou shalt not mysse, Though thou escape sodaine fallynge.	188
If you refuse your calling, you are sure to come to a bad end.	Yea though thou do prosper a whyle, And seme to haue fortune thi frende, Yet thou dost but thy selfe begyle, For miserye shal be thine ende.	192
As you have done, so shall men do to you.	For as thou didest thy maister serue, So shall al thy seruauntes serue the ; And as thou didest his goodes preserue, So shall thy goodes preserued be.	196
Besides, God punishes the disobedient,	And beside thys, Gods wrath is bent Toward the for disobedience ; Wherfore, onles thou do repent, He wyl adde thereto vehemence.	200
and He will punish you wondrously.	He wyl plage the here wonderously, And at the end cast the in paine, Wher thou shalt lye eternallye, And wysh to be a slaue agayne. ¹	204

¹ Orig. rgayne.

Repent therefore, I the advise, And seke thine owne saluation ; And then thou must in any wise Walke stil in thy vocation.	208	
Do thy seruice dilygently, ¹ And shew no disobedience ; Be thou not stoute, but stil apply And do all thynges with reuerence.	212	Repent, and do your duty reverently.
Refuse nothing that must be done, But do it wyth al redines ; And when thou hast it once begon, Then set asyde all slouthfulnes.	216	Refuse nothing that must be done :
Be true, trusty, and tryfle not ; Be gentle and obedient ; And blessing shal lyght on thy lot, For doying Gods commaundement.	220	be true, trusty, and don't trifle.
To make an ende : haue stil in minde Thyne estate and condition, And let thyne herte be styll enclynde To walke in thy vocation.	224	Remember your condition, and keep in it.

The Yeomans Lesson.

T hou that arte borne <i>the</i> ground to tyll, Or for to laboure wyth thyne hande, If thou wilt do nought <i>that</i> is yil, Desyre not idle for to stande.	228	You that are a tiller of the ground, must not remain idle,
But se thou do plowe, plant, and sow, And do thy nedeful busines, As one that doth his duty knowe, And wyll not the Lords wyll transgresse.	232	you must plow, plant, and sow.
For what doste thou, if thou desyr To be a lord or gentleman, Other then heape on the Gods ire And shewe thy se[l]fe no Christian ?	236	If you desire to be a gentleman, you will gain God's anger.

¹ Orig. dilygently.

- [J]ohn .x. For Christes shepe do hear hys voyce,
 [E]xodi .xxx. Whych biddith the worke busily
 Sixe days, and in the seuenth reioyce,
 And geue somewhat to the nedy. 240
- Beware of the
 desire to be
 higher,
 It doth also byd the be ware
 Of the desyre to be alofte :
 For he that doth for honour care
 Falleth in Sathans snares ful oft. 244
- and keep within
 your degree.
 Haue minde, therefore, thyselfe to holde
 Within the bondes of thy degre,
 And then thou mayest euer be bold
 That God thy Lorde wyll prosper the. 248
- If you have
 plenty, don't be
 Psal. 62
 greedy,
 And though the Lord geue the plentye
 Of corne, cattell, and other thynges,
 Be thou neuer the more gredy,
 Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe. 252
- Prou. 24
 But thinke the Lorde doth these thynges sende
 To the, as to his stuard true,
 That wilt not his goodes wast & spende,
 But bestow them wher they be due. 256
- but give where
 there is need.
 And if wyth thy labour thou get
 Money much more then thou doste nede,
 Do not thy mynde on rayment set,
 Neither on deynty fode to fede. 260
- If you get rich,
 don't set your
 mind on clothes
 and dainty food,
 Set not (I say) thy minde on pride,
 Neither upon delicious fare,
 Neither forget at any tyde
 To geue the pore that thou mayest spare. 264
- but remember
 the poor, and be
 contented.
 But when thou hast sufficient
 Of fode and honest apparrayle,
 Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente,
 As wyth the wage of thy trauayle. 268
- s. Tim. v[i.]
 The reste (if ought remayne vnspent
 Upon thyne owne necessity)
 Bestowe as he that hath it sent,
 Hath in hys word commaunded the. 272
- If you have
 anything left,
 give it as God
 commande you.

- And yf thou fynd not written there
That *thou* mast heape thy chest wyth golde,
To bye greate liuelode for thyne hyere,
Howe darest thou then be so bold 276
Howe darest thou be bolde, I say,
To heape up so much goulde in store,
Out of the due that thou shouldest paye
To them that be pore, sicke, and sore ? 280
Wo be to them, sayth Esaie,
That heape together house and lande ;
As men that woulde neuer fynde stay,
Tyll all the earth were in theyr hande. 284
What, wil ye dwel alone (sayeth he)
Upon the earth that is so wyde ?
Wyll you leaue no parte therof free
From your unsatiable pryde ? 288
Ye nede not to be so gredy,
For the Lorde doth you playnly tell,
That greate houses shall stand empty,
And no man lefte therin to dwell. 292
And Moses sayth that *thou* shalt builde
Houses, and neuer dwell therin
Thyself, nor leaue them to thy chyld,
Nor any other of thy kynne. 296
And why ? bicause thou hast no mynd
To kepe the Lords commaundement,
But sekest ener for to fynde
Wayes to encrease thine yerely rent. 300
No maner threatnyng can the let
From purchasyng the deuill and all ;
It is all fysh that commeth to net,
To maintaine thy great pryde wyth all. 304
Well, turne agayne I the aduise,
And learne to walke in thyne estate,
And set Gods feare bfore thyne eies,
Lest, when thou wouldst, it be to late. 308

How dare you
hoard up riches !

Esaie .v.
Isaiah pronounces
a woe upon all
such.

Your greas
houses shall
stand empty.

[D]en
axvi[ti.]
You shall never
dwell in them,

because you have
no mind to keep
God's command-
ments.

All is fish that
comes to your
net—you would
buy the Devil.

- But repent, and walk in your vocation.
i. Cor. [vii.] And haue in thy mynde euer more,
Thys rule of thy profession,
Whych is in dede Gods holy lore,
To walke in thy vocation. 312
- If you should not prosper, still thank God.
But if the Lorde do the not blesse
In thy labours wyth greate plenty,
Yet thanke thou hym neuer the lesse ;
Thou hast more then thou arte worthy. 316
- If your rent is raised, pray for your landlord.
If thy landelorde do reise thy rent,
Se thou paye it wyth quietenes ;
And praye to God omnipotent,
To tak from hym his cruelnes. 320
- So shall you obtain a blessing.
So shall *thou* heape coles on his heade,
And purchase to thy selfe greate reste :
By the same man thou shalt be fedde
By whom thou wast bifore oppreste. 324
- For God, who ruleth ech mans herte,
Shal turne thy landlords hert, I saye,
And shall all his whole lyfe conuert,
So that he shall by thy greate staye. 328
- If he is not worthy to repent, God will destroy him,
Or else, if he be not worthy
To be called to repentaunce,
No doubt thy Lorde wyll hym distroy,
Or take from hym his heritaunce. 332
- and you will be set free.
Sure thou shalt be he wyll the set¹
Free from thy landlords tyranny ;
For he dyd neuer yet forget
Any that walked orderly. 336
- If you take the remedy into your own hand,
But if thou wylt neds take in hande
Thyne owne wrong for to remedy,
The Lord hym self wyll the wythstande,
And make thy lan[d]lord more gredy. 340
- it will be all the worse for you.
And wher before *thou* paidst great rent,
Thou shalt now lose thy house and all ;
Bicause thou couldest not be contente
With patience on him to cal. 344

¹ Orig. looks like see.

In like sort, if thy prince wil take More tribute then thou canst well spare, See thou paye it him for Goddes sake, Whose officers al princes are.	Pay all your, taxes, <i>Mat .xii.</i>	348
For in his nede both thou and thine Are his to maintaine his estate ; It is not for the to define What great charges thy king is at.	and remember it isn't for you to say what the king shall spend.	352
Yea, though thou se evidently That he wasteth much more then nede, Yet pay thy duty willyngly, And doubtles God shal be thy mede.	Even if you see his waste, it is your duty to pay.	356
Now touching thy religion : If thy prince do commaunde the ought, Against Goddes Euangelion, Then praye for him styl in thy thought.	If the king commands you to act contrary to the gospel,	360
Pray for him styl, I say, that he May haue Godly vnderstanding To teach Gods word to such as be Committed to his gouerning.	you must still pray for him,	364
And se thou do not him dispysse, But aunswere him wyth reuerence ; And though <i>thou</i> mightest, yet in no wyse Do thou forget obedience.	and answer him with reuerence.	368
¶ Take not his swerde out of his hande, But lay thy necke downe under it, Yea, thoughe <i>thou</i> mightest his force withstand ; For so to do for the is fit.	<i>a. .xiiii.</i> You must not take the sword into your own hand.	372
Thy maister Christ hath taught <i>the</i> wel When he would no resistance make : Neither agaynst the powers rebell, When men were sent him for to take.	<i>Math 26.</i>	376
Yet if the Lord haue geuen to the Such knowledge, that thou art certaine Of thy fayth, knowyng it to be Of the truth, do therin remaine.	If you are certain of your faith, remain in it.	380

- Math .x.* For though man may thy body kyl,
Yet oughtest thou not him to feare ;
For he can do thy soule none yll :
Wherfore be bold, do not dispaire. 384
- Be bold to
confess Christ—
He can save you
from all ill,
Be bold, I say, Christ to confesse
Wythout feare of this worldly paine ;
For when thou shalt be in distresse,
Christ shal acknowledge the agayne. 388
- Luks .xvii.*
and will
acknowledge you,
if you conquer.
Christ shal acknowledge the, I say,
If thou conquire by sufferyng ;
And do thy selfe hereupon stay,
That thou must walcke in thy callynge. 392
- But if you lift
your hand
Ma. xvi.
against the king,
But if thou do lyfte up thy sword
Agaynst thy kynge and soueraine,
Then art thou iudged by Gods word
As worthi therwith to be slayne. 396
- or repine against
him,
Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine
Against thy kynge in any wise,
Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien
That he were wicked past al sise. 400
- Pro .viii.*
remember he is
appointed by
God, and,
For it is God that appointeth
Kinges and rulers ouer the route :
And with his power he anointeth
Them for to be obeyede, no doubt. 404
- if he is evil, to
punish your sins.
If they be euil, then thinke thy sinne
Deseruith that plage at Gods hande ;
And se thou do forthwyth bigynne
Thyne owne wickednes to wythstande. 408
- Korah and
Dathan rebelled,
Corah and Dathan dyd rebell,
And thought *that* thei them selues culd poynt
A better prieste in Israell
Then Aaron, whom God dyd annoynte. 412
- and were
destroyed.
But what came of their phantasie ?
Was not destruction theyr ende ?
God dyd distroye them sodenly,
Bicause thei woulde his workes emende. 416

Let this example suffice the, To kepe the in obedience To such as God shal set to be Ouer the in preheminance.	420	Let their fate keep you in obedience,
If thou do thus, thou shalt be sure That God thy Lord wyll euer se That, though thy rulars be not pure, Yet they shall euer defende the.	424	and then your rulers will defend you. If you rebel, as you did lately, yor will be destroyed.
Contrariwise, if thou rebell, Be sure the Lorde wyll the distroye ; Which thyng hath ben declared wel Wythin this realme very lately.	428	
For notwithstanding <i>that</i> oure kyng, And eke oure rulers euerychone, Be mercifull in theyr doynge, Yet haue the rebelles cause to mone.	432	
And why ? bicause no rebelles shall Escape Gods hand vnpunished ; For God hym selfe doth princis call Hys Christes and hys annoynted.	436	Princes are God's anoynted,
Whoso therefore doth them resiste, The [s]ame resisteth God certayne ; For God hym selfe doeth them assiste Agaynst them ouer whom they raygne.	440	and those who resist them resist Him <i>Rom xi</i> [ii.]
If thou therefore fynde the greeued Wyth men set in Autoritie, Seke thou not to be auenged, But let God take vengeaunce for the.	444	
Let me take vengeance, saith the Lord, And I wyll quyte them all theyr hyre : Do thus, and scripture doth recorde That thou shalt haue all thy desyre.	448	to whom vengeance <i>Eccle.</i> [xii.] belongs.
Thou shalt haue thy desyre, I saye, Upon the wicked maiestrate, If thou wylt kepe thy selfe alway Wythin the boundes of thine estate.	452	<i>Rom. x</i> [ii.] Keep yourself within bounds, and you will have your desire of wicked magis- trates.

You'll go to hell
if you will
change.

Thus leaue I the, wyth threatenynge
To the thy soules damnation,
If thou, mislykynge thy callynge,
Wylt nedes change thy vocation.

456

The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson.

Listen, Sir John,
and I will say
something to
you.

Thou that art lewde wythoute learnynge,
Whom comunly men cal syr Iohn,
Geue eare, for I wyll saye somethynge
Concernynge thy vocation.

460

You are ignorant,
and without good
qualities.

Thou art a man voide of knowledge,
And eke of all good qualities,
Only mete for to dych and hedge,
Or else to plant and graffe mens trees.

464

You are not an
offerer of
sacrifice,

Thou art not, as thou woldst be calde,
An offerer of sacrifice ;
For though thy crowne were iiii tymes bald,
Yet canst thou not so bler our eies.

468

for none can offer
for sin,
[H]obru .x.

For it is plaine in holy wryte,
That none can offer sacrifices
For sinne, either in flesh or sprite,
Though he be boeth learned and wyse ;

472

since Christ was
offered for all,
[H]obru. iix

For Christe was once offered for all,
To satisfie for all our synne,
And hath made fre that erste were thral,
The faythful flocke of Iacobs kynne.

476

[R]om .vi.
and He can no
more be slain.

To offer sacrifice therfor,
Thou arte not called, I tell the playne ;
For Christe lieueth for euermore,
And can no more for vs be slayn.

480

[Th]one. .iii.
[Pr]ov .v.

Thy state therfore, and thy callynge,
Is none other than for to wyrcke,
And not to liue by forestallyng,
And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke.

484

<p>If thou therefore wylt lyue for aye, And reigne with Christe for euermore, Desyre no mo masses to saye, But get thy fode wyth laboure sore.</p>	<p>If you desire to live for ever, don't seek masses. [E]phes .iiii. 488</p>
<p>Geue over all thy tippillyng, Thy tauerne gate, and table playe, Thy cardes, thy dyce, and wyne bibyng, And learne to walke a sobre waye.</p>	<p>Give over tipping and gambling, [E]phes .v. 492</p>
<p>And if thou haue any lyueyng, So that thou nede not to laboure ; Se thou apply the to learnynge Wyth all thy busy endeuoure.</p>	<p>i Tim. i[r.] and apply yourself to learning, 496</p>
<p>But to thys ende se thou study, That, when thou hast the truth learned, Thou maist profite other thereby, Whom in tyme paste thou hast harmed.</p>	<p>that you may profit others. 500</p>
<p>And se thou go not idelly From house to house, to seke a place To saye men a masse secr[e]tly, Theyr faouere thereby to purc[h]ase.</p>	<p>Do not say masses in secret, leading men to think popish customs will be restored. 504</p>
<p>Put not the ignorant in hope That they shall se all vp againe, That hath ben broughte in by the Pope, And all the preachars put to payne.</p>	<p>508</p>
<p>But if thou canste do any good In teachyng of an A B C, A primar, or else Robynhode, Let that be good pastyme for the.</p>	<p>If you can do good by teaching A B C, do so. 512</p>
<p>Be euer doyng what thou can, Teachyng or learnyng some good thyng ; And then, lyke a good Christian, Thou doste walke forth in thy callynge.</p>	<p>Always do as much good as you can. 516</p>
<p>But if thou wylt knowledge reiect, And all honeste laboures refuse, Then arte thou none of Gods elect, But art wo[r]sse then the cursed Iewes.</p>	<p>If you reject labour and knowledge, you are worse than a Jew. 520 Rom. x.</p>

¶ Repent therefore, I the aduise,
 And take wholsome counsell bityme ;
 And take good hede in any wise,
 That knowledge double not thy crime. 524

I will pray that
 you may leave
 your popishness. Thus leaue I the, makynge promes
 To make for the petition,
 That thou mayst leue thy popyshnes,
 And walke in thy vocacion. 528

The Scholars Lesson.

Come hither, young man, vnto me ;
 Thou that arte brought up in learnynge,
 Geue eare awhile ; I wil teach the
 How thou shalt walke in thy callinge. 532

Give ear, young
 man, First mark wherfore scholes were erecte,
 And what *the* founders did intende ;
 And then do thy study directe,
 For to attaine vnto that ende. 536

and observe that
 schools were
 founded Doubtles this was al their meaning,
 To haue their countrei furnyshed
 Wyth all poyntes of honest learnynge,
 Whereof the publyke weale had nede. 540

for such learning
 as the country
 had need of. Call thou therefore to memorie
 What knowledg thy countrei doth lacke,
 And apply the same earnestly,
 By all the meanes that thou canste make. 544

When you have
 decided what
 knowledge to get,
 get it at once, And when thou art determined
 What knowledg thou wilt most apply,
 Then let it not be loytered,
 But seke to get it spedily. 548

and do not idle. Spende not thy tyme in idlenes,
 Nor in vayne occupation ;
 But do thy selfe wholly addres
 To walke in thy vocation. 552

Se thou do not thy mynde so set On any kynde of exercise, That it be either stay or let To thy studye in ani wise :	556	
To fyshe, to foule, to hunt, to haulke, Or on an instrument to play ; And some whyles to commune and talke, No man is able to gayne saye.	560	For field sports and music no man can blame you.
To shote, to bowle, or caste the barre, To play tenise, or tosse the ball, Or to rene base, like men of war, Shal hurt thy study nought at al.	564	Archery, casting the bar, tennis, and such games,
For all these thinges do recreate The minde, if thou canst holde <i>the</i> mean ; But if thou be affectionate, Then dost thou lose thy studye cleane.	568	serve for recreation, if used moderately.
And at the last thou shalt be founde To occupye a place only As do in Agime ziphres rounde, And to hynder learnyng greatlye.	572	
For if thou hadst not the lyueing, Another shoulde, that wold apply Him selfe to some kynde of learnynge, To profyte his contrey therby.	576	If you did not occupy your living another wold, who might do better.
If thou therefore wilte not be founde Worthy Goddes indignacion, Make thy studye perfecte and sounde, And walke in thy vocacion.	580	Make your study perfect.
Let not tyme passe the idelly, Lose not the fruite of any houre ; Or else suffer hym to supply Thy place, that wyl hym endeouere.	584	Do not be idle ;
Thou doest but rob <i>the</i> commone wealth Of one that would be a treasur ; Better thou ware to lyue by stelth, Then for to worke such displeasure.	588	if you are, you only rob the commonwealth.

There is no need for you to resign your living.	¶ But haply thou wylt say agayne, Shall I surrender my lyuyng ? Shall I not therupon remayne, After I haue gotten learnyng ?	592
but you must keep yourself [L]ike .xix. exercised,	¶ Yesse thou maiste kepe thy lyuyng still, Tyll thou be called other wise ; But if thou wylt regarde Gods wyll, Thou must thyself styll exercise.	596
and must teach others, [L]ike .xix.	When thou art thorowely learned, Then se thou teach other thy skyll, If thou wylt not be reconed For a seruant wycked and ill.	600
and let your life be as a booke before them.	¶ Teach them, I saye, that thou dost se Wyllynge to learne thy discipline, And vnto them se thy lyfe be A boke to laye before theyre eine.	604
Rom. 14.	Let them neuer se the idle, Nor heare the talke vndiscretely ; And by all the meanes possible, Let all thy doynge edifie.	608
	Thus leaue I the, wyshynge that thou Maiste, by thys admonition, Henseforth desyre, as I do nowe, To walke in thy vocation.	612

The Learned Mans Lesson.

Don't you learned men disdain to learn of me.	<p style="font-size: 1.2em; margin: 0;">T</p> hou learned man, do not disdayne, To learne at me, a symple wyght, Thy greate abuses to refrayne, And in thy calling to go ryght.	616
If you live dissolutely, you are an offence to the simple.	Thou arte a man that sittest hye In the simple mans conscience ; To lyue therefore dissolutly, Thou shouldste be vnto them offence.	620

- ¶ Offence, I say, for thou shouldest think
 All that thou doste to be godly ;
 Wherefore do not at this thyng wynde,
 But do emende it spedily.
- 624 *Math [xviii.]*
 Amend your life
 and serve as a
 light to others.
- Emende thy wycked lyfe, I say,
 And be (in dede) a perfecte lyght,
 As Christe our Savioure dothe say,
 And let thy workes shine in mans syght,
- 628
- For it is thy vocation
 To leade other the redy waye ;
 Howe greate abomination,
 Arte thou then if thou go astraye ?
- 632 *i. Corh [ix.]*
 If you lead men
 astray, you are
 an abomination.
- But herein lyeth the whole matter,—
 To know which waye thou shouldest then lead :
 Wherefore I wil not the flatter,
 But tell the truth wythouten drede.
- 636
- Thou must thy selfe humiliate,
 And acknowledge thy wycked sinne,
 And stryue to enter the streyt gate,
 Where fewe men do fynde a waye in.
- 640 *Mat. [xii.]*
 You must humble
 yourself, and
 acknowledge
 your sin.
- ¶ This way thou canst not walke, so longe
 As thou wylt trauaile sea and lande,
 And frame all the wordes of thy tonge,
 To get promotion at mans hande.
- 644 *Mat. [xii.]*
 You cannot do
 this while you
 are seeking
 promotion from
 man.
- Thou must humble thy selfe I saye,
 And not aye seke to be alofte ;
 For he that walketh in rough waye,
 And loketh hie, stumpleth ful oft.
- 648
- Thou must acknowledge that thou arte,
 Through synne, vnworthy thyne estate,
 And that thy discipline and arte
 Can not brynge the in at that gate.
- 652 *John. x*
- Thou must, I saye, stryue to enter,
 And not to get promocion ;
 Thy lyfe thou must put in venture
 For Christes congregacion.
- 656 *Mat.*
 You must
 venture your life
 for Christ.

- How dost thou walke in thys calling,
 When thy mynde is earnestly bent
 To gather up eche mans falling,
 By al the wayes thou canst inuent ? 660
- Mat . vii .*
 Give ear, you fool,
 and learn your
 first lesson again,
- Gene eare, I saye, therefore thou fole,
 And learne thy fyrst lesson agayne :
 Enter into Gods holi schole,
 And do not hys doctryne dysdayne. 664
- He wylleth the fyrst to apply
 Thy mynde to knowledge, and to take
 The great beame out of thyne own eye,
 And thine abuses to forsake. 668
- [L]uke . vi .*
 and take the
 beam out of your
 own eye,
- And then he wolde, that in no wyse
 Thou shouldest be slacke or negligente
 To pycke the motes out of mens eyes,
 Teaching them how they should repent. 672
- [T]i'mo . ii .*
- If thou wylt that thei do repente,
 Repent thou fyrst, that they maye see
 That the whole some of thyne intents
 Is to make them like vnto the. 676
- If you wish
 others to repent
 and forsake their
 sins,*
- For, if thou wylt them to refraine
 Mur[t]her, theft, whoredome, & incest,
 If they se these thynges in the raigne,
 They wyl al thy doctryne deteste. 680
- If thou forbid them gluttononye,
 And wil them the flesh for to tame,
 They wil defie the vtterly,
 If they se the not do the same. 684
- you must set
 them an example.*
- If thou tel them of apparayle.
 Or of ought wherin is excesse,
 Then wil they say, thou doest but rayle,
 Unlesse thou be therin faultles. 688
- If you speak of
 their apparel,
 you must be
 faultless yourself.*
- What shouldest thou speake of vsurie,
 When thou dost take vnlawfull gayne ?
 Or rebuke men for Simonie,
 When nothyng else doeth in the rayne ? 692

Maye not the lay man sauily saye,
I learned of the to by and sel
Benefices? whych, to thys daye,
Thou canst put in practise ful well.

696

Why should not a
layman have two
or three benefices
as well as you?

Why should not I, as well as thou,
Haue benefices two or thre?
Sens thou hast taught me the wei how
I may kepe them and blamelesse be.

700

He can set others
to serue the cure
as learned as you
are;

I can set one to serue the cure,
That shall excel the in learninge,
More then thou dost me, I am sure;
And also in godly lyueynge.

704

he can give as
much to the poor
as you give.

I can kepe hospitalitey,
And geue as much vnto the pore
In one yere, as thou dost in thre,
And wyl performe it wyth the more.

708

Alas! that
Christ's flock
should be so
bought and sold.

Alas! that euer we should se
The flocke of Christ thus bought & sold,
Of them that shoulde the shepherdes be,
To leade them saify to the folde.

712

¶ Repent this thyng, I the aduise,
And take the to one cure alone;
And se that in most faythfull wise,
Thou walk in thy vocation.

Take to one cure
and be faithful,

716

Then shall no lay man saye, by right,
That he learned his misse of the;
For it is playne, in ech mans syght,
That thou dost walke in thy degree.

then none can
blame you.

720

Morouer, if thou chance to be
Made a prelate of hygh estate,
To thyne office loke that thou se,
And leaue not thy flocke desolate.

If you are a
prelate, look to
your office;

724

And fyrste, before all other thynges,
Seke thou to fynde good ministers,
And appoynt them honest lyuynges,
To be the peoples instructors.

seek for good
ministers;

728 [i] *Tim .v.*

have none in whom is any vice.	Let none haue cure wythin thy see, In whome any greate vice doth reigne ; For where mislyuyng curates be,	
[<i>Ex</i>] <i>ech</i> .33. If any perish through you, you will have to answer for them. [<i>i</i>] <i>Tim. v.</i>	The people are not good certayne. And for them all that do perishe Through thy defalte, thou shalt answer ; Wherefore, I do the admonishe To loke earnestly to thys geare.	732 736
Do not trust to any trifer,	Loke vnto it thy selfe, I saye, And truste not to a tryfelar, That wyll allowe all that wyl paye Somewhat vnto the register.	 740
and see that the young are instructed.	Se that they do instruct the youthe Of eche paryshe diligently, And trayne them vp in the Lords truth, So much as in theyr powre shall ly.	 744
If you are called to be the prince's counsellor,	Now if so be thou be called, To be thy Princes counselloure, Beware thou be not corrupted By the vayne desyre of honoure.	 748
be bold to speake the truth,	Be not carful how for to holde Thy selfe styll in autoritie ; But to speake truth be euer bolde, Accordyng to Goods veritie.	 752
and exhort him to leave his sins,	¶ Winke not at faltes that thou shalt se, Though it be in thy Souerayne ; But do as it becometh the : Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.	 756
and tell him his faults with all submission.	If thou perceyue him ignoraunt In any parte of hys dutie, Se thou do hym not checke or taunte, But tell hym wyth sobrietie.	 760
	Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly, And yet wyth all submission ; Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly, Forgettyng thy vocation.	 764

Thus haue I tolde the, as I woulde
 Be tolde, if I were in thy place ;
 To the intent that no man shoulde
 Haue cause to tel the to thy face.

768

Thus I have told
 you your duty.

Thus do I leaue the wyth wyshyng
 To the a wyll for to aduaunce
 Gods glorie by godly learnyng,
 And not thy lyuyng to enhaunce.

772

The Phisicians Lesson.

Gue eare, maister Phisicion,
 And set asyde thyne vrinall,
 And that wyth expedition,
 For I the laste trumpet do call.

Attend, Master
 Physician, and
 mark my words
 well.

776

Gene eare, I say, and mark me well ;
 And printe all my wordes in thy mynde,
 For ech thyng that I shall the tell
 Thou shalt boeth true and certen fynde.

780

God made the to succour mans nede,
 As Iesus Sirach wryteth playne,
 But by due proufe we know in dede
 That many thousandes thou hast slaine.

God made you to
 succour man.
 [*Eccles.* 38

784 but you kill him.

But now am I sent from the kynge
 Of powre and domination,
 To call the from thy murtherynge,
 To walke in thy vocation.

788

First, wher thou didest heretofore vse
 To haue respect to the ryche man,
 I woulde not now thou shouldest refuse
 To helpe the pore man if thou can.

You have paid
 respect to the
 rich; now help
 the poor,

792

Helpe hym, I saye, though he be pore,
 And haue nothyng wherwith to paye,
 For hys maister hath yet in store
 A crowne for him at the laste daye.

even when he has
 nothing with
 which to pay.

796 [*T]ob .ii.*

- Cure him for
God's sake, and
He will reward
you.
- And if thou do on him thy cure,
For hys sake *that* geue herbes their strength,
Thou shalt vndoubtedly be sure
He wyll rewarde the at the length. 800
- [*Ma*]tā. ix.
He rewardes those
who give a cup
of water.
- Mercie so much, that he hath tolde
All hys that they shal haue rewarde
For geuyng water thyne and colde. 804
- And thinkest thou that he wyll not
Rewarde them that geue medicine i
Thou hast no such mistruste, I wot,
In hys promise that is diuine. 808
- If you can cure
the poor, you
may be sure of
your reward.
- I saye therfore, if thou canst cure
The pore mans sore or maladi,
Of thy rewarde thou shalt be sure,
If thou wylt shewe on hym mercie. 812
- If you neglect
him because he
has no gold, your
trust shall fail.
- But if thou suffer hym to lacke
Thyne helpe, bicause he lacketh goulde,
No doubt when thou shalt acompt make
Thy confidence shall be full colde. 816
- What authority
have you for
neglecting the
poor ?
- Then shew thy writyng if thou can,
Wheron thou bearest the so bolde,
That thou wylt viset no sicke man
That cannot lyne thy purse with golde. 820
- Brynge forth thy writyng then, I say,
If thou haue any such in store,
Wherby thou maiste require eche daye
A noble of golde or else more. 824
- What right have
you to charge for
looking at water,
- And shewe by what right thou maist take
Two pence for the sight of water,
When thou knowest not therbi to make
The sicke man one farthinge better. 828
- Yea, if a man should try the wel,
To proue what thy counnyng can do,
He should fynde that thou canst not tell
Whether the man be sycke or no. 832
- when you cannot
tell whether a
man is ill or not ?

<p>¶ I graunt the water sheweth somthyng, But not so much as thou dost crake ; Neither is thy labour condynge That thou shouldest money for it take.</p>	<p>Water may show something, but not much.</p>	<p>836</p>
<p> But if so be thou canste espy By the water what is amisse, Teach hym how to seke remedy, And worthy some rewarde that is.</p>	<p>If you only guess, but chance to hit the truth, your labour is not worth much.</p>	<p>840</p>
<p> But if thou do but gesse, as doeth The blyndeman that doth cast hys staff ; Though thou by chaunce hit on the soth, Thy labour is scase worthy chaffe.</p>	<p>You only guess to win money.</p>	<p>844</p>
<p> Thou dost but gesse money to wyn, And wyth strang words make men agast ; And yet thou thinckeste it no synne To cause pore men theyr goods to wast.</p>	<p>Repent, and apply yourself to profit your country.</p>	<p>848</p>
<p> But now, I saye to the, repent, And do thy selfe henseforth applye To vse the gifte God hath the sent, To the profite of thy contrey.</p>	<p>Let not lucre make the professe Before thy knowleege be perfect ; For he that ministreth by gesse, Shall not so sone heale as infect.</p>	<p>852</p>
<p> Let not lucre make the professe Before thy knowleege be perfect ; For he that ministreth by gesse, Shall not so sone heale as infect.</p>	<p>Apply the earnestli therefore To get phisikes perfection ; That thou maiste ease the sike and sore, And remedy infection.</p>	<p>856</p>
<p> Apply the earnestli therefore To get phisikes perfection ; That thou maiste ease the sike and sore, And remedy infection.</p>	<p>Strive to ease the sick and remedy infection.</p>	<p>860</p>
<p> And shut not vp thine helpe from suche As stande in moste nede of the same, And certes thou shalt gaine as much By them, as by men of greate fame :</p>	<p>Help the poor and needy, and</p>	<p>864</p>
<p> For God hymselfe hath promised To make for them a recompence Wherefore doubt not to be paid, Both for thy labour and expence.</p>	<p>[M]ath .16. [L]uk .10. God will recompense you.</p>	<p>868</p>

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If you will not listen,	But if thou wylt not take my rede, But folowe after lucre styll, I wyll put the out of all dreade Thy last rewarde shall be full ill.	872
when you die	For when cruel death shall the styng, And thy lyfe from the separate, Then shalt thou se thou hast nothyng, Thy silly soule to recreate.	876
you will despair of God's mercy.	Wherefore I must nedes greatly feare That in that extreme agonie, Thou wylt of Gods mercie dispare, And so perishe eternally.	880
Take heed while you have time.	Take hede therfor, take hede by time, Let not slyppe this occasion ; But spedily repent thy cryme, And walke in thy vocation.	884

The Lawiars Lesson.

Your calling, the Law, is good if you walk aright, but you are so greedy,	N owe come hither thou manne of lawe, And marcke what I shall to the saye, For I intende the for to drawe Out of thy moste vngodly waye.	888
there is no limit to your desires.	Thy calling is good and godly, If thou wouldste walke therin aright ; But thou art so passing greedy, That Gods feare is out of thy syght.	892
God's wrath is bent against you.	Thou climist so to be alofte, That thy desyre can haue no staye ; Thou hast forgotten to go soft, Thou art so hasty on thy way.	896
	But now I call the to repent, And thy gredines to forsake, For Gods wrath is agaynst the bent, If thou wylt not my warnyng take.	900

Fyrst call vnto thy memorye For what cause the laws wer fyrst made ; And then apply the busily To the same ende to vse thy trade.	Remember why laws were first made. 904
The lawes were made, vndoubtedly That al suche men as are oppreste, Myght in the same fynde remedy, And leade their lyues in quiet reste.	They were made to relieve the oppressed. 908
Doest thou then walke in thy callyng, When, for to vexe the innocent, Thou wilt stand at a barre ballyng Wyth al the craft thou canst inuente ?	912
I saye ballyng, for better name To haue it can not be worthye ; When lyke a beast, withoute al shame, Thou wilt do wrong to get money.	Is it well for you to stand bawling like a beast to get money ? 916
Thyne excuses are knowne to well, Thou saist thou knowest not the matter, Wherfore thou sayst thou canst not tel At the firste whose cause is better.	You say you don't know whose matter is right ; 920
Thou knowest not at <i>the</i> first, I graunt, But whye wylt thou be retained Of playntyfe, or of defendaunt, Before thou hast their cause learned ?	but why are you retained before you learn the cause ? 924
For such a plea I blame the not, When neither parties right is knowne ; But when thou thy selfe dost well wot Thy client seketh not his owne,	I do not blame you for this plea, when neither party's right is known. 928
It were a godly way for the To knowe the ende ere thou began, But if that can bi no meanes be, To make shorte sute do what thou can.	932
If thou be a mans attorney, In any court where so it be, Let him not waite and spende money, If his dispatch do lie in the.	If you are attorney for any man, don't delay his case, 936

- Apply his matter earnestly,
And set him going home againe,
And take no more than thy dutie ;
For God shall recompence thi paine. 940
- and take no more than your dne.
Luko x[iv.]*
- If thou be calde a counsellor,
And many men do seke thy read ;
Se thou be found no truffeller,
Eyther for money or for dreade. 944
- If you are a counsellor, don't be a trifier ;*
- But weigh mens matters thorowlie,
And se what may be done by right,
And further as well the neadie
As thou woldest do the man of might. 948
- assist the poor as well as the rich ;
Lewit. [xix.]*
- Se thou haue no respect at all
To the person, but to the cause ;
And suffer not suche truth to fall
As thou findest grounded on good lawes. 952
- respect no man's person.*
- If any man do the desyre
Him to defend in doinge wronge,
Though he woulde geue the triple hire,
Yet geue none eare unto his songe. 956
- If a wrong-doer wishes you to defend him, don't.*
- Fear not his power, though he be king,
A duke, an earle, a lord, or knight ;
But euermor in thy doinge
Haue the Lordes feare present in syght. 960
- Fear no man's power, but fear the Lord.*
- If thou be iudge in commune place,
In the kinges bench, or Exchequier,
Or other courte, let not thy face
Be once turned to the briber. 964
- If you are a judge, beware of bribes,
[i] Parl. 22.*
- Beware *that* bribes blinde not thy sight
And make the that thou canst not se
To judge the pore mans cause aryght,
When it is made open to the. 968
- lest they blind your sight.*
- Why shouldest thou stil admyt delaies
In matters that be manifest ?
Why doest thou not seke all the wayes
That may be to rid the oppreste ? 972
- Deut .xvi.
Eccles .xx.
Admit no delays.*

To thine office it doeth belonge To iudge as iustice doth require ; Though the party that is to stronge, Would geue the house and land to hire.	<i>Lewit. wis and do iustice to all men.</i>	976
I haue no more to say to the, But warne the that thou be contente To lyue only vpon thy fee, Fearing the Lorde omnipotente.	<i>I warn you to be content with your fees,</i>	980
And for to see that no man wrest The lawes, to do any man wronge ; And that no pore man be oppreste, Nor haue his sute deferred longe.	<i>and to see that the poor are not oppressed.</i>	984
Now if thou be Lord Chauncelloure, As censor ouer al the rest ; Se thou do thy best endeouour To see al open wronges redrest.	<i>If you are Lord Chancellor, see all wrongs redressed,</i>	988
And of this one thyng take good hede, That amonge them that do appeale, Thou do not, for fauoure or mede, Suffer any falsely to deale.	<i>and show no favour.</i>	992
Beware of them, I saye, that vse First for to tempt the commune lawes, And yet the iudgement to refuse When they be like to lose their cause.	<i>Beware of such as refuse to abide by the laws.</i>	996
Beware of them, and let them not Abuse thy courte in any wyse, To werie suche as, by iuste lotte, To claime their ryght do enterpryse.		1000
When they shall make petition Examine them diligently, And graunt not an iniunction To eche false harlot by and by.	<i>Be careful in granting injunctions.</i>	1004
Graunt thou not an iniunction To him that doth nought else entende, But, by subtile inuention, His owne falsehode for to defend.		1008

THE LAST TRUMPET. THE LAWYER'S LESSON.

You may see your duty in God's word.	I nede not to tel any more Of thy dуетie ; thou maiest it se In Gods sacred and holy worde, ¹ If thou wylt there to applie the.	1012
So I leaue you.	Thus leaue I the, thou man of lawe, Wyshing the to be as wylling To folowe, as I am to draw The backe agayne to thy callynge.	1016

The Marchauntes Lesson.

You who buy and sell may mark my words.	N owe marke my wordes thou marchaunte man, Thow <i>that</i> dost vse to bie and sell, I wyl enstruct the, if I can, How thou maiste vse thy callynge well.	1020
Consider for what end all men are made.	Fyrst se thou cal to memori The ende wherfore al men are made, And then endeuour busily To the same ende to vse thy trade.	1024
It is to maintain the public state.	The ende why all men be create, As men of wisdome do agre, Is to maintaine the publike state In the contrei where thei shal be.	1028
Apply your trade to profit your country.	¶ Apply thy trade therefore, I sai, To profit thy countrey with al ; And let conscience be thy stay, That to pollinge thou do not fal.	1032
If you import profitable things, let the poor have them at a reasonable rate.	If thou venter into straunge landes, And bringe home thynges profitable ; Let pore men haue them at thine handes Upon a price reasonable.	1036
If you do not, you will be punished in the end.	Though <i>thou</i> maist thi money forbear, Til other mens store be quite spent, Yet if thou do so, that thy ware May beare high price, <i>thou</i> shalt be shente.	1040

¹ Orig. lorde.

- Thou shalt be shent of him, I say,
That on the seas did prospere the,
And was thy guide in al the way
That thou wentest in great ieopardye. 1044
- For he gaue the not thy rychesse,
To hurt thi contrei men withal ;
Neither gaue he the good successe,
That thou sholdst therby make men thral. 1048
- But thy richesse was geuen to the,
That thou mightest make prouision,
In farre contreys, for thinges that be
Nedefull for thine owne nacion. 1052
- And when, by Gods helpe, *thou* hast brought
Home to thy coast ani good thing
Then shouldest *thou* thank hym that all wrought
For thy prosperouse returnyng. 1056
- Whych thyng thou canst not do in dede,
Unles thou walke in thy callyng ;
And for hys sake that was thy spede,
Content thy selfe wyth a lyuyng. 1060
- But oh ! me thynke I wryte in vayne
To marchaunte men of thys our tyme ;
For they wyll take no maner payne,
But only vpon hope to clyme. 1064
- So sone as they haue oughte to spare,
Besyde theyr stocke that muste remayne,
To purchase landes is al theyr care
And al the study of theyr brayne. 1068
- Ther can be none vnthrifty heyre,
Whome they will not smel out anon,
And handle him *with* wordes ful fayre,
Tel al his landes is from him gone. 1072
- The fermes, the woodes, and pasture grounds,
That do lye round about London,
Are hedged in within their mowndes,
Or else shalbe ere they haue done. 1076

God gave you
riches

that you might
make necessaries
for your country,

and when you
have brought
any good thing
home,

you should thank
Him for your
prosperity.

But I write in
vaine.

Merchants, as
soon as they have
gained anything,
purchase lands.

They smell out
unthrifty heirs;

they have farms
round London;

- they have their spies on every side.
- They haue thier spies vpon eche syde
To se when ought is lyke to fal ;
And as sone as ought can be spied,
They are ready at the fyrst cal. 1080
- I can not tel what it doeth meane,
But white meate beareth a greate pryce
Which some men thinke is by the meane
That fermes be found such marchaundise. 1084
- Some think the buying and selling of farms cause white meat to be so dear.
- For what is it when the pore man,
That erst was wont to pay but lite,
Must now nedes learne (do what he can)
To playe eyther double or quite. 1088
- The poor man must now pay double rent, or quit.
The collier and wodomonger
- If ye aske of the coliar,
Why he selleth hys coles so dere,
And rightso of the wodomongar,
They say marchauntes haue all in fere. 1092
- say their prices are doubled.
- The wood, say thei, *that* we haue bought
In tymes paste for a crowne of golde,
We cannot haue, if it be ought,
Under ten shyllinges ready told. 1096
- I am ashamed of the abuses among merchants,
- I am ashamed for to tell
Halfe the abuse that all men se,
In such men as do by and sell,
They be so bad in eche degre. 1100
- so I will do what I can to teach you your vocation.
- I wyl therefore do what I can
To make plaine desiaratyon,
How thou, that art al marchauntman,
Maist walke in thy vocation. 1104
- Trade for the profit of your country,
- Applye thy trade, as I haue tolde,
To the profyt of thy contrey,
And then thou maiste¹ eer be bolde
That thy Lord God wil guide thy wai. 1108
- then you will not need to take leases of groundes.
- Thou shalt not nede to purchase landes,
Neyther to take leases in groundes,
That, when thou hast them in thyne handes,
Thou maist for shyllinges gather poundes. 1112

¹ Orig. maïsse.

Thou shalt not nede to bie or sel Benefices, which should be fre, To true preachers of Gods gospell, To helpe <i>them</i> with that helpeles be.		You may neither buy and sell benefices,
No more shalte thou nede for to lende Thy goodes out for vnlawful gayne, In such sort that, by the yeares ende, Thou maist of one shillyng make twaine.	1116	nor lend for unlawful gain.
Thou shalt aye haue inough in store For the and thine in thy degre ; And what shouldst thou desire more, Or of hygher estate to be ?	1120	<i>Luke. vi</i> If you have enough, why desire more ?
Let it suffice the to mary Thy daughter to one of thy trade : Why shouldst thou make hir a lady, Or bye for her a noble warde ?	1124	Marry your daughter to your equal,
And let thy sonnes, euery chone, Be bounde prentise yeres nine or ten, To learne some art to lyue vpon : For why should they be gentelmen ?	1128	and bind your sons apprentice.
There be already men inowe That beare the name of gentil bloud ; Tell thou me <i>then</i> , what nede haste thou So vainly to bestow thy good ?	1132	There are plenty of gentlemen.
For thou canst not promote thy <i>sonne</i> , But thou must bye him land and rent, Wherby some must neades be vndone, To bryng to passe thy fonde entent.	1136	If you promote your son, you must buy him land.
Some <i>man</i> , perchaunce, nede doeth compel To morgage hys lande for money ; And wilt thou cause hym for to sell The liuelode of his progeny ?	1140	If a man must mortgage his land—why do you compel him to sell ?
Tel me if <i>thou</i> wouldest haue thy sonne (If haply he should stand in nede) To be so serued, when thou art gone, Of marchauntes that shall the succede ?	1144	Would you like your son so serued ?
	1148	

- [M]at. vii.*
Do as you would
be done by,
- Do thou as thou wouldest be done by,
As very nature doth the teache,
And let thy loue and charitie
Unto all the Lordes creatures reach ; 1152
And if any man stande in nede,
Lende hym frely that thou maiste spare,
And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede,
And recompence the in thy ware. 1156
- [L]uke. vi.*
and lend to the
needy.
- Be iuste, open,
and merciful,
[M]at. v.
and God will
increase your
store.
- Be iuste, playne, and not disceytfull,
And shewe mercie vnto the pore,
And God, that is moste mercifull,
Shall euermore encrease thy store. 1160
And in the ende, when nature shall
Ende thy peregrination,
Thou shalt haue ioye emonge them all
That walkt in theyr vocation. 1164
- But if you refuse
to do as I haue
told you,
- But, if thou do refuse to walke
In thy calling, as I haue tolde,
Thy wisdome shalbe but vaine talke,
Though thou be both auncient and olde. 1168
Saye what thou wylt for to defende
Thy walkynge inordinately,
Thou shalt be certen, in the ende,
To be damned eternally. 1172
- you certainly will
be damned in the
Mat. vii.
end.
- For in the worlde ther can not be
More greate abhominacion,
To thy Lorde God, then is in the,
Forsakeyng thy vocation. 1176

¶ The Gentleman's Lesson.

- You that are borne
gentlemen,
- T**hou that arte borne to lande and rent,
And arte cleped a gentleman,
Geue eare to me, for myne intent
Is to do the good if I can. 1180

<p>Thou arte a man that God hath set To rule the route in thy countrey ; Wherfore thou hadste nede forto get Good knowledge rather then money.</p>	<p>are set to rule your country- men.</p>
<p>For ignoraunce shall not excuse, When all men shall geue a rekenyng ; And the iudge wyll money refuse, And iudge after eche mans doyng.</p>	<p>1184 You must get knowledge, <i>Ecol</i> τ[<i>ii.</i>] for ignoraunce can be no excuse. <i>Rom.</i> [<i>xv.</i>] <i>Mat.</i> <i>iv.</i></p>
<p>Fyrst I aduertise the therfore, And require the in Christes name, That of knowledge thou get the store, And frame thy lyneyng to the same.</p>	<p>1188</p>
<p>Get the knowledge, I saye, and then Thou shalt perceyue thyne owne degre To be such that, emong all men, Thou haste moste nede learned to be.</p>	<p>1192 Get knowledge, and live up to it.</p>
<p>Thou shalt perceyue <i>thou</i> haste no tyme To spare, and spende in bankettyng, For though thou watch tyll it be pryme, Thou shalt haue inough to doyng.</p>	<p>1196</p>
<p>Thou shalt not fynde any leasure, To dice, to carde, or to reuell, If thou do once take a pleasure, In vseying thyne owne callyng well.</p>	<p>1200 You will see you have no time to spare in feasting.</p>
<p>For parkes of dere <i>thou</i> shalt not care Neither for costuouse buildyng, For apparell, or for fyne fare, Or any other worldly thinge.</p>	<p>1204 You will have no leisure for gambling,</p>
<p>Thy mynd shal be styll rauished With the desyre to walke vpryghte, And to se al vice punished, So much as shal ly in thy myght.</p>	<p>1208 bunting, costly building, or apparel.</p>
<p>Thou shalt delite for to defende The pore man that is innocent, And cause the wicked to amend, And the oppressour to repent.</p>	<p>1212 You must strive to walk upright ;</p>
<p></p>	<p>1216 and delight in defending the poor,</p>

- and in doing
your duty. Thou shalt haue delite in nothyng
Sauinge in doynge thy duty ;
Which is, vnder God and thy kyng,
To rule them that thou doest dwel by. 1220
- You are not
allowed to do as
[Ro]m. 14.
You like with
your own. Thou shalt not think *that* thou maist take
Thy rente to spend it at thy wyll,
As one that should no recknyng make
For ought that he doth well or yl 1224
- [Lu]ke .xiii. But thou shalt fynd *that* thou art bound,
And shalt answer much more strayghtly,
Then the pore men that tyl the ground,
If thou regard not thy duty. 1228
- You may not
raise your rents
at will— Thou shalt not fynd that thou maigest reise
Thy rent, or leauy a great fine
More then hath bene vsed alwayes ;
For that only is called thyne. 1232
- you must allow
your tenants to
live. For as thou doest hold of thy kyng,
So doth thy tenaunt holde of the,
And is allowed a lyueinge
As wel as thou, in his degre. 1236
- If thou, therefore, wouldest not thi king
Should take of the more then his due,
Why wilt thou abate the liuyng
Of thy tenaunt and cause him rue ? 1240
- Knowledge will
tell you to do as
you would be
done by,
Mat. vi For knowledge wyl tel the, that thou
Must do as thou wouldest be done by ;
And ryght so wyl she tel the how
Thou maiste discharge al thy duty. 1244
- and to be content
with your
inheritance. She wyl teach the to be contente
Wyth that thou haste by herytage ;
And eke to lyue after thy rente,
And not to fal into outrage. 1248
- If you can afford
to spend 40l., you
may not live up
to 60l. If thou maye depend xl. pound,
Thou maiste not lyue after three score ;
Neyther maist thou enclose thy ground,
That thou mayst make it yerely more. 1252

For knowledge wil teach the to seke
 Other mens wealth more then thine owne,
 And rather to fede on a leke
 Then one house should be ouerthrowen.

1256

You must learn
 that you are a
 father to your
 country,

Thou shalt by her learne that *thou* art
 A father ouer thy country,
 And that thou oughtest to play the parte
 Of a father both nyght and day.

1260

Psalm 8.
 and understand
 that you must aid
 the needy.

Thou shalt by knowledg vnderstand
 That thou must succour the neady,
 And in theyr cause such men wythstande
 As shew themselues ouer gredy.

1264

In short,
 knowledge will
 teach you your
 duty—

In fine, knowledge that is godly
 Wyll teach the al that thou shalt do
 Bilongyng to thyne owne duty,
 And other mens duty also.

1268

Gette the knowledg, I saye, therefore,
 That thou mayste be worthy thy name ;
 For wythout hir thou maiste nomore
 Be called a ge[n]tleman for shame.

1272

without it you
 can't be called
 a gentleman,

For wythout knowledg thou shalt be
 Of all other moste out of frame ;
 Bicause there is nothyng in the,
 That may thy luste chastice or tame.

1276

because you have
 nothing within
 you to subdue
 your passions.

Wythout knowledg *thou* wylt folowe
 Thy fleshe and fleshly appetyte,
 And in the luste therof wallowe,
 Settyng therin thy whole delyte.

1280

Without
 knowledge you
 will oppres all
 men who are in
 your power,

Wythout knowledge *thou* wylt oppresse
 All men that shalbe in thy powre ;
 And when they shalbe in distres,
 Thou wylt them cruelly deuoure.

1284

Wythout knowledg thou wilt aray
 Both the and thyne paste thy degree,
 And eke mayntayne outragious playe,
 Tyl thou haue spent both lande and fee.

1288

and dress and
 gamble till you
 have spent all.

- If you have no
knowledge you
will be worse
than a slave. To make an ende ; vnlesse thou haue
Knowledg remaynyng in thy breste,
Thou shalt be worse then a vile slaue
That doth all honestie deteste. 1292
- Study always to
know your duty,
and to fear God. Get the knowledg, therefore, I saye
And eke the feare of God aboute ;
And let thy study be alwaye
To knowe what thyng doth the bihoue. 1296
- [P]salme .33 But fyrste, bifore all other thynges,
Set the Lords feare bifore thy face,
To guyde the in all thy doynge,
That thou delyte not in trespase. 1300
- He who delights
in sith will never
get knowledge, For he that doth delyte in synne
Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel,
Nor any godly knowledge wynne ;
For wisdomme wyl not with him dwell. 1304
- so seek her till
you find her.
Sapient [vi] Then seke for knowledg busilie,
And leaue not off tyll she be founde ;
And when thou hast her perfectelie
To the Lordes feare let her be bounde. 1308
- Let the fear of
God and
knowledge And let them two beare all the swea
In thy doinges, earelye and late¹ ;
Let them agre and ende their plea,
Before thou do appoint the state. 1312
- guide you in all
things, By theyr aduise suruei thy lande,
And kepe thy courtes both farre & nere,
And se they do fast by the stande,
In thine housekeping and thy chere. 1316
- and have them
ever in mind. Haue them present before thine eies,
In al thy dedes what so they be ;
In cessions, and eke on assise,
Let them not be absent from the. 1320
- Let them rule
your family, Let them rule all thy familie,
And eke enstruct thy childrene yonge ;
That they may thyne office supply
When *with* hys darte death hath the stong. 1324

¹ Orig. lare.

And last of all, leaue them to guyde Thy chyldren and theyr families ; That thy house and floke may abyde, And rule the route in godly wise.	and your children's children.	1328
No more to the I haue to saye But that thou kepe Gods feare in syght And make it the guyde of thy waye As well by bryght daye as by nyght.		1332
So doying I dare the assure That in the ende thou shalt obteyne The blisse that shall euer endure, Wyth Christe our Maister for to rayne.	So doing you shall obtain the bliss of heaven.	1336

¶ The Maiestrates Lesson.

W hoso thou be that God doeth call, To beare the swerd of punishment, Mark wel my words and take them all Accordyngly as they be ment.	You who are called magis- trates	1340
When thou arte in autoritie, And haste the bridle rayne in hande ; Then be well ware that tirannie Do not get the wythin hir bande.	and have the bridle-rein in hand,	1344
Loke not vpon thy swerd alway, But loke sometyme on thy ballaunce, And se that neither do decay In the tyme of thy gouernaunce.	look at the balance as well as at the sword,	1348
For to punyshe wyth equitie, Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng ; Whereas to shewe extremity, Is founde rather a bloude suckeyng.	and punish with equity.	1352
If any man be accusede Se thou hear him indifferently, And let him not be punished, Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly.	Be impartial in your judgment.	1356

- If he haue wrought against *the* lawes,
So that iustice woulde haue him dye,
Then in thy ballaunce laye his cause,
And iudge him after equitie. 1360
- If a man err
through igno-
rance or poverty,
If he dyd it of ignoraunce,
Of nede, or by compulsion,
Or else by fortune, and by chaunce,
Then must thou vse discretion. 1364
- consider what
extreme need is,
Consyder what extreme nede is,
And howe force may the weake compel,
And how fortune doth hit and misse,
When the intent was to do well. 1368
- and that wit-
nesses may lie.
And though the evidence be plaine,
And the accusars credible ;
Yet call to mynde the elders twayne,
That Daniell found reproveable. 1372
- Dant* [with.] ¶ And if thou fynde them false, or wayne,
Forged to worcke theyr brother yll,
Then let them suffer the same paine
That he shoulde haue had by their wyll. 1376
- I might say
much under this
head,
Much myght be sayde in this matter
Out of the workes of writers olde,
And, for to proue it the better,
Many late stories might be tolde. 1380
- but I leave it to
your study.
But I leane this to the study
Of them that haue had exercise
In iudgement, in whose memorie
It is as styll before theyr eyes. 1384
- Your duty is
I thought mete to tuch it only,
That thou myghtest haue occasion
To call to mynde the chief dutie
Of thy state and vocation : 1388
- to weigh
evidence, and
examine accusars,
Whych is to scanne the evidence,
And eke to try the accusars all,
Thoughte they be men of good credence,
Leste happly the iuste be made thral. 1392

- More ouer it behoueth the,
 I[f] thou wylt walke in thy calling,
 To se that all good statutes be
 Executed before al thynges. 1396 and to see the
statutes enforced,
- For to what ende do statutes serue,
 Or why should we hold parliamente,
 If men shall not suche lawes obserue
 As in that court we shal inuent ? 1400
- And what thynges shall a realme decay
 So sone, as when men do neglecte
 The wholsom lawes, as who should sai,
 They were in dede to none effecte. 1404 because neglect
of statutes makes
a realm decay,
- For in that realme the mightie shal
 Worke after theyr fancie and wyl ;
 For there the pore may crie, and cal
 For helpe, and be oppressed styl. 1408 and brings
oppression upon
the poor.
- Se thou therefore to thy dutie
 In this behalfe, both daie and night,
 And let none break such lawes freli,
 But let them know *that* lawes haue might. 1412
- Let them al know, I say, that thou
 Art set to minister iustice,
 And that thou madest therto a vowe
 At the takeing of thine office. 1416 Let men know
you are set to
administer
justice.
- Wincke not at thynges *that* be to plaine,
 Lest godly knowledge fle the fro,
 And thou flyt into endeles payne,
 At such time as thou must hence go. 1420 Do not wink at
things which are
too plain.
- For if thou wilt not minister
 Iustice to them that do oppresse,
 What are the people the better
 For the when they be in distresse ? 1424 If you will not
administer
justice,
- The heauenly housband man, therefore,
 Who planted the, vice to suppressse,
 Shall drye thy rote for euermore,
 And geue the vp to wyckednes. 1428

<i>Jhon. vii</i> beware of the vengeance of God;	Beware of thys vengeaunce betyme, Lest it come on the sodaynly, When <i>thou</i> wouldest faine repent thy cryme, But shalt despeire of Goddes mercy.	1432
your conscience will make you despair.	For what thing causeth men despeire Of Gods mercy at their last ende, But their conscience, that saieih thei were Told of their fault, & woulde not mende?	1436
I have more to say yet.	If thou therefore doest se this thyng, And wylt wincke at it willinglye, I say that, when death shal the styng, Thou shalt despeire of Gods mercy.	1440
I have more to say yet.	Yet haue I more to say to the Concernyng thy vocation, Which, if it grow styl, must nedes be Double abhominacion.	1444
See that you allow no offices to be sold.	For he that bieth must nedes sel : Thou knowest alreadye what I meane ; I nede not wyth playne wordes to tel, If sinne haue not blinded the cleane.	1448
God will not permit His flock to be deuoured of wolves.	Se vnto it, I the aduise, And let not offices be solde ; For God wyll punyshe in straite wyse Such as wyth him wyl be so bolde.	1452
Remember Pharaoh <i>Eco. viiii.</i>	He wyl not aye suffer his flocke Of wolves to be so deuoured, Neither shall they <i>that</i> would hym mocke, Escape his handes vnpunysed.	1456
Remember Pharaoh <i>Eco. viiii.</i>	His arme is as stronge as it was When he plaged Kyng Pharao In Egipt, and can bring to passe Al that he listeth now also.	1460
[<i>Dan.</i>] <i>iiii.</i> and Nebuchad- nezar,	He spent not al his power vpon The Kyng Nabuchodanozer ; He shal neuer be found such one, That he should not haue mighte in store.	1464

Take hede, take hede, I saye therefore,
That thou fal not into his hand ;
For if thou do, thou art forlore,
Thou canst not be able to stand.

and take heed
that you fall not
[Hebrew]e .x.
into His hand.

1468

Yet one thyng more I must the tell,
Which in no wyse thou mayst forget,
If thou wylt professe Gods Gospel,
And thyne affiaunce therin set :

If you profess
the Gospel,

1472

you must not
seek power.

Thou must not couet imperye,
Nor seke to rule straunge nacions ;
For it is charge inough, perdie,
To aunswere for thyne owne commons.

1476

Study to rule
your own
subjects well.

Let thy study, therefore I saye,
Be to rule thyne owne subiectes wel,
And not to maynetayne warres alwaye,
And make thy contrey lyke an hell.

1480

Defend your owne
country from
invasion,

Let it suffice the, to defende
Thy limites from inuasion ;
And therein se thou do intende
Thine owne peoples saluation.

1484

and do not invade
other lands.

For, marke this : If thou do invade,
And get by force commodite,
The same shal certenly be made
A scorge to thy posteritye.

1488

This haue I sayde, to call the backe
From the Philistines stacion ;
Trustyng thou wylte my counsell take,
And walke in thy vocation.

[4] Reg. .xiii.

1492

The Womans Lesson.

Whoso thou be of woman kinde,
That lokest for saluation,
Se *thou* haue euer in thy mynde,
To walke in thy vocation.

All women should
walk in their
vocation.

1496

- If you have no husband, improve your manners. If thy state be virginitie,
And hast none housband for to please,
Then se thou do thyselfe apply
In Christen maners to encrease. 1500
- i. Cor. vii.* If thou be vnder a mestres,
Se thou learne hir good qualitiese,
And serue hyr wyth al redines,
Haueyng Goddes feare before thine eies. 1504
- If you have a mistress, serve her readily. If thou se hir wanton and wilde,
Then se thou cal vpon God styl,
That he wyl kepe the vndefilde,
And kepe from the al maners yl. 1508
- Avoid idle talk and nice looks. Auoyde idle and wanton talke,
Auoyde nyce lokes and daliaunce ;
And when thou doest in the stretes walk,
Se thou shewe no lyght countenaunce. 1512
- Dress according to your condition. Let thyne apparayle be honest ;
Be not decked past thy degre ;
Neither let thou thyne hede be dreste
Otherwyse then besemeth the. 1516
- i. Timo. ii.* Let thyne haare beare the same coloure
Neither dye your hair,
That nature gaued it to endure ;
Laye it not out as doeth an whore,
That would mens fantacies allure. 1520
- nor paint your face. Paynte not thy face in any wise,
But make thy maners for to shyne,
And thou shalt please all such mens eies,
As do to godlines enclyne. 1524
- but be modest, learn your duties, Be thou modeste, sober, and wise,
And learne the poyntes of houswyfry ;
And men shall haue the in such price
That thou shalt not nede a dowry. 1528
- and try to please God. Studye to please the Lorde aboue,
Walkyng in thy callyng vpryght,
And God wil some good mans hert moue
To set on the his whole delite. 1532



Nowe when thou arte become a wyfe,
And hast an housbande to thy mynde,
Se thou prouoke him not to stryfe,
Lest haply he do proue vnkynde.

If you have a
husband,

1536 [i C]or .xvi.

Acknowledge that he is thyne heade,
And hath of the the gouernaunce ;
And that thou must of him be led,
Accordyng to Goddes ordinaunce.

let him guide
you.

1540

Do al thy busines quietly,
And delyte not idle to stand ;
But do thy selfe euer applye,
To haue some honest worcke in hand.

Be industrious,

1544

And in no case thou maist suffer
Thy seruantes or children to play ;
For ther is nought that may soner
Make them desire to renne awaye.

and keep your
children and
servants from
idleness.

1548

Se thou kepe them styl occupied
From morne tyl it be nyght agayne,
And if thou se they growe in pryde,
Then laye hand on the brydle rayne.

1552

But be thou not to them bytter,
Wyth wordes lackyng discretion,
For thine housband it is fitter
To geue them due correction.

But do not be
too severe.

1556

But if thou be of such degre,
That it is not for the semely
Emonge thy maydens for to be,
Yet do thy selfe styl occupye ;

If you are aboue
mixing with your
servants,

1560

Do thy selfe occupy, I say,
In readinge, or hearyng some thyng,
Or talkyng of the godly way,
Wherein is great edifyng.

spend your time
in reading.

1564

Se thy children well nurtered,
Se them brought vp in the Lordes feare,
And if their meaners be wycked,
In no case do thou wyth them beare.

See that your
children are well
brought up.

1568

If your husband does wrong, admonish him mildly.	And if thine housbande do outrage In any thinge, what so it be, Admonish him of hys last age, Wyth wordes mylde as becommeth the.	1572
	And if he do refuse to heare Thy gentle admonicion, Yet se if thou can cause him feare Goddes terrible punission.	1576
Allure him by your godly living.	Do what thou canst, him to allure To seke God by godly liueing, And certainly thou shalt be sure Of life that is euerlastinge.	1580
For though the first woman fell,	For though the first woman did fall, And was the chiefe occasion That sinne hath pearsed through vs all, Yet shalt thou haue saluation.	1584
you shall be saved if you are obedient,	Thou shalt be salfe, I say, if thou Kepe thy selfe in obedience To thine housband, as thou didest vow, And shewe to him due reuerence.	1588
and do all in faith.	But in fayth must all this be done, Or else it doeth nothyng e auayle ; For without fayeth nought can be wone, Take thou neuer so greates trauayle.	1592
	Thou must beleue, and hope that he, That bade the be obedyent, Wyll be ryght well pleased wyth the, Because thou holdest the content.	1596
But if your husband is godly, learn of him,	Nowe, if thyne housbande be godly, And haue knowleged better then thou, Then learne of him al thy dutie, And to his doctryne se thou bowe.	1600
[i Tt]mo. v. and do all that he approves.	Se thou talke wyth him secretly Of su[c]h thinges as do the behoue ; And se thou obserue thorowlye	
[i Tt]mo. v.	Al such thinges as he shal aproue.	1604

- Seke to please him in thine araye,
And let not newe trickes delyte the ;
For that becometh the alway,
That with his minde doth best agre. 1608
- Delite not in vaine tatyllars,
That do vse false rumoures to sowe ;
For such as be great babbelars
Wyll in no case their dutie know. 1612
- Their comynge is alwaye to tell
Some false lye by some honeste man ;
They are worse then the deuell of hell,
If a man would them throughly scanne. 1616
- They wyll fynd faute at thyne araye,
And say it is for the to base,
And haply ere they go awaye,
They wyl teach the to paynt thy face. 1620
- Yea, if al other talke do fayle
Before the idle tyme be spent,
They wyl teach the how to assayle
Thyne housband with wordes vehemente ; 1624
- Thow muste swere by Goddes passion,
That long before thou sawest his heade,
Thou hadest ech gallaunt fassion,
And wilt agayne when he is deade. 1628
- Thou must tell him, that he may heare,
Wyth a lowd voyce, & eke wordes plaine,
That *thou* wilt sometyme make good chere
With ryght good felows one or twaine. 1632
- I am ashamed for to wryte
The talke that these gossepes do vse ;
Wherefore, if thou wylt walke vpryght,
Do theyr companye quite refuse. 1636
- For they are the deuelles mynsters,
Sent to destroy al honestye,
In such as wyl be their hearars,
And to theyr wycked reade applye. 1640

Delight not in
tattlers—

they are worse
than the devil ;

they will teach
you to scold your
husband,

and tell him of
your tricks
before you knew
him.

I am ashamed of
these gossepes,

for they are the
devil's ministers.

<i>i. Pet. iii.</i> But do you learn of Sara,	But thou that arte Sarais daughter, And lokest for saluation, Se thou learne thy doctryne at hir, And walke in thy vocation.	1644
<i>Gene. vii.</i> who always obeyed her husband.	She was alway obedyent To hir housband, and cald hym lorde, As the boke of Godes testament Doeth in most open wyse record.	1648
Follow her, and you will be safe in the end.	Folowe hir, and thou shalt be sure To haue, as she had in the ende, The lyfe that shall euer endure : Unto the whiche the Lorde the send.	1652

Amen.

Imprynted at

London bi Robert Crowley
dwellinge in Elie rentes
in Holburn. The yere
of our Lord .M.

D. xlix. the
laste daye of December.

Autore eodem Roberto Croleo.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.

A Pleasure

And Payne, Heauen and Hell:

Remembre these foure,

and all shall be

well.

¶ Compled by Roberte Crowley,
Anno Domini, M.D.LI.

¶ Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum
solum.

¶ O ye that be my fathers blessed ones
come and posses the kyngdome that
was prepared for you befor the
beginning of the worlde.

¶ See ye cursed sorte into the euerla-
sting fyre that was prepared for
the Deuill and his Angelles.

Math, xxv.

¶ To the ryght worshypful Lady
 Dame Elizabeth Fane, wyfe to the
 ryght worshypfull Syr Rafe
 Fane Knyghte : Roberte
 Crowley Wyshethe
 the Lyfe euer-
 lastyng

[Page 3]

After I had compiled thys litle treatise (ryght ver-
 tuous Lady) I thought it my duty to dedicate
 the same vnto youre Ladishyppes name, as to a ryght
 worthy Patrones of al such as laboure in the Lords
 harueste. Not for that I thyncke I haue herein done
 any thyng worthy so liberall a Patrones, but for the
 worthynes of the matter, whych is a parte of the holy
 gospel of Iesu Christ wrytten by the holy Euangelyste
 Mathewe, and is most necessary to be beaten into the
 heades of all men at thys daye, to dryue them (if it be
 possible) from the gredy rakeyng togyther of the trea-
 sures of this vayne worlde. I do not doubt, but if God
 haue not geuen men vp to their owne herts lust, they
 wyll nowe at the laste endeouere to lyue the gospell
 which they haue of longe tyme talked. In dede it was
 neccessarie that God should styr vp some to plage such
 emonge his people as had offended euen as he dyd often
 tymes styr vp the heathen to plage hys people of
 Israell; but yet it is not necessarye that the same
 should continue in oppresyng the offenders and inno-

*I thought it my
 duty to dedicate
 this treatise to
 you.*

*If men are not
 given up to their
 own hearts' lust,
 they will begin to
 live the gospel
 which they have
 [Page 4]
 talked.*

God's anger will
fall on the land if
oppression and
covetousness do
not cease.

May the Lord so
work in the
hearts of the rich,
that the venge-
ance fall not in
our days.

[Page 5]

cent together. For so shal they also deserue the Lordis wrath, & in the ende be plaged by some other that God shal styr vp to reuenge the iniurye done to the innocent sorte. Moued therefore wyth the desyre to se the wealth of my contrey by the pacifyng of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredye couetise cease not, I haue, so playnely as I coulde, set forth in thys litle boke the terrible iudgment of God (which no doubt of it is at hande), that if there remayne any feare of God in mens hertis, it may cause them to staye at the least waye, and not to procede any farder in *the* inuentyng of newe wayes to oppresse the pore of thys realme, whoes oppression doeth alreedy crye vnto the Lorde for vengeance. The Lorde work in the hertis of the ryche, that this vengeance fall not on thys realme in oure dayes, for doubtles it wyl be gret when it cometh. And if the oppression cease not, the vengeance can not ta*rye longe. For the Lorde hath promised to reuenge his people in haste. This Lord preserue your good Ladiship to hys good pleasure in thys lyfe and geue you blysse in the lyfe to come.
So be it.

Your Ladyships at commaundement, Robert
Crowley.

[Page 6, blank]

When Christ shall come to iudge vs all,¹
 And geue eche one as he hath wrought,
 Hys Fathers frendis then wyll he call,
 To enioye that whych they haue sought,
 By beleueng that they were bought
 Wyth his bloude shedde vpon a tree,
 As by theyre workis all man maye see.

[Page 7]
 When Christ
Mat. xvi.
 comes to judg-
 ment He will call
 4 His friends to
 enjoy what they
 haue been seek-
 ing.

7 *Mat. vii.*

“Come! come!” shall he saye to these men,
 “Come, and possesse for euermore
 That kyngdome, whych my Father, when
 No worlde was made, layed vp in store
 For you, whome he dyd knowe before
 To be in maners lyke to me
 That am his Sonne, and aye haue be!

He will bid them
 come and possesse
Mat. xv.
 the kingdom pre-
 pared for them,

11

“Come!” shall he saye, “for aye, when I
 Stode nede of meate, ye gaue me fode;
 So dyd you drynke when I was drye,
 Reioyceng when you dyd me good.
 No fende, therefore, shall chaynge your mode;
 For you shall alwayes be wyth me,
 And shall my Fathers godheade se.

[Page 8]
Rom. viii.

14

because when He
 was hungry they
 fed Him.

Mat. xxv.

18

They shall re-
 main ever with
 Him, and see
 God.

21 *i. Cor. xiii.*

“And at all tymes, when I haue bene
 Of nedefull lodgeynge desolate,
 You haue bene gladde to take me in;
 Whether it were yarly or late,
 You dyd me neuer chyde nor rate;
 But gaue me wordis curteyse and kynde,
 Procedynge from a faythfull mynde.

Mat. xxv.

25

When He was
 desolate, they
 [Page 9]
 took Him in,

and treated Him
 courteously.

28

¹ Two lines of the original are put into one.

- ¶ "So, when I was naked and bare,
 Hauynge no clothes my fleshe to hyde,
 From your owne backs then dyd you spare,
 And gaue me clothes for backe and syde, 32
 So that I myght the colde abyde.
 But if you lackt sufficient,
 Then dyd you my greate lacke lament. 35
- When He was sick and in
 naked, they
Mat. xxv.
 clothed Him.
- ¶ "Infyne, when I was weake and sycke,
 And had no conforte aboute me,
 To come to me you dyd not stycke,
 And succour my necessitie. 39
 And when it chaunced me to be
 In prisone, and could not get oute,
 To raunsome me you went aboute." 42
- When He was
 sick and in
 [Page 10]
 prison, they com-
 forted Him,
 and visited Him,
Mat. xxv.
 and ransomed
 Him.
- ¶ Then shall the iuste answeere agayne
 And saye, "O Lorde, when sawe we the
 In prisone, or in other payne
 Through extreme nede and pouertie ? 46
 Arte not thou Lorde of lande and see ?
 What ? Lorde, we knowe that sea and lande
 Hauē euermore bene in thyne hande ; 49
- Mat. xxv.*
 The iust will ask
 when they ever
 saw Him in
 need ?
- Is He not Lord of
 land and see ?
- [Page 11]
- ¶ "We know that thou gaueste all thynges
 To all estates, boeth hygh and lowe.
 There is no myghty lorde nor kynge,
 But he is in thyne hande we knowe. 53
 In vayne, Lorde, we might plante and sowe,
 If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne,
 We coulde haue nought lyfe to sustayne." 56
1. *Cor. iiii.*
 He gives all
 things to all men,
 and every man is
 in His hand.
- ¶ Then shall Christe saye, "All this is true ;
 I gaue you lyfe, and dyd you fede
 Wyth graynes and fruitis, boeth olde and newe,
 And gaue you all thyngis at your nede. 60
 In all your wayes I was your speede,
 And gaue you that wherefore ye sought,
 Wych wythout me had come to nought. 63
- He owns He gave
 us life and fed us,
- [Page 12]
 and has been
 with us in all our
 wayes.
Iohn .xv.

☞ "Yet all that I haue sayde before
 Is true also ; for when you gaue
 Ought to such as were sycke or sore,
 Whome nede constray[ned] forto craue,
 Then, I confesse my selfe to haue
 Receyued all that at your hande,
 Whereof they dyd in greate nede stande."

¶ Then shall the iuste wyth ioye enter
 Into the ioyes that shall not ende ;
 By cause theyr hertes were aye tender
 To geue such thyngis as God dyd sende,
 Mankynde from peryle to defende.
 Thus shall they lyue in ioye and blysse
 In Paradice, where no payne is.

But to the wycked Christ shall saye,
 "Auoyde frome me, ye wycked sorte ;
 For in my nede you sayde me naye
 Wyth spytefull wordis of disconforta.
 Yet my preachars dyd you exhorte
 Me in my membres to refreshe,
 Knoweynge that all are but one fleshe."

☞ Then shall these men, wyth faynte herte, saye
 "Lorde when dyd we see the in nede ?
 Thou haste bene Lorde and Kynge alwaye ;
 No wyght was whome thou dydest not fede :
 All this we learned in oure Creede ;
 For thou arte Iesus, that Gods Sonne
 That hath create boeth sonne and mone."

☞ "Oh," shall Christe saye to them agayne,
 "Ye deafe dorepostis, coulde ye not heare ?
 Thynke you the heade bydeth no payne,
 When the members make heauye chere ?
 In you nought but flesh doeth appere.
 For if my spirite in you had ben,
 Me in myne you must nedis haue sena.

67 But when we
 gave anything to
 the sick we gave
 it to Him.

70 *Mat. xxi.*

The just will
 enter into ever-
 lasting joys,

74 [Page 13]
 because their
 hearts were
 tender.
Mat. v.

77 They will live in
 Paradise.

81 To the wicked
 He will say,
 "Depart ! for in
 my need ye
Mat. xxi.
 refused me."

84 *1. Cor. i. x*

88 [Page 14]
Mat. xxi.
 They will answer,
 "Lord, when did
 we see thee in
 need ?

91 Thou art Iesus,
 who created all
 things."

95 He will answer,
 "You deaf door-
 posts,

1. Cor. iii.

98 [Page 15]
 if my spirit had
 been in you, you
 must have seen
 the poor.

- You did see
them weep, but
did not help
them.
- Exech.* 33.
There was no
pity in your
hearts.
[Page 16]
- How did you
use your lands
and goods?
- When a poor
man called your
Mat. xxi.
acts in question,
you put him into
prison.
- [Page 17]
Because a man
told you your
duty, you said he
wished to have
all.
- But mine only
wish for their
own,
as I shall tell
you.
Luke xvi.
- [Sign. with Dr
Bliss MS. note,
"P. B. 1. 84
[Page 18]
1 Q 8"]
- ¶ "The pore, the pore, and indigent
Came vnto you ofte tymes ye knowe,
And you sawe them wepe and lament,
Yet would ye not on them bestowe
The leaste frute that to you dyd growe.
No, no, you were redy to take
That other gaue them for my sake. 102
- "Your hertis were harder then the flynt—
In them no pitie coulede be founde.
Your greedye gutte coulede neuer stynt,
Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde¹
Were hedged in whythin your mownde.
You wycked sorte, howe vsed ye
The londis and goodis ye had of me? 109
- ¶ "You made your boaste all was your owne,
To spare or spende, at your owne wyll ;
And when any pore men were knowne
That were so bolde to calle it yll, 116
My landis and goodis in waste to spyll,
You shet them vp in prisone strong,
Tormentynge them euer emonge. 119
- "False libertynes you dyd them call,
Because they tolde you your duitie.
You sayde the loselles woulde haue all
That you had gotten paynfully, 123
And kept longe tyme moste carefully ;
But ye belye them, I know well,
And slaunder this my true Gospell. 126
- ¶ "Emonge all myne there is not one
That would haue ought more then his owne,
As I shall tell you playne anone ;
For to me all theyr hertis be knowne. 130
They reaped nought that you had sowne,
But wyllled you to let them haue
That I gaue you mankynde to saue. 133
- : Orig. nownde.

<p>“Not one so blynde emonge you all, But he knoweth I made all of nought, Appoyntyng all thyngis naturall, To serue mankynde, whome I haue wrought Lyke to my selfe in louseyng thought ; Wyllyng that eche should at his nede, Haue breade and broth, harbour and wede.</p>	<p>You know I made all things, <i>Psal. viii.</i> <i>Genis. i.</i></p>	<p>137 140</p>
<p>☞ “But syth it was expedient That emonge all there should be some Always sycke, sore, and impotent, I indued you wyth such wysedome As dyd honest stuardis become, Committyn¹g whole into your hande The riches, boeth of sea and lande.</p>	<p>that the needs of all might be supplied, [Page 19] <i>Mat. 24.</i></p>	<p>144 147</p>
<p>☞ “My purpose was that you should haue Always all nedefull thynges in store, To succour such as nedis must craue Of you thyngis nedefull euermore. I made you rych to fede the pore ; But you, lyke seruauntis prodigall, Haue in excesse consumed all.</p>	<p>and that you might haue a store to succour the needy. <i>Mat. 24.</i></p>	<p>151 154</p>
<p>☞ “But when I found you negligent In fedyng of my family, Then my prophetes to you I sent, Commaundyng that you should yerely Brynge all your tythes diligently Into my barne, that there myght be Meate in myne house for pouertie.</p>	<p>When I found you negligent [Page 20] I sent my pro- phetes to you, <i>Malc. iii.</i></p>	<p>158 161</p>
<p>“But you gaue to theyr wordis no hede ; You helde all faste, and woulde nought brynge Into my barne the pore to fede, But spent all at your owne lykyng In wantones and banketyng, And in rayment past your degree, As men that had no mynde of me.</p>	<p>but you heeded them not, and spent all in wantonnes, <i>Gene. 32.</i> and raiment.</p>	<p>165 168</p>

¹ Cammittyn^g in original.

- [Page 21] ¶ " Yea, some of you were not content
To holde fast that ye should haue brought
Into my barne, there to be spent ;
But gredyly ye begde and bought, 172
That my true seruantis, as they ought,
Dyd at my true prophetis byddynges,
Into my barne faythfully brynges. 175
- and, when once
in my fold, ¶ " And when you had once gotten in,
Into my folde, emonge my shepe,
Then you thought it to be no synne
Styll in your kennells forto slepe, 179
Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,
As were more lyke to eate the lambe,
Then to defende his feble dame. 182
- Ioh̄n .x.*
You begged
and bought that
which was mine,
Exōd. 34. ¶ " Ye robde, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde
My flocke and me ; in euery place
Ye made my bloude vylar then golde :
And yet ye thought it no tre[s]passe. 186
O wycked sorte, voyde of all grace,
Auoyde from me downe into hell,
Wyth Lucifer : there shall ye dwell. 189
- You had the
tithe,
Exōd. 34. ¶ " Ye had the tythes of mens encrease,
That shoulde haue fedde my flocke and me ;
But you made your selves well at ease,
And toke no thought for pouertie. 193
It dyd not greue you forto see
My flocke and me suffer greate nede
For lacke of meate, harbour and wede. 196
- [Page 22] ¶ " No hell can be a worthy payne
For your offence, it is so greate ;
For you haue robbed me, and slayne
My flocke for lacke of nedefull meate. 200
The woule, the lambe, the malt, and wheate,
You dyd by force cary awaye,
And noman durst once saye you naye. 203
- You carried
all away.

- ¶ "Howe can you loke to haue mercie
 At myne hande? whome ye would not feede
 Wyth that was myne, euen of dutie
 To succoure me and myne at nede?
 Syth you myght in the scripture rede,
 That suche men shall no mercie haue
 As kepe theyr owne when nede doethe craue.
- 207 [Page 34]
 What mercy can
 you expect?
- 210 *Jacob. ii.*
Esaï. [I] ciii
- "Unto the hungry parte thy breade,
 And when thou shalt the naked se,
 Put clothes on him; this myght you reade
 In my prophetis that preached me.
 And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be:—
 'Howe can that man haue Charitie,
 That beyng riche sheweth no pitie?'
- 214 You might have
 seen in the
 Scriptures
- 217 [Page 25]
Prov. xxi.
 that he who would
 not hear the poor
- "Also, the man that stoppeth his eare
 At the crye of such as be pore,
 Shall crye, and no man shall him heare,
 Nor at his nede shewe him succoure:
 Ryght so he that doeth endeuoure
 To be made rych by oppressynge,
 Shall leaue him selfe (at the last) no thyng.
- 224 *Prov. xxi.*
 should not be
 heard.
- "For he shall geue the ryche alwaye
 More then he can scrape frome the pore,
 So that in tyme he shall decaye,
 And haue no nedefull thyng in store.
 This might you reade, and ten tymes more
 In the Bible, that holy boke,
 If you had had tyme forto loke.
- 228 [Page 26]
 If you had had
 tyme to read.
- 231 *Math. x.*
- "But such scriptures you coulde not broke
 As bade you geue ought to the pore;
 You wysshed then out of the boke,
 But you were suer to haue in store
 Plentie of scripturs, euermore
 To proue that you myght aye be bolde
 Wyth your owne to do what you woulde.
- 235 But you wished
 such things out of
 the Bible.
- 238

- You thought
you might employ
your goods
in any way ;
[Page 27]
- Mat. vii.*
- “ You thought you myght your goodis employ
To priuate gayne in enery thyng.
You thought it no faute to anye
Such men as were nygh you dwellynge, 242
Were it by purchase or byldyng ;
Neither to get into your hande,
Your neyghbours house his goodis and lande. 245
“ All was your owne that you myght bye,
Or for a long tyme take by lease ;
And then woulde you take rent yerely,
Much more then was the tenantis ease : 249
It was no faute your rentis to rease
From twentie markis to fourtie powndis,
Were it in tenementis or growndis. 252
- [Page 28]
If the poor did
die for want of
house and food,
- “ What though the pore dyd lye and dye
For lacke of harbour, in that place
Where you had gotten wyckedly
By lease, or else by playne purchase, 256
All houseyng that shoulde, in that case,
Haue ben a safegard¹ and defence
Agaynst the stormy violence ? 259
- you thought you
were blameless,
- Math. x.*
- “ Yea, what if the pore famyshed
For lacke of fode vpon that grownde,
The rentes whereof you haue reysed,
Or hedged it wythin your mownde ? 263
There myght therwyth no faute be founde,
No, though ye bought vp all the grayne
To sell it at your pryce agayne. 266
- [Page 29]
- “ You thought that I woulde not requyre
the bloude of all suche at your hande ;
But be you sure, eternall fyre
Is redy for eche hell fyrebrande, 270
Boeth for the housyng and the lande
That you haue taken from the pore
Ye shall in hell dwell euermore ! 273
- Iacob. ii.*
- ¹ Original, slafegard.

<p>" Yea, that same lande that ye dyd take From the plowemen that laboured sore, Causeynge them wycked shyftis to make, Shall nowe ly vpon you full sore ; You shal be damned for euermore : The bloude of them that dyd amisse, Through your defaute is cause of this.</p>	<p>The land taken from the plow- man shall be a burden upon you,</p>	<p>277 [Page 30] and sink you to hell.</p>
<p>" The fathers, whose children dyd growe In idlenes to a full age, Woulde fayne be excused by you That were the cause that they dyd rage ; You toke from them theyr heritage, Leaueyng them nought wheron to worcke : Which lacke dyd make them learne to lurke.</p>	<p><i>Mat. xxiii.</i>¹</p>	<p>280 284 You took from children their heritage, 287</p>
<p>" The sones also, that wycked were, And wrought after theyr wycked wyll, Would nowe ryght fayne be proued cleare, Bycause your mysse hath made them ille ; But they muste nedis be gyltie styll, Because they woulde worke wyckedly, Rather then lyue in miserie.</p>	<p>[Page 31] and made them what they are ;</p>	<p>291 294</p>
<p>" And yet shall you answere for all, Theyr bloude I wyl of you require, Because you were cause of theyr falle, That are become vesselles of ire ; Boeth they and you shall haue your hyre In hell emonge that wycked sorte, That lyue in paynes wythout conforte.</p>	<p>but you will answer for their <i>Ezech. iii.</i> ill dooie,</p>	<p>298 301 [Page 32]</p>
<p>" Infyne, all such as dyd amysse Through your default, what so they be, Shall lyue in payne that endlesse is, Because they would not credite me, That am the trueth and verite.</p>	<p>and for all who did amisse through you.</p>	<p>305</p>
<p>I tolde them if they were opprest, I woulde se all theyr wrongis redreste.</p>	<p><i>Hebru. vii.</i></p>	<p>308</p>

¹ xviii in original.

- Rebels go to hell. "The wycked sorte, that dyd rebell
 Agaynst you, when you dyd them wronge,
 Shall haue theyr parte wyth you in hell,
 Where you shall synge a dolefull songe : 312
- [Page 33]
Eccles. vii. Worlde wythout ende you shall be stonge
 Wythe the pricke of the conscience : 315
 A iuste rewarde for your offence.
- You who are guilty of simony will go to hell. ¶ "And you that woulde nedis take in hande
 To guyde my flocke, as shepheardis shoulde,
 Only to possesse rent and land,
 And as much richesse as you coulede, 319
 To leade your lyfe euen as you woulde,
 Auoyde from me downe into hell,
Actu. viii. Wyth Simon Magus there to dwell. 322
- Your guilt surpasses belief. "If I should rehearse all at large
 That in your wycked lyfe is founde,
 And laye it strayght to your charge, 326
 No wyght there were in this world rownde
Genes. 7. But woulde wonder I had not drownde
 The hoole earth for your synne onlye,
 That woulde be called my cleargie. 329
- You made your way into the fold like wolves. "Fyrste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,
 Lyke gredy wouolves,¹ into my folde.
 Your wycked wyll coulede fynde no staye
 So longe as ought was to be solde, 333
 Either for seruice or for golde :
 By you the patrons fell from me,
 And are become as ill as ye. 336
- [Page 35] ¶ "You dyd prouoke them fyrste to sell,
 And then they learned forto bye ;
 Thynkyng that they myght bye as well
 As the leadars of the clargie. 340
 And then they founde meanes, by and by,
 To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,
 The tenth increase by sea and lande. 343
- ¹ woules in original.

- ¶ "Theyr owne chyldren they dyd present,
 Theyr seruautis, and theyr wycked kynne,
 And put by such as I had sent
 To tell my people of theyr synne : 347
 And youe were gladdes to take them in,
 Bycause you knewe that they dyd knowe
 That youe came in by the wyndowe. 350
- "Such as woulde haue entryd by me,
 That am the dore of my shepe folde,
 You sayde were not worthy to be
 Admitted into my householde : 354
 You thought by them you should be tolde
 Of your moste wycked Simonie,
 Your falsehead and your periurie. 357
- ¶ "You layde to theyr charge herecie,
 Sisme, and sedicion also ;
 But you dyd them falsely belye,
 Thynckynge therby to worke them wo,
 And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so : 361
 For many of them you haue slayne
 Wyth most extreme and bitter payne. 364
- ¶ "Thus by your meanes my people haue
 Ben destitute of sheperdis good ;
 They haue ben ledde by such as draue
 Them from the fylde of gostly foode ; 368
 They beate them backe wyth heauey mode,
 And made them fede in morysh grownde,
 Where neuer shepe coulde be fedde sownde. 371
- ¶ "The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,
 For lacke of knowledge, went astraye ;
 And you stopped my seruantis breathe,
 That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye ; 375
 You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,
 If kyngis and rulars of the lande
 Should theyr owne duitie vnderstande. 378

They presented
 their children
 and seruants.

John .v.

[Page 36]

Such as woulde
 haue entered the
 fold by me were
 deemed un-
 worthy.

Eccl. .xxx

Act .xxiiii

[Page 37]

Many of my
 seruants you haue
 slaine.

Kings haue
 strayed for lack
 [Page 38]

Apo. .viiii
 of knowledge,

John. .vi.

- but you are to
blame for this,
- ¶ " For so longe as you kept them blynde,
Makyng them thyncke they had no charge,
You had all thyngis at your owne mynde,
And made your owne powr wondrous large. 382
You had an owre in echmans barge ;
You bade the princis take no care,
For you would all the dayngar beare. 385
- [Page 39]
- and, having my
sock in your
hands,
- ¶ " This haueynge my flocke in your hande,
You taught them not, but kept them blynde,
So that not one dyd vnderstande
The lawes that I had lefte behynde. 389
The maister could not teach his hynde
How he should worke in his callyng
Fearynge my wrath in euery thyng. 392
- Psal. viiii.*
- " The father coulde not teach his sonne
Howe, in his dayes, to walke vpryght ;
But gaue him leaue at large to runne
In wycked wayes, boeth daye and nyght, 396
Makyng him wycked in my syght :
O wycked guidis, this was your dede,
But I shall requite you your mede ! 399
- [Page 40]
- Ezech. iii*
- ☞ " The matrons and mothers also,
Coulde not teach theyr daughters my lawe,
But wyckedly they let them go
Whyther theyre wycked luste dyd drawe : 403
Can you denie but this you sawe ?
And whye dyd you not set them ryght
To seke thynges pleasante in my syght ? 406
- You saw it all,
and are guilty
of all the faulte
- ☞ " All maner men were oute of frame ;
None knewe his duitie thorowly ;
And you are founde in all the blame,
That haue entred by Simonie ; 410
Whych thynges you shall dearely bye,
For wyth Satan you shall be sure,
Worlde without ende, styll to endure. 413
- [Page 41]
- Ier. viiii*
arising from
simony.

☞ "For at your handis nowe I requyre
 The bloude of all that perished
 In placis were you toke the hyre,
 And let my flocke be famished. 417
 For aye ye shal be banyshed
 The blysse that I bought for them all
 That folowed me when I dyd call. 420 *Iohn. v*
 "Auoyde from me downe into hell,
 All ye that haue wrought wyckedly :
 wyth Lucifer there shall ye dwell,
 And lyue in paynes eternally. 424
 Your wycked soule shall neuer nye,
 But lyue in payne for euermore,
 Because ye paste not for my lore. 427 *Mark, iv*
 "Awayne, awayne ye wycked sorte !
 Awayne, I saye, oute of my syght :
 Henseforth you ¹sha[ll] haue no conforte,
 But bytter mournynge daye and nyght,
 Extreme darknes wythouten lyghte. 431
 Wepynge, waylynge, wyth sobbynge sore,
 Gnashyng of teeth for euermore, 434
 "Your conscience shall not be quiete,
 But shall styll burne lyke flameynge fyre ;
 No burnyng brymston hath such heate
 As you shall haue for youre iuste hyre ; 438
 The hote vengeance of my greate ire
 Shall be styll boylynge in your breaste,
 So that you shall neuer take reste." 441
 Then shall the wycked fall in haste
 Downe into the pyt bottomelesse ;
 Moste bytter paynes there shall they taste,
 And lyue euer in greate distresse. 445
 None shall confort theyr heaunesse ;
 In deadly paynes there shall they lye :
 And then they would but shall not dye. 448 *Apocal. ix.*

The blood of all
 who have perished
 is required at
 your hand,

[Page 42]

and you must
 dwell with
 Lucifer.

Mark, iv

Depart into dark-
 ness and sorrow,
 [Page 43]

Mat. xv
Luke .xiii.

into the lake of
 fire and brim-
 stone.

Mat. xviii.

[Page 44]

The wicked will
 then fall into hell,

¹ (sh e)

THE WICKED GO TO HELL. 121

- ¶ Such as were here so loth to dye,
That they thought no ph[y]sicke to dere,
Shall there lyue in such miserie
That only death myght their hertis chere. 452
- where they shall
ever be wishing
to die.
They shall alwayes desyre to here
That they myght dye for euermore,
Theyr paynes shal be so passynge sore. 455
- Then shall Christe wyth his chosen sorte
Triumphautely returne agayne
To hys Father, geueyng comforte
To such as for hys sake were slayne. 459
- [Page 45]
Apoc. xviii
[See Rev. xi. 6.]
No wyght shall there fele any payne,
But all shall lyue in such blysse there,
As neuer tonge coulde yet declare. 462
- That we may live
with Christ in
heaven,
That we maye then lyue in that place,
Wyth Christe oure kynge that hath vs bought,
Let vs crie vnto God for grace
To repent that we haue mysse wrought ; 466
- And where we haue wyckedly sought
To be made ryche by wycked gayne,
Let vs restore all thynges agayne. 469
- Luke xxi.*
[Page 46]
let the poor man
enjoy his
copyhold ;
Let the pore man haue and enioye
The house he had by copyholde,
For hym, his wyfe, and Iacke hys boye,
To kepe them from hunger and colde ; 473
- And thoughte the lease thereof be solde,
Bye it agayne though it be dere,
For nowe we go on oure laste yere. 476
- Phil. iiii.*
let the enclosures
be laid open
again ;
Caste downe the hedges and stronge mowndes,
That you haue caused to be made
Aboute the waste and tyllage growndes,
Makeynge them wepe that erste were glad ; 480
- [Page 47]
Leste you your selves be stryken sadde,
When you shall se that Christe doeth drye
All teares from the oppressedis eye. 483
- Apoc. xxi.*

Restore the fynes, and eke the rent, That ye haue tane more then your due ;		let all fines and rents be restored ;
Else certenly you shall be shent, When Christe shall your euidence view ;	487	
For then you shall fynde these wordes trew, You are but stuardes of the lande, That he betoke into your handes.	490	<i>Luke .xvii.,</i>
And you that haue taken by lease Greate store of growndis or of houseyng, Your lyueyng thereby to encrease, And to maynetayne you loyetyng, Fall nowe to worcke for your lyueyng, And let the lordes deale wyth theyr growndis In territories, fieldes, and townes.	494	and let the leasemongers work for their living. [Page 48]
	497	<i>ii. The. iii</i>
You do but heape on you Gods ire, Whych doubtles you shall fele shortely, In that you do so muche desyre The lease of eche mans house to bye. You study no mans wealth, pardye, But all men se you do aduaunce Your selfe by pore mens hynderaunce.	501	You only heap on yourselves the anger of God.
	504	<i>Ecclie. v.</i>
What though your liueing ly theron ? Shoulde you not geue them vp therfore ? It is abhominacion ; And doubtles God wyll plage it sore. Repent, I saye, and synne no more, For nowe the daye is euen at hande When you shall at your tryall stande.	[Page 49]	
	508	It is an abominacion.
	511	
Let not the wealthy lyueyng here (Which can but a shorte tyme endure) Be vnto you a thyng so dere That you wyll lose endlesse pleasure, Rather then leaue the wayne treasure.	515	Repent, or else you will lose heaven.
O, rather let your leases go, Then they shoulde worcke you endlesse woe.	[Page 50]	
	518	

- Restore the tithes,
that the poor,
the blind, and
the lame,
- Restore¹ the tythes vnto the pore,
For blynde and lame shoulde lyue theron,
The wydowe that hath no succoure,
And the chylde that is left alone ; 522
For if these folke do make theyr none
To God, he wyll sure heare theyr crye,
And reuenge theyr wronge by and by. 525
- Restore your tythes, I saye, once more,
That tr[e]we preachers may lyue theron,
And haue all nedefull thynges in store 529
To geue to such as can get none,
Leste theyr greate lamentation
Do styr the Lorde vengeaunce to take,
Euen for hys trueth and promes sake. 532
- You, the men of
God, must give up
your pluralities.
- Geue ouer your pluralities,
Ye men of God, if you be so ;
Betake you to one benifice,
And let your lordelyke lyuenynges go, 536
For holy wryte teacheth you so.
Learne at the laste to be content
Wyth thynges that be sufficient. 539
- If you be mete to do seruice
To any prince or noble man,
Than medle wyth no benifice ;
For certainly no one man can 543
Do the duitie of moe men than
Of one: which duitie you do owe
To them that geue you wage, you knowe. 546
- Robb the people
no more.
- Robbe not the people that do paye
The tenth of theyr increase yerely,
To haue a learned guyde alwaye
Present wyth them to edifie 550
Them by teachyng the veritie,
Boeth in his worde and eke his dede,
And to succoure such as haue nede. 553
- Malac. iiii*
[Page 55]

¹ Rehore in original.

☞ And you that haue tane vsurie Of such as nede draue to borowe, Make restitution shortly, Leste it turne you to great sorowe, When no man can be your borowe, Wich shal be at the daye of dome ; Which doubtlesse is not longe to come.	557	You that haue taken usury, make restitution. <i>Psal. xv.</i> [See <i>Psal. xlii. 7.</i>] <i>Phil. iiii.</i>
☞ And you that by disceyte haue wonne, ¹ Were it in weyght or in measure, Be sorye that ye haue so donne, And seke to stoppe Goddis displeasure, By bestowyng this worldis treasure To the confort, helpe, and succoure Of such as be nedie and pore.	564	[<i>Orig. wome.</i>] You that haue deceived, be sory and make recom- pense. [Page 54] <i>Luke. iiii</i>
¶ And you that erste haue bene oppreste, And could not beare it paciently, For you I thynke it shalbe beste To repent you must hertily, And call to God for his mercie, To geue you grace forto sustayne That crosse when it shall come agaync.	567	You who haue rebelled, repent heartily.
To make an ende—let vs repent All that euer we haue mysse wrought, And praye to God omnipotent To take from vs all wycked thought, That his glory maye be styll sought By vs that be his creatures, So longe as lyfe in vs endures.	574	<i>Marc. 14</i> Let all repent, and pray God for mercy. [Page 55]
And that henceforth eche man maye seke In all thyngis to profite all men, And be in herte lowly and meke, As men that be in dede Christen, As well in herte as name ; and then We shall haue blysse wythouten ende : Unto the which the Lorde vs sende.	578	581
Amen.		And let each man seek the good of others.
	585	588

[Page 56, blank]

[Page 57]

The Boke to the Christian Readers.

The "Trumpet"
warned all to
walk uprightly.

MY brother (the Trumpet) dyd warne you before,
That al men shuld walk in their callynge vp-
ryght,

Directyng their wayes by Gooddis holy lore,
knowyng that thei be always in the Lordis syght.

Whoe seeth in the darcke as well as in lyght.
He hath cryed vnto you all this last yere,
And yet non emendment doeth in you appeare. 595

God is welcome
to some men,
but they seem to
disdain His
warnings.

[* Page 58]

In dede, very many do him entertayne
Lyke as there were none more welcome then he.
Yet I thyncke they do his warnynge dysdayne,
Because he doeth tell them *what is theyr duetie,
For he is very playne wyth euery degre :
The ryche and the myghtie he doeth nothyng feare,
No more doeth he wyth the pore mans falte beare. 602

The "Trumpet"
was sent to pre-
pare His way,

It pleased my father to sende him before,
That he myght make redy and prepare his waye,
By causeynge all men to walke in his lore,
That haue in tymes passed wandred astraye, 606
Leste payne be theyr portion at the laste daye.

and now I come
that men may
see, as in a glasse,
what their reward
shall be.

And nowe hath he sent me that they maye se,
As it were in a glasse, what theyr rewarde shal be :
I am the rewarde that al men shall haue,
For the iuste shall haue plesure and the wicked
payne.¹

[Page 59]

When euery man shal aryse oute of his graue,
And haue the spryte knyght to the body agayne, 613
In heauen or in hell they shall styll remayne :
Of blysse or of payne they shall haue theyr fyll—
The good sorte in heauen, and in hell the ill. 616

¹ panye in original.

Beholde me, therefore, wyth a gostly eie,
 And let me not from your presence departe ;
 For no doubt you wyll all wyckednes defye.
 So longe as I shall remayne in your herte,
 I shall cause you from wyckednes to conuert,
 So that, in the ende, you shalbe ryght sure
 To lyue wyth my father in ioye and pleasure.

Behold me,
 therefore, and let
 me not depart
 from your
 presence.
 620
 623

Finis.

¶ Imprin-
 ted at london by Robert
 Crowley dwallynge
 in Elie rentis in
 Holburne
 Anno Domini
 .M. D. L. I.

[Page 66]

[Bliss 1066, Bodl. Libr.]

[front leaf]

**¶ The Way to
Wealth, wherein is plain-
ly taught a most present Remedy**

for Sedition. Written and imprinted

by Robert Crowley the .iiij. of

Februarie in the yere of

our **JOHN.**

A thousand five

hundred & fif-

tie

(:)

**¶ In Elie Bentes in
Holburne**

¶ Cum privilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.

¶ Who so thou be that doest desire,
To live and good dayes see,
Take that in thy tonge and thy leggs,
None pl or discrete be.
Flee from pl and do that good is,
Whereof commeth no blame,
Seek thou for peace diligently,
And then ensue the same.

Psalm xxxiii.

9

CROWLEY.

[A 4, back]

[Blank page.]

[A 10]

¶ By what meanes se-

dicion maye be put a-waye, and

what distraction wil folow if it be

not put awaye speedely.

Consultatio Robert

Exordi .:

Conside.

ring that al men maye playnely perceine the greate hurte *that* (of late daies) Sedicion hath done in thys realme, & that all wyse men maye esilye gather what greater hurte is lyke to ensue, if it be not spedely sene vnto, it shalbe euery true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his whole study to the remouyng of so great an euel oute of so noble a realme and commone wealth ; leste, haply (if through negligence it growe and take deper rote) it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than that it maye be rooted oute wythoute the vtter destruction of the whole realme. For what can be more true then that whych the Trueth it-selfe hath spoken ?

“Euery kyngdome” (sayeth Christe) “that * is deuided in it-selfe shall be broughte to nought.” Intendyng, therefore, to playe the parte of a true Englyshman, and to do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking weede vp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as, in their euell exercise, the dise-playars (that gladly woulde, but haue nothyng to playe for) do :—Holde the candle to them that haue wherewyth, and wyll sette lustily to it. And so doyng, I shal be no lesse worthy the name of a true herted Englishman then the trumpettar is worthy *the* name of a man of war, thoughte he do not in dede fyght, but animate and encourage other.

Considering what sedition has done, it is a duty to see what can be done to remove the evil out of this noble realm ;

5

because if let alone it may take such deep root, that it may be the ruin of the kingdom.

13

Mathew .xii.
[* A li, back¹]

Intending to act as a true Englishman, and to do all I can to remove so stinking a weed,

19

I shall hold the candle to those who can and will remedy the matter, and so shall be no less worthy the name of Englishman than a trumpeter that of man of war.

26

Sedition is a disease, and must be cured, as physicians cure the dangerous diseases of the natural body,

31

by putting away the cause. If the root be cut

Sedition therefore, beinge a daungerous disease in the bodie of a commen-wealth, muste be cured as the expert Phisicians do vse to cure the daungerous diseases in a naturall bodie. And as the moste substanciall waye in curinge diseases is by puttinge awaye the causes wherof they grewe, so is it in the pullinge vp of Sedition. For if the cause be once taken awaye, then muste the effecte nedes faile. . If the rote be cut of the

¹ There are 32 pages. The signatures *marked* are these, A .ii., B .i., B .ii., B .iii., B .iiii. “An° 1550” is written on title.

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the branch must die.

braunch must nedes die. The boughes cannot budde if the tree haue no sappe.

37 Geue eare therfore (O my countrey-men) geue eare!

Do not disdain my advice,
[? A III]
for the matter
Daniel .xiii.
requires every man's counsel.

If I tell you the truth, don't be ashamed to do what I bid.
Gene. .xvi.
Abraham obeyed Sarah;

the Ninevites obeyed Jonah,
Jonas .iii.
and sat in sackcloth and ashes;

Herod listened to John the Baptist, because what he said
Marcke vi.

was true;
Give ear, then, to me, if you are not prouder than Babylon or more cruell than Herod.

[? orig. *oare*]
If I ask the poor man the cause of the sedition, he will answer,

[? orig. *buthares.*]
"The farmers, graziers, lawyers, merchants, gentlemen, knights, and lords.

Men without a name, because
[? A III, back]
they are doers of all things where gain is to be had. They are men without conscience, without fear of God; yea, men who live as though there were no God at all. They are never satisfied; they are greedy gulls, and would eat up

And do not disdain to heare the aduise of one of the leaste of youre brethren, * for the matter requireth euerie mans counsell, and God reueiled vnto younge Daniell that whiche the whole counsell of Babilon perceiued not. Geue eare, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not ashamed to do *that* I bid, though ye knowe me to be at youre commaundement. For Abraham was contented to do at the biddinge of Saraie his wife, because he knewe that hir biddinge was Gods will. And *the* Niniuites did, at the biddinge of pore Ionas, sit in sackcloth & ashes, because they perceiued that he tolde them the trueth. Yea, cruell Herode did not refuse to heare Iohn Baptiste, because the thinge whiche he told him was true. Leaste you therfore shulde be more loftie then the Babilonians, more shamefast then Abraham, more stubborne then the Niniuites, & more cruell then Herod, geue eare,¹ and patientlye heare what I shal saye! 55

The causes of Sedition muste be roted oute. If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition, I know his answer. He woulde tel me that the great ferm-ares, the grasiers, the riche bucharas², the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who; men that haue no name because they are †doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vtterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that liue as though there were no God at all! Men *that* would haue all in their owne handes; men that would leaue nothyng for others; men that would be alone on the earth; men that bee neuer satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gullis; yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chylren, are the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer

our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressing vs in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them! In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciabie beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that *they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them. No remedye therefore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These idle bealies wil deuour al *that* we shal get by our sore labour in our youth, and when we shal be old and impotent, then shal we be driuen to begge and craue of them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crowmes that fall from their tables. Such is the pytie we se in them! Better it were therefore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age!

men, women, and children. They take our houses over our heads, buy our lands, raise our rents, and enclose our commons. No law can keep them from oppression. We don't know which way to turn so as to live. In the country we are their slaves, and they will have all; in the city they have all in their hands,

84
and have doubled and trebled the
[* A iv]
rents these 13 years past.

88
We must fight it out, or become like the French.

They deuour all we get in our youth, and when we are old we must beg, and then they won't give us the crumbs which fall from their tables. Better die like men than, after such misery in youth, die more miserably in age!"

Alas, poor man! It pities me to see you in such misery, and because you know not your duty in such trouble.

Alasse, poore man, it pitieth me to se the myserable estate that thou arte in! Both for that thou arte so oppressed of them by whom thou shouldest be defended from oppression, and also for that thou knowest not thy dutye in thys great misery. Thow art not so much oppressed on the one side, but thou art more destituted on the other syde. They *that* should norish and defend thy body in thy labour, do oppresse the; & they *that* shuld fede thy soule & strengthen thy mind to beare al this paciently, do leaue *that* alone. If thy

104
They that should nourish you oppress you, and they who should feed you leave you alone.

If your shepherde had bene diligent

[* A iv, back]

112

the wolf might have come in nine sheepskins and not have deceived you.

You wouldn't have been persuaded you could prevail against the sword.

119

To revenge wrongs is, in a subject, to usurp the king's office, for the king is God's minister, to revenge the wrongs done to the innocent.

126

Christ would never go beyond the bounds of a private man, as *Luke .xiii.* was asked about the inheritance,

133

and in the matter of the woman taken in adultery.

[† A v]

137

If you had known all this, and had *John .xiii.* remembered other examples, *Numeri .xvi.* you would have *ii. Reg. xviii.* allowed yourselves to be torn in pieces rather than rebel against the king.

shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, & had espied the woulfe comyng vpon the, before *thou* hadst bene within his reach, he wold haue stepped * betwene *the* & thine enemi, & enstructed *the* in such sort, *that*, though he had come in nine shepe skinnes, yet he shoulde not haue deceiued thy syghte. The deuell shoulde neuer haue perswaded the *that* thou myghtest reuenge thyne owne wronge ! The false prophetes shoulde neuer haue caused the to beleue that thou shouldeste preuaile againste them with the swerde, vnder whose gouernance God hath apointed the to be. He would haue told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subject, to take and vsurpe the office of a kinge, and, consequently, the office of God. For the king is Goddes minister to reuenge the wronges done vnto the innocent. As he that taketh in hande, therefore, or presumeth to do anye office vnder a kinge, not beinge lawfully called vnto it, presumeth to do the office of a kinge, so he that taketh in hand to do the office of a king, taketh Goddes office in hand.

We reade that oure Sauoure Christ, beinge in the estimation of the worlde but a priuate man, wold not walke out of the boundes of that vocacion. But when a certaine man came vnto him & desired that he would commaund hys brother to deuide the inheritance wyth him, he axed who had appointed him to be iudge in suche matters ? And againe, when the woman taken in adultery was broughte vnto hym, he shoulde not geue sentence † of the lawe againste her, but axed hir if any man had condemned hir, and vpon hir deniall let hir go. If these examples, with the terrible stories of Corah, Dathan, Abira[m] and Absalom had ben diligently beaten into thine heade, thou wouldeste (no doubt) haue quieted thy selfe, and haue suffered thy selfe rather to haue bene spoyled of altogether, yea, and thy bodie toren in peces, rather then thou wouldest haue taken on the more then thou art

called vnto. For no cause can be so greet to make it 145
 lawful for the to do againste Goddes ordinaunce. But
 thy shepeherde hathe bene negligent, as (alas the
 while!) all shepeherdes be at this daie, and hath not
 enstructed the aright. He espied not the wolf before
 he had woried the, or happlye he knewe him not frome 150
 a shepe. But it is moste like he was but an hirelinge,

But all shepherds
 are negligent at
 this day,

and cared for no more but to be fedde with the milcke
 & fatlinges and cladde with the woule, as the greateste
 numbre of them that beare the name of shepeherde in
 Englande be at this daie. Yea, perchaunce he had
 many flockes to kepe, & ther-fore was absent from them
 al, leauing with euerye flocke a dogge that woulde
 rather worye a shepe then driue away the woulfe. 158

and yours was,
 perhaps, a
 hireling, and
 only cared to be
 fed and clothed,
 as the greatest
 number do.

Wel, brother, these be greate plages, & it behoueth
 the synnes to be greate that haue *deserued these so
 great and intollerable plages at Goddes hande. Returne
 to thi conscience therfore, and se if thou haue not de-
 serued all this, and more to. Consider, firste, if thou
 haue loued thy neighbour as thy self; consider if thou
 haue done nothing vnto him that thou wouldeste not
 that he shoulde do vnto the. Loke if thou haue not
 gone about to preuent him in any bargin that thou
 hast sene him about; loke if thou haue not craftly
 vndermined him to get some thing out of his hand, or
 to deceiue him in some bargein. Loke if thou haue
 not laboured him oute of his house or ground. Se if 171

Perhaps he had
 many flocks to
 keep, and left a
 dog with every
 one, that would
 rather worry the
 sheep than drive
 away the wolf.

These are great
 plagues, and
 [* A v, back]
 your sins must
 have been great
 to deserve them.
 See if you haven't
 deserved them.
 Have you loved
 your neighbour
 as yourself, and
 done nothing
 unto him that
 you wouldn't do
 to yourself?
 Never tried to
 overreach him
 in a bargain?
 Have you not
 deceived him in
 many things?

thou haue not accused him falsely or of malice, or else
 geuen false euidence againste him. Se if thou haue not
 geuen euell counsell to his wife or seruantes, which
 might turne him to displeasure. Consider if thou haue
 not desired and wished in thine herte to haue his com-
 moditie from him if thou mightest, without blame of
 the worlde, haue broughte it aboute. For God loketh
 vpon the herte, and if thine herte haue bene infected
 with ani of these euilles, then haste thou bene abomin-

Have you not
 accused him
 falsely, or of
 malice?
 given false
 euidence against
 him?

Have you not
 coveted his
 goods?
 And wouldn't
 you have brought
 it about if you
 could without
 blame?
 God looks on the
 heart, and if you

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND

have done this
you are abomin-
able in His sight,
and have de-
served punish-
ment.

And if you are
abominable in
[* A vi]
your behaviour
to your neigh-
bour, how do you
stand in God's
sight?

God requires
Math. xxiii.
your whole
heart, mind, and
body,
and how could
you love Him if
you loved not
your brother?

able in the sight of God, and haste deserved these
plages at Goddes hand. 182

Now if you be found abhominable in thy behavioure
towards thy neighbour what shalt thou be founde, trow-
est thou, in *thy demaners to God ward? God requireth
thine whole hert, thyne whole mynd, and al the powers
of thy body and soule. "Thou shalt loue thy Lord God
wyth all thy lyfe, wyth al thy mynd, and wyth al thy
strength." That is to say, ther shal be nothyng in the
whych thou shalt not apply wholly to the loue of thy
Lord God. But how was it possible for the to loue God
(whom thou seest not), syth thou louest not thy brother
whom thou seest? God requireth the to loue him euer,

194 and how often hast thou gone whole dayes together,
whole weakes, yea whole yeres, and neuer thought once

How many
benefits have you
received and
been unthankful,
and thought you
had won them
by your own
power, as though
God had not
given them to
you?

to loue hym aryght? How many and how great bene-
fites hast thou receyued at Goddes hand, and howe
vnthanckful hast thou bene for them, thynckynge that
thou haste gotten them by thyne owne laboure and not
receyued them frely at Goddes hand? As though God
had not geuen the thy lyfe, thyne health, and thy
strength to laboure! Yea, and as thoughe it were not

203 God only that geueth the increase of euerye mans
labour. But knowynge by thyne owne creacion and
bryngyng vp, and also by the yonge fruite that God
sendeth *the* of thy bodi, & further by the frutes *that*

By His works
you know there
is a God.

Yet you have not
[† A vi, back]
honoured Him,
Romaynes .i.
but have turned
His glory into
an image like to
man, and have
gone from place
to place to
honour a thing
of your own
making.

God sendeth, and causeth yerely to growe out of the
earth, *that* there is a God Almyghty. Yet *thou* hast
† not honoured him as God, but hast turned the glorie of
God into an image made after the shape, or similitude,
of mortall man; renninge and ridinge from place to
place to seke and to honoure thinges of thine owne
makeinge; crienge and callinge vpon them in thy nede
and paying vnto *them* thy vowes, and thancking *them*
for thyne health receiued; doinge them dayly worshipe

216 and reuerence in the temples, and bestowinge thine

almes vpon them in decking them and setting lightes 217

before them! Biside this thou haste put confidence of saluacion in pardones that *thou* haste bought, in prayers that thou hast hiered, or mumbled vp thy selfe, in Maases that thou hast caused to be saide, and in worckes that thou thy selfe haste fantasied; and haste not thanckfullye receyued the free mercye of God offered vnto the in Christ, in whom onely thou maiste haue remission of thy sinnes! And therefore God hath geuen the vp in to a reprobate minde to do the thinge that is not beseming. Euen to stande vp againste God and Goddes ordinaunce, to refuse his Holy Word, to delite in lies and false fables, to credite false prophetes, and to take weapen in hand against Goddes chosen ministers: I saye his chosen ministers, for be they good or bad, they are Goddes chosen, if they be *good, to defende the innocente, if they be euell, to plague the wicked. If thou wilt therfore that God shall deliuer the or thy children from the tirannie of them that oppresse the, lament thine olde sinnes, and endeavour emendment of life. And then he that caused King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Ierusalem againe, shall also stire vp our yong king Edward to restore the to thy liberty againe, and to geue straight charge that non shalbe so bolde as once to vexe or trouble the. "For the herte of a kinge is in Goddes hand, & as he turneth the riuers of water, so turneth he it."

Be sure therefore, that if thou kepe thy selfe in obedience and suffer al this oppression patiently, not geueing credite vn to false prophecies that tel the of victori, but to the worde of God that telleth the thy dutie; thou shalt at the time, and after the maner that God hath alredie pointed, be deliuered. Perchance God wyl take from thine oppressours their hard stony hertes, & geue them hertes of fleshe; for it is in hys power so to do. Let him alone therfore. Reade the

You have put your trust for saluation in pardons which you have bought, and in masses which you have caused to be said, and in works which you have imagined.

So God has given you up to a reprobate mind,

Rom. i.

to refuse His word, to delight in lies and fables, believe false prophets, and to rebel against His ministers.

232

(* A vii]

If you wish to be delivered from oppression you must lament your sins, and strive to amend *i. Esdras. i.* your manner of living.

Then King Edward will give liberty again, and give command that none shall oppress you. *Proverb .xxi.*

243

Be obedient, and suffer patiently, giving no ear to false prophecies which speak of victory, but listen to God, *Ezech. vi.* and in the end you shall be delivered from all your oppressors.

252

Roads Ieremie hys prophesie.

and learn your duty in captivity, how vain to believe prophesies of victory if you deserve captivity.

260

If you are still stubborn, God will make you stoop; and if your rulers are too weak He will bring strangers in to subdue you.

266

Don't strive against the stream—it is all for your sins that you suffer this oppression. God has sent it, and you must bear it: let it not be in vain, let it do what He intended it should do; and if you repent you will become a new man.

Then you shall have true prophets,

[† A viii]

282

who will not leave you destitute of a diligent guide, as your shepherds do now-a-days.

288

prophesie of Ieremie, and especially the seuen and twentie Chapter, the eighte and twentie and the nine and twenti, and therein thou shalt learne thy duetie in captiuitye, and howe wayne a thyng it is to *credite the prophetes that prophesie vycorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserued to be led away captiue, yea, and to remaine captiue till suche time as the time be complete duringe whiche God hath determined to punishe them. And know thou for certentie, that if thou be stil stouberne, God wil not leaue the so. He will bringe the on thy knees; he wyl make the stoupe! If the gentlemen and rulars of thy countreie shoulde be to weake for the, he would bringe in strainge nations to subdue the (as the Babilonians did the Iewes) and leade the away captiue. So that, refusing to serue in thine own countreie, thou shalt be made a slaue in a strainge contrai. Quiet thy selfe therfore, & strue not againste the streame. For thi sinnes haue deserued this oppression, and God hath sent it the as a iust rewarde for thy sinnes; & be *thou* neuer so loth, yet nedes sustaine it thou muste. Apointe thy selfe therfore to beare it. Let it not be layed vpon the in vain; let it do the thing *that* God hath sent it for; let it cause the to acknowledge thy sinne, repent it, and become altogether a new man. That in the day when God shall deliuer the, his name maie be glorified in the. And then God shal send *the* plentie of true prophets, *that* shal go before *the* in puriti of life and godli doctrine. †They shal not come or send .iiii. times in an yere and no more; neyther shal they set one to gather vp the tenth of thyne encrease to their behoufe, and leaue the destitute of a diligente guyde (as thy shepherdes do nowe a dayes)! But God hath promised by hys prophete to take awaye these shepherdes from the, and to commyt the to the keypyng of Dauid hys fayethful seruaunte; that is to saye, to such as wyl be as

diligent in feadyng the, as Dauid was in gouernyng the people of whom he had gouernaunce.

Geue eare therfore ye shephardes of thys church of Englande! Ye Byshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdiacons and Canons; ye Persons and ye Vicares, what soeuer ye be, that receyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerelye increase, or any other patrimony of preachers, geue eare to the prophet Ezechiel! For the same Lord that bad him speake vnto the sheperdes of Iuda, byddeth hym speake vnto you nowe also. "Thou sonne of manne," sayth the

289
Give ear, ye bishops, deans, archdeacons, parsons, and vicars, whatsoever you are, who receive tenths of men's yearly increase, to the Prophet Ezechiel, whom God has commanded to speak to you.

298
Lord, "prophecye agaynst the shepherdes of England, prophecy and say vnto those shepheardes:—thus sayeth the Lord God: Wo be to the shepherdes of England, that haue fed them selues! What ought not those shepherdes to haue fed those flockes of England? Ye eate the fatte, and decke youre selues *with the woule, & the mutton that is fat ye kil to fede vpon, but these silli shepe ye fede not. The sorowful & pensiu ye haue not comforted, the sicke ye haue not healed, the broken ye haue not bound vp, the stray shepe ye haue not brought againe nor sought for the lost. But with extreme crueltie ye haue plaied the lordes ouer them, &c." I nede not to reherse more of this prophets sayyng vnto you, for ye know where to haue it, and haue leysure inough to seke it, for ought that I se you busied withal; onlesse it be with purchaisinge landes for youre heires, & finde fingered ladies, whose womanlike behauiour and motherlike housewifry ought to be a lighte to al women that dwell aboute you, but is so fare otherwise, that, vnlesse ye leaue them landes to marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them when you be gone. Wel, loke to this geare be tyme, leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you.

298

Ezech.
xxxiii.
"Woe to the shepherds of England, who haue fed them-
[* A viii, back] selves.
You eat the fat, and wear the wool, and kill the best, but these sheep you feed not. The sorrowful you haue not comforted; the sick you haue not healed; the broken you haue not bound up; the straying you haue not recovered. But with extreme cruelty you haue played the lords over God's heritage."
Nota bene
how prysters nyces ought
[t]o behaue them selves
&c &c.

320

I woulde not your wiues shoulde be taken from you, but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furtheraunce of Goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheares.

I would not take your wives from you, but I would have them kept to further God's truth, whereof you profess to be teachers;

- 325 Let youre wiues therefore put of theire fine frockes and Frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let them be an helpe to youre studie and not a lette. S. Paul teacheth *you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so gredie vpon liueings, that,
- that they may be a help, and not a hindrance.
[* B 1]
i. *Time*. iii.
- 331 for the liueinge sake, ye will take vpon you the dueties of twentie men, and yet do not the duetie of one ; no, some of you be not able to do anye part of one dutie ! If Goddes Worde do allow it that one of you shulde be a deane in one place, a canone in an other, a parson here and a parson there, a Maister of an house in Oxforde or Cambridge and an officer in the kinges house, and yet to do none of the duties herof thorowly ; then set your pennes to the paper, and satisfie vs bi Goddes Word, and we wil also helpe you to oure power to satisfie the consciences of them that be offended at youre doings herin. If you can not do so, then geue ouer youre pluralities and make your vn-saciabile desires geue place to Goddes trueth. Content your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to
- If God's word allow you to hold diuers offices in diuers places, to be a dean in one, a canon in another, a parson here, and a parson there, set your pens to paper, and prove it, and we will aid you all in our power. If you can't do this, give over your pluralities, and be content with one living, and do your duty,
- 346 be diligente in doinge the duetie therof. But if ye wyll do neither of boeth, truste to it ye shall heare more of it ! Your checkinge of one or two in a corner can not stop euerye mannes mouth in a matter of trueth, beyng so great an infamie to the Gospel of God which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueing sake, doubt
- or you will hear more of it. Your checking of one or two men in a corner can't stop every man's mouth in a matter of truth.
- 352 † ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde seme to be cleare of. For a great nombre of youre vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene ;
- [† B 1, back]
- Your unworthy curates have stirred up the people in the late tumults.
- 357 where as if you had not robbed them of that which thei paye yearly to haue a learned and Godly teacher, they had bene better enstructed, as appeared by the quietnes that was amonge them that had such shepherdes.
- Where they had a godly teacher the people were quiet.

Well, brother, thou, I saie, that art thus oppressed on the one side and destituted on the other, take mine aduise with the. Submit thy self wholly to the wyll of God. Do thy laboure truly, cal vpon God continually. I meane not that thou shuldest be euer muttering on thy beads, or *that* thou shouldest haue any beads, but my meaninge is, that thou shouldest euer haue thine harte lifted vp vnto God; for so meaneth Sainte Paul when he sayeth, "I would men should pray alwayes, and in all places, liftinge vp their pure handes, &c." And in all thy doinges let thy desire be that Goddes wil be fulfilled in the, and what so euer God sendeth the, holde the content *wit*hal, and render vnto him most hertie thanckes, for that he dealeth so mercifully with the; acknowledging that bi his iustice he might poure oute vpon the mo plages then euer *were heard of. And, when thou commeste to thy parishe church, if thy cur[fa]te be an euell liuear, then remember what Christe said vn to his disciples:—"When the Scribes and Pharises do set them downe vpon Moses seate, then do al that they commaunde you to do, but do not as they do; for they say & do not." Remember this, I saie, and what so euer thi curate biddeth the do when he sitteth on Christes seate, that is, when he readeth the Bible vnto the, that do thou. But folowe not his examples! Do not as thou seest him do; but at thy firste entraunce into the church, lifte vp thine herte vnto God, and desire of hym that he wyll geue the his Holye Spirit to illumine and lighten the eies of thine herte, that thou maist se and perceiue the true meaning of all the Scriptures that thou shalte heare reade vnto the that dai. And so shalt thou be sure, that thoughe thy curate were a deuell, and would not that any man shoulde be the better for that whiche he readeth, yet thou shalt be edified, and learne as much as shalbe necessarye for thy saluacion. And for thy

Well, brother, though you are oppressed and destitute, my advice is, submit to God's will and do your duty and call upon God continually. I don't mean that you should be muttering on your beads always, but that you should ever be lifting your hearts to God, as S. Paul says. Let your wish be that God's will be done, and then, whatsoever happens to you, be content.

375

[* B II]

When you come to church remember what Christ said about *Math. xxiii.* sitting in Moses' seat,

381

and do as you are bid, but don't follow evil example: don't do as you see your curate do, but as soon as you enter church lift your heart to God,

389

then you may be sure that, though the curate were a devil,

you shall be edified, and learn as much as is

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND

necessary for
you, and for your
sake your curate
shall speak
plainly, so that
you can under-
stand him.
Actw. 44.

[* B ii, back]

402

If you are desirous to learn your duty, God will make it plain.

He made the Hebrew tongue plain to all men on the day of Pentecost.

sake God shall make thy curate (that otherwise wold mumble in the mouth & drounde his wordes) to speake out plainly, or else he shall geue the such a gift that thou shalt vnderstande him plainely. Of suche power is *God, for when the Apostles spake in the Hebrue tongue onely al that were present heard euery man his own language. Doubt thou not therfore but if thou be desirous to learne thy duetie out of that thy curate readeth to the, God wil make it plaine vnto the, though it be not plainely reade. For he that coulde make the Hebrue tonge (which sowndeth far otherwise then other tonges do) sownd al maner of languages, to euerie man his owne language, can also make thine owne language sownde plaine vnto the, though it were not spoken anye thinge plaine.

409

Thus you see the cause of sedition is not where you lay it, but your own sin is the cause. Sedition is let loose vpon you to plague you for your sins.

Thus seeste thou that the cause of Sedition is not where thou laiest it, for I haue declared to the that thine owne sinne is the cause that thou arte sedicious. For Sedition is poured vpon the to plague thy former sinne withall. Because thou knewest God bi his creatures and yet didest not honoure him as God, he hath geuen the ouer into a reprobate sence, to do the thinge that is vnsemelye, euen to stande vp againste God and Goddes ordinaunce, as I haue sayde before!

418

If I demand of the "greedy cormorants" what they think is the cause, they will answer,

"Peasant knaves are too wealthy; provender pricketh

[† B iii]

them;
they regard no laws;
they would have all things in common;
would fix our rents;

cast down our parks; lay our pastures open;

Nowe if I should demaund of the greedie cormorantes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Sedition, they would saie:—"The paisant knaues be to welthy, prouender pricketh them! They knowe not them selues, they knowe no obedience, they regard no lawes, thei would † haue no gentlemen, thei wold haue al men like themselues, they would haue al thinges commune! Thei would not haue vs maisters of that which is our owne! They wil appoint vs what rent we shal take for our groundes! We must not make the beste of oure owne! These are ioly felowes! Thei wil caste doune our parckes, & laie our pastures open! Thei wil haue

the law in their own handes! They wil play the kinges! They wyll compel the kinge to graunt they requestes! But as they like their fare at *the* breakefaste they had this laste somer, so let *them* do againe. They haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better coled if they quiet not *them* selues. We wyll tech *them* to know theyr betteres. And because they wold haue al *commone*, we wil leaue *them* nothing. And if they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster together, we wil hang *them* at their own dores! Shal we suffer *the* vilaines to disproue our doynge? No, we wil be lordes of our own & vse it as we shal thinke good!

and have the law in their own hands.

They liked the breakfast they had last summer;

they were well cooled then.

439

We will leave them nothing.

We will hang them at their own doors.

We'll do as we like with our own."

What shall I call you, you ungentle gentlemen, you churl's chickens?

Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? You *that* haue no name, you *that* haue so many occupacions & trads *that* ther is no on name mete for you! You vngentle gentlemen! You churles chickens, I say!

448

Geue me leue to make answere for the pore ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte. And this one thing I shal desire of you that ye report me not to *be one that fauoureth their euel doinges (for I take God to witnes I hate boeth theyre euell doinges and youres also), but geue me leaue to tel you as frely of your faultes, as I haue already told them of theirs. And for asmuch as you be stronge and they weake, I shall desire you to beare with me though I be more earnest in rebuking your faultes, then I was in rebuking theirs.

I will answer for these poor idiots.

[* B III, back] Don't say I favour their evil doings—I hate them and yours also. Allow me to tell you your faults.

456

True it is, the pore men (*whom* ye cal paisaunte knaues) haue deserued more *then* you can deuise to laie vpon them. And if euerye one of them were able and shoulde sustaine as much punishment as thei al were able to sustaine, yet could thei not sustaine the *pages that* thei haue deserued. But yet if their offence wer laied in an equall balounce with yours (as no doubt thei are in *the* sight [of] God) doubt not but you should sone be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you

True, the poor have deserved more than you can lay upon them,

463

but if their offence were put in an equal balance with yours, you would soon be ashamed.

- 469 laye vnto their charge, but they haue had examples of the same in you? If you charge them wyth disobedience, you were firste disobedient. For without a law to beare you, yea contrarie to the law which forbiddeth
- 473 al maner of oppression & extortion, & that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye enclosed from the pore their due commones, leauied greater fines then heretofore *haue bene leauied, put them from the liberties (and in a maner enheritaunce) that they held by custome, & reised their rentes. Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you ceased not to finde meanes either to compel your tenants to consent to your desire in enclosing, or else ye found such maistership that no man durste gaine saye your doinges for feare of displeasure. And what obedience shewed you, when the kinges proclamations were sent forthe, and commissions directed for the laying open of your enclosures, and yet you lefte not of to enclose stil? Yea, what obedience was this which ye shewed at such time as the kinges moste honourable counsell, perceiueinge the grudging that was among the people, sent forth the second proclamation concerning your negligence, or rather contempte,
- 492 in not laieinge open that which contrari to the good estatutes made in Parliament you had enclosed? It appeareth by your doinges that there was in you neither obedience to your prince and his laws, nor loue to your contrei. For if there had ben obedience in you, you wold forthwith haue put al his laws in execution to the vttermost of youre power. And if you had loued your contrei, woulde you not haue preuented the great destruction that chanced bi the reasone † of your vnsaciable desire? I am sure you be not rulars in your contrey, but ye can se before what is likely to folowe vpon such oppression, & especiallye in a realme that hath heretofore had a noble and a valiaunte com-
- Are they disobedient? you were first disobedient,
- in enclosing the commones, contrary to law, in levying greater fines than heretofore, and in raising rents. When a law was passed against such things, you compelled your tenants to consent to your wishes.
- Where was your obedience to the proclamation for laying open the enclosures?
- What obedience did you give to the second proclamation issued by the king, concerning the contempt of his laws?
- In this you showed neither obedience nor love of country. If there had been obedience you would have put his laws in force; if there had been love of country you [† B iv, back] would have prevented the destruction which ensued. You can see what must follow such oppression, especially in a

minalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you not lacked them that haue tolde you of it both by wordes and writtings. You haue ben tolde of it I saye, and haue had the threatninges of God laied plainlye before your eies, wherin you must nedes se the vengeance of God hanging ouer your heades for your lacke of mercy. Ther is not one storie of the Bible that serueth to declare how readi God is to take vengeance for the oppression of his people, but the same hath ben declared vnto you to the vttermoste; beside the notable histories and cronicles of thys realme, wherin doeth most plainlye appeare the iustice of God in the reuenging of his people, at such time as they haue kept them selues in quiete obedience to their prince & rulers, & their destruction when they haue rebelled.

realm which has had such a vallant commonalty.

You have been told of all this before, and must see God's vengeance hanging over you.

There is not a story in the Bible which declares how ready God is to avenge oppression which has not been declared to you; besides, you have the histories and chronicles of our own country, in all which God's justice is shown.

519

Wittinglye and willinglye therefore ye haue boeth disobeyed youre kinge and his lawes, and also broughte youre contrei into the miseri it is in, bi pulling vpon your self that vengeance of God whiche of his iustice he can not holde backe from such people as do *willinglye and wittinglye oppresse him in his membres in such sorte as ye haue done. Howe you haue obeyed the lawes in rakeinge together of fermes, purchaisinge and prollynge for benefices, robbing the people of good ministers therby, al the world seeth, and all godly hertes lament. Loke [at] the estatutes made in the time of our late souerayne of famouse memorye Henrie the .viii. & saye if ye maye by those estatutes (taken in theyr true meaninge), either beinge no priestes nor studentes in the Vniuersities, haue benefices, or other spirituall promotions (as you call theym, for ye are ashamed to calle theym ministracions, because ye neyther wyl nor can minister) or beinge priestes haue pluralities of such ministracions. Well I wyl burden you no more wyth youre faultes, leaste perhappes you

You have disobeyed the king and the laws willingly, and brought vengeance upon you.

[* B v]

526

You have purchased farms and benefices, and robbed the people of good ministers.

530

Look at the laws passed in the late reign, and see whether a man, being neither a priest nor a student in a University, may hold a benefice, or spiritual promotion.

538

I will not burden you with any more faultes,

but this I will say:—
You shall not sooner be gentlemen for your oppression, nor later for allowing your tenants to live by their labour; and don't think to prosper the better for your large desires.

548

[* B v, back]

You have been the cause of offence, and if it were better that he who is the occasion of one man's falling were cast into the sea, what shall be thought of you who have been the cause of so many falling?

[† orig. *destrude*]

559

The king's blood, if he had perished, would have been required at your hands.

can not wel beare them. But thys I shall saye vnto you:—You shall neuer the soner be gentlemen for your stout oppression, nor the later haue thynges in priuate for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre labour. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vnsatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beyng se-duced by the wayne hope of vycторыe promysed theym in piuysh prophecies *haue greatly offended God by rebellion: for the greater their offence is, the greater shall your plage be when it commeth. For you haue bene the only cause of theyr offence. If he therefore that is the occasion of one mans fallyng vnto any kynd of vyce were better haue a mylstone tied aboute hys necke and be cast into the depe sea wythall, what shalbe thought of you that haue bene the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and tres-
passe agaynste God, as to disturbe¹ the whole estate of their contrei with the great perill and daunger of their anointed kyng in hys tender age, whose bloud (if he had perished) should haue bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that haue perished shal?

Oh merciful God, were it not that Goddes mercy

564

But God is merciful, and is ready to forgive all who return from their wicked ways.

is more then your synnes can be, ther were no way but to despeyre of forgeuenes! But God is not onely mightye in mercy & able to forgeue al the sinnes of the whole world, but he is also redye to forgeue al that returne from theyr wycked wayes, and, with a

569

I require you, therefore, to own your offences against the poor,
[† B vi]
who are your brothers by religion and nation.

constant faith & sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mercye. I aduertise you, therefore, & in the name of Christ (whose name you beare) I require you, that without delaye ye returne to your hertes & acknowledge your greuous and manifold † offences, committed in your behauiour towards the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nacion) whome you haue so-cruellye oppressed, [and] wyshe euen from the bot-

576

some of your hertes, *that* you had neuer done it. Be 577

fully determined to make restitution of that ye haue misse taken, though ye should leaue your selues nothyng. For better is a cleare conscience in *the* hour of deth in a beggars bosome, than mountaynes of gould with a conscience *that* is gilty. Wishe that you had contented your selues with that state wherin your fathers left you, and strue not to set your children about the same, lest God take vengauce on you boeth sodenly when ye be most hastie to clime. And if for youre worthines God haue called you to offyce so that ye may wyth good conscience take vpon you *the* state that ye be called vnto, then se you deale iustly in all poyntes, & folowe not fylthy lucre to make your children lordes, but studye to furnish them with al knowledge and godly maners, that they may worthily succede you.

Be fully determined to make restitution, for it is better to die poor with a clear conscience, than to haue mountaynes of gold and a guilty conscience.

Content yourselves with that state in which your fathers left you, and don't strive to place your children above it. If you are called to office, deal justly in all things, and do not follow filthy lucre.

591

Grudge not to se *the* people growe in wealth vnder you, neither do you inuent waies to kepe them bare, lest haply it chaunce vnto you as it did to Kinge Nabuchodonozer¹ and hys seruauantes when they diuised wayes to kepe the Hebrues in slauery stil.

Grudge not to see the people grow in wealth,

Exodi. i.

597

*They rebelled not, but quietly did they labour, referrynge theyr cause to God. They prepared not for warres, neither had any confidence in theyr own strength, but when the Egiptians thought to haue had a faire day at them, God drowned them al in the Redde Sea, and drane theyr deade bodies on land in such sorte that they, whom they thoughte to kepe styll in slauerye, myght easily take the spoyle of them. Thincke not therfore, but if the people quiete them selues in theyr oppression and cal vnto God for deliuerance, he wyll by one meane or other geue them the spoile of their oppressours. He is as mighty nowe as he was in those dayes, and is now as able to slea boeth you and youre in one night as he was to slea al the

[* B vi, back]

lest God serue you as He did the Egyptians, whom, when they thought to obtain the victory, He drowned in the Red Sea, and then cast their bodies on the land for the Hebrews to spoil.

607

He is as mighty now as he was then.

Exodi. xiiii.

¹ ? Pharaoh.

- 612 firste borne of the Egiptyans. And then who shal haue
 the spoile? Be warned betime, leas't ye repente to
 late! Leas'e of your gredie desire to pul away the liue-
 ynge from the cleargy, and seke diligentl'ye to set suche
 ministers in the churche as be able and wyl enstruct
 the people in al pointes of theyr dutie, that you with
 them and they with you may escape the wrath of God
 that hangeth presently ouer you both. The kinge &
 citizens of Neniue were not ashamed to sitte in sacke-
 cloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there
 vpon *founde mercye. Wherefore, if ye wyl fynde
 mercye, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for
 certenlye the greatnes of your sinnes importeth as
 present distruccion to you as if ye were the same
 Niniuites that Ionas was sent vnto. Be not ashamed
 ther fore to proclame a solemne fast thorowe out the
 whole realme, that all at once with one voyce we may
 crye vnto God for mercye. Leas'e of your communions
 in a corner & come to the open temples, that men may
 se that ye regard the Lords insti'tucion. Breake your
 bread to the pore, that al men may se that ye regard
 fastyng. For that is the true fast, to refraine the meate
 & drinke that accustomedly we were wont to take, &
 geue the same (or the value therof) to the nedy. So shal
 you both fele & know theyr disease, and ease it also.
- 635 Trust not to your great number of valiant war-
 rieurs, neither to your mightye prouisions, but re-
 member what befel to Holofernes the stout captaine
 of King Nobuchodonozer, when he woulde not harken
 to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercaptaine. For
 certenly I say vnto you, God was neuer more redy
 to deliuer his people of Israel from oppression at al
 times when they, walkinge in his wayes, committed
 their cause vnto him, then he is now redy to deliuer al
 Christen men that do wyth lyke confidence cal vpon
 him. † If you therfore wyl not hearken vnto Achior his
- Be warned in
 time;
- appoint good
 ministers; such
 as are able and
 willing to in-
 struct the people;
- 618
- Jonas .iii.*
- repent as the
 Ninevites did, if
 you would find
 mercye, and be
 [* B vii]
 not ashamed to
 behaue as they
 did.
- 625
- Be not ashamed
 to proclame a
 fast, and to show
 to all men that
 you cry for
 mercye.
 Come to the
 temples, that men
 may see you
 regard Christ's in-
 sti'tucion;
 giue bread to the
 pore, for that is
 the true fast.
- 635
- Don't trust in
 your warriors,
- but remember
 Holofernes
 who would not
 listen to the
 aduice of his
 captaine.
Judeth .v.
- 644
- God is now
 redy to deliuer
 all Christians
 who confidently
 [† B vii, back]

counsel, but determine to torment him; when ye shall triumph ouer the rest, doubt ye not but Iudith shall cut off al your hedes, on after another, & God shall strike youre retinew with such a feare, that none shall be so bolde as once to tourne hys face. Yea if there were no men left on liue to put them in feare, they should be feared wyth shadowes! And though ther were no gones to shote at them, yet the stones of the strete should not cease to flye emonge them, by the mightye power of God, who wyl rather make of euery grasse in the field a man, then such as trust in hym should be overrun or kept in oppression. Be warned therefore, & seke not to kepe the commones of England in slauery, for that is the next way to destroe your selues! For if thei commit theyr cause to God & quiet them selues in their vocacion, beyng contented with oppression, if Goddes wyll be so; then shall ye be sure that God wyll fyghte for them, and so are ye ouer matched. But if they wyl nedes take in hand to reuenge theyr owne wronge, God wyll fyght agaynst you boeth, so that you boeth, consumyng one the other, shall shortly be made a praye to them that ye doubt least of al the world.

As you tender your owne wealth, therefore, *and the publike wealth of thys noble realme of Englande, which God hath enriched wyth so manye and so greate commodities, & as you desyre to vse and enioye the same, and not to be led away captiue into a strayinge nacion, or else be cruelly murdered among your wyues, kinsfolke, and children, and finallye to be damned for euer; so loke vpon these causes of Sedicion, and do your best endeour to put them awaie. You that be oppressed, I say, refer youre cause to God. And you that haue oppressed, lament your so doings and do the office of your callinge, in defendinge the innocente and fedinge the nedye. Let not couetyse constraîne you to robbe the people of that porcion which they paie to

call upon Him, but if you will not hearken, the same punishment *Iudith .xviii.* and .xv. shall befall you as befell Holofernes, and you shall be afraid of shadowes if there are no men to make you fear.

656

Be warned; seek not to keep the commones of England in slavery, lest you destroy yourselves. For if they commit their cause to God, you may be sure He will fight for them.

666

[* B viii] As you value your own and the public wealth of this realm of England; as you desire to enjoy the same, and not be led away captive or murdered, look upon these causes of sedition, and put them away.

Let the oppressed refer their cause to God; and the oppressor lament his sin.

681

Don't rob the people of godly ministers, who

instruct them in
their duty,

but seek for such
ministers, and
let them have all
the people pay.

689

So shall you
escape vengeance,
and be rewarded
at God's hand
with plenty of
all good.

[* B vili, back]

If you will not
take heed, you
shall be more
hardened than
Pharaoh.

700

May you by
repentance

705

710

escape the
danger.

715

Amen.

haue, godly ministers to enstruct them in their duetie,
and to releue the vnweldy that be not able to labour
for their fode. Be carefull and diligent to seke for
suche ministers, and, when you haue founde them, let
them haue al that the people paye yearly out of their
encrease, that they may liue ther on and minister vnto
the pore out of the same.

Thus doinge, ye shall not onely escape the venge-
ance that hangeth presentlye ouer you but also be re-
warded at Goddes hande, boeth with exceedinge plenti-
of al good thinges in this life, & also with life euerlast-
inge *when nature shal ende the same. Where as

if ye wyl not take counsell, but remayne styl
in your wycked purpose, Pharaoh nor the So-
domites were neuer so hardened as you
shalbe, neyther is the remembrance of
theyr distruccion so terible to vs, as
the distruccion of you shalbe to

others that shall come af-

ter. The Spirite of
GOD worcke

in youre her-
tes, that

ye,

beynge

admonished

of the sword that

is commynge, maye

by repentance

of your syn

escape


the daun-

ger therof.


So be it.



An informa-

cion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours
of the pore Commons of this Realme, compi-
led and Imprinted for this onely purpose
that amongst them that haue to doe
in the Parliamente, some godlge
mynded men, may hereat take
occacion to speake more in
the matter then the Au-
thoure was able to
write. * 

¶ Esaye .lviii.

 When you suffre none oppression to bee
amongest you, and leaue of youre idle talke:
then shal you cal vpon the Lord and he
shal hear you, you shal crie, and he
shal say, Behold I am at hand.

¶ To the moste honorable Lords of the Par
liament wyth the *commones* of the
same : theyr moste humble and
dayely Oratoure, Roberte
Crowley, wysbeth the
assistance of Gods
Holy Spirite.

A Monge the manyfold & moste weyghty mattiers
(moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated
and *communed* of in this present Parliament,
and by the aduise, assent, and consent therof
spedily to be redressed, I thynke ther is no
one thyng more nedfull to be spoken of then
the great oppression of the pore *communes* by the
possessioners, as wel of Clergie as of *the* Laitie. No
doubt it is nedfull, and ther ought to bee a spedye
redresse of many mattiers of religion, as are these :—
The vse of the sacraments and ceremonies ; the
vsurpyng of tenthes¹ to priuate *commoditie* ; the super-
fluouse, vnlearned, vndiscret, and viciouse ministers of
the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous ad-
ministracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be
a spedye reformation. For they are now most lyk hastely
to bryng vpon thys noble realme the insuitable
vengeance of God, if they bee not shortly reformed ;

Of all matters
to be discussed

5

nothing is more
urgent than that
concerning
oppression of
the poor.

10

Religious matters
also need to be
redressed and
reformed.

14

18

¹ Orig. tathes.

because God has made them known to us. for as much as it hath pleased the almyghty and luyng God to open vnto vs those abhominacions, whych haue heretofore ben kept secret and hyd from vs.

These thynges, I say, ar yet far out of ioynt, and
23 had great nede to be reformed.

[leaf 1, back]
The ignorant
people still
believe

For notwithstanding the Kynges maiesties late visitacion, the ignorant people, whoe haue longe ben fostred and brought vp in the supersticion and wronge beleue of these thynges, and are yet, no dout, secretly

in the super-
stitions of their
fathers,

28 instructed by their blinde guydes and by them holden styl in blyndnes, wyll not be perswaded *that* theyr forfathers supersticion was not the true fayth of Christ, tyl such tyme as they haue continuynge among them

and will do so till
better ministers
are appointed.

32 such preachers as shall be able, and wyll, by the manifeste Scriptures, proue vnto them *that* both they & their fathers wer deceiued & knewe not howe to worship God aright; but, shamefulli seduced by the couetyse of the shepherdes and guydes, sought hym wher he was not; & when they thought they had ben
38 most hygh in his fauour, by doing him such honor as thei thought moste acceptable in hys syght, then committed they most detestable blasfemie, and were abhominable before hym.

Ministers now
are hirlyngs and
butchers:

42 Thys knowledge, I say, wyll not be beaten into the heads of the ignorante, so longe as theyr shepeherds be but hyrlynges and folowe luynges, for such minister not to the congregacion but to theyr owne bealyes. They are not shepeherdes but butchars. They come not to feede, but to be fed. And doubtes (moste Christen counsaylours) I thinke it not possible to

they come to be
fed, not to feed:

49 amende this great enormitie, otherwise then by reduceynge the order of choseynge of the ministers vnto the order that was in *the* primitiue church, wherof is mentioned in the Act. of the Apostles. For so long as ydle bealies may come to the bishope and be smered for money, God shall saye to them by his Prophet, "You

Actu. 1.

Jere. 23.

did renne but I sent you not." They shalle be called [leaf 1]
 feedars of feedyng them selues, and not of fedying 56
 the flock. They shall studye to please men & not to
 please God. In fine, they shall differ nothyng from they differ
 nothing from
 craftsmen
 the craftes men whyche applye an occupacion to get
 theyr lyuyng vppon, and not to the intent to profite
 the common weale. 61

The craftes man sueth for the fredom of a Citie, who seek for the
 freedom of the
 City,
 not because he intendeth to be a maintainer of the
 Citie, but because he hopeth that he shall lyue so
 muche the more welthly hym selfe. And euen for 65
 lyk causes do our ministers, and are lyke styll to do
 (so longe as they maye bee receyued when they come
 vncaled), applye them selues to priestyng, because they
 lyke wel the ydelnes of the lyfe. because they will
 be better off.

I doubt not but the Kynges maiesties visiters
 knowe more of thys matter then I can be able to 71
 wrytte. And by them, I doubt not, you shall bee
 moued to commone of thys mattier at the full.

The sacramentes they styll abuse, vseing them as The Sacraments
 are still abused;
 matters of merchaundyce, and chiefly the most worthy
 memorie of our redemption; for that they selle boethe 76
 to the quycke and to the deade, to the ryche and to the
 poore. None shall receyue it at theyr handes wythout
 he wyll paye the ordinarie shotte, and so are they redy
 to serue euery man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely
 and nothyng vppon the mynde. Whether it be taken
 to comfort of conscience or iudgement, they pas not; 82
 thei tel the monei, thei loke for nomore. If they wyll
 deny this to bee true, let them saye why they suffer
 the pore to begge money to paye for theyr housel, as
 they call it? Perchance they wyll answer that the
 money is not payede for the sacrament, but for the iiii
 offering dayes? Then aske I this question:—
they must be
 paid for, and
 then every man
 may have them.
 The priests look
 upon the money
 only.

Why thei appoint not another time to receiue it in
 then that tyme whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in
They know this
 is true,
 but excuse them-
 selves by saying
 [leaf 2, back]
 the money is not
 paid for the
 Sacraments, but
 for the four
 offering days.
 If so they should

collect the money
at some other
time.

declareynge to the people the right vse & profyfte of
the sacramentes, & to instructe them, so *that* they do

93 not receyue it to theyr iudgment, but to theyr confort
and quietnes of conscience, for whych purpose it was
first instituted? Vndoubtedli (most Christian coun-
sailours) they can not deny but that they appoynt to
receyue it then because they wyll be sure of it.

But they take it
then because
they will make
sure of it.

98 Theyr doeynges wyll declare it though they
woulde deny it, for none may receyue the sacramentes
vnles he do fyrste paye the money. And then, wyth
how lyttle reuerence it is ministred and receyued, euery
Christen hert seeth & lamenteth.

The Sacrament
is administered
irreverently, and
only to such as
pay.

103 These thynges (I doubt not) are so euident and
playne vnto you that it nedeth not to trouble you wyth
many wordes concerneynge the abuses therof. Many
godly mynded men haue boeth written and preached,
& do dayely write and preach, of and agaynst those
abuses; wherfore I am certen that you haue iuste occa-
sion and can do no lesse but seke a furdre redres herof
(whych all Chrysten hertes do desyr) in thys present
parliament.

Many men write
and preach
against these
abuses; so that
there is just
reason to seek
for further
redres in the
Parliament.

I fear the op-
pression of the
poor will be
passed ouer in
silence,

111 But as for the oppression of the pore, whych is no
lesse nedfull to be *communed* of and reformed then
the other, I feare me wyll bee passed ouer with silence,
or if it bee *communed* of, I canne scarcely truste that
any reformacion canne bee had; vnlesse God do nowe
worke in the hertes of the possessioners of thys realme,
as he dyd in the primitiue church, when the possess-
ioners wer contented and very wyllynge to sell theyr
possessions and geue the price therof to be commune
to al the faythful beleuers. Take me not here that I
shoulde go about by these wordes to perswade men to
make all thynges *commune*; for if you do, you mistake
me. For I take God to wytnes I meane no suche
thyng. But with all myne herte I woulde wysh that

[leaf 3]
vnlesse God move
the hearts of the
possessioners to
sell their lands.

I do not advocate
a community of
goods.

I mean no such
thing.

126 no man wer suffered to eate but such as woulde labour

in theyr vocacion and callyng, accordynge to the rule that Paule gaue to the Thessalonians.

2 *Thess.* 3.

But yet I woulde wysh that the possessioners woulde consyder whoe gaue them theyr possessions, and howe they ought to bestowe them. And then (I doubt not) it shoude not nede to haue all thynges made commune.

But I would have the possessioners remember who gave them their possessions and what for.
133

For what nedeth it the seruauntes of the housholde to desyre to haue theyr maysters goods commune, so longe as the stuarde ministreth vnto euery man the thyng that is nedefull for hym ?

137

If the possessioners woulde consyder them selues to be but stuardes, and not Lordes ouer theyr possessions, thys oppression woulde sone be redressed. But so longe as thys perswasion styketh in theyr myndes,—

Possessioners are only stewards, not lords, and there can be no redress

“It is myne owne ; whoe shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth ?”—it shall not bee

143

possible to haue any redresse at all. For if I may do wyth myne owne as me lysteth, then maye I suffer my brother, hys wyfe, and hys chyldrene to lye in the strete, excepte he wyll geue me more rent for myne house then euer he shal be able to paye. Then may I

while they think they may do as they will with their own.

take his goods for that he oweth me, and kepe his body in prison, tournynge out his wyfe and chyldren to perishe, if God wyll not moue some mans herte to pittie them, and yet kepe my coffers full of goulde and syluer.

148

[leaf 3, back]

If ther were no God, then would I think it leafull for men to vse their possessions as thei lyste. Or if God woulde not require an accompt of vs for the bestoweynge of them/, I woulde not greatly gaysaye, thoughte they toke theyr pleasure of them whylse they

152

If there were no God then it might be lawful to use possessions thus ;

liued here. But forasmuch as we haue a God, and he hath declared vnto vs by the Scripturs that he hath made the possessioners but stuardes of his ryches, and that he wyl holde a streygh[t] accompt wyth them for the occupiynge and bestoweynge of them ; I thynke

157

but there is a God, and He has made possessors stewards only.

162

163 no Christian ears can abyde to heare that more than
Turkysh opinion.

The Philosophers
said friends
should possess
in common :

The Philosophers who knewe nothyng of the bonde
of frendshippe which Christe our Maister and Redemer
left amonge vs, affirmed that amonge frendes al
thynges are common, meaneing that frendshippe woulde

169 not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the
thyng that he hath nede of. And what shal we saye?
Are we not frendes? Surly if we be not frendes, wee
beare the name of Christe and bee called Christians in

If we haven't
more perfect
friendship than
they we are not
true Christians.

vayne. Yea if wee haue not a more perfecte frende-
shyppe then that whereof the Philosophers speake,
wee are but fayned Christians, we beare the name onely

176 and are nothyng lesse in dede. For this is the
token that Christe gaue whereby wee shoulde be knowen
to be of hym :—" If we loue one an other as he loued
vs." Howe he loued vs is declared by the wordes of

John .13.

Ephes .5.

[leaf 4]
If we follow
Christ's example
we shall not spare
ourselves, but
shall give our
lives for the good
of others.

the Apostle, sayinge, that Christe gaue hymselfe for vs.
Accordynge to this exemple ought our frendshyp to be
such, that we wyll not spare to spende our lyfe for the
welth of our brothers. Not to fyght in theyr quarell
(for Christe bade Peter put vp the swerde into his
place), but to teach the truth boldly, without any feare

186 of death, and not to suffer oure brothers to bee led in
erroure, thoughe presente death shoulde insue for so
doynge.

Some, perchaunce, wyll thynke that this frendshyp
is to be vnderstande onely of the pastors and shep-
herdes towarde theyr flocke; because Christ sayth that

John .10.

192 a good shepherde geueth his lyfe for his shepe. For-
soeth if the pastours or shepherdes onely were the
flocke of Christe, then myght thys frendeshyp ryght
well be vnderstanded of them onely. But for asmuch

This friendship
refers to the
laity and clergy,

because both
belong to the
flock of Christ.

as the laie and priuate persons ar as well of the flocke
of Christe as the other, thys frendeshyp parteineth vnto
them no lesse then to the other. And thys causeth

me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the displeasure of men in this behalfe; knoweynge for certentie, that the greateste numbre of thys assemble are not free from this oppression that I speak of, and that it is far vnlyke that a priuate persone, by no meanes worthy to be called to suche an assemble, shoulde be fauourably hereade and accepted of them whom God hath called to be counsaylours of a realme; and chiefly in a cause taxynge & blameyng the iudges befor whom it is pleaded. I might well coniecte wyth my selfe, that I shoulde in this poynte be compted a busy body,¹ and one that renneth before he is sent. But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but euen the verry death also (if it shall please the almightie and euerlyueynge God to laye it vpon me) for youre sakes, most worthy counsaylours, and the residue, my naturall brothe[r]s of this noble realme.

And here I proteste vnto you all, that the same Spirite that sent Ionas to the Niniuits, Daniel to the Babilonians, Nathan to Kyng Dauid, Achior vnto Holofernes, Iudith vnto the Priestes and Elders of the Iewes, the prophete to Ieroboam in Bethel, Iohn the Baptist vnto Herode, and Christ vnto the Iewes, wytnesseth wyth my conscience that I renne not vnsent. For euen the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wyckednes;" cryeth also in my conscience, bydyng me not spare to tell the possessioners of this realme, that vnlesse they repente the oppression wherewith they vex the pere commons, and shew *themselues*, through loue, to be brothers of one father & membres of one body wyth them, they shal not at the laste daye enherite wyth them the kyngdom of Christa, *the* Eldest Sonne of God the Father, whych hath by his Worde begotten hym many brothers & coheritours in² his kyngdom. Vnlesse, I saye, the possessioners of this realme

This makes me
fear man's
displeasure.

For speaking in
this manner I
may be counted
a busybody, but
I am ready to
suffer

[leaf 4, back]
anything for
your sakes.

215
The Spirit that
sent Christ and
the propheta

witnesses that
I am sent

Esaie. 58.

225
to tell you pos-
sessioners to repent
of your oppres-
sions, and show
yourselves
brothers, of one
father, and
membres of
one body.

231
Unless you all
repent of the

¹ Orig. loby

² Orig. is

The Spirit that sent Christ and the propheta

violence done to
the poor, you
will be cast into
outer darkness.

238 wyll repent the violence don to the poore and nedy
membres of the same, and become as handes, ministryng
vnto euery membre hys necessaries, they shall, at the
daye of theyr accompt, be bound hand and fote and
cast into vtter da[r]cknes, wher shal be wepyng;
wealyng, and gnashyng of teeth; that is, dolour and
payne, the greatnes wherof canne not be expressed
wyth tonge nor thought wyth herte. And thys much
more sayeth the Spirite. Vnlesse ye purge your
selues of this bloude, & stop the mouthes of the pore
that the voyce of theyr complayn[t]e come not vnto
myne eares, I wyl not prospere your counsayles in the
reformacions of those abhominacions which I shewed
vnto you, but wyll leaue you to *the* spirite of errour,
the prince of thys worlde, whose dearlinges ye are so
longe as ye seke not the welth of the nedy, but your
251 owne priuate commoditie.

[leaf 5]

Esaie. 59.
Unless you make
the poor to cease
from crying,
God will not
prospere your
reformations,
but will leave
you in the power
of the prince of
this world.

Now hear what
complaints are
made against you
in heaven:

258 These thynges hath the Spirite of God spoken.
Heauen and earth shal perish, but the wordes of the
Spirite shall not perysh, but be fulfilled. Nowe
herken you possessioners, and you rich men lyfte vp
your eares; ye stuards of the Lord, marke what com-
playntes are layede agaynste you in the hygh court of
the lyueynge God.

Lord, hast thou
forgotten us?

While the wicked
man grows proud
[See Psalm x.]
the poor are
afflicted.

Would God the
wicked might
feel some of the
troubles he in-
vents for others.

258 "Lorde" (sayeth the Prophete) "hast thou forsaken
vs? Doest thou hyde thy selfe in the tym of our trou-
ble? Whylse the wycked waxe proud the pore man
is afflicted and troubled. Would to God the wicked
myght feale the same thinges that they inuent for
other. For the sinnere prayseth hym selfe in the
desyres of hys soule, and he extolleth and sette[t]h
forth the couetouse man. He prouoketh the Lorde and
267 is so proud that he wyll not seke hym. He neuer
thynketh vpon God. His wayes be defyled at all
tymes. He loketh not vpon thy iudgmentes, Lorde, he
270 wyll reuenge hym vpon all hys enimies.

“He thynketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not remoue frome one generacion vnto an other wythout mischiefe. His mouth is full of malediction and euill reporte, fraude & deceyte, and vnder his tonge is affliction and iniquitie.

He thinks he shall remain.

He is full of fraud and deceit.

275

“He lyeth in wayte wyth the riche men of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to slea *the* innocent. Hys eyes are fyxed vpon the pore; he layeth awayete euen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth awayete to take the pore man by force, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he ouerthrowe the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his herte he sayeth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a waye hys face, and wyll neuer regarde the oppression of the pore,” etc., to the ende of the same Psalme.

[leaf 5, back]
He lies in wait in villages to slay the innocent, to take the poor man; and when he has taken him he uses him violently.

282

He says God has forgotten and has turned away His face.

287

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde geue vpon this euidence? No doubt (most worthy counsellers) euen the same that we reade in Esaye the Prophet:—“I loked for iudgment and rightouse dealeyng amongeste my people, and beholde there is iniquitie, I loked also for iustice, and beholde ther is an outerye. Wo be vnto you therefore, that do ioyn house vnto house, & couple one felde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses shall be deserte & without inhabitantes; x acres of wynes shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and xxx bushelles of sede shal yelde but x bushelles agayne.” Beholde, you engrossers of fermes and teynements, beholde, I saye, the terrible threatnynges of God, whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you

Esai. 5.

292

The sentence God will give against those who join house to house and field to field; against such as oppress instead of dealing justly:—

Many houses shall be desolate, ten acres of vines shall only yield one quart, and 30 bushels of seed shall only yield ten.

304

- [leaf 6] haue with money thruste out of house and whome) is
 307 well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath
 steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth
 You cannot escape God's threatenings. you most horrible plages. Ten acres of vynes shal
 yelde but one quarte of wyne, and xxx bushelles of
 The seed of God's Word shall remain barren in your hearts. sede but x bushelles agayne. The sede of Goddes
 Worde sowen in youre hertes shalbe barrayne and not
 bringe fourth fruite.
- 314 For couetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that
 grounde so that the heauenlie sede can bi no meanes
 geue encrease. This is a plage, of al plages most
 God will punish you "lease mongers" who take lands that you may let them out again. horryble. And doubt ye not, you lease mongers, that
 take groundes by lease to the entente to lette them out
 agayne for double and tryple the rent, your parte is in
 this plage.¹ The Lorde shal take his Spirite from you.
- 321 He shall forbyd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon
 you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you sur-
 and you surveyors, that of ten-pound land make twenty. ueighers² of landes, that of x. li. lande can make xx,
 you shall not be forgotten in the effucion of thys plage.
- When you have raised your rents to the highest, For when you haue multiplied your renttes to the
 higheste, so that ye haue made all your tenantes your
 slaues to labour, and toyle, and bringe to you all that
 327 maye be plowen and digged out of youre groundes,
 then shal death sodaynly strike you, then shall God
 you'll die suddenly, and God's grace will be taken from you, wythdrawe his comfortable grace from you, then shall
 your conscience prycke you, then shall you thynke
 332 with desparat Cain, that your sinne is greater then that
 it may be forgeuen. For your owne conscience shall
 and you will think yourselves unworthy of mercy, because you have shown no mercy. iudge you worthye no mercye, because you haue shewed
 no mercy. Yea the same enimie that hath kendled
 and doeth yet maynetayne in you thys mischeuouse,
 [leaf 6, back] outragious, and vnsaciable couetousnes, shall then bee
 as busy to put you in mynde of the wordes of Christ,
 saienge, "the same measure that you haue made vnto
 340 other, shalbe nowe made vnto you."

¹ Orig. palge² Orig. surneighers

You haue shewed no mercye, howe can you than
loke for mercie? Oh noble counsailours, be mercyfull
to your selues. Destroye not your owne soules to en-
riche your heires. Enlarge not your earthly posses-
sion wyth the losse of the eternall enheritaunce.

Do not destroy
your souls to
enrich your
heirs.

Learne to knowe the estate that God hath called you
vnto, & to lyue accordings to your profession. Know
that you are al ministres in the common weale, and
that the porcion which you are borne vnto, or that
your prince genethe you, is your estate. Knowe that
your office is to distribute & not to scrape together on
heapes. God hath not sette you to suruey hys landes,
but to playe the stuardes in his householde of this
world, and to se that your pore felow seruantes lacke
not theye[r] necessaries.

Remember you
are ministres in
the common-
wealth.
Your duty is to
distribute, and
not scrape
together.

Consider that you are but ministers and seruantes
vnder the Lorde oure God, and that you shal render a
stroyght accompt of your administracion. Stand not
to much in your own conceyte, glorynge in the worthy-
nesse of your bloude; for we are all one mans chyl-
dren, and haue (by nature) lyke ryght to the richesse
and treasures of thys worlde, whereof oure natural
father Adame was made Lord and Kinge. Which of
you can laye for hym selfe any naturall cause whye he
shoulde possesse the treasure of this wor[ld]de, but *that*

You are only
servants, and
will have to give
an account of
your adminis-
trations.

the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you
make your slaue? By nature (therefore) you can
claime no thyng but that whiche you shall gette with
the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and
gouernoures therefore, commeth not by nature but by the
ordinaunce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that
he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this
worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede
multitude.

360

the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you
make your slaue? By nature (therefore) you can
claime no thyng but that whiche you shall gette with
the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and
gouernoures therefore, commeth not by nature but by the
ordinaunce & appoyntment of God. Knowe then that
he hath not cauled you to the welthe and glorie of this
worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede
multitude.

By nature you
can only claim
(leaf 7)
what you earn.

That you are
lords comes by
ordinaunce, not by
nature.

372

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defaute,
knowe then for certentye, that the bloude of them

If any poor
perish through
Ezech. 33.

your neglect,
their blood will
be required at
your hands.

shalbe required at your handes. If the impotent creatures perish for lacke of necessaries, you are the murderers, for you haue theyr enheritaunce and do minister vnto them.

If they steal, you
are the cause,
because you haue
enclosed all the
lands.

Psal. 113.

380 If the sturdy fall to stealeyng, robberyng, & reueynge, then are you the causers therof, for you dygge in, enclose, and wytholde from them the earth out of the whych they should dygge and plowe theyr lyueynga. For as the Psalmiste wryteth :—“ All the heauen is the Lordes ; but as for the earth hee hath geuen to the chyldrene of men.”

You are ap-
pointed to give
meat to God's
household.

387 The whole earth therfor (by byrth ryght) belongeth to the chyldren of men. They are all inheritous therof indifferently by nature.

Luke .12.
Daniel .4.
[leaf 7, back]
Remember
Nebuchadnezzar,
who became a
beast,

394 But because the sturdy shoulde not oppresse the weake and impotent, God hath apoynted you stuards to geue meate vnto his housholde in due season. And if you be founde faythfull in this littel, then knowe that he wyll preferre you to much greater thingos. But if ye bee founde oppressing your felowe seruauntes, then knowe for certantie, that the Lorde your Maister shall at hys comeynge rewarde you wyth many stryppes. Call to your remembraunce the History of Kyng Nabuchodonosor, whoe for his presumption became as a brute beast, fead[ing] vpon grasse and hey as other beastes dyd.

and Pharaoh,
whom the Lord
drowned in the
Red Sea.

403 Consyder Pharao with his great armie, whom the Lord ouerwhelmed in the Red Sea for oppresseyng and persecuteyng his people. Yea, consider all the nobilitie that haue possessed the erth, euen from the begynnyng ; and then saye howe you bee theyr successours, & by what title you may cleyme that which was theirs.

The Romans held
all Europe and
part of Africa
and Asia, and
where are their
successors ?

Many hundred yeres sence the noble Romans helde all Europa and parte of Affrike and Asia in quiete possession ; and where are they that succede them in theyr impier ?

The brutishe Gothes inuaded and vanquished the
 impier of Rome ; and wher are theyr successours ? Who are the
 successours of the
 Goths ?

What shoulde I stande in the rehersale of the
 greate possessioners that haue hertofore possessed the
 erth, whose lynial descent can not be founde ? It
 shall suffice me to remyt you to the wordes of the
 Lorde vnto Nabuchodonosor, whyche are written in the
 boke of Daniel the Propheta. 415

Ther shall you learne that it is God that geueth
 the impiere to whome it pleaseth hym, and that all
 powre is from aboue, accordynge to the answer that our
 sauioure Christe made vnto Pilate, when he bragged
 hym wyth the powre that he had to crucifie hym and
 to deliuer hym. "Thou shouldest," sayed our Sauiour,
 "haue no powre ouer me at all, were it not geuen the
 from aboue." Dani. 4.
 All empire is
 from God, and He
 gives it to whom
 He will, as Christ
 said to Pilate.

Thus is it euident vnto you (moste worthy coun-
 saylours) that your powre and estate cometh frome
 aboue ; and that by nature you can cleyme nothyng of
 the possessions of this worlde, more then that whyche
 you gette wyth the swet of your faces. 424

I doubt not therefore but that your consciences do
 condesende and agre vnto that which I haue spoken
 concernynge your office and ministerie ; knoweynge that
 God hath appointed you to minister necessaries to the
 impotent, and to defende the innocent. John .19.
 Thus it is clear
 all your power
 and property
 come from above.
 [leaf 8]

Do not therefore neglect thys principalle poynt of
 your dutie, to seke in this parliament a redresse of thys
 great oppression, wherwyth the pore membres of this
 noble realme ar most vnmercifully vexed on euery side. 428

The lande lordes for theyr partes, suruey and make
 the vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysydes the
 vnreasonable fynes and incomes, and he that wyll not
 or can not geue all that they demaunde, shall not enter,
 be he neuer so honest, or stande he neuer so greate neede. I do not doubt
 but that in your
 consciences you
 agree to what I
 have said.

Yea, though he haue ben an honeste, true, faythfull 433

Landlords make
 the uttermost
 penny of their
 grounds, besides
 fines and in-
 comes ; 438

Do not neglect
 your duty, but
 redress this
 oppression. 438

Landlords make
 the uttermost
 penny of their
 grounds, besides
 fines and in-
 comes ; 438

Yea, though he haue ben an honeste, true, faythfull 448

and when a
tenant's lease
runs out they
make him pay
a great sum, or
else he must
vacate in haste.

and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vacation of his copie or indentur he must paye welmoste as muche as woulde purchayse so much grownde, or else voide in hast, though he, his wyfe and chyldrene, shoulde periahe for lacke of harbour.

453

The mischiefes
that flow from
such oppression
to men, women,
and children, are
fearful.

What a sea of mischifes hath floued out of thys more then Turkyashe tyranie! What honeste householders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest mens tables! What honeste matrones haue ben brought to the needy rocke and cardes! What men-

459

[leaf 8, back]

chyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences, and other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handy-crafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie! What frowarde and stoubourn children haue herby shaken of the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge into all kyndes of wickednes, and finaly garnyshed galowe trees! What modeste, chaste, and womanly virgins haue, for lacke of dourie, ben compelled, either to passe ouer the days of theyr youth in vngrate seruitude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable pouertie!

464

Young men
garnish the
gallows;

What immodeste and wanton gyrls haue hereby ben made sisters of the Banck (the stumbling stock of all frayle youth) and finaly, moste miserable creatures, lyeinge and dieynge in the stretes ful of all plages and penurie! What vniuersall destruction chaunceth to this noble realme by this outrageous and vnsaciable desyr of the surueiers of landes! I reporte me to you (moste Christian counsayellours) whichar here assembled from all partes of this noble realme, to consulte for the

469

young women
are made
"Sisters of the
Bank,"

and die in the
streets.
Universal
destruction comes
upon our noble
realm by the
covetousness of
surveyors.

welth of all the membres of the same.

Some obtain
leases of houses
and then raise
the rents to
tenants.

On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not able to be lande lordes, and yet, after a sorte, they conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynyge¹ leases in and

¹ Orig. obtaynydge

vpon groundes and tenementes, and so reyse fynes, 484
 incomes, and rentes; and by suche pyllage pyke out a
 porcion to mayntayne a proude porte, and all by
 pyllynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must
 of necessitie seke habitations at their handes. 488

That this is true, I report me to my Lorde the
 Maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of Lon-
 don, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the
 Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I
 thinke ix of the x partes, of the houses in London
 bee set and let by them that haue them by lease and
 not by the owners. 495

*Nine-tenths of
 the houses in
 London are
 let in this way.
 [leaf 9]*

Howe thei polle the pore tenantes would sone be
 tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rent-
 rolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the
 greate leasmungers haue greate gains by their leases, for
 the litleons, that hold but a piece of houseing of xx. or
 xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell 501
 vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letynge out
 the residue for the whole yerely rent.

*How they impose
 upon the tenants
 would soon be
 seen if the leases
 and rent-rolles
 were compared.*

I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare
 in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not
 worthy to be spoken of in so noble an assemble as this
 most honorable Parliament. For they are no mattiers
 concerneyng the welth of the nobilitie; yea it is rather
 hyndrance to many of them, to haue these thynges
 redressed, then any encrease of theyr wealth. 510

*These things
 appear to be
 trifles which do
 not concern the
 nobility and seem
 to be unworthy
 of notice by the
 Parliament.*

Yea euen you (moste Christian counsaylours) whych
 are here assembled to debate the weightie mattiers of
 thys realme, are not all so free from this kynde of
 oppression, but that you could be well contented to
 wyncke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inor-
 dinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that
 eyther they can not se theyr owne fauts, or else if they
 do se them or be tolde of them, they take them not to
 be so great as they are in dede; I thinke it no 515
 519

*Even you, Chris-
 tian Councillors,
 are not all so free
 from this oppres-
 sion, but you
 would rather
 wink at it;*

so I shall not wonder if you laugh at my foolhardiness and
(leaf 9, back)
 rashness in entering upon this subject, because men do not agree to such things as will diminish their profits.

meruaile, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue any profite by this oppression, do wythin them selues deride and laugh to scorne my fole hardines and rashe enterpryse herein, knoweynge that it is not the vse of them that bee assembled to the intent to establish such thynges as shall be for the welth of a whole realme, to condescende and agree to those thynges whych shallbe disprofitable vnto the chiefe

528 membres of the same.

What I have said is for the profit of the whole realm.

Truth it is (moste worthy counsailours), I myght well and worthyly be laughed at if I woulde attempte any suche thyng. But the thyng that hytherto I haue spoken of is not to the disprofite of any, but to the greate commoditie and profite of all the whole

534 realme.

The upper members of the body should clothe the lower members from any harm which might happen to them in their carrying the body about,—

For what discommoditie is it to the heade, shoulders, the armes, and other the vpper membres of the body, beynge all redy sufficiently clothed, to put on the legges & feete a peare of hose and shoes to defende them also from the iniuries of the wether, and other hurtes that might chaunce vnto them in theyr trauaylynge to cary the body from place to place, for hys commoditie and pleasure? Verily in myne opinion, that body is far vnworthy to haue either legges or feete that wyll lette them goe bare, haueyng wher-

541

545 wyth to couer them.

so you, the chief members, should provide for those members beneath you, and give them a portion of the riches which you possess.

Euen so you, beynge the chiefe membres of this noble realme, and haueing in your handes the wonderful and incomparable riches of the same, what shoulde it greue you to departe wyth some porcion therof, that the inferioure membres therof may at all tymes bee

551 able to do theyre ministerie and office accordyngly.

Bear in mind that the body without the legs is only like a
(leaf 10)
 block, and cannot move; so you, if

Once remembre, that as the body wythout the inferiour partes is but lame and as a blocke vnweldy, and muste, if it wyll remoue frome place to place, creepe vpon the handes; euen so you, if ye had not the pore

membres of this realme to tyll the grounde and doe your other droudgerly, no remedy, you must nedes do it your selues.

you had not the poor to till the ground, must do it yourselves.

Vse them therefore as the necessarie membres of the mystical body of this most noble realme, and be not in this poynt mor vnnatural then the heathen Philosophers were.

Therefore you must use the poor as members of this realm, else you will be more unnatural than the heathen,

They in their writtynges declare no lesse then I haue here written.

564

This ought not a lytle to moue you, beyng Christians (whose Redemer, Iesu Christ, sitte[t]h at the right hande of God his Father) to study, not onely to be equale wyth, but to pas the heathen and vnchristined in this mattier, euen as farre as the excellencie of the name and religion which we professe passeth theyrs.

whom, as Christians, you ought to surpass.

Remembre (most Christian counsaylours) that you are not onely naturally membres of one bodi with the pore creaturs of this realme, but also by religion you ar membres of the same misticall body of Christe, whoe is the heade of vs all (his membres), and estemeth all that is done to the leste of vs his membres as done to hym selfe. For he sayeth :—

570

By religion you are all members of Christ's body,

574

and Christ esteems what is done to His membres as done to Himself.

“What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me.” If you therefore, neither wil your selves oppresse our Sauour Christe in his membres, nor suffer other to do it, fayle not to fynde a redres of this greate oppression, whych I haue declared to the same ende. And then I doubt not but God shall so worke wyth you, that euerie man shall wyllyngely embrace a reformation of all mattiers of religion. For the Spirit of God shall dwell in you and in vs all, and Christe himself (as he hath promised) shall bee in the myddes amonge you. Wher as, contrariwise, if you suffer our loueing Sauour thus to be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to the spirite of error. Your reformacions shal take no

Mat. 25.

If you will not oppresse Christ through His membres, redress these wrongs, and then every man will assist you in reforming religion.

584

[leaf 10, back]

If you oppress the poor, Christ will forsake you and leaue you to a spirit of error.

592 place. All your diuises shall be abhominable in his syght, because ye haue not purged your handes from the bloude of this oppression.

Don't make laws like some which have been made in this place by a previous Parliament.

Let the decrees whych were establyshed in thys place by a Parliament assembled for a lyke purpose be your president, not to folow, but to beware by them that ye establish not the lyke.

The intent of that assemble was no lesse to reforme the abuses of our religion then thys is. But because Christe was not deliuered frome oppression he woulde

602 not be amonge them.

They did not meet in Christ's name, but rather agaynste hym. 1. *Epist.* 4.

They were not congregated in hys name, but rather agaynste hym and hys doctrine, for he hym selfe is dear loue, & (as his Apostle Iohn writeth) wher this dear loue is not, ther is not he. Thys thyng is well proued by theyr procedynges in the same Parliament.

Articles were established against God's Word, forbidding marriage, and separating the married.

You will, I doubt not, call these articles in question.

607

For they established Articles euen directly agaynste Gods worde, forbedyng to mary, and commaundynge to put asunder those that God hath ioyned together.

615

If you wyll call these Articles into question agayne (as in dede you haue iuste occacion to do) I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceeded of the spirit of erreure, and not of the Spirite of God; because the charitie of God was not amonge them in that assemble.

[leaf 11] Christ's poor members are oppressed in other things—I am unwilling to mention them lest I should offend with the multitude of words. Some you know: as extortion and usury, authorized by Parliament;

627

Other thynges therbe wherby the pore members of Christe in thys noble realme are oppressed; wherof I haue made no mention, partely because I am loth to offende wyth the multitude of my rude wordes, & partely for that I know you can not seke for a redres of these thynges wherof I haue spoken. But the other wil offer them selues vnto you, I meane the greate extortion and vsurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these

.iii. yeres laste paste.

The Cleargie of the Citie of London haue, for theyr parte, optayned by Parliament authoritie to ouertenthes euen after the exem[ple] of the landlordes and leasemongers, and maye, by the vertue of the acte, requir for double rentes double tenthes. If the rent of any kynde of housyng or grounde wythin the Citie of London be raised (as ther is in dede veri much) from x.s to xx.s, than may the persone (whoe had before but xvi.d.ob.), by the vertu of this act demaunde .iij.s. ix.d, the double. Bysydes this, the exactions that they take of the pore commons is to much beyonde al reason and conscience. No couple can be maried but these men must haue a dutie, as they cal it. No woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle ministers must haue some duties of hir. None can be buried but they wyl haue a slyese. Not thre monethes before *the* begynyng of this present Parliament, I had iust occacion to be at the payment of this dutie for *the* buryng of an honest pore man, whose frendes wer willyng to haue hys body reuerendly layed in the grounde; and, accordyng to the custome, gaue warnyng to the curate that they woulde brynge the deade body to the church, desyryng hym that he wolde do hys dutie, and to be ther to receye it, and accordyng to the custome to laye it in the grounde. But this rauen, smellynge¹ the carion, coulde not but reueile it to the other carion byrdes of the same chur[c]h, and so woulde needes come all together in a flocke to fetch theyr praye, wyth crosse and holy water as they were wont to do, not wythstandyng the Kynges Iniunctions and late visita[t]ion. The frendes of the deade man refused all this, and required to haue no mor but the commune coffen to put the bodye in, agreynge to paye to the keper therof hys accustomed dutie, and in lyke maner to the graue maker, and the

the clergy over-
tith, and for
double rent
demand double
tenths.

631

636

They exact money
from the poor

for marriages,

churchings,

642

burials.

(How the clergy
acted at St
Sepulchre's
Church

648

[leaf 11, back]

652

in the City of
London,

657

when an honest
poor man

was brought to
be buried

¹ Orig. smellydge.

664 foure pore men to cary the bodye, so that the whole charges had ben but vii.d.

in St Sepulchre's,
London.)

But when the corps was buried, wythout other crosse or holy water sticke, Dirige, or Masse, wyth prayers of as small deuocion as any pore curate could saye, yet must we nedes paye .vii.d. more. That is to saye .i.d. to the curate, which he called an heade peny^e,¹ and .vi.d. to .ii. clarkes that we had no nede of.

This was done in London, and I am ready to prove the truth of the statement any-where.

669 This was done in Sepulchres paryshe in the Citie of London. And if it shall please any of thys noble assemble to trye the trueth of this, I wyll verifie it where so euer I shall be called, euen in the presence of all the ydle ministers of the same church.

I have mentioned this circumstance because I think we ought to haue ministers supported by tithes, or else be allowed [leaf 12] to do the duties ourselves.

675 This haue I written (most worthy counsaylours) to geue you occasion to set suche an ordre in this and suche other thynges, that eyther we may haue ministers founde vppon the tenthes that we paie yerli to the churches, other els that it may be leafull for vs to do such ministeries our selues, and not to be thus constrained to feede a sorte of carion crowes, whyche are neuer so mery as when we lament the losse of our frendes.

This much of the extortion of the clergy.

I will now speak of the usury which prevaileth.

682 This much haue I spoken of the extortion that reigneth frely in the Clergie. Nowe, with your pacience, I wil, *with* like breuitie, speak of the great and intollerable usurie, whych at this daie reigneth so frely this realme ouer al, and chiefly in the Citie of London, that it is taken for most leaful gaines. Yea it is welmost heresie to reprove it, for men saye it is allowed by Parliament. Well, the most parte, I am sure, of this most Godly assemble and Parliament do knowe *that* the occasion of the acte that passed here concernynge usurie, was the unsaciabie desyre of the usurers, whoe coulde not be contented with usurie vnlesse it wer vnreasonable muche. To restrayne thys

It is almost heresy to speak against it because it is allowed by Parliament.

The Act was passed on account of the greed of the usurers, and interest was limited to ten per cent.

¹ Orig. pedye

greedy desyre of theyrs, therefore, it was communed and 698
 agreed vpon, and by thauthoritie of Parliament de-
 creed, that none should take aboute .x. li. bi yere,¹ for
 the lone of an .C. li.

Alas, *that* euer any Christian assemble shoulde bee
 so voyde of Gods Holy Spirit *that* thei should allowe
 for leafull any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth.
 Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to call this 705
 act into question agayne. Scan the wordes of the
 Psalmist concernyng this mattier. "Lord," sayeth he,
 "who shal enter into thy tabernacle, and who shal rest
 in thy holy mountaine?" He answereth: "That
 entreth *without* spot & worketh righte. That speaketh
 truth in his herte, & hath not deceiued *with* his tonge ;
 that hath done his neybour no harme, nor accepted any
 reproch against his neibour. He regardeth not the
 wicked, but them that feare the Lorde he glorifieth and
 prayseth. He that swereth to his neibour & deceiuet
 hym not. He that hath not geuen his money vnto
 vsury, and hath not taken giftes and rewardes against
 the innocent."

Alas, that any
 Assembly should
 allow what God
 forbids!

705
 Consider the
 subject again,
Psal. 14.
 and see what the
 Psalmist says.
 From his words,
 the man who
 does not
 give his money
 upon usury shall
 enter heaven.
 [leaf 18, back]

713

If you (most Christian counsaylours) do glory in
 the knowledge of Gods Spirite, whoe hath spoken
 these wordes by the Prophet, how can you suffer this
 acte to stande, whych shalbe a wittnesse agaynste you
 in the later daye that you allowe that which Gods
 Spirite forbideth?

718

How can you
 allow this Act to
 stand?
 It shall be a
 witness against
 you in the Last
 Day.

If he that geueth not hys money to usury shal
 dwell in the Lords tabernacle, wher shal he dwel that
 geueth his money to usuri? Shal he not be shut out,
 & caste into vtter dareknes? Their workes be con-
 trary, & why shoulde not theyr rewarde be also con-
 trary? If the one be receyued in, the other muste be
 shut out. Yea, and you that haue made this lawe,

725

Usurers must be
 shut out of
 heaven, and those
 who made the
 law allowing

¹ See *Supplication of the poore Commons*, ed. J. M. Cow-
 per, p. 84, 'Men myghte take x li. by yere,' &c.

usury, unless you vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the
 reuoke it. contrary, the Brydegroume, the onely Sonne of God,
 734 shal at the laste daye deny you, and saye that he
Math. 7. neuer knewe you; "Depart from me," shal he saye, "al
 ye workers of iniquitie." Scanne the wordes of the
 Prophete therefore, and scanne the wordes of oure
 738 Sauoure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he
 sayeth thus:—"Do you lende¹ lokynge for no gaynes
 therof, and your rewarde shalbe plentuouse, and you
 shall be sonnes of the Hygheste, because he is gentle &
 liberal toward the vnthankfull and wicked."

Christ bids you
 lend, looking for
 nothing againe,
 and you shall be
 the children of
 God.

743 I am not ignoraunt what glosses haue ben made
 vpon this place, and howe men haue wrested & made it
 not to infer necessitie to Christians, but to leaue them
 at libertie either to do it or leaue it vndone.

Men haue
 wrested this
 [leaf 13]
 saying, and made
 it no precept, but
 only a counsel of
 Christ.

What religion do
 these men pro-
 fesse?

Oh mercifull Lorde, what maner of religion is it
 that these men professe?

They boast them selues to bee the disciples of
 751 Christe and setters forthe of his glorie.

They bear Christ's
 name, and yet
 think they may
 choose whether
 they will follow
 His counsel or
 not; those who
 do not hear His
 voice are none of
 His;

They wyl beare the name of hym and be called
 Christians, and yet wylbe at libertie to chose whether
 they luste to folowe hys counsaile or leaue it vndone.

Our shepherd Christe, of whose flocke they boaste
 them selues to bee, sayeth that hys sheepe heare his
 voyce and folowe hym.

John .10. And immediatly before he sheweth the cause why
 the Iewes dyd not credyt hys wordes, to be none other
 760 but that thei wer not his shepe.

but they who
 teach that men
 are at liberty to
 practise Christ's
 counsels or not,
 as they may see
 fit, are

And doubtte ye not (moste worthy counsaylours)
 what so euer he is that wyl defende or teach, that any
 one lytle iote of the counsayles of Christ shoulde be so
 vayne spoken that any of hys flocke myght refuse to

765 practise the same in hys lyuyng to the vttermoste of
 hys power, is nolesse then a membre of the Deuell, and
 a verey Antichriste.

members of the
 devil and very
 Antichrists.

¹ Orig. lenve.

For he that desyreth not in hys herte to practise in 768
 his lyueynge all the counsailes of Christe our Maister
 and Teacher, shall be numbred amonge the obstinate
 Iewes for none of the flocke of Christ, because he
 heareth not his voice nor foloweth him. Thus I mak
 an ende.

and shall be
 numbered with
 the Iewa.

773

Wyshyng vnto you (most worthy counsaylours) *the* 773
 same Spirit that in *the* primitiue church gaue vnto the
 multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, & to
 esteme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minis-
 trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessities ;
 that you, led by the same Spirite, may at the lestweye
 ordeine such a lawe that the oppresion of the pore 780
 reigne not frely amonge them that beare the name of
 Christians. But if they wyll be styll oppressing the
 pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admoni-
 cion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ
 whom thei serue not, but Mammonistes after Mammon
 whose badge they beare. And this reformacion had, no
 doubt the maiestie of God shall so appere in all your
 decrees, *that* none so wicked a creatur shalbe founde so
 bolde as once to open his mouth against the ordre that
 you shal take in al matters of religion. Yea, the verie
 enimies of Daudid shall do omage vnto Solomon for 791
 his wisdom. Al the Kynges christined shal learne at
 you to reforme theyr churches. You shalbe euen the
 light of al the world.

May the Spirit
 which dwelt
 in the primitiue
 Church dwell in
 [leaf 13, back]
Act. 4.
 you, and cause
 you to make a
 law preventing
 oppresion; and

780

if men will still
 oppress let such
 be called Mam-
 monistes and not
 Christians.

786

791

780

786

791

Then all kyngs
 shall learn of you,
 and you shall be
 the light of the
 world.

But, if you let these thynges pas and regarde them
 not, be ye sure the Lorde shal confound your wisdom.
 Inuent, decre, establysh, and authorise what you can ;
 al shal come to nought. The wayes that you shall 798
 inuent to establish vntie and concorde shal be the
 occacions of discorde. The thynges wherby you shal
 thinke to wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall
 turne to your vtter¹ shame; and *the* wayes *that* you shall 802

If you do not,
 God will confound
 your wisdom, no
 matter what you
 decree.

798

802

¹ Orig. vnter.

176

MAY GOD'S SPIRIT BEST UPON YOU.

803

inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the
vttar subuertion of the same. The mer-
cifull Father of our Lorde Iesus
Christe indue you wyth hys
Spirit, that you be not par-
takers of these plagis.

God giue you
His Spirit.

Amen.

Amen.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

- ABYB**, 51/1524, abide, expiate.
 Disparage not the faith thou dost
 not know,
 Lest, to thy peril, thou *aby* it dear.
Mid.-Sr. N. Dr. iii. 2, l. 176
 (Globe ed.).
Agime ziphres, 73/571 ?
Allayes, 9/137, 10/161, alleys.
 Bowling-alleys in which the game
 of bowls was played; alleys, lanes
 or courts in the city of London.
Alleya, 132/84, alleys.
Apointe, 137/273, arrange with.
Armure, 18/426, ?armourer.
Ascoye, 43/1271, askew, askance,
 side-ways.
Babbelars, 103/119. See Acts
 xvii. 18.
Bable, 32/884, bauble.
Baliwike, 43/1257, the jurisdic-
 tion of a bailiff.
Ballyng, 83/27, bawling.
Banck, 166/472, sisters of the
 Bank, prostitutes, inhabitants of
 Bankside.
Barre, to cast the bar, 73/33.
 See *note*, p. xvii.
Base, to run base, 73/35. See
note, p. xvii.
Bealies, 132/92, bellies.
- Bearwardes**, 17/388.
Beastish, 144/505, beastlike,
 brutish.
Bested, 60/19, circumstanced.
 See *Chaucer, C. T.*, 5069, and
Isaiah viii. 21.
Betrusted, 30/823, trusted.
Bisemeyng, 95/14, beseeming.
Bityme, 72/66, betimes, in time.
Bler, 70/12, blear.
Brast, 132/8, burst.
Breuitie, 172/687, brevity.
Bridle-rayne, 95/6, bridle-rein.
Brynke, 16/364, brink, brim.
By, 101/75, be.
By yere, 173/700, for a year.
Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.
Candle, to hold the, 130/21, phr.
Cardes, 166/458 ?
Cessions, 94/143, sessions.
Checkinge, 139/348.
Christined, 175/792, christened.
Cocke and Pye, 19/469, a petty
 oath. See *Merry Wives of W.* i. l.
 l. 316 (Globe ed.).
Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.
Commone, 155/73, commune.

- Commotionars, 22/555, commotioners, men who cause commotions or tumults.
 Condynge, 81/63, condign, "that is, according to merit, worthy, suitable." *Phillips*.
 Coniecte, 159/208, conjecture.
 Cormerautes, 131/69, cormorants.
 Costuouse, 91/30, costly.
 Couetise, 26/690, covetousness.
 Crake, 81/62, crack, boast of.
 Crowmes, 132/95, crumbs.

 Days, offering days, 155/88, certain days on which offerings were made to the Church.
 Dearlinges, 160/249, darlings.
 Destituted, 132/104, made destitute, deprived.
 Dirige, 172/666.
 Disconforte, 111/81, discomfort.
 Disprofitable, 168/527, unprofitable.
 Dorepostia, 111/93, door-posts: "deaf as a door-post," a common phrase.
 Dyprease, 32/898, dispraise.

 Early, 94/134, early.
 Eer, 88/91, ever.
 Effucion, 162/324, effusion.
 Emong, 12/239, among.
 Entarmel, 32/904, intermeddle.
 Euerychone, 89/113, each one, every one.

 Fere, 88/76, in fere, in common.
 Forestall, 34/972, to buy goods on their way to market.
 Forestallers, 34/965, men who bought corn or cattle or goods of any kind as they were on their way to a market or fair, and then sold them again at a higher price.

 Forlore, 99/131, lost.
 Fryses, 33/933, friezes, woollen cloths or stuffs originally from Friesland.

 Gate, 44/1275, gait.
 Gossepes, 103/142, gossipa.
 Graue maker, 171/662.
 Graynges, 161/277, grangea.
 Gulles, 131/69.

 Hadland, 13/266, headland.
 Harbour, 113/140, shelter.
 Haulke, 73/29, hawk.
 Head penny, 172/669.
 Harbour, 8/99, harbour, shelter, lodging.
 Herte rote, 19/464, heart root.
 Houseing, 167/500. *See* Housynge.
 Housel, 155/85, the Sacrament.
 Housynge, 116/271, shelter, houses—probably for *houses*, an old plural of house still in use in Northamptonshire.

 Imperye, 99/137, empire, rule, power.
 Ioynt, 154/22, joint. Phr., "out of joint."
 Iuell, 19/454, evil.

 Leafull, 157/153, lawful.
 Lestweye, 175/779, "leastways."
 Lette, 139/328, let, a hindrance.
 Leyes, 50/1500, leys, leas, pastures for cattle.
 Lite, 88/70, little.
 Littleons, 167/500, 169/579, little ones.
 Liuear, 140/378, liver.
 Liuelode, 65/51, livelihood.

- Loselles, 112/121, lozel, a lazy lubber.
- Luste, 174/754. See Lyste.
- Lynge, 13/276, ling, saltfish. Consult *The Babees Book* for information about ling and fish generally.
- Lyste, 157/154, list, like, choose.
- Malt, 114/201.
- Mammonists, 175/785.
- Markis, 116/251, a Mark was of the value of 13s. 4d.
- Maugrea, 62/86, maugre, in spite of.
- Mawe, 44/1294, maw, stomach.
- Meaners, 101/75. manners, † demeanours.
- Mell, 20/494, meddle.
- Morysh, 119/370, marshy.
- Mowe, 9/132, mow, a stack of corn.
- Mownde, 112/110, a boundary.
- Noble, 80/52, a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. See *Four Supplications*, Glossary in v. *noble*.
- Nownde, 112/110, for mound, a fence or hedge—boundary.
- Omage, 175/791, homage.
- Other, 172/665, either.
- Ouertenthes, 171/630, to over-tithe, or over-tax.
- Packe, 11/195, number.
- Paisant, 141/423, Paisaunte, 142/460, peasant.
- Pardye, 123/502, *Par Dieu*, a common oath.
- Pas, 155/82, heed, care.
- Paste, 45/1316. The 'paste wife' was probably the woman who made the *pasts*, *partlets*, or ruffs then much worn. "Gay gownys and gay kyrtels, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth partelettes and *pastis* garneshed wyth perle." More's *Supplicacyon of Soulys*, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Peltrye, 46/1366. The word *pelt* is still in use in Kent, signifying *rubbish*, the sense in which *peltrye* is used here.
- Plowen, 162/328, plowed.
- Pold, 13/277, polled, robbed, cheated, polling, 20/506.
- Poppyshnes, 72/71, popishness.
- Porte, 167/486, bearing, carriage, or manner.
- Possessioners, 153/8, holders of large estates.
- Praye, 148/669, prey.
- President, 170/597, precedent.
- Priestyng, 155/68, the calling or duties of a priest.
- Primer, 71/55, a little book, which children are first taught to read. *Phillips*.
- Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, searching about.
Prolyng, and pochyng to get somewhat
At euery doore lumpes of bread, or meat.
R. Copland's *Hye way to the Spytel Houe*.
- Prouander, 141/379. "Provender pricketh them," a phrase used in *Newes out of Powles*, Sat. 6:
Ist meruaile though they cranckly crowe
well lodged in their cage?
With *prouen prickt*, yst meruaile now
That thus the Tigars rage?
The modern equivalent, applied to a restive horse, is "the oats prick him."
- Pryme, 91/23, prime, 6 a.m., one of the seven canonical hours.
- Pyld, 13/278, pilled, spoiled.
- Quyte, 69/222, requite. See 1 *Tamb. the Great*, ii. 5.

- Reade, 32/894, 84/58, counsel, advice.
- Rede, 163/373, † scattered. Halliwell has *Rede* (3), to spread abroad.
- Regester, 78/12, † registrar.
- Reueynge, 164/381, ravening, taking by force, from the verb *to reue*.
- Rocke, 166/458, a distaff.
- Route, 91/6, to rule the rout, to rule the common people.
- Royall, 20/502, royal, or rial, a coin of the value of 10 shillings, first coined in the reign of Hen. VI. In the reign of Hen. VIII. the gold rial was ordered to go at 1*l.* 3*d.* In the 2nd of Elizabeth rials were coined at 1*s.* In the 3rd of James I. rose-rials of the value of 30*s.* were coined, and spur-rials at 1*s.* each. The *rial farthings* went at 2*s.* 6*d.* each in the reign of the "Tiger King."
- Salfe, 102/93, safe, or saved.
- Scan, 173/706, 174/736.
- Scase, 81/72, scarce. See Glossary to *England under H. VIII.*
- Schourges, 15/344, scourges.
- Shamefast, 131/53, shamefaced, modest.
- Shente, 38/1096, 86/24, ruined, destroyed.
- Shote, 155/79, shot, amount.
- Slyese, 171/643, slice.
- Smered, 154/53.
- Spittlehouse, 11/211, hospital.
- Stick, holy water stick, 172/666.
- Stockefyshe, 13/276, stockfish, saltfish dried. For much curious information concerning *Stockfish*, see Mr Furnivall's *Babes Book*.
- Stynt, 112/108, stint, stop.
- Swea, 94/133, sway, bear the sway, have rule.
- Tatyllars, 103/117, tattlers. See 1 Tim. v. 13.
- Thral, 87/32, make men thral, enthrall men.
- Thyne, 80/32, thin, weak.
- Tipillyng, 71/33, tipping.
- Tussocke, 44/1303, a heap.
- Typet, a Tyburn tippet, 30/820, a halter.
To weare
A *Tiburne Tippet*, or old Stories cap.
This is the high'st degree which they can take.
Taylor's *Works*, fol. 287.
- Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, advantage.
- Vitayls, 8/90, victuals.
- Vnchristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
- Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
- Vngrate, 166/469, † unbecoming.
- Vnweldy, 168/553, unwieldy.
- Wede, 113/140, clothing.
- Wel, 61/68, weal.
- Welmoste, 10/166, almost, well nigh, nearly.
- Whippets, 45/1331, † short petticoats. See Halliwell's *Arch. Dict.*
- Wit, 55/8, blame.
- Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.
- Yuelles, 162/314, evils.
- Ziphrea, Agime ziphrea, 73/571†

GENERAL INDEX.

- ABBAYS** when suppressed might have been turned to good uses, 7, xiii; xx, *note*.
Abner and Joab, 30.
Abuses of the Sacraments, 155.
Abuses written and preached against, 156.
Acts of Parliament, unworthy, 170.
Aldermen and their rents, 10.
Alehouse, places of waste, and numerous, 8; in the country open on Sunday, xx, 9.
Alleys in London, xiii, 9, 10.
Alms-houses removed, 11, 12.
Articles of Religion, xxxi, 170.

Babblers to be shunned, 103.
Bailiffs and their rogueries, 13.
Bars, or Base, prisoners', xvii.
Bawds, 14.
Bearbaiting in Paris Garden, 16, 17.
Beggars and their deceits, 15, 16; gains of, 16; faults and duties of, 58, 59.
Beggars in London, xiii, 10.
Beggar's Lesson, the, 57.
Beneficed men, xiv, 27; how one was punished, 28.
- Body, humours of the**, 22.
Bonner, Crowley preaching at, xii.
Books reprove faults, 5.
Bowling-alleys, 9.
Brawlers, and whom they profit, 17, 18.
Bristol, Welsh friezes brought to, 33.

Cato's advice on dice-playing, 25.
Christ's welcome at the last, 109; His denunciation of the wicked, 111.
Clergy, fault of the, 135; the, and their wives, 139; rapacity of, 171.
Clergy. See Ministers and Priests.
Collier of Croydon, the, 20.
Commodities, the three, of this realm, xxvii, 38.
Commotioners, 21.
Community of goods not advocated, 156.
Complaints made in heaven, 160.
Condition of life, men to rest content with their, xv, 147.
Country, drinking in, 9; and city both alike, 133.
Covetousness, the, of men, 132.
Crowley, R., particulars of his life, ix—xii.

- Croydon, the collier of, 20.
- Dangers imminent, 150.
- Daniel in the lions' den, 57.
- David quoted against the godless, 35.
- Despair of men, 133.
- Dice-playing, 25 ; evils of, 26.
- Dress, xxvii, 44, 45.
- Drinking on Sundays, xxiv, 9.
- Drinking priests, 71.
- Drunkards, Isaiah quoted against, 23 ; S. Paul quoted on, 24.
- Ely, Bp of, and Crowley, xi.
- Enclosures to be laid open, 122.
- Engrossers will be punished, 34.
- Epigrams, one and thirty*, 5, xiii.
- Exchequer, the, and its officers, 29.
- Exports, xxvii, 38.
- Extortions of usurers, 173.
- Faces painted, xxvii, 44.
- Fane, Lady Elizabeth, dedication to, 107 ; xv, *note* ; xxviii.
- Fashions among women, 44, 45.
- Faults proved in books, 5.
- Faults of clergy and people, 134, 135.
- Field sports, usefulness of, 73.
- Flatterers worse than open enemies, 30 ; are promoted, 31.
- Fools, 31 ; of different kinds, 32, 3
- Forestallers and how they act, 33, 34.
- Frankfort, Protestants flee to, ix.
- French, Englishmen must fight or become like the, 133.
- Friendship, Christian and Heathen, 158.
- Fruits of oppression, 166.
- Funeral at St Sepulchre's, 171.
- Gambling priests, 71.
- Games, 73, xvi, xvii, *note*.
- Gentleman's Lesson, the, 90.
- Gentlemen, plenty of, 89 ; must get knowledge, 91 ; hunting, costly building, apparel of, 91 ; how to live and behave, 92—94.
- Goal running in Kent, xvii, *note*.
- Godless men and their sayings, 35, 36.
- Gossips are the devil's ministers, 103.
- Goths ! Where are the, 165.
- Habakkuk send to Daniel, 57.
- Hair dyed, 44.
- Hearers, vain, 47.
- Henry VIII. and the Religious Houses, xiii.
- Hereford, Crowley Archdeacon of, x.
- Hireling ministers, 154.
- Homes of the poor, 10, xiv, xxiv.
- Idle persons, 37.
- Idleness and its results, 37.
- Ignorance of the people, 23, 120 ; the cause of rebellion, 134.
- Improvements, modern, and their effect, xiv, xxiv.
- Informacion, An*, xxii, 151.
- Inventors of strange news, and the mischief they do, 38, 39.
- Isaiah quoted against drunkards, 23, 24.
- Joab and Abner, 30.
- Judges to beware of bribes, 84 ; to show no favour, 85, xxviii.
- Judgments to come, 161.

- Kent, games in, xvii, *note*.
- Landlords, a prayer for, xxii.
- Lands taken from plowmen, 117.
- Lawyer's Lesson, the, xvii, 82; covetousness of, 82, 83; duties of, 83, 84, xxviii.
- Laymen who take tithes, 39.
- Lead, tin, and wool, xxvii, 38.
- Learned man's Lesson, the, xvii, 74.
- Learned men and their duties, 74—79.
- Learning, how it might have been provided for, 7.
- Leasemongers, 40; to work, 123.
- Lesson, the Beggar's, 57. The Gentleman's, 90. The Lawyer's, 82. The Learned man's, 74. The Magistrate's, 95. The Merchant's, 86. The Physician's, 79. The Priest's, 70. The Scholar's, 72. The Servant's, 59. The Woman's, 99. The Yeoman's, 63.
- Liars, against common, 24; encouraged by noblemen, 25.
- London, customs affecting ale-houses in, 8; alleys in, 9, 10; beggars in, 10; a hell without order, 11; idleness in, 37; a lease-monger of, 40; women, 44; poor in, 116, xxiv, xxviii; no better than the country, 133.
- Louvain, the friar who went to, 45.
- Magistrates should set men to work, 38; the duties of, 95—99.
- Magistrate's Lesson, the, 95.
- Merchants go to farming, 41; purchase lands, 41; lend money, 42; the duties of, 86, 87; they purchase lands, smell out unthrifty heirs, charge double rents, 87, 88.
- Merchant's Lesson, the, 86.
- Ministers are hirelings, 154; godly, not to be removed, 149.
- Misery of the poor, xxi, xxviii, xxix, 133.
- News, inventors of strange, 38.
- Noblemen encourage liars, 25.
- Oaths, common, 19.
- Obedience of rich men, 144.
- Obediant, the people to be, 137, 141.
- Offices, of men who hold many, 43.
- Oppression sent from God, 138; avenged by God, 145; of the poor may be passed over by the Parliament, 156; fruits of, 166.
- Oppressions of rich men, 146.
- Oppressor, the, described by David, 160, 161.
- Oppressors, rich, 145.
- Painting of faces, xxvii, 44.
- Papists, obstinate, 45.
- Paris Garden and bear-baiting, xxvii, 17.
- Parker, Abp, and Crowley, x.
- Parliament, matters to be discussed by, 153; date of, xxxi; unworthy Acts of, 170.
- Patrons, neglect of, xxx, 118.
- Paul's Cross, Crowley preaching at, x.
- Paul, S., quoted against drunkards, 24.
- People, faults of the, 135; errors of the, 136; exhorted to obedience, 137, 141.
- Physician's Lesson, the, xvii, 79.
- Physicians, their duties to the poor and to others, 79—82.
- Plato's treatment of poets and orators, 39.
- Pleasure and Payn, &c.*, xviii, 105.
- Plough's, I., *Doleful Trumpet*, xv.

- Pluralists, 135.
- Pluralities to be given up, 124, 140.
- Poor, die of want, xxviii, 116; to enjoy his copyhold, 123; oppressed everywhere, 133.
- Possessioners and their duties, 156, 157; to repent, 159.
- Power is from God, 165.
- Practices of great men, 133.
- Prayer, a, for landlords, xxii.
- Priest's Lesson, the unlearned, xvi, 17.
- Priests who use tithes privately, 39; ignorant, 70; do not offer a sacrifice, 70; to give over tippling and gambling, 71; to learn themselves and teach others, 71; covetousness of, 155.
- Purchasers, unsatiable, 48.
- Rapacity of the Clergy, 171.
- Rebellion the fruit of ignorance, 134; the, of 1549, referred to, 143.
- Remedies for sedition, 148.
- Rent-raisers, xxviii, 46; woe to, 162.
- Rents in London, 10.
- Rents to be restored, 123; raised, 133.
- Restitution to be made, 146, 147.
- Rich men, obedience of the, 144.
- Ridley, Bp, Crowley ordained by, ix; *ib. note* 3.
- Romans? Where are the, 164.
- Sacraments, the, are bought and sold, 155.
- Scholar's Lesson, the, xvi, 72.
- Schools, why they were founded, 72.
- Sedition must be rooted out, 131; causes of, 132, 134, 142; remedies for, 148, xxxi.
- Sepulchre's Church, St, funeral at, 171.
- Servant's Lesson, the, xv, 59.
- Servants must submit themselves in all things, xvi, 60—64.
- Shepherds, woe to English, 139.
- Simony, men guilty of, xxx, 118; evils of, 120.
- Sirach quoted on swearers, 18; quoted against women, 43, 44.
- Smith, Mr Toulmin, his *Parish*, xiii, *note*; quoted on endowments, xx, *note*.
- Sports and games laudable, 73, xvi, xvii, *notes*.
- Subjects must not rebel, 134, 141.
- Submission a duty, 60—64, 138, 141.
- Sunday, alehouses open on, xxiv, 9; bearbaiting on, 17.
- Superstitions of the people, 136, 154.
- Swearers and their many oaths, xxvii, 18, 19.
- Talkers, vain, 47.
- Tattlers to be avoided, 103.
- Taverns, bawds in, 14.
- Tenants pillled and polled, 167.
- Threatenings against the poor, 145.
- Tin, lead, and wool, xxvii, 38.
- Tithes, taken by laymen, 39; used privately by priests, 39; to be restored, 124.
- Trumpet, Voice of the Last*, 53; referred to, 126, xiv.
- Usurers, and their practices, 49—51; to make restitution, 125; extortions of, 172; the end of, 174.
- Usury, law regulating, xxxi, 173.
- Vain talkers, writers, and hearers, 47.

- Visitation, the king's, xxxi, 154.
 Wales, the friezes of, 33.
 Warnings to the rich, 164.
 Warton quoted on Crowley, ix.
Way to Wealth, the, xix, 129.
 Wicked, the, reproached for their
 conduct in this world, 111—121.
 Wives, nice, 43.
 Woe to rent-raisers, 162.
 Woe to shepherds, 139.
 Woman's Lesson, the, 99.
 Women in London, their gait,
 dress, dyed hair, &c., 44, 45.
- Women in various positions of
 life, duties of, 99—102; not to de-
 light in tattlers, 103; to learn of
 Sarah, 104; clergy occupied in
 providing for, 139.
 Wool, tin, and lead, xxvii, 38.
 Writers, vain, 47.
 Yeoman's Lesson, the, 63.
 Yeomen, xvi; their duties, 63—
 69; to be content with their posi-
 tion, and not to seek after riches,
 64, 65; their duties in religious
 matters, 67; not to rebel, 69.

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Torrent of Portyngale.

INTRODUCTION.

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| <p>§ 1. <i>The MS. and Halliwell's edition</i>, p. v.</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Metre and Versification</i>, p. vi.</p> <p>§ 3. <i>Dialect</i>, p. x; <i>short vowels</i>, p. xi; <i>long vowels</i>, p. xii; <i>inflections</i>, p. xiii.</p> <p>§ 4. a. <i>The contents of the Romance</i>, p. xvi; b. <i>its character</i>, p. xx; c. <i>Origin of the story of Torrent</i>, p. xxi; d. <i>Legend of Eustache or</i></p> | <p><i>Plasidas</i>, p. xxii; e. <i>Sir Isumbras</i>, p. xxiv; f. <i>Romances of Octavian</i>, p. xxv; g. <i>Sir Eglamour</i>, p. xxvi; h. <i>Comparison of Torrent and Eglamour</i>, p. xxvii; i. <i>the 2 Romances independent</i>, p. xxx.</p> <p>§ 5. <i>Arrangement of this Edition</i>, p. xxxii.</p> |
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§ 1. THE manuscript from which the following romance of *Sir Torrent of Portugal* is taken, is a folio volume on paper, of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Chetham Library at Manchester.

A description of this volume is given by Halliwell in his *Account of the European MSS. in the Chetham Library at Manchester*, Manchester, 1842, page 16, and by Prof. Koelbing in his *Englische Studien*, vii. 195. The only edition of this romance that we have hitherto had was done by Halliwell. As he had, besides his own transcript, another copy made by Madden, his text is a pretty accurate one, and therefore the results of Prof. Koelbing's collation, printed in his *Englische Studien*, vii. 344 ff., concern, for the most part, things of little importance, except one very curious passage, l. 88, where Halliwell renders the quite correct reading of the MS., *p la more de deve = par l'amour de dieu*, by *Pericula more bedew[n]e*. Also, from l. 1720, the counting of the lines is wrong by 100 lines.

A few short fragments of a printed edition were found by Halliwell in the Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford, and added to his work as an Appendix. They contain the following passages of the MS. :

Fragment III.	=	lines	462—489.
"	II.	=	" 492—520.
"	VI.	=	" 820—851.
"	V.	=	" 917—948.
"	IV.	=	" 949—970.
"	I.	=	" 1807—1866.

A seventh fragment, of which not much more than the rhyming words are preserved, was omitted by Halliwell, and was printed for the first time in Prof. Koelbing's collation.

This Chetham MS. contains the romance in a very debased and corrupt form, so that the original reading in many passages can hardly be recognized.¹ The scribe, who copied the poem from an older MS., lived (no doubt) at a far later period than the poet; he did not therefore understand a great many old expressions, and these he used to supplant by words of his own; he also transposed and even omitted many lines, and spoiled the rhyme, because he had not the slightest idea of the nature of the stanza in which the poem is composed. Halliwell did not trouble himself about the restoration of the true readings; he merely reproduced the traditional text, even where it would have been very easy to do more, though many passages are hopelessly corrupt; still worse is the fact, that he did not recognize the metre as the tail-rhymed twelve-line stanza, for he prints six-line stanzas.

In consequence, the whole of the philological work on the text had still to be done, and a new edition was plainly necessary; the more that this poem, though not written in the best period of romance poetry, treats of a legendary subject widely spread in the Middle Ages, and is nearly related to another poem, *Syr Eglamour of Artois*.

§ 2. METRE AND VERSIFICATION.

As I mentioned before, the romance of *Sir Torrent* is composed in the well-known tail-rhymed twelve-line stanza, and belongs to that class of it in which the first and the second couplets have different rhyme-sounds (cf. Koelbing, *Amis and Amiloun*, p. xiv ff.).

¹ Halliwell says, Preface v f.: 'It is very incorrectly written, and the copy of the romance of *Torrent* of Portugal, which occupies 88 pages of the book, contains so many obvious blunders and omissions, that it may be conjectured with great probability to have been written down from oral recitation.'

Only the incompleteness of many stanzas, and the many defects in reference to the rhyme, can excuse Halliwell for not apprehending the character of the metre. As to the structure of the eight lines of the four couplets, each contains (or at least ought to contain) four accents, the *caudæ* three; but as we, unfortunately, possess only one MS., a conclusive statement on this point is impossible. There is no doubt about the fact that neither the really incorrect rhymes nor the wanting of them can be due to the author of the poem: even when romance poetry was decaying, the poets were fairly perfect rhymers: with all deficiencies in this department, the copyists are to be charged.

Consonant rhymes (s. *Schipper Altengl. Metrik*, p. 299) are found in *Torrent* in the following passages: l. 141 *rode—rode* ags. *rôd—râd*. 450 *the—the* ags. *þeón—þe*. 1558 *indede—dede*. 2205 *lay—lay*, *eg.—plr. prt.*

Identical rhymes are frequent, especially in the *caudæ*: 81 *stond—stond*. 177 *there—there*. 500 *he—he*. 1887 *there—there*. 2538 *blithe—blithe*. 39 *take—take*. 342 *bold—bold*, a. s. o.

Assonances: 195 *bon'—Rome*. 518 *undyrstond—strong*. 537 *name—alone*. 699 *yod—fotte*. 758 *name—tane*. 896 *bryng—wynd*. 1257 *overcom'—Aragon'*. 1768 *man'—cam'*. 2164 *anon'—fome*. 2544 *silhe—hide*.

Besides the rhymes we find abundant alliteration, as in most of the Middle English Romances. On alliteration, cf. Regel, *Die alliteration in Lazamon*, *Germ. Stud.* I. 171; F. Lindner, *The alliteration in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, *Essays on Chaucer*, Pt. III., p. 197 ff. Koelbing, *Sir Tristrem*, p. xxxvii, and *Amis and Amiloun*, p. lxvi. Lindner as well as Koelbing has adopted Regel's classification, and so shall I. The most frequent is two alliterative words in one verse; they can be classed in the following way:—

I. A. The same word is repeated in two succeeding lines; v. 456 f.: *Forthe sche brought a whyt sted, As whyt as the flowyr in' med*; v. 618 f.: *In IV quarters he hym drowe, And every quarter oppon a bowe*. v. 2026 f.: *But ran into a wildernes Amongist beests that wyld wes*. v. 2465 f.: *They axid hors and armes bryght, to horsbak went thay in ffer*.

B. *Alliterative combinations, one part of which is a proper name.* *Torrent* is several times combined with the verb *take*; 26: *Towards hym he takythe Torrayne*; 224: *Torrent thether toke the way*; 519: *Torrent toke a dulful wey*; 2269: *Whan sir Torrent was takyn than'*; 91: *Now, be my trowthe, seyð Torent than'*; 1161: *Alas, said Desoneht the dere*; 2523: *As was dame Desoneht*; 1906 = 1946 = 1969: *Mary myld. To send unto her Sathanas.* v. 1091: *The castel of Cardon'*.

II. A. *Words of the same root are alliterative.* 133: *Torrent, on kne knelyd he*; 671: *That on hys kne he knelid*; 2502: *And knelid on her kne*; 205: *Torrent knelyd on hys kne* = v. 528; 881: *And knelyd vppon ys kne*; 1883: *She knelid down' vppon' her kne*; 2563: *Down' they knelid on' her kne*; 512: *By dymmynge of the day*; 1158: *For her love did I never no dede*; 1801: *That ylke dede, that she hath done*; 1943: *How she flew in a flight*; 2384: *Liffe and lyvelode, whiH I lyve*; 233: *A lyon & a lyonasse*; 1671: *For to se that selly sight*; 407: *For the talles thou hast me told*; 1466: *And fuls talis hym' told*; 2578: *Euer we wiH be at youre wiH.*

B. Relations in which alliterative words stand to each other according to their meaning.

a. Concrete ideas are joined together because they belong to the same sphere of life. 2017: *Byrdus and bestis, aye woo ye be*; 113: *bone and blod*; 21: *kynge and knyght*; 83: *And ryche castelles in that contre*; 251: *In lond with a fyndes fere*; 102: *That fyndes fare for aye*; 1094: *Both at knyght and knave*; 584: *Bothe in frethe and in feld*; 660: *Stomlyng thurrow frythe and fen'*; 1378: *Both be hold and be hyH*; 2398: *lym' and lith*; 750: *LytyH and mykyH, less and more*; 1899: *That was lord of aH that lond*; 2152: *Loo, lordys of euery loul*; 2375: *With aH maner of mynstralsye*; 149: *He reynyð hys sted vnto a stake*; 1065: *Waytes on the wuH gan blowe*; 13: *water and wynde.*

b. In the same way abstract ideas are connected, so far as they belong to the same sphere of life. 460: *That dethe ys dynt schalt pou not thole*; 1600: *Of deth yauē he no dout*; 782 = 2062: *feyer and fre*; 2153: *Falshode wyH have a foule end*; 1988: *Helpe*

and hold I shaH hym yeve; 1492: *They sat and song*; 683: *Cryst hym saue and see*; 1303: *That he was sad and sore*; 1612: *set sawly and sore*; 335: *God that sofyrd wonddes sore*; 322: *styff and strong* = 1491 = 2590; 1205: *That wekyd was and wight*; 1584: *wekyd and wight*; 1849: *Her one child woke and be-gan to wepe*; 1559: *And wot ye weH and not wene*; 246: *Sche weppte, as sche were wod.*

C. The grammatical relations in which the alliterative words stand to each other.

a. Subst. and adj. in attributive or predicative combinations. *As bold as eny bore*; *With browes brod and wyde*; 142: *hys bugeH bold*; 307: *In a donjon¹ that ys dym*; 82: *My fayer¹ forestes fellythe downe he*; 209: *The feyer¹ fyld*; 426: *gleyrryng ase the glase*; 1592: *good gate*; 171 = 596: *the holtes hore*; 1484: *To an hye hyH*; 1183: *sydes sare*; 154: *Thowe the wey nevyr so wykkyd were*; 2054: *wekyd weiders*; 506: *In the wyld-some way*; 535: *Wyldsom weyes haue I went*; 2030: *She went on that wilsom¹ way.*

b. Verbs or adjectives combined with the adverb or substantive which contains their secondary adverbial meaning. 1478: *To he here at his bane*, cf. 1678: *That there his bane hath be*; 1944: *To her birdus was she boun¹*; 2016: *With blis on euery bowze*; 135: *That bought hym with hys blod*; 1045: *Thurrow the body he gan hym bere*; 1404: *To the bote they bare*; 334: *Thus he covyrd out of care*; 27: *That doughlitty ys in dedile*, cf. 1725; 98: *With-owt fere that he schold fare*; 603 = 977: *Also fast ase he myght fare*; 536: *With fyndes for to fyght*; 802: *To fyght with that fynles fere*; 1262: *That was grow both grene and gay*; 1060 = 2330: *Torent be the hond he hent*; 270: *That meche ys of myght*; 713: *That meche wase of myght*; 24: *For God ys most of myght*, cf. 1112: *To a man off myght*; 1879: *Vp she rose ageyn¹ the rough*; 2100: *Go sech her in¹ the see*; 2129: *And sett hym¹ oute in to the see*; 2469: *That semely to se were*; 126: *And symly was to sene*; 415: *That dare I sothely sey*; 1170: *Torrent sett on hym¹ so sore*; 139: *Sertes, yf I hym slepyng slome*; 181: *Torrent vndyr hys spryt he sprent*; 179: *But stond styH*; 2410: *He is so stiff at euery stoure*;

987: *Torrent in' the storrope stod*; 1912: *For no stroke wold she stynt*; 2060: *By a tokyn' I schall the telh*; 2397: *Or walkyd in wede*; 383: *In hys walke ther ase he went*; 725: *And went forthe on hys wey*; 107: *And on hys wey gan he wynd*; 2030: *She went on that wilsom' way*; 989: *als wyld at wyle*; 2088: *In no wise he wold*; 1206: *To wed her to my wyffe*; 749: *That wyt ys undyr wede*; 1315: *All men wonderid on that wight*; 33: *worthyest in wede*.

c. Substantives and verbs are combined in the relation of subject and predicate. 2221: *Down knelid that knyght*; 854: *Whether the fynd can fyght*; 2390: *There that his lady lent*; 2064: *My love was on the lent*; 1219: *Gret lordys to churche her led*; 170: *The fyndes spere sparrythe hyme nothyng*; 84: *No ston lettythe he stond*.

d. Verbs and substantives are combined as predicate and object. 2490: *his bak to bend*; 2532: *That couth moche curtesye*; 273: *Thy dethe than wyth he dyght*, cf. 1043: *Hys dethe to hyme ys dyght*; 1648: *Thy deth now is dight*; 2123: *What deth they wold hym do*; 161: *My lordes frethe thus to felh*; 2235: *Found hyn his fiH off ffyght*; 1743: *The fforward ys to fulleffylle*; 651: *He gathyred svm of hys gere*; 210: *Vpp both his handes he held*; 1799: *For Iesu is love, that harood heH*; 1820: *Whan they led that lady ffre*; 2080: *Leve we now that lady gent*; 1663: *Ech on other laid good lode*; 1495: *To god that made man*; 435: *A gret maynerey let he make ryght*; 264: *To hym sche mad here mone*; 645: *He rawght Torrent soche a rowght*; 1172: *And all to sheverd his sheld*; 502: *Tho he be strod anoble stede*; 2482: *Torent be strode a stede strong*; 281: *I schall the telh soche a tokyn'*; 2013: *Ne wanted she no woo*; 115: *He that schall wend soche a wey*; 439: *Hom-ward to wend ther wey*; 2448: *And than' to wend her way*; 2457: *And to her logyng went her way*; 1544: *Other wayes yf I wend*; 207: *That hathe thys world to wyld*.

§ 3. THE DIALECT.

The stanza of twelve lines was probably first employed in the north of England; at least it would be difficult to prove the exist-

ence of a poem composed in this metre in the southern part of the country; therefore it is beforehand probable that the romance of *Torrent* was composed either in some part of the Midlands or in the North. In order to determine the dialect more precisely, we restrict ourselves to a careful consideration of the rhymes.

1. SHORT VOWELS.

Old English *ǣ* is (1) preserved before *n* and *m*: 744 and 788 *Iame—name*. 927 *Adryan—jentylmane*. 13 *londe—wonande*. 352 *stond—lygand*. 1128 *stond—shynand*. No part. pres. *on-oud* rhyming with an unvariable *-ond* has been traced out until now, but 1824 *wepand—woude* (ags. *wunden*) seems to be the first.
2. Changed into *o*. 516 *rome—frome* ags. *rúm—fram*. 2446 *mon—done*. 1190 *none—shone—anon—done*. 1257 *ouercom—Aragon*. 1989 *son—can* (= *con*). 2040 *anon—bone*. A curious exception is 1929 *grame* (= *greme*)—*time—Ierusalem*; cf. *Gaw*. l. 312.

O.E. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*, is preserved: 373 *end—wend*. 476 *went—jent*. 924 *teH—hell*. 1702 *hell—DesoneHe*. 1798 *fett—heH*. The past partic. of *seón*, *segen*, has been contracted into *sen*. 1562 *sene—wene*.

O.E. *æ* has become *a*: 45 *spake—take*. 363 *ffare—bare*. 726 and 876 *sale—Portynggalle*. 1074 *passe—was*. 1131 *sale—tale*. 1233 *thare—fare*. 1236 *was—Sathanas*. 1399 *care—thare*. 2287 *was—alas*.

æ has become *e*: 2026 *wildernes—was*. 764 *derre—clere—ware* (ags. *wær*). 1951 *there—bere*. 328 *glad* (= *gled*)—*redd*.

æ has become *ay* by the vocalization of the following *g*: 25 *fayne—Torrayne*. 1025 *may—day*, *wey—laye*. 1071 *say—day*. 2029 *day—way*.

O.E. *ea* becomes *o* before *ld*: 303 *hold—bold, fold* (ags. *folde*)—*cold*. 422 *gold—mold, hold—told*.

ea has become *a*: 399 *Portynggale—bale* (ags. *bealu*). 531 *care—far* (ags. *cearu*). 1891 *ffare—care*.

ea has become *e*: 1166 *beheld—feld—sheld—weld* (ags. *wealdan*). 2359 *preste—breste* (ags. *beurst*).

O.E. *eo* has turned into *e*: 1166 *beheld—feld—sheld—weld*.

O.E. *ī* is preserved as *i* and *y*: 51 *knyght—nyght*. 307 *dym—hym*. 1783 *myld—child*. Only once this vowel has changed into *e*: 714 *wret—get*. *i* rhymes with *e*: 3 *wynde—ende—lende—fpynde*.

O.E. *ō* is unaltered: 422 *gold—mold*. 1122 *gold—mold*.

O.E. *ū* has become *o*: 367 *dore* (ags. *duru*)—*befor*¹. 765 *Aragon—son*¹. 1257 *ouer com—Aragon*¹. 1762 *com—kyngdome*. 1801 *done—sonne* (ags. *sunu*). 2320 *sonne—dungeon*.

O.E. *ÿ*, the *i*-umlaut of *ū*, has the value of *i*, written *i* or *y*: 390 *kysse—iwyse*. 1564 *tīH—fullefyH, yH—wyH*. 1740 *evyH—fulle fülle*. Only once it rhymes with *e*: 1484 *hyH* (= *heH*)—*yeH—be-fell—well*, never with *u*.

2. LONG VOWELS.

O.E. *ā* is preserved in the following rhymes:¹ *a*. 39 *take—stroke* (= *strake*, ags. *strōc*), *spake—take*. 97 *sore—fare*. 103 *goos—takythe* (= *gas—tas*). 280 *wakyn—tokyn*¹ (ags. *tūcen*). 334 *care—sore*. 590 *fare—wher, hore—care*. 705 *fare—gere* (ags. *gār*). 788 *Iame—name, bone—schame*. 834 *ga—ma*. 977 *fare—bare, sare—chaffare*. 1143 *glade—rade*. 1238 *Cute—gute, bad—wott* (ags. *wāt*). 1251 *brod—made*; cf. 1303, 1306, 1501, 1526, 1604, 1612, 1663, 1669, 1825, 1911, 2178, 2356, 2617.

b. O.E. *ā* has changed into *o*: 16 *son* (ags. *sunu*)—*gon*. 141 *rode—rode* (ags. *rōd—rād*). 195 *bon* (ags. *bān*)—*Rome*. 238 *rote* (ags. *wāt*)—*fote*. 654 *browz—goo*. 1062 *tho—do*. Cf. 1196, 1226, 1295, 1381, 1809, 1812, 1815, 2013, 2025, 2028, 2037, 2046, 2295, 2298, 2301, 2542. The result is, that in 26 cases old *ā* is preserved, in 22 cases changed into *o*.

O.E. *ā* is turned into (1) *a*: 154 *were—fare*. 603 *fare—were*. 1020 *were—fare*. 2074 *cure—ware*.

Into (2) *e*. 379 *dede* (ags. *dēd*)—*hed*. 1047 *were—chere*. 1053 *sped—lede* (ags. *lēdan*). 1263 *stede—wede* (ags. *wēd*).

¹ The rhymes with *tane* and with *John* are not quoted, as these words occur also as *tone* and *Johan*; they are, therefore, of no use in fixing the sound of the *ā*.

Into (3) *o*. 1113 *mone* (ags. *mēnan*)—Aragon. 1384 *beffore—there—were*.

O.E. *ó* is preserved throughout: 73 *wode—good*. 112 *rode—blod*. 118 *Rome—kyrstendome*. 313 *done—sone*.

Before *g* the vowel *u* resp. *w* is inserted: 145 *brought—notglt*. 279 *brought—thought*. 2053 *sought—brought*.

O.E. *ē* is preserved: 123 *kene—sene*. 743 *dede—sped, wode*. 1849 *wepe—slope*. 2055 *grene—kene*. 2458 *be dene—wena*.

O.E. *ī* is preserved as *y*: 196 *tyd—syd*. 325 *fype—lyve*. 777 *wyse—deuyce*. 900 *ryde—syde*.

O.E. *ū* is written *ou* resp. *ow* in the French way: 921 *renowne—towyn'*. 978 *downe—renowne*. 1425 *nowe—rowe*. 2634 *mouth—couth*. It has become *o*: 516 *rome—frome* (ags. *rūm—from*). Cf. 2641 *renoun—son*.

O.E. *ēa* has become *e*: 1929 *grame—streme, Jerusalem*. 2554 *Jerusalem'—streme* (ags. *stredm*).

O.E. *é* has changed into *e*: 153 *be—hee*: 782 *fre—he*. 888 *tre—cristyanté*. 1643 *be—charité*. 1861 *ffre—cité*.

O.E. *ǣ* remains *y*: 1361 *pride—bedsyde*. 1433 *pryde—ryde*. 1473 *wyde—pride*. *ǣ* or *ē*, the *i*-umlaut of *ēa* or *e*, is found as *e*: 63 *were—here* (ags. *hýran*). 235 *here—were*. 327 *sted—yed, nede—sped*. 408 *yede—ned*. 1552 *stede—nede, indede*.

3. THE INFLEXIONS.

The plural of the substantives terminates in (1) *s* resp. *ys*: 837 *ryghtys—knyghtes*. 1298 *stonys—nonys*.

(2) in *n*: 458 *slon—appon*. 1116 *done—shonc*. 1193 *shone—anon, done*.

(3) is formed by *i*-umlaut: *men* 1784, 2282, but 2197 *wan—men* (= *man*).

(4) has no inflexion: 651 *gere—spere*. 705 *far—gere*. 836 *hend—frende, sende*. 1173 *ffere—yere*. 1405 *hend—frend*. 1556 *stone—gone*. 2188 *were—yere*. 2194 *here—yere*. The inflexions of the adjectives have totally disappeared.

The *infinitive* ends in *-ne* or *n*, or has no termination at all.

(1) with *n*: 123 *kens—see* (= *sene*). 217 *ageyne—sayne*. 262 *fuyne—slayne*. 489 *Mavdeleyne—seyne*; 16 *son—gon*.

(2) without *n*: 67 *sake—take*. 93 *kynd—fynd*. 148 *wake—stake*. 184 *so—goo*. 434 *Adolake—take*. 1062 *tho—do*. 1762 *me—se*.

The 2nd person sing. of the pres. ind. occurs only once in the rhyme, 1333 *tase—thou hase, tas—gus*.

The 3rd person sing. of the present indicative ends in *s*: 187 *tellys—ellys*. 2317 *rose—gose*. 558 *tellythe—elles* (The rhyme shows that *tellys* must be inserted; cf. 103 *gos—takythe*, and 858 *gothe—tote = gas—tas*.) Only once *th* occurs: 2047 *Nazareth—gethe* (sgs. *gæð*). On this remarkable form see Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, note on l. 11075. The plural has no termination: 3 *wynde—ende—lende*.

The *subjunctive* mood has no inflexions: 70 *sped—stede*, 3rd pers. 87 *blynd—wynde*, 3rd pers. 213 *fyld—schyld*, 3rd pers. 416 *sey—may*, 2nd pers. sg. 584 *feld—schyld*, 3rd pers. sg. 1978 *saue—haue*; but observe 139 *slone—none* and 1839 *sene—grene*.

The *present participle* ends usually in *-ande* (*onde*): 13 *londe—wonande*. 127 *fonde—growonde*. 315 *levand—bond*. 352 *stand—lygand*. 358 *vndyrstond—levand*. 1128 *stond—shyndand*. 1280 *fuyland—lond*. 1445 *fleand—waraunt*. 1452 *ffand—goand*. 1821 *lond—wepand*. 1899 *lond—pleyand*. 2104 *hond—levand*. Thrice *-yng* is found: 268 *kyng—dwelllyng*, 1638 and 2568.

The *gerund* terminates always in *ing* (*yng*): 1479 *kyng—ryding*. 1503 *comyng—kyng*. 1933 *ryng—lettyng*. 2509 *kyng—lesyng*.

Observe the 2nd pers. sing. of a past tense, 1589 *thou cam¹—slan¹*, of a praeterito-praesens, 410 *they—sey, thou may*. 1543 *away—aye, may*. 2001 *may—welaway*.

The *past participle* of strong verbs terminates in *n*: 482 *syne—schene, wene—clene*. 675 *slayne—rayne*. 800 *slayne—trayne*. 1292 *fuyⁿ—slayⁿ*. 1562 *sene—wene*. 2323 *alone—slone*. We don't find one certain instance for the dropping of this *n*, besides 1678 and 2063 *be*.

The *past tense plural* of strong verbs has the same vowel as the singular: 1452 They *ffound* (r. *ffand*)—*goand*. 1458 *began—gentilman*. 1753 *tong—dong*.

The 3rd pers. of the present indic. of *to be* = *ys* or *es*: cf. 738 *blyse—ys*. 2413 *ys—Raynes*. Once *ys* is found as plural: 2524 *ys—iwys*. The *present subjunctive* is *be* through all persons: 208 *be—me*, 2nd pers. 614 *be—se*, 3rd pers. 884 *the—bee*, 3rd pers. 2017 *be—me*, 2nd pers. pl. The infinitive *be* and *bene*: 49 *the—bee*. 483 *be—see*. 1643 *be—charite*. 903 *the—bee*. 1833 *clene—bene*. 2161 *quene—bene*. 2613 *bene—kene*. The *past tense singular* number is *was* or *wes*: 247 *alas—wase*. 426 *glase—was*. 771 *pase—wase*. 1873 *wyldernes—was* (= *wes*). The plural *were*, *ware*, *wore*, as well as *was*, *wes*: (1) l. 402 *wer¹—cher*. 1047 *were—chere*. 1845 *were—ffere*. 2586 *squiere—were, here—clere*. (2) 603 *fare—were*. 2494 *ware—bare*. 1384 *beffore—there, were* (= *wore*). (3) 384 *passe—wase*. 1388 *passe—was*. (4) 2026 *wyldernes—was* (= *wes*). 2545 *wyldernes—was*; cf. l. 2584. The subjunctive mood of the past tense is *were* and *ware*, in sgl. and pl.: 225 *were—clere*. 235 *here—were*. 1696 *chere—were*. 2476 *were—bere*. 154 *were* (= *ware*)—*fare*. 1020 *wer* (= *ware*)—*fare*. 2074 *care—ware*. The past participle: 7 *bedene—ben*. 172 *byne—seym*. 2344 *ibene—kene*. 1678 *be—crystiaunte*.

From this inquiry into the sounds and inflexions, the following conclusions can be drawn:

The development of *ǣ* is of no use in fixing the dialect. Nor is *ea*, which has become *a*, *o*, and *e*, to be deemed a characteristic either of the Midland or Northern dialect. Ags. *ea* occurs as *o* as early as 1250 in the *Northumbrian Psalter*, and 50 years afterwards in *Sir Tristrem* and *Sir Percival*; even Richard Rolle in his *Pricke of Conscience* offers one instance of this change (cf. *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxix f.).

The development of the ags. *á*, which we find in 26 passages as *a*, in 22 as *o*, is remarkable. There are only a very few instances of this change in *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxi, and in the *Psalter*; and this almost equal number of *a*- and *o*-rhymes proves evidently that the poem cannot belong to a Northern country. At the same time, a pro-

portion like that would be impossible in a text of Southern origin. The same negative result is to be derived from the fact that *Ag. y* is always written *y*.

As to the inflexions, the plurals of the substantives are formed by adding *-s* or *-n* (*en*), or by vowel change, or they have no inflexions at all. As for the inflexion *-n*, it only occurs in *slou* and *shon*, and of this very word the plural in *n* is to be met with even in Northern writers.

The infinitives both preserve or drop the final *n*, as is the rule with the Midland dialect; the form of the past participle with *n* accords with the use of the Northern writers.

The present partic. ending in *-and* and the past tense plurals of strong verbs having adopted the vowel of the singular, agree with the North as well as with the northern districts of the Midland, in the same way as some forms of *to be*: plr. pra. *ys* and plr. prt. *was*, besides the usual forms *be* and *are*, resp. *were* and *ware*, and the contracted forms of *take*: 758 *name—tane*. 1095 *gane—itane*. 1825 *ta—twa* (cf. 231, 286, 859, 1333, 1475, 1722, 1733, 2617).

The forms *thou has* and *thou may* point to the West.

The inflexions of the 3rd pers. pra. sg. are *-th* and *-s*. In the western part of the Midland we never meet with the ending *th*, but only with *s*. In *Amis and Amiloun*, the Eastern origin of which seems to be sure, only the inflexion *-ep* is found in the rhyme (*Amis*, p. xxx ff.).

The romance of *Sir Torrent* seems to be the first document hitherto considered where both these forms occur, one by the side of the other. Perhaps this fact justifies us in concluding that this poem was composed in the east, but on the borders of the west, Midland.

§ 4. THE CONTENTS OF THE ROMANCE.

Before entering on an inquiry into the sources of the romance, it may be expedient to give a short account of its contents.

In Portugal once reigned a mighty king, whose name was Calamond. He had an only daughter, the fair and gentle Desonelle, who was loved by a young knight called Torrent, son of a Portuguese

count. As he could not win her, save by distinguishing himself by valiant exploits, he undertook several adventurous expeditions. First he set out, by the order of the king, against a mischievous and dangerous giant, whom he found lying fast asleep on a hill. He roused the giant by sounding his bugle, and challenged him to fight. Instantly a fierce combat ensued, in which the awkward giant lost his life. In the giant's castle the young hero delivered a maiden, Eleonore, daughter of the king of Gales, from captivity, and rescued at the same time four princes, whom the giant had taken some time before and imprisoned in an iron cage.

After a short rest Torrent returned into Portugal. He was kindly received by King Calamond, and splendid festivities were celebrated in his honour. The kings of Gales and of Provence showed their gratitude by bestowing on him rich presents, among them a precious sword wrought by Wayland Smith. Desonelle gave him one of her fine palfreys. Calamond, however, shrewd as he was, and envious of the hero's fame, plotted his ruin. He caused him, by a counterfeit letter of Desonelle, to catch her a falcon in the forest of Maudlen, which was the haunt of a dangerous giant, Rochense, and of many wild beasts. Torrent and his squire set out immediately, but separated on entering the forest, to hunt in the thicket each by himself. Torrent soon encountered a huge dragon, and killed it by vehement strokes. The squire, having meanwhile fallen in with the giant, had been slain by him. The hero, called to the place by the tumult of battle, attacked the giant, and overcame him after a hard struggle. He cut off his head to bear with him as a trophy. He then went into the giant's castle, where he found a great many jewels, and a bright sword called Mownpolyard. Having returned to the royal court, he ordered five priests to say masses for his squire's soul. At this very time it happened that the king of Arragon sent messengers to the king of Portugal, in order to bring about a marriage between Desonelle and his youngest son. Calamond would not listen to the advice of his spouse, that he should no longer refuse Desonelle to Torrent, but he promised her to the prince of Arragon, and at the same time sent the hero once more against a giant, Slogus of Foulles in Calabre.

Torrent departed well armed, and after a prosperous voyage arrived in Calabre. There he soon met the giant, who was one-eyed like the Cyclops, and bore a huge cudgel as his only weapon. Torrent threw his spear into the fiend's eye, and thus overcame him without any long struggle. The king of Calabre graciously welcomed the hero, and largely rewarded him for the service he had rendered his country. Having returned into Portugal, Torrent heard that in a few weeks Desonelle was to be married to the prince of Arragon. Arrayed in knightly dress, he rode right off to Calamond's court, and challenged his rival to fight. After a short struggle he completely vanquished his antagonist, stretching him on the ground. The next

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

b

day, as the king, surrounded by his noble guests, banqueted in the great hall of the castle, Torrent entered with the giant's head in his hand, and harshly demanded the king's daughter; he called all the lords to witness of Calamond's perfidy.

The Emperor of Rome now interceded, and it was agreed at his suggestion that Torrent should fight once more against a giant named Cate; if he vanquished that adversary, he should obtain Desonelle and half Arragon. On an isle near the sea-shore the struggle began in presence of the assembled knights. Torrent struck the club out of the giant's hand, put him to flight, and killed him as he ran away, casting stones at him. Then the Emperor decided, with the approbation of all his knights, that the hero had won both the land and the maiden.

Torrent obtained Desonelle, and rejoiced in the possession of her, but no solemn marriage was performed.

Twelve weeks after, he left his spouse, impelled by his venturesome and ambitious mind; for the king of Norway asked him to fight against a wild giant who had carried off his daughter and was destroying his castles. Torrent bade his mistress farewell, leaving her two golden rings as talismans, and set off with fifty companions. Arrived at the coast of Norway, he and his companions entered a dense forest, in which a great many wild beasts lived. His companions, seized with fear, parted from him, and continued their voyage at sea. They told the king of Norway the false tale that Torrent had perished on shore. The king then set out himself to rescue his daughter. Torrent meanwhile encountered a giant named Weraunt, Cate's brother, and slew him in a hard struggle, but was himself wounded. In the giant's castle he saved Gendres, daughter of the Norwegian king, and conducted her to her father. On the road they were met by a large train of gallant knights, and were then conveyed in triumph to the king's court. There Torrent soon recovered from his wounds, and was amply rewarded with honours and presents. He stayed above twelve months at the Norwegian court. The false companions of Torrent were drowned in the sea by the king's command, but one squire escaped to Portugal, and reported the tidings that Torrent yet remained in Norway. Soon after, as Desonelle was delivered of twins, the hatred of Calamond suddenly broke out against her. By his order, Desonelle and her two children were put to sea in a small boat; but a favourable wind saved them from ruin, and drove the boat upon the coast of Palestine. As she, helpless, wandered about the downs, a huge dragon (griffin or gripe) appeared, and seized one of her children, and immediately after a wild leopard dragged away the other. With submission she suffered her miserable fate, relying on the help of the Holy Virgin.

The king of Jerusalem, just returning from a voyage, happened to find the leopard with the child, which he ordered to be saved and delivered to him. Seeing from the foundling's golden ring that the

child was of noble descent, and pitying its helpless state, he took it into his palace, and brought him up as his own son (as it were) at his court. The child was named Leobertus.

The dragon or gripe with the other child was seen by a pious hermit, St. Antony, who, though son of the king of Greece, had in his youth forsaken the world. Through his prayer St. Mary made the dragon put down the infant; Antony carried him to his father, who adopted him and ordered him to be baptized. He was named Antony fice Greffoun (Antouy, son of the griffin or gripe).

Desonelle wandered up and down, after the loss of her children, till she happened to meet the king of Nazareth hunting. He, recognizing her as the king of Portugal's daughter, gave her a kind welcome and assistance. At his court she lived several years in happy retirement. Torrent returned at length into Portugal, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the Norwegian king that he would dwell in Norway somewhat longer. At his arrival, King Calamond took refuge in his stronghold, and greeted him from thence with scornful words. Torrent, after having summoned his friends from Arragon, Provence, and Calabre, conquered the castle, and took Calamond prisoner. The traitor was sent out to sea in a leaky boat, and perished.

In his stead, Torrent was elected king by all the noblemen of the empire, and took the crown. But forty days after this, he quitted his realm, having intrusted two knights with its government, and passed to the Holy Land at the head of a large force. There he fought fifteen years against the infidels, conquered several towns, and got immeasurable treasures as booty. The king of Jerusalem, hearing about Torrent's deeds, and anxious for his own security, sent his son Leobertus, with an army of 50,000 men, against Torrent. A pitched battle began, but it was for a long time doubtful to which side victory would incline, till at last the two chiefs encountered. The son vanquishing his father decided the fate of the battle. Torrent was conveyed as a prisoner to Jerusalem, and thrown into a dungeon. There he lay above a year, till he was once overheard complaining his misfortunes by his son, who, touched with pity, prevailed upon the king to set Torrent at liberty. In this new state Torrent soon found an opportunity to show his valour and skill in arms, when a grand tournament was held at Jerusalem. There he proved sole victor over all the knights, and got the chief prize. The king of Nazareth, who had assisted at this joust, telling his folk at home who had won the prize, described the arms and escutcheon of the valiant knight. By these Desonelle recognized her beloved spouse. At her request the king called princes and knights from all parts of the world to a great tournament. The kings of Jerusalem, Greece, Leobertus, Antony fice Greffoun, and Torrent answered the call. Before an illustrious assembly of mighty princes and noble ladies, all of whom were surpassed by Desonelle in beauty and grace, the tour-

nament began. Leobertus and Antony excelled in it, but the chief was Torrent, who performed wonders in the joust, vanquishing all valiant adversaries. The next morning Desonelle could no longer brook reserve, and was about to discover herself to Torrent; but overwhelmed with joy she fainted, when she had scarcely uttered the first words of greeting. It was not till midday that she was able to tell Torrent and the other knights her fates and those of her children. Then parents and children passionately embraced on recognizing each other. At Torrent's request, all of them, with the kings of Nazareth, Jerusalem, and Greece, and many attendants, sailed for Portugal. There the nuptials of Torrent with Desonelle were celebrated with a great round of splendid festivities. Torrent was finally elected Emperor of Rome, and reigned a long time gloriously. He lies there buried in a fair abbey.

A benediction finishes the romance.

If we take a survey of the poem, we shall recognize in its conception a harmonious plan and a certain unity of action, which, as in most of the romances, is founded on the hero and the interest he affects us with (See Ten Brink, *Engl. Literat.*, I. p. 317). In the centre of the action is placed Torrent's love of Desonelle; for all the various combats that he undertakes against dragons and giants, against the prince of Arragon and King Calamond, are undertaken solely to gain him Desonelle. Even his expedition against the infidels and the fighting with his son are designed by Providence to make him find again his lost love. Halliwell (Preface, p. vii), therefore, is not right in deeming the romance 'a rambling poem of adventures without much plot.' The length and tediousness of the episodes may have prevented him from recognizing the unity of the whole. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that the poem cannot rank with the masterpieces of romantic poetry written in the same metre, like *Amis and Amiloun*, *Ipomadon*, *King of Tars*, *Octavian*, either in the invention of plot or in the dissection of passions. The diction is so swelled with stereotyped phrases, and so surfeited with trivialities, that we may justly suppose the poem to have been composed at a period when romantic poetry had passed its best time, and had begun to decay. As to the authorship of the poem, it was probably composed by a monk. It is an easy thing to show peculiarities in the course of the story which are essentially monkish. As the romance begins and ends with a benediction, in

the same way each deed and each adventure of the hero is introduced and finished by long prayers. Moreover, the poet points frequently to a direct interposition of Heaven (ll. 675, 1568, 1948); he describes the anguish and sorrow that Desonelle feels about her children's baptism (ll. 1892—1896 and 2074—76); he mentions emphatically Communion and Confession (1272 and 2139), Masses (756 and 813); he finally praises the Emperor for founding churches and abbeys (l. 2658). On the other side, we find very few of those marks which characterize the works of minstrels: the poet seldom predicts the fates of his heroes to excite the attention of his auditors; he mentions only by the way the performances of the gleemen, and nowhere speaks of the rewards that they get.

Passing to a special inquiry into the origin of the story of Torrent, I cannot persuade myself that it is of the poet's own invention, as that would be the only instance of a Middle-English romance not being taken from foreign originals (except, of course, Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, which was written to ridicule this whole branch of poetry), whilst slight alterations or additions were frequently introduced by the translators. A French original of the romance is supposed by Halliwell to have existed (Preface, vi). He says, 'It is probably, like the second copy of the romance of Horn, a modernized version of an older English romance, which was itself translated from the French. I have not been able to discover any traces of the French original, but there are some singular allusions to its origin in the poem itself. I allude to the frequent references to the *Book of Rome*.¹ This term was applied to the French language, in which most of the old romances were originally written.' As for me, I don't think that we can much rely upon references of this kind, because they are common to all of these Middle-English romances. Of a somewhat greater weight is perhaps the fact that one or two of the proper names are French; and even the oath, 'par l'amour de dieu,' is worth mentioning. After all, there is no evident proof as to the French origin. But there is no doubt that

¹ On this term see *Octavian*, ed. Sarrazin, p. xxxviii.

the story of Torrent in its principal features—the adversities of a family separated by misfortunes, the mother robbed of her children by wild beasts, at last united again—proceeded from the old Eustache legend.¹⁻² Therewith another motive is combined, that of the woman innocently condemned, on which motive a large stock of legends is founded; for instance, those of Crescentia, Sibilla, Oliva, Genovefa, Griseldis and Octavian legends. Upon this motive and its old origin from India, see Streve, 'The Octavian legend,' *Erlangen Dissert.*, 84.

I will consider first the legend of Eustache in its original version. According to the Greek Martyr Acts, which were probably composed in the eighth century, this saint was before his baptism a captain of Trajan, named Placidus. As he one day hunted in the forest, the Saviour appeared to him between the antlers of a hart, and converted him. Placidus changed his name into Eustache, when he was baptized with his wife and sons. God announced to him by an angel his future martyrdom. Eustache was afflicted by dreadful calamities, lost all his estate, and was compelled to go abroad as a beggar with his wife and his children. As he went on board a ship bound for Egypt, his wife was seized by the shipmaster and carried off. Soon after, when Eustache was travelling along the shore, his two children were borne away by a lion and a leopard. Eustache then worked for a long time as a journeyman, till he was discovered by the Emperor Trajan, who had sent out messengers for him, and called him to his court. Reappointed captain, Eustache undertook an expedition against the Dacians. During this war he found his wife in a cottage as a gardener,—the shipmaster had fallen dead to

¹ See Warton's opinion upon the legendary origin of many romances, *History of Engl. Poetry*, London, 1824, I. p. ccxlv: 'Many romances were at first little more than legends of devotion, containing the pilgrimage of an old warrior. At length, as chivalry came into vogue, the youthful and active part of the pilgrim's life was also written. The penitent changed into the knight-errant.' Sometimes, of course, the opposite change may have taken place, as for instance is probably the case with the story of the two faithful friends, Amis and Amiloun (cf. Koelbing, *Amis*, p. lxxxi), and with the story of Robert the Devil (cf. *Sir Gonther*, ed. Breul, p. 74).

² See the edition of *The worthie Hystorie of Plasidas*, 1566, by H. H. Gibbs, for the Roxburghe Club, 1873.

the ground as he ventured to touch her,—and in the same cottage he found again his two sons as soldiers: herdsmen had rescued them from the wild beasts, and brought them up. Glad was their meeting again! But as they returned to Rome, they were all burnt in a glowing bull of brass by the Emperor's order, because they refused to sacrifice to the heathen gods.

This legend, which reminds us at once of the story of Job, has been incorporated in almost all mediæval collections of legends, and upon it are founded some mediæval poems, which are enumerated by H. Knust in his splendid work *Dos Obras Didácticas y dos Leyendas*, Madrid, 1878; cf. R. Köhler, *Zeitschrift für rom. phil.* III, p. 272 ff., Varnhagen, *Anglia*, III, p. 399 ff.; two latin versions are edited by the same, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* XXIV, p. 241 ff., and XXV, p. 1 ff.

English legends of Eustache are to be found

(1) In Ælfric's *Passiones Martyrum*; see Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Second series, Heilbronn, 1881, p. xli.

(2) In the South-English collection, *l. c.* p. xlviiii.

(3) In the Northern collection, pp. lxi and lxiv. Herrig's *Archiv*, 57, p. 262 ff.

(4) In the Scottish collection of legends, said to be Barbour's. Cf. Barbour's *Legendensammlung*, ed. C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 82, ii. p. 12.

(5) In the old Engl. translation of the *Legenda aurea*, see Horstm., *l. c.*, p. cxxxv. Caxton's edition of the legend, No. 196.

(6) The complete text of the legend printed in Horstmann's above-mentioned collection, *Altengl. Legendensamml.*, p. 211 ff.

(7) *St. Eustas*, by I. Partridge, see Gibbs' above-mentioned edition, and Horstm., *l. c.* p. 472 ff.

With this legend are connected, more or less, the following poems, which it is necessary to speak of in turn:

(1) The Pseudo-Chrestien epic poem, *Guillaume d'Engleterre*.¹

¹ *Guill. d'Engleterre*, ed. Fr. Michel, *Chron. Anglo-Norm.*, III. 39—172. On the authorship of this poem see C. Hofmann, *Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad.*, 1870, II. p. 51, and P. Meyer, *Romania*, VIII. p. 315 f.

(2) The two Middle High German poems, *Die gute Frau*,¹ and (3) *Der Graf von Savoyen*.²

(4) The romances of *Isumbras*; (5) of *Octavian*; (6) last, *Syr Eylamour of Artois*, and (7) *Sir Torrent of Portugal*.

The first five have been treated by Holland in his book, *Chrestien de Troies*, Tübingen, 1854.

According to Holland's opinion, all of these are derived from the legend of Eustache. He has not exactly inquired into each of them, but restricts himself to a detailed account of their contents. A critical inquiry into these poems, except the romance of *Octavian*, has been recently published by J. Steinbach: *Der einfluss des Crestien de Troies auf die altenglische literatur*. Leipzig, 1886, p. 41 ff. As to the French and the two German poems, it may be sufficient to refer to this exhaustive essay, since it is only by the same legendary origin that they are connected with *Sir Torrent*; otherwise they are quite different.

But of the English romances of *Sir Isumbras* and of *Octavian* it is necessary to treat more minutely. *Isumbras* was edited first by Utterson in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, London, 1817; secondly by Halliwell in *The Thornton Romances*, from the Lincoln MS. A. i. 17. A critical edition of this poem has long been promised by Prof. Zupitza.

In this romance the legend of Eustache can be most clearly recognized. Its contents are, indeed, somewhat transformed according to the taste of the later Middle Ages: the Roman captain is changed into a Christian knight, who performs wonders in fighting against the infidels; he finds his wife as queen of a heathen country; they end their lives as mighty princes, and so on. The legendary style has been supplanted by the romantic diction,³ but the leading features remain the same. In his above-mentioned essay,

¹ *Die gute Frau*, ed. E. Sommer in Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, II. 389.

² *Der Graf v. Savoyen*, ed. F. H., v. d. Hagen, *Minnesinger*, IV. 640, and Eschenburg, *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst*, Bremen, 1799.

³ On this text see Sarrazin, *Octav.*, p. xlv; he speaks of "die entstellte, spielmannsmässig zersungene Form, in der die Thornton Ms uns die legende überliefert. . . . dasselbe Pathos, dieselbe Sentimentalität und Frömmelheit, aber auch dieselbe anschauliche und lebhaftige Erzählungsweise (sc. as in Oct.)."

pp. 46—48, Steinbach concludes, from a detailed comparison of the contents, that the author of *Isumbras* did not derive his story from the epic poem, *Guillaume d'Engleterre*, but from an original which bore a still greater resemblance to the legend of Eustache, and, at the same time, contained many of those additions which are to be found in all versions of the legend. Whether this original was composed in Latin, French, or Anglo-Norman, Steinbach does not pretend to determine.

To *Isumbras* I join a few remarks on the romance of *Octavian*, which was edited by Halliwell for the Percy Society, *The Romance of the Emperor Octavian*, London, 1844; and by Sarrazin, *Zwei mittelengl. Versionen der Octaviansage*, in Koelbing's *Altengl. Bibliothek*, Band III. As for its contents, cf. Sarrazin, as above, p. xviii ff. Concerning the origin of the story, he agrees in general with Holland, only he shows a still nearer connection between *Isumbras* and *Octavian*, taking the former for a mere imitation of the latter. This opinion, however, cannot be proved. As I cannot enter into detail, I only observe that the contents of *Octavian* are a great deal more complicated and copious than those of *Isumbras*, which is simple in its plot and style, and shows the nearest resemblance to the old Eustache legend, whilst *Octavian* is a refined and adorned version of the legendary tale with considerable change in the plan. *Isumbras*, of course, bears a strict resemblance to Eustache, but not to the Emperor Octavian, who has but little of the character of a suffering saint, as he does not become an outlaw himself, nor is to lose his earthly goods. Even those of his adventures which are conformable to the original—the separation from his family, the rape of the children, the final reunion—are exhibited in a different manner.

The principal contents of the romance of *Octavian* bear internal evidence of its later origin, as it treats chiefly of the adventures and exploits of Florent, Octavian's son; especially in the second half of the story, exploits of Florent so prevail that the romance might justly bear his name on the title instead of his father's. I therefore believe that Sarrazin's opinion, that *Isumbras* is nothing but a bad imitation of *Octavian*, is wrong; and I am rather inclined to think the two poems were composed independently from each

other, after French originals, as is evidently the case with *Octavian*, and probably with *Isumbras*. See Halliwell, *Thornt. Rom.*, p. xviii. Sarrazin, moreover, supposes, p. xlv, both poems to be due to the same author, in consequence of the conformity of the dialect and style, and of some literal coincidences. But the fact that both of these romances are written in the same dialect is not sufficient to prove the identity of the authors, nor is the style, which is nearly stereotyped in all of these romances. As to the literal coincidences, only three of the nine passages quoted by Sarrazin seem to me to be of any importance. See *Octavian*, notes on ll. 382, 397, 481. But even these only show that the writer of *Octavian* knew *Isumbras*, or *vice versa*.

As to the relation between *Octavian* and our poem, these two romances have no other affinity than the same legendary origin, and the motive of the woman innocently persecuted, which may very well have been introduced independently by two different authors. In all other particulars they are quite different.

The heroes bear little resemblance to their legendary models; in *Octavian* the Emperor of Rome; in *Torrent* the young, hardy knight who encounters marvellous struggles to win the hand of his spouse. Also in the treatment of the other motive, each romance has taken its own course. In *Octavian*, Florence is calumniated by her mother-in-law; in *Torrent*, Desonelle is persecuted by her father. The causes are consequently quite different: there the jealousy of the mother-in-law against the mighty Empress; here Calamond's hatred against *Torrent*. These differences, now only alluded to, cause a great number of others, and produce a general difference of the two poems, which renders the opinion of a nearer connection between them altogether illusory.

Of all the poems mentioned above, the last, *Syr Eglamour of Artois*, is most nearly related to *Sir Torrent*, a fact found out by Halliwell,¹ who, however, thought that there was no necessity for

¹ *The Thornton Romances*, p. xxii f. 'The romance of *Torrent* is partly founded upon the story related in *Sir Eglamour*. The names are changed, but the resemblance is too striking to have been the result of chance. The treachery of the sovereign, the prowess of the knight, the indiscretions and misfortunes of the lady, and the happy conclusion of her misfortunes, these

him to prove a similarity which would be at once detected by the reader; still, he takes it for certain that the romance of *Torrent* is younger than and partly founded on *Sir Eglamour*. As he gives no proof for this opinion, it will be worth while to enter once more into this question, in order to see whether he is right or not.

Upon it, the MSS. do not help us. The earliest MS. that can have contained *Sir Eglamour* is the parchment one of the Duke of Sutherland,¹ written about the end of the 14th century. The other four MSS. of it² are still later. The only MS. of *Sir Torrent* belongs to the 15th century, so that neither of these romances can be traced very far back.

Sir Eglamour was printed several times in the beginning of the 16th century, and edited anew by Halliwell from the Cambridge MS. in his well-known collection. To judge from the numerous readings of the Lincoln, Cotton, and Cambridge MSS. which he has quoted, the Lincoln MS. shows best the original dialect, and offers in several passages a reading preferable as to rhyme and meaning.³ Even slight differences in the contents occur now and then.⁴

The metre and probably the dialect are the same in both romances; they are composed in the tail-rhymed twelve-line stanzas, and written in a North Midland dialect. In both of them the style is alike swelled with the habitual phrases; only the long prayers and pious reflections so frequent in *Torrent* are not to be met with in *Eglamour*. On the other hand, the poet is wont to predict the fates of his heroes (ll. 204, 951); he often demands attention (ll. 15, 39, 343, 634, 904); he never omits, in describing the festivals, to mention the performances of the minstrels, and to praise the liberality of the lords. These characteristics render it probable that the author of *Eglamour* was a minstrel, not a clerk or monk, as I suppose the author of *Sir Torrent* to be.

form the leading incidents of each romance . . . there is, perhaps, a secret history attached to the source of these romances that remains to be unravelled.'

¹ Cf. Koelbing's *Englische Studien*, vii. p. 191 ff.

² Cf. *The Thornton Romances*, p. xxv ff., and p. xxxvi.

³ See the following passages which Halliwell has quoted in the notes: *Eglam.* 54, 96, 107, 111, 122, 128, 139, 153, 177, 195, 213, 247, 337, 347, 399, 445, 572, 605, 614, 737, 740, 765, 858, 883, 945, 985, 1081, 1143, 1206, 1216.

⁴ See *Eglamour*, notes on ll. 1064, 1082, 1267.

I now pass on to compare the contents of the two poems. The principal features of the plot are the same in both. A young knight who seeks the hand of a princess engages to win her by valiant exploits. The princess's father opposes his wooing, jealous as he is of the hero's renown. The knight vanquishes all the giants and other monsters against which he is told to fight, and at length gains his spouse. A few weeks after their marriage, he sets out again on adventurous expeditions. While he stays abroad, his wife is delivered of twins. Her father sends her to sea in a leaky boat; she lands on a foreign shore, where her children are carried off by wild beasts; but they are saved in a marvellous manner, and brought up at royal courts, whilst she herself lives for a long time at a foreign court. As the hero, when he comes home again, doesn't find her, he goes into the Holy Land to fight with the infidels. After various adventures he finds his wife and children after a tournament at a foreign court. They return home gladly, and celebrate their nuptials by great festivals. The cruel father is duly punished.

On entering into details, however, we find considerable discrepancies between the two romances. First, the names are altogether different. (Eglamour = Torrent. Crystyabelle = Desonelle. Prynsmour = Calamond. Organata = Gendres. Degrabelle = Antony *vice* Greffoun.) The stage of the plot is in *Eglamour* Artois, Rome, and Egypt; in *Torrent* Portugal, Norway, and Calabre. Only the Holy Land is mentioned in both. There the children are carried off by wild beasts, saved by princes and brought up; there the hero fights against the infidels.

The differences of the plot itself are the following :

1. Eglamour confesses his love to Crystyabelle before his deeds; a squire is the go-between in his suit; Eglamour finds love in return. In *Torrent* Desonelle does not know that she is adored by the hero till after his first exploit. See ll. 109, 448.
2. Accordingly, Eglamour, setting out on adventures, receives two greyhounds and a sword of St. Paul from Crystyabelle as presents, whereas *Torrent* gets an ambler from his lady love, but not till after his first deed.
3. Prynsmour charges Eglamour with three deeds by which he

is to gain Crystyabelle. Torrent is obliged to undertake not less than five combats.

4. In *Torrent* the combats of the hero are enlarged and adorned by additions not to be found in *Eglamour*. The latter does not release the daughters and sons of kings, nor does he find precious swords in the castles of the giants, nor is he deceived by a king's counterfeit letter, which causes Torrent a dangerous struggle and the rivalry of a foreign prince. Only in *Eglamour* (ll. 40—48) some knights are mentioned who came to win Crystyabelle by jousting, but were all vanquished by Eglamour.

The greatest differences are found in the second halves of the stories.

5. Crystyabelle has one child by Eglamour; Desonelle has two by Torrent.

6. Crystyabelle is driven away into Egypt, where she is graciously received by the king. Desonelle finds refuge in the court of the king of Nazareth.

7. Degrabelle, the son of Crystyabelle, is saved and brought up by the king of Israel; the sons of Desonelle by the kings of Greece and Jerusalem.

8. The father of Crystyabelle is not punished like Calamond in *Torrent*, immediately after the hero's return, but he dies at the end of the poem, throwing himself down from the battlements.

9. Degrabelle is sent, when fifteen years old, into Egypt by his adoptive father to sue for a spouse. In a joust he gains the hand of his mother and marries her. On the very wedding-day the mother recognizes her son by his escutcheon, and the marriage is instantly dissolved. Quite differently does the story run in *Sir Torrent*. Leobertus, fifteen years old, marches by order of the king of Jerusalem against his father, and takes him prisoner, but at length solicits his release.

10. The tournament, which in both poems compasses the reunion of the separated family, is brought on in a different manner. In *Eglamour* Degrabelle himself proposes the hand of his mother as the prize in the next tournament, to which his father comes. In *Torrent* Desonelle, hearing of the victories of the strange knight, supposes

him to be her spouse from his arms, and at her request a tournament is arranged. (Her hand seems to have been likewise the prize, as may be gleaned from l. 2440)

11. At the very end of the poems two slight differences are to be noted: in *Eglamour*, Degrabelle marries Organata, daughter of the king of Sidon, whereas the sons of Torrent return into Greece and Jerusalem. *Eglamour* is crowned prince of Artois; Torrent is elected Emperor of Rome.

From this comparison we may conclude that *Torrent* is not directly founded upon *Eglamour*, or *vice versa*; the differences are too great to justify the supposition that either is drawn from the other. Especially is the opinion of Halliwell, which I mentioned above, to be rejected: *Sir Torrent* cannot be founded on *Sir Eglamour*, simply because it agrees more closely with the old legendary tale than *Syr Eglamour* does, and has preserved some essential features not to be found in *Eglamour*, in which these are supplanted by others. Desonelle, for instance, has two children according to the old legend, Crystyabelle one; Torrent must fight and suffer in heathen lands like Eustache, whereas *Eglamour* appears as a mere knight-errant. Further, neither in the Eustache legend nor in *Torrent* do we find the history of the son who marries his mother, which motive the poet may have taken from the legend of Pope Gregory, or perhaps from the tale of *Syr Degaré*.

But how can the resemblance of the leading features and the discrepancies in particulars be explained? I think the most probable conjecture is, that an old poem, now lost, existed, with which the authors of *Sir Eglamour* and of *Sir Torrent* were acquainted; but not having a MS. of it, or knowing it by heart, both of them made up their minds to rewrite the story in a well-known metre, changing, omitting, adding whatever they liked, even filling up the gaps in their memories by invention. Both of them recollected the first half of the story better than the second.

That this poem was an English one seems to be shown by a good many verbal coincidences in both poems; these I accordingly suppose to have belonged to the lost original. They are, indeed, too frequent to be counted simply amongst the large stock of conventional

phrases which are to be met with in every poem of this kind. Here they are :—

Eglamour.

The boke of Rome thus can telle. 408,
561, 886
Ther ys a jeaunt here besyde, 478
That sorowe doyth ferre and wyde.
On us and odur moo.
And alle prayed for that knyght. 573
Alle that in the cyté ware. 598
Alle that cuntrey was fulle fayne, 640
That he homeward was comyn ageyne.
Aftur sopur, as y yow telle,
He wendyd to chaumber with Crysty-
abelle. 670, 671
That lady was not for to hyde, 673-75
She sett hym on hur beddys syde,
And welcomyd home that knyght.
So graciously he come hur tylle, 679
Of poyntes of armys he schewyd hur
hys fylle, 680
That there they dwellyd alle nyzt.
A golde ryng y schalle geve the, 715
Kepe yt wele my lady free,
Yf Cryste sende the a chylde! 717
Doghtur, into the see schalt thou, 803
Yn a schypp alone,
And that bastard that to the ys dere!
Sche prayed hur gentylwomen so free,
Grete wele my lord, whon ye hym
see! 826, 827
Hur yonge sone away he bare. 842
Thys chylde ys comyn of gentylle
blode,
Where that ever that he was tane. 863
Kepe we thys lady whyte as flowre,
And speke we of syr Egyllamowre. 950
The knyght swownyd in that tyde. 975
Be the XV yerys were comyn and gone,
The chylde that the grype hath tane,
Waxe bothe bold and stronge. 1018-20
Yn yustyng ne in turnament 1021
Ther myght no man withsytt hysdynte,
But to the erthe them thronge. 1023
Be thre wekys were comyn to zende,
Yn the loude of Egypt can they
lende. 1057
Gentilmen that herde of thys crye.
Thedur come they redylye. 1195-96
Syr Egyllamour knelyd on his kne,
'A Lorde God zylde hyt the! 1288-89
Eglamour, Linc. MS. Note on 1267:

Torrent.

As the boke of Rome tellys. 187, 924,
1450, 1924
There ys a gyante here besyde,
In ale thys covntre fare and wyde,
No man on lyve levythe hee. 960
For hym all they pray. 108
All that in' the sytte were. 1047
Gentilmen were blith and ffayn', 1098
That he in helth was comyn' aguyn'.
After mete, as I you tell,
To speke with mayden Desoneff
To her chamber he went. 1358-60
The damyseff so moche of pride,
Set hym on' her bed-syde,
And said 'welcom' verament.' 1363
Such gestyng he a-right,
That there he dwellid all nyzt
With that lady gent. 1364-66
Thes gold rynges I shall yeve the,
Kepe them well, my lady ffre,
Yf god a child vs send! 1396-1398
There fore thou shalt in to the see
And that bastard with-in the! 1793
She said 'knyghtis and ladyes gent,
Grete well my lord sir Torrent,
Yeff ye hym' euer sene! 1837-39
A way he bare her yong son'. 1871
This chylde is come of gentill teme,
Where euer this beest hym' ffond. 1923
Leve we now that lady gent,
And speke we of sir Torrent. 2080-81
Swith on sownyng there he fell. 2093
And be the VII yere were gone,
The child that the liberl had tane,
Found hym his fill off flyght. 2233-35
With heve tymbyr and ovyrrede 40
Ther myght no man' hys dent abyde,
But to the erthe he them strake. 42
But ore thre wekes were comyn' to end,
To Portynggall gan he wend. 373
Gret lordys that herith this crye,
Theder come richely. 2431-32
Torent knelid vppon' his knee 2575
And said 'God yeld you, lordys free!

<i>Eglamour.</i>	<i>Torrent.</i>	
In swounyng than felle that lady free, ' Welcome, syr Eglamour, to me!	She said 'welcom', my lord sir Torent! And so be ye, my lady gent!	
	In sownyng than fell she.	2505
<i>Eglamour</i> , Linc. MS. Note on 1267: Grete lordis thane told acho sone.	Gret lordys told she sone.	2539

Perhaps some more light will be thrown on this question when we get the much-wanted critical edition of *Sir Eglamour*; but I fear that the 'secret history attached to the source of these romances' will even then remain to be unravelled. What I have proposed has no title to a better name than a conjecture.

§ 5. THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE EDITION.

As to the only MS. in which this romance has come down to us, I have mentioned before that it is exceedingly corrupt; many conjectures, more or less sure, were necessary in order to restore metre, rhyme, and meaning; the greater part of them seemed worthy to be entered in the text, the rest being offered in the notes. No attempt has been made to introduce a uniform character of dialect, considering the quite unsettled state of orthography in early times. The only exceptions are where the sounds are fully determined by the rhyme. In general the orthography of the MS. has been reproduced as accurately as possible. The contractions used by the scribe are expanded and printed in italics. At the beginning of a new period, or a proper name within the line, capitals have been introduced. From l. 1200, where the numeration of my text no longer coincides with that of Halliwell's edition, the line-numbers of the latter are added in brackets.

The fragments which I have added as an appendix to the text have been consulted in all cases of difficulty, and proved of no little service in correcting the blunders of the manuscript; they contain indeed a somewhat better text than the MS., though they are by no means free from clerical errors. A detailed comparison gives the following result:

In fifty-one lines the text of the fragments is evidently correcter than the MS.:

<i>Fragments.</i>	<i>Manuscript.</i>
The kyng of Nazareth sent hym me,	The kyng of Portynggall seyde, 'So mot I the!
Torent, I wot-saue hym on the. 466	Torrent, I wet-saffe of the.
The kyng wolde fayne that he ded were,	The kyng wolde fayne that he war ded,
And he wyst nat on what manere. 472	And hym wyst in what maner.
To Torent that was true as stele, 477	To Torrent trew ase styll,
In what londre that they brede. 487	In what lond they ne bred.
He bestrode a noble stede. 502	Tho he bestrod another stede.

Cf. 489, 498, 507-10, 512-15, 822, 825, 831, 833, 834, 837, 845, 848, 851, 929, 932, 933, 935, 947, 948, 951, 952, 958, 965, 968-70, 1807, 1808, 1810, 1827, 1828, 1831, 1834-36, 1844, 1854, 1866.

Forty-eight lines are coincident: 468, 470, 474, 479, 480, 486, 487, 495, 499, 501, 504, 505, 520, 823, 832, 842, 844, 846, 917, 918, 921, 922, 927, 928, 936, 938, 953, 957, 962, 1809, 1813-17, 1819-21, 1823, 1830, 1832, 1838, 1847, 1850, 1851-52, 1863, 1865.

In ninety-one lines it is doubtful which reading is to be considered as the original one:

<i>Fragments.</i>	<i>Manuscript.</i>
As they walkyd by the ryvers syde. 469	Ase the went be the watyres syd.
Howe he myght hym shent. 473	How he schuld be schent.
The kyng sayde 'what may this be?	Syr, he seyde, what may thys be?
Lord, it is sent to me	Loo, lord, come ner and see
For a faucon shene. 483-85	Abowght a faucon schene.
Than sayde the kyng vntrue,	And than seyde the kyng ontrew,
'And ye fynde hawes of grent value,	'Yf thow get hawkys of grent valew,
Brynge me one with the! 492-94	Bryng on of them to me!
Of thy dowghter hende. 836	Of yowr dowghttyr hend.

Cf. 467, 475, 476, 478, 481, 482, 488, 496, 497, 500, 506, 511, 516-20, 821, 824, 826, 827, 829, 830, 835, 838-41, 843, 847, 850, 919, 920, 923, 925-26, 930-31, 934, 937, 939, 940-43, 945, 946, 949, 950, 954, 955, 959, 960-61, 963, 964, 966, 967, 1811, 1812, 1818, 1822, 1825, 1826, 1829, 1837, 1840, 1842, 1843, 1845-46, 1848-49, 1853, 1855-62, 1864.

In eleven lines the text of the MS. is superior to that of the fragment:

<i>Fragments.</i>	<i>Manuscript.</i>
'Ye, by my trouthe!' sayd Torent. 828	'Ye, be trouthe!' sayd Torrent than.
Delycyous notes on hyghe. 944	Delycyous nottis on hyght.
Frowarde the se. 956	Froward the sytte.

Cf. 488, 503, 820, 849, 924, 1824, 1833, 1839.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

c

As to the sixth fragment, 1014-36, and the beginning of the first (in Halliwell's edition the third), 462-64, in which, as above mentioned, not much more than the rhyming words are preserved, they have nearly the same relation to the MS. as the other ones.

In the following passages they correct the rhymes of the MS.: 1017, 1018, 1028, 1033. Coincident rhymes: 1014, 1015, 1019, 1026, 1027, 1032, 1034-36. Undecided: 1020, 1021, 1023-24, 1029-30, 462-64. The rhymes of the MS. are preferable in ll. 1016, 1022, 1025, 1031.

I need only add, that all the discrepancies between the MS. and the fragments, however numerous they may be, concern, for the most part, things of little importance; they are caused especially by the frequent change of synonymous terms, by the difference of expletive words and phrases, the transposition of words, the change of tenses, and so on. But as there is nowhere any essential difference to be traced, we may conjecture with great probability that the early printed edition of the romance was taken from a manuscript which was pretty nearly related to the Manchester MS., though somewhat more correctly written.

I gladly take the present opportunity of acknowledging my very great obligation to Prof. Koelbing, from whom I have received ample assistance throughout the whole of this work. It would be absolutely impossible to me entirely to discriminate his part from mine. He carefully revised the introduction, notes, and the glossary, before they went to press, and after they came from it, and he looked several times through the proofs of the text. Nor am I less indebted to Mr. Joseph Hall at Manchester, who not only kindly read the proofs of the text with the MS. in the Chetham Library, but also contributed some valuable notes, which are marked by his name. The Director has added the head-lines and side-notes.

Torrent of Portyngale.

Here bygynneþ a good tale
Of Torrente of Portyngale.

f. 76a.

(1)

GOD, that ys worthy and Bold,
Heuen and Erthe haue In hold,
Fyld, watyr, and wynde,
Yeve vse grace hevyn to wyne,
And brynge vs owt off Dedly synne
And In thy *seruyse* to Ende!
A stounde and ye woth lyst be-Dene,
Ale dowghtty men þat Euyr hathe ben),
Wher So that they lende,
I Schaß yow tell, ore I hense pase,
Off a knyght, þat Dowghtty wase,
In Rome ase clarkys ffynde.

leaf 1] May God give

us grace to win
Heaven!

5

10 I'll tell you of a
doughty knight.

(2)

In Portynggall, that Ryche londe,
An Ereß that wase wonande,
That curtese wase and *wyght*;
Sone aftyr he had a sone,
The feyerest þat on fot myght gon,
Tyrrant, men seyð, he hyght.
Be tyme he wase XVIII yer' old,
Of deddes of armys he wase bold,
To felle bothe kyng and knyght;
And now commythe dethe appon a day
And takythe hys father, ase I yow sey,
For God ys most of myght.

He dwelt in
Portugal,

15

and fought well
when 18.

20

8. *byn* MS. 15. *wyght*] *Doughtty* MS.
21. *felle*] first *l* above the line MS.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

B

(3)

- The King The kyng of Portynggall wase fayne, 25
 To-warde hym he takythe Torrayne,
 That Dowghtty ys in dedde ;
 gives Torrent an And ther he fesomnyd in hys hond
 earldom, A good Eyrlodom in that lond,
 Bothe forest and *fede*. f. 76b. 30
 The kyng hathe a dowghttyr *whyte ase fame*,
 Dysonell wase her name,
 Worthyest in wede.
 and he falls in love When Torrent had of her a syght,
 with the King's More he lovyd that swete *wyght* 35
 daughter Deso-
 nell, Than all ys fathyr's lede.

(4)

- and for her, For love of thys lady Deyr
 In dede of armys far and nere
 A ventorres gan he take
 With heve tymbyr and ovyr-Ryde, 40
 Ther myght no man hys dent a-bydde,
 unhoras many But to the Erthe he them strake.
 knyghts, Hcr father and other knyghttes mo
 Had farly, how he Ryd soo,
 And on a day to hyme spake, 45
 He Seyd : ' Torrent, howe may thys bync,
 That thow Dyspysyst thes knyghttes kene
 And ordurres non woff take ?'

(5)

- Torrent sayd : ' So mvt I the,
 An other sayment woff I see, 50
 Ore I take ordor of knyght.'
 The King Tho he sware be hevyn kyng,
 Ther wase told hym a wondyr-thing
 In hys chambyr to nyght :

30. *fede*] *Downe* MS. 31. *whyte ase fame*] *feycr ase flouyr* MS.
 32. *Dysceny*s, MS. 35. *swete*] *swet*, MS. *wyght*] *wyic* MS.
 36. *lede*] *londe* MS. 39. *A ventorres* MS. 42. *stroke* MS.
 47. *dyspysyst* MS. 50. *And* MS. *see*] *bee* MS.

'For' the love of my daughter dere 55 knows that Tor-
 Thow makyst good far and nere rent loves his
 In) Dedde of armys bryght; daughter,
 And wyt thow wyH, so god me saue,
 Thow schalt her' wyne, yf thow her haue,
 Be thow neuyr so wyght!' 60

(6)

Torrent sayd: 'Be Marry dere,
 And I were off armyse clere, L. 77a.
 Yowr Dowghttyr me leve were.'

The kyng seyð: 'Yf yt be soo,
 Ore VII yere be a-go, 65
 More schalt we here:

Durst thow, for my dowghttyr sake, and asks him if,
 A poynt of armys for to take for her sake,
 With-owt helpe of fere?' he'll fight

Than seyð Torrant: 'So god me sped, 70
 With anny man) that syttythe on stede
 Other far ore nere!'

(7)

Ther-of the kyng' for tene wax wode:
 'Yf thow wylt make thy body good,
 Be trew and hold thy contenance 75

Tho seyð Torrant: 'So god me sped ere!
 And I wylt, in) what sted they were,
 Fore no man) wold I chaunce.'

(8)

'In to the Grekes see a mylle a Giant in the
 Ther lyvythe a gyant *in an yle*, Greek sea.
 FuH EuyH thow dourst hyme stond. 80

My fayer' forestes fellythe downe he
 And Ryche castelles in) that contre,
 No ston lettythe he stond.'

60. *wyght*] *wyght* MS. 61. *Marry*] *s* corrected into *y*.
 65. *a-go*] *a gone*, *ne* struck out, MS. 75. *contnace* MS.
 78. *chaunce*] corrected out of *change* MS.
 80. *lyvythe*] *lyghitythe* MS. *in an yle*] *mauyle* MS.

(9)

Torrent	<p>Terrent sayd : ' Be Marre bryght, Yt ys gret sorrow that he hath syght, The devyH of heH hym blynd !' The <i>kyng</i> sayd : ' Par la-more de dewe, Thow darryst full evyH <i>wit</i>h thy Ey hym sewe, He wold fell the <i>wit</i>h hys wynde.'</p>	85
agrees to fight	<p>' Now, be my trowthe,' seyde Torrent than, 'Ase I ame a jentylman, Yf I may hym fynd, Won fot woH I not fro hym pase, Thow he be stronger' than Samson' wase, Or anny man' of <i>hys</i> kynd !'</p>	90 1. 77b. 95

(10)

the Giant Begonne,	<p>Hys squerys, they mornyde sare, <i>Wit</i>h-owt fere that he schold fare To that gret iorney, <i>Wit</i>h the gyant heygh for to fyght. Be-gon-mese that gyant hyght, That fynddes fere for aye. To arme hyme Torrant gas, Hys good stede <i>wit</i>h hym he tas, <i>Wit</i>h owt squyer' that Day. He takythe leve at lorddys hend, And on hys wey gan he wynd, For hym all they pray.</p>	100 105
and sets out.	<p>LytyH wist DesoneH that jente, For whos love that he went To fyght <i>wit</i>h that knave.</p>	110

(11)

DesoneH knows not that it is for love of her.	<p>LytyH wist DesoneH that jente, For whos love that he went To fyght <i>wit</i>h that knave.</p>	110
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86. *he*] written above the line, MS. 83. *kyng*] *knycght* MS.
96. *hys*] *om.* MS. 97. *sore* MS. 102. *fare* MS.
103. *gas*] *goos* MS. 104. *tas*] *takythe* MS.
108. *pray*] *prayd* MS.

Now god, that Dyed appon a Rode, God give Torrent
victory!
Strengithe hym bothe bone and blod,

The fyld for to haue!

He that schaff wend soche a wey, 115

Yt were nede for hym to pray,

That Iesu hym schuld saue.

Yt ys in the boke of Rome,

Ther was no knyght of kyrstendome, 120

That jorney Durst crave.

(12)

VI days Rydythe he After 6 days' ride

By the cost of the feyer' see,

To seke the gyant kene.

By the cost as he Rode, f. 78a.

In a forest longe and brode 125

And symly wase to sene,

Hey sperrys ther he fonde

And gret olyvys growonde

Coverd in levys grene.

Sone wase he ware, ase y yow say, 130 he sees the Giant
asleep.

Vppon a movnteyn ther he laye

On slepe, ase I wene.

(13)

Torrent, on kne knelyd he

And be-sowght Jesu so fre,

That bowght hym with hys blod : 135

' Lord, ase thow dyd ryght for Mary, He prays for
Christ's help.

Let me never take velony

And gef me of thy fode!

Serttes, yf I hym slepyng' slone,

Manfull Ded were yt none 140

For my body, be the Rode.'

123. *seke*] *ches*, struck out, *seke* written over with paler ink.

126. *see* MS. 129. *grene*] *smale* MS.

136. *ryght*] *lyght* written above the line with paler ink.
marc MS.

The Terrant blewe hys bugeñ bold,
To loke that he a-wake wold,
And sythe ner' hyme Rode.

(14)

As Torrent can't
wake the Giant
with his bugle,

So fast a-slepe he wasse browght, 145
Hys hornys blast a-woke hyme nowght,

He swellyd ase dothe the see.

Torrent saw, he wolñ not wake,
He Reynyd hys sted vnto a stake,

Ase a jentyñ man) *so fre.* 150

So hy, he say, wasse the movnteyne,
Ther myght no horse wynd hym) a-geyn)

But yf he nowyd wold be; 178a.

Thowe the wey neuyr' so wykkyd ware,

On hys wey gan he fare, 155

In) gret perayñ went hee.

(15)

Torent went to that movnteyn),

He put hys spere hyme a-geyne,

'A-Ryse, fellow!' gan he saye;

'Who made the so bold here to dwell, 160

My lordes frethe thus to fell?

A-mendes the be-hovythe to pay.'

he stirs him up
with his spear,

The gyant Rysythe, ase he had byn) wod,

And Redyly by hyme stode,

Be-syd hyme on a lay, 165

And seyde: 'Sertes, yf I leve,

Soche a wed I wolñ the geff,

To meve the Euyr' and ay.'

and makes him
wild.

(16)

Thow the chyld were neuyr' so yinge,

The fyndes spere sparrythe hyme no-thyng' 170

In) the holttes haree;

150. *so fre*] *in fere* MS. 151. *say*] *sayd* MS.
152. *mygh* (!) MS. 154. *were* MS. 157. *movnten* MS.
169. *yonge* MS. 171. *In*] *Ihū* (!) MS. *horee* MS.

Who had fare and nere byne,
 And neuer had of fytyng syn),
 He myght a lernyd thare.
 The gyant, the fyrst stroke to hym he cast, 175 The fight begins.
 His good schyld all to-brast,
 In schevyres spred wase yare ;
 Tho covd he no bettur Red,
 But stond styh, tyh one were ded ;
 The gyant lefte hym thar. 180

(17)

Torrent vndyr hys spryt he spreut
 And a-bowght the body he hyme hente, f. 79a. Torrent grips the
 As far as he myght last. Giant ;
 'A! fellow, wylt thou so ?'
 And to the grownd gan they goo, 185 they both fall,
 Of the movnteyn bothe downe they past. and roll down the
 Ase the boke of Rome tellys, mountain.
 They tornyd XXXII ellys,
 In armys walloyng fast.
 Yt tellythe in) the boke of Rome, 190
 Euyr ase the gyant a-boue come,
 Hys guttes owt of hys body *brast*. The Giant bursts

(18)

At the fot of the movnteyn
 Ther lay a gret Ragyd ston), serteyn),
 Yt nyhed ys schuldyr bon) 195 open against a big
 And also hys Ryght syd, stone.
 Ther to that gyant fell that tyd,
 Ase I herd in) Rome . . .

173. *scyn* MS. 174. *there* MS.
 175. *to hym*] written above the line. 177. *there* MS.
 178. *he no*] *not he* MS. *Ryd* MS. 180. *ther* MS.
 181. *spreut*] *spred* MS. 186. *they past*] *gan they pase* MS.
 188. *ellys*] *tymys* MS. 192. *brast*] *Ranc* MS.
 197 put before 196. MS. 198. *I*] *he* MS.

(19)

Torrent stabs the
Giant,

Thorrow hyme, that mad man),
Torrent sone a-bovyn) wane 200
And fast he gan *him quelle*
With a knyffe feyer' and bryght ;
Torrent, with all hys myght
Ther-with he gard hyme dwell.

(20)

and then thanks
Christ.

Torent knelyd on hys kne, 205
To Iesu Cryst prayd he,
That hathe thys world to wyld :
' Lord, lovyd, evyr lovyd thowe be,
The feyer' fyld thow hast lent Me,'
—Vpp bothe hys handes he held— c. 700. 210
' All onely with-owt any knaue
Of the fynd the maystry to haue,
Of hym to wyn the fyld.'
Now ys ther none other to say,
Of hyme he wane the fyld pat day ; 215
I pray God hyme schyld.

(21)

He sees the see,

Torrent went vppe a-geyne
To the movnt, ase I gan sayne,
The londes to se far and nere ;
In the see a myle, hyme tho3t, 220
An hold wase Rychyly wrowt,
In that lond wase not here perre.
The see wase Ebbyd, I yow sey,
Torrent thether toke the way,
and goes to it.
Werry all thow he were ; 225

199. after *Thorrow*, of has been scraped out.
201. *him quelle*] *warke* MS. 203. *hys*] *h* corrected out of *m* MS.
210. *he*] om. MS. 213. *wym*] *wynd*, *d* erased MS.
214. *to* written above the line, MS.
215. *Now ys ther non other say*
Of hyme to wyne the fyld pat day add. (!) MS.
219. *to se* written above the line.

And ther he fownd Rychē wonys,
 Towrres Endentyd with presyos stonys,
 Schynnyng ase crystaff clere.

Torrent finds
 the Giant's castle,

(22)

Two gattys off yron ther he fond,
 Ther in Torrent gan wonde,
 A nyghtes Rest there in to ta ;
 And at the hale dore ther wase
 A lyon & a lyonasse,

230

guarded by a lion
 and lioness.

Ther men be-twene them twa
 Fast Etyng, ase ye may here ;
 Crystyn man thow he were,
 Hys browys weze bla,
 And wit yow with, lord god yt wote,
 He durst goo no fote,
 Lest they wold hyme sla.

235

f. 80a.

240

(23)

Torrent stod and be-held,
 And prayd to god, that ale may wyld,
 To send hyme harborrow good.
 Sone hard he within a whalle
 The syghyng of a lady smalle,
 Sche weppte, as sche were wod ;
 Sche mornyd sore and sayd : ' Alas,
 That Euyr' kynges dowghttyr wase
 Ouer-come of so jentyH blod,
 For now ame I holdyn here
 In lond with a fyndes fere !'
 Torrent hard, wher he stod.

245

He hears a lady
 sighing within.

250

226. *wonys*] *woyces* MS. 229. *Two*] *The* MS.
 231. *to ta*] *he take* MS. 234. *twæ*] *twæyne* MS.
 236. *man*] *thow* (!) MS. *he*] *they* MS.
 237. *weze bla*] *be gan to blowe* MS. 240. *she* MS.
 244. *whalle*] with paler ink corrected from *whyle*.
 245. *syghyng*] with paler ink corrected from *synnyng*.

(24)

Dere god,' seyð Torrant than,
 'Yff ther be anny crystyn) man)
 In thys hold of ston), 255
 That woH, for the love of god of myght,
 Harbourrow a jentyلمان) thys nyght,
 For I ame but on)!'

'Seynt Marry,' seyð that lady clere,
 'What crystyn) man) axithe harburrow here?' 260
 Nere hym sche gothe a-non.
 'I wold harburrow the full fayne,
 But a gyant wyH the slayne.'
 To hym sche mad here mone.

Torrent asks for
a night's lodging
in the Castle.

(25)

'Say me now, fayer' lady, *belyve*, t. 306. 265
 Who owte of thys plase schaff *me dryve*,
 Thes tourres, that are so bryght!'

The Lady says
 Ther sche Seyd: 'Be hevyn) kyng,
 Here ys a gyant Dwellyng,
 That meche ys of myght. 270
 Be my trowthe, and he the see,
 Were ther' XX lyvys in) the,
 Thy dethe than wyH he dyght.
 Iesu cryst yef me grace
 To hyd the in) some preve plase 275
 Owt of the fyndes syght!

the Giant will
kill him.

(26)

'Euyr' me thynkythe be thy tale,
 The song of the burdes smale
 On slepe hathe hyme browght.'

259. *clere*] *e* corrected out of *r* MS.

261. *sche gothe anon*] *a non sche gothe* MS. 265. *bel.*] om. MS.

266. *of*] om. MS. *me dryve*] *hyght* MS.

267. *so*] *feyer* and add. MS.

271. *the*] *thow*, *w* erased and *e* changed into *o*, MS.

273. *They* (!) MS. 275. *hyd*] corrected from *hyde*.

277. *thy*] *my* erased and *thy* writton above the line.

'Ye,' seyð Torrent, 'ore he be wakyn), 280

I schaff the tell soche a tokyn,

Of hym thow haue no thowght!

But wolddes thow for thy gentry

Do the lyonnys downe lye,

That they nyee me nowght?' 285

By the hande sche ganne hym ta

And led hyme in betwe them twa;

Ryght ase sche wold, they wrowght.

The Lady takes
Torrent past the
Lions, into the
Castle.

(27)

The lady wase neuyr' so a-drad,

In to the hale sche hym lad, 290

That lemyred ase gold bryght;

Sche byrlyd whyt wyne and Rede: t. sta.

'Make vse myrre a-geyne owre Dedd,

I wot wið, yt ys so dyght!'

'Be my trowthe!' seyð Torrent, 295

'I wole be thy warrant,

He comythe not here thys nyght.

On soche a slepe he ys browght,

All men of lyve wakythe hym nowght,

But onely godes myght.' 300

He tells her
he has kild the
Giant.

(28)

Blythe then wase that lady jent,

For to on-harnes Torrent,

That dowghtty wase and bold;

'For sothe,' sche seyð, 'I wot wher ys

The kynges sone Verdownys, 305

Fast put in hold

She tells him
of Prince Ver-
downys,

283. *thy*] *th* corrected from *m.* *gentry*] *gentre*, *e* corrected from *y*.

285. *nyee*] first *e* above the line.

286. *hande*] *d* corrected from *e.* *tane* MS.

287. *beute* MS. *twayne* MS.

300. *godes myght*] *gode a lone* MS.

305. *Verdownys*] *of pvenne* MS.

and 4 Earls' sons
in the Giant's
prison.

In a dongon, that ys dym ;
Fowyre good Erylles sonnys be w^{it}h hyme
Ys fet in fere and fold.
The gyant wan theme in a tyde, 310
Ase they Rane be the watyr syd,
And put them in prason cold.

(29)

'In an yron cage he hathe them done.'
Torrent went thether' sone :
'Are ye yet levand ?' 315
The kynges sone askyd than,
Yf ther were anny crysten man,
'Wold bryng vse owt of bond ?'
'Lord,' he seyde, 'god almyght,
I had levyr on a Day to fyght, c. 816. 320
Than all my fathyr's lond.'

Torrent breaks
open the prison,

W^{it}h an iryn mall styff and strong'
He brake vpe an yron dore or longe,
And sone the keyes he fond.

(30)

and frees the 5
youthis.

Owt he toke thys chyldyryn fyve, 325
The feyrest that were on lyve,
I-hold in anny sted.
The lady wase full gled,
Sche byrlyd whyt wyn and Redd,

They sup.

And sethyn to soper sone they yed. 330
'Lordes,' he seyde, 'syn yow are her',
I Red yow make Ryght good cher',
For now ys all thy nede.'
Thus he covyrd owt of care.
God, that sofyrd wonddes sare, 335
Grante vse well to sped !

318. *owt*] *ow* (!) MS. 323. *or longe*] added in paler ink.
325. *chylde*] a *v* struck out, follows. 328. *glad* MS.
335. *sore* MS. . 336. *welle to sped*] *to sped welle* MS.

(31)

Lorddes, and ye wol lythe,
 The chyldyr namys I wolt toff blythe,
 Here kyn, how they were me told ;
 The kynges sone, that dowghtty ys, 340 Torrent freed
 Wase clepyd Verdownys, Prince Ver-
 That dowghtty wase and bold, downys, Lords
 And an Erylles son, that hyght Torren), Torren, Jakys,
 A nother Iakys of Berweyne, and Amyas,
 The forthe was Amyas bold. f. 82^o. 345
 The kynges dowghtt yr of Gales lond, and Princess
 Elyoner, I vndyrstond, Eleanor.
 That worthy wase in hold,

(32)

In to hys chambyr sche hyme led, She takes Torrent
 The gold and syluyr wase spred, 350 to his chamber,
 And asur, that wase blo ;
 In yron ther he gan stond,
 Body and armys *al schynand*,
 In powynt to trusse and goo.
 In to a stabyll sche hym led, 355 and then all of
 Eche toke a full feyer sted, them to the stable,
 They were *redy* to goo ; where each
 And wote ye weH and vndyrstond, chooses a horse.
 Had the gyant be levand,
 They had not partyd soo. 360

(33)

They wolt not to bed gange,
 Tyll on the morrow the Day spronge,
 Thus a wey to ffare.

337. after *wol*, be struck out MS. 340. *ys*] *wase* MS.
 346—348 put before 343—345, MS. 351. *blo*] *blewe* MS.
 353. *al sch.*] *lygand* (!) MS.
 354. *trusse*] corrected from *truste*. 357. *redy*] om. MS.
 358. *wote*] with paler ink corrected from *what*.
 359. *Had*] corrected out of *han*. *byn* follows, almost entirely
 erased. *gyant*] *t* corrected from *d*.
 361. *gange*] *gan* MS. *He on the* struck out, follows.

Torrent sperryd the gattys, i-wyse,
 AH that he lyst he clepyd hys, 365
 The keys and thyng he bare.
 The Lyons *that was* at the dore
 Wase led to her' mayster that wase befor',
 On hym thay fed them yare,
 Vpp won of the horse, that wase ther' levyd, 370
 On hym thei trussyd the gyanttes heved.
 Thus helpt hym god thar'.
 and puts his head
 on a horse.

(34)

But ore III wekes wer' commyn) to End,
 To Portynggall gan he wend,
 Ther' ase the kyng gan lend ; 375
 The porter' sawe *hym* ther he stood,
 He fled a wey, ase he were wod,
 Flyngyng ase a fynd. f. 82a.
 'Syr kyng,' he seyde, 'be goddes dede,
 Torrant bryngythe a devyH ys hed, 380
 Ther *witH* he wotH yow present.'
 DesoneH seyde : 'Porter', be styH !' . . .
 In hys walke ther ase he went.

(35)

The kyng to the gatys gan pase,
 Gret lordes that ther wase, 385
 Bothe knyghtes and squyerre,
 Lordes wase full sore a-dred
 Fore the lyonys, þat he had,
 They durst not come hyme ner'.
 The King and his
 Lords are afraid of
 the lions.

366. *keys*] *e* written with paler ink above the line.
 367. *lyons that was*] *lyons* MS.
 369. *Vn* (!) MS. *hym*] *y* corrected out of *e* MS. *thay*] corrected from *that*. *yare*] *ther* MS.
 371. *Vn* (!) MS. *thei*] *i* written above the line. *hed* MS.
 372. *ther* MS.
 373. *were*] *ther*, struck out, and *were* written over.
 375. *lend*] *lye* MS. 376. *sawe h. th.*] *ther sawe he* MS.
 386. *squyerres* MS.

The kyng seyð : ' I wyȝ *the* kysse, 390
 Durst I for' thy bestes, Iwysse.'
 Torrent dyd them ly ther',
 And kyssyd the kyng *with* joy and blyse ; Torrent kisses the
 And aftyr, other lordes of hys, King of Portugal.
 And aftyr, ladys clere. 395

(36)

Messengyres went the weye,
 To the kyng of Provyns to sey, The King of
 Hys sone ys owt of hold : Provyns is glad
 ' Yung Torrent of Portynggah
 Hathe browght hym owt of balle 400
 And slayne the jeyant bold.'
 Lytyȝ and mykyȝ þat ther wer',
 Ah they mad good cher f. 32a.
 Her' prynse fayne se wold.
 The kyng seyð : ' So mot I the, 405 of his son Ver-
 I wold geff the towynnys thre downys's safety
 For' the talles thow hast me told.'

(37)

Than seyð they, that to Gales yede,
 Yeftys to take were hem no ned,
 Then Verdownys had they. 410
 Ase they seylyd on a tyde,
 At Perrowd on the see syd

 The kyng of Provynse seyð : ' So mot I the,
 Yftiles schaff they not be, 415 and promises
 That dare I sothely sey.' Torrent gifts.

390. *the*] *hym* MS.
 395. *aftyr*] *other* add. (!) MS. *clere*] *jent* MS.
 396. *went*] *to* (!) MS. 397. after *Provyns I* MS.
 399. *Yoyng* MS. 405. *kyng seyð*] *kynges messengere* MS.
 405-7 put before 402-4.
 408. *Than—tha*] *That they than* MS. *Gales*] with paler ink
 corrected from *Calles*. *yede*] corrected from *went*.
 409. *take*] om. MS. *hym* MS. 410. *Then Downys* MS.

The King of Gales
offers Torrent his
daughter.

The kyng of Gales proferd hym feyer':
'Wed my dowghttyr and myn Eyer',
When so euyr' thcw may!

(38)

The King of
Provyus gives
Torrent his Sword

made by Weland,

The kyng of Pervense seyð: 'So mot I the, 420
Tnys seson) yeffles schaff thow not be,
' : Iaue here my Ryng of gold,
My sword, that so wyH ys wrowyt;
A better than) yt know I nowght
With in) crystyn) mold; 425
Yt ys ase glemyrryng ase the glase,
Thorow Velond wroght yt wase,
Bettyr ys non) to hold.
I have syne sum tyme in) loud,
Whoso had yt of myn) hond, 430
Fawe they were I-told.'

(39)

and named Ado-
lake.

A fortnight's
Fenst is held.

Tho wase Torrent blythe and glad,
The good swerd ther he had,
The name wase Adolake.
A gret maynerey let he make *ryght* 435
Th'at lest all a fortnyght,
'Who so wiH hys met take. 438
Evyry man toke ys leve, ase I yow say,
Hom-ward to wend ther wey,
Euery man ys Rest to take. 440
TyH yt be-feH vppon a day,
Ase they went be the wey,
The kyng to hys dowghttyr spake :

417. *gales*] *g* with paler ink corrected from *c*.

429. *Loke thou hold yt with fulle hond*, add. MS.

431. *I fawght therfore I told* MS.

435. *mayn.*] *mayne let*, with paler ink corrected into *mayney*.
ryght] om. MS.

438. *I*] om. MS. 440. *to take ys Rest* MS.

(40)

'Ye schaff take hed of a jeentyh man),

A feyer' poynt for' yow he wane,

Desoneh, at the last.'

Syr,' sche seyde, 'be hevyn kyng,
Tyh ye me told, I knewe no thyng,

For who ys love yt wase.'

'Desoneh, so mvt I the,
Yt wase for the lowe of the,

That he trovyllde so fast.

I warne yow, dowghttyr, be the Rode,

Yt ys for yow bothe good,

Ther to I Red yow trast.'

445 The King of
Portugal tells
Desoneh

,

450

that Torrent kild
the Giant for love
of her.

455

(41)

Forthe sche browght a whyt sted,

As whyt as the flowyr in' med,

Ys fytte blac ase slon.

'Leman), haue here thys fole,

That dethe ys dynt schalt þou not *thole*,

Whyh thow settyste hyme appon,

And yf thow had *persewyd* be

And hadyst ned fore to fle,

Fast for to gone.

The kyng of Nazareth sent hym me,

Torrent, I wet-saffe hym on the,

For better love may I none.'

460 She gives Torrent
a white steed

465

465 which the King
of Nazareth had
sent her.

f. 84a.

(42)

Aftyward vppon a tyd,

Ase the went be the watyres syd,

The kyng and yong Torrent,

470

455. *trust* MS. 458. *sto* MS.

460. *thole*] *haue* MS. 461. *settythe* MS.

462. *p'rewyd* (!) MS.

465. So Fragm. I (F. I); *The kyng of Portynggalle seyde*: 'So
not I the MS.

466. *hym on*] so F. I; *of* MS.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

The King The kyng wold fayne, that he ded wer',
 And he wyst, in what maner',
 How he schuld be schent ;
 treacherously A false lettyr mad the kyng
 And dyd messengyres forthe yt bryng, 475
 On the Rever', ase they went,
 ask« Torrent to To Torrent, that was trew ase styH,
 get DesoneH a Yf he love DesoneH wyH,
 Falcon Get her a facon jent.

(43)

Torrent the letter be-gan to Red, 480
 The kyng lestyned & nere yed,
 Ase he yt nevyr ad sene.
 'Syr,' he seyde, 'what may thys be,
 Loo, lord, come ner' and see,
 A-bowght a facon schene? 485
 I ne wot, so god me sped,
 In what lond that they bred.'
 The kyng answerd : 'I wene,
 from the Forest of In the forrest of Mavdeleyn,
 Magdalen. Ther be hawkes, ase I herd seyne, 490
 That byn of lenage clen.'

(44)

And than seyde the kyng on-trew :
 'Yf thow get hawkys of gret valew,
 Bryng on of them to me !'
 Torrent Seyde : 'So god me saue, t. 846. 495
 He agrees to do it. Yf yt be-tyd, that I may haue,
 At yowr wyH they schal be.'
 Hys squyere bode he thar',
 Aftyr hys armor' for to far',
 In the fylde byddythe he. 500

471. *ded were*] so F. I ; *were ded* MS. 472. *he*] so F. I ; *Aym* MS.
 477. *that was*] so F. I ; om. MS. 482. *sync* MS.
 487. *that*] so F. I ; om. MS. *they*] *ne* add. (!) MS.
 489. *Mavd.*] so F. I ; *Mavallen* MS. 491. *clen*] *gene* MS.
 498. *squyere*] so F. II ; *squyeres* MS. *there* MS.

They armyd hym in) hys wed, Torrent rides
 Tho he be-strod a noble sted,
 And forthe than Rod hee.

(45)

Torrent toke the way a-geyn
 In to the forest of Mawdleynd, 505 to the Forest of
Magdalen,
 In the wyld-some way ;
 Berys and apes there founde he,
 And wyld bestys great plente,
 And lyons where they lay.
 In a wod that wase tyght, 510
 Yt Drew nere-hand nyght
 By dymmynge of the Day,
 Harkyn, lordes, to them came wo,
 He and hys squyer partyd in two, gets separated
from his Squire,
 Carfull men then were they. 515

(46)

At the schedyng of a Rome
 Eche partyd other frome,
 For sothe, ase I vndyrstond.
 Torrent toke a dulful wey
 Downe in) a depe valey 520
 Be-syd a weh strong.
 A lytyh be fore mydnyght
 Of a dragon he had syght, and comes on a
Dragon.
 That grysly wase to fond ;
 He had hym nowght to were, 525
 But hys schyld and hys spere, f. 85a.
 That wase in) hys squyeres hond.

502. noble] so F. II ; *nothere* MS.

507—509. so F. II : *Berryes he sawe stondyng
 And wyld bestes ther goyng,
 Gret lyonys ther he fond.* MS.

510. tyght] so F. II ; *thyke* MS.

512. *By d.*] so F. II ; *And in the Dawnyng* MS.

513. *to—wo*] so F. II ; *to*] of F. II. *what I schalle sey* MS.

514. *in two*] so F. II ; *they* MS.

515. *men—they*] so F. II ; *they were that Day* MS.

524. *fond*] *syght* MS.

(47)

Torrent knelyd on hys kne,
 To Iesu Cryst prayd he :
 ' Lord, mykyl of myght, 530
 Syne I wase in) meche care,
 Let me nevuyr owt of thys world far',
 TyH I haue take order of knyght.
 Ase I ame falsely hether' sent,
 Wyld-som weyes haue I went, 535
 With fyndes for to fyght.
 Now, Iesu, for thy holy name,
 Ase I ame but man) a-lone,
 Than) be my helpe to nyght !'
 to be his help.

(48)

Ase Torrent Iesu gan) pray, 540
 He herd the dragon), ther he lay
 Vndyr-nethe a clow ;
 Of and on he wase stronge,
 Hys taylor wase VII yerdes long,
 That aftyr hyme he drowe ; 545
 Hys wyngges wase long and wyght,
 To the chyld he toke a flyght
 With an howge swowe ;
 Had he nether' schyld ne spere,
 But prayd to god, he schold hyme were, 550
 For he wase in dred i-nowe.

(49)

On the taylor an hed ther' wase,
 That byrnyd Bryght as anny glase, fol. 85b.
 In fyer whan yt was dyght ;

532. *thys*] *hys* (!) MS.533. *haue*] or add. (!) MS. *order*] *othere* (!) MS.542. *clow*] *colod* or *colud*, *l* corrected from *d*, MS.543. *and*] *an* MS. 545. *drece* MS.548. *swowe*] *swayne* (!) MS. 551. *inowthe* MS.554. *yt*] *he* MS.

A-bowght the schyld he lappyd yt ther', 555
 Torrent the bowght a-sondyr schere
 Thurrow the grace of god almyght.
 As the boke of Rome tellys,
 Of hys taylle he cut IIII elles
 With hys sward so bryght. 560
 Than cryed the lothely thyng,
 That all the dañ be-gan to Ryng,
 That hard the gyant wyght.

Torrent cuts 4 ells
 off the Dragon's
 tail;

(50)

The gyant seyð : ' I vndyrstond,
 There ys sum crystyn man nere hond, 565
 My dragon here I cry.
 By hym, that schope bothe watyr and lond,
 All that I can se be-fore me stond,
 Dere schaff they a-bye !
 Me thynkythe, I here my dragon schowt, 570
 I deme, ther be svme dowghtty man hym a-bowght,
 I trow, to long I ly.
 Yf I dwell in my pyll of ston,
 And my cheff-foster were gone,
 A false mayster were I !' 575

and while its
 Giant-owner is
 getting ready to
 help it,

(51)

Be the gyant wase Redy dyght,
 Torrent had slayne the dragon Ryght ; 580
 Thus gan god hyme scheld.
 To the mownteyne he toke the wey
 To Rest hyme, all that day,
 He had myster, to be kyld.
 Tyll the day be-gan to spryng, 581
 Fowllys gan myrre to syng
 Bothe in frethe and in feld.

Torrent kills it.

f. 87a.¹

558. *Tellys*] *tellythe* MS. 563. *That the gyant hard wyght* MS.

574. *foster*] *st* corr. out of *t*. 581. *kyllyd* MS.

¹ There is no f. 86 in the paging of the MS.

	Leve we now of Torrent thore	585
Torrent's Squire	And speke we of thys squyer' more : Lesu hys sole fro hell shyld ! (52)	
rides all night in a wood,	Hys squyer' Rod all nyght In a wod, that wase full tyght, <i>With</i> meche care and gret fare, For to seke hys lord Torrent, That <i>wyghtly</i> wase frome hyme sent, And he wyst nevyr' whethyr ne whar'. He Durst neuyr' cry ne schuot, For <i>wylde bestes</i> were hym a-bowght	590 595
	In the holttes hare ; A <i>lytyl whyll</i> be-fore the day He toke in to a Ryde-wey Hyme self to meche care. (53)	
	Forthe he Rod, I vndyrstond, Tyll he an hey wey fond, <i>With-owtyn</i> any <i>Delite</i> , Also fast ase he myght fare, Fore berrys and apys, þat ther ware,	600 605
till he fnds a highway,	Lest they wold hym byght. The sone a-Rose and schone bryght, Of a castyll he had a syght, That wase bothe feyer' and whyte (54)	
and is met by a Giant.	The gyant him se, & ny yed, And seyde : ' Fellow, so god me sped, Thow art welcom to me : What dost thow here in my forest ?' ' Lord, to seke an hawkys nest, Yff yt yowr wyl be.'	610 c. 87a.
<p>585. <i>there</i> MS. 592. <i>wysly</i> MS. 593. <i>wher</i> MS. 595. <i>wylde</i>] <i>wyd</i> MS. 596. <i>hore</i> MS. 597. <i>lytyl</i> MS. 602. <i>Delite</i>] <i>delay</i> MS. 604. <i>wcre</i> MS. 609. <i>hem</i> MS.</p>		

'The be-hovythe to ley a wede.' 615
 To an oke he hym led :
 Gret Ruthe yt wase to se.
 In IIII *quarteres* he hym drowe,
 And euery quarter vppon a bowe ;
 Lord, soche weys toke hee ! 620

The Giant cuts
 Torrent's Squire
 into 4 quarters.

(55)

Asc Torrent in) the movnteyn) dyd ly,
 Hym thowght, he hard a ReufuH cry ;
 Gret fere ther hyme thowght.
 'Seynt Marre,' seyde the chyld so fre,
 'Wher euyr' my jentyH squyer' myght be, 625
 That I with me to wod browght ?
 On he dyd hys harnes a-geyne
 And worthe on hys sted, *serteyne*,
 And thetherward he sowght.
 And wot yow wyH, I vndyrstond, 630
 In fowre quartyres he hym fownd,
 For other wyse wase yt nowght.

Torrent finds
 these,

(56)

The gyant lenyd to a tre
 And be-hyld Torrent so free,
 For sothe, ase I yow seye. 635
 Thys fend wase ferly to fyght,
 Rochense, seythe the boke, he hyght,
 Ther wase a dredfuH fraye.
 To the chyld than) gan he smyght :
 'A theff, yeld the asttyt, 640
 As fast as thow may !'
 'What,' seyde Torrent, 'art thow wood ?
 God, that Dyed on the Rood,
 Geff the evyH happe thys day !'

and is attackt
 by this giant
 Rochense.

f. 68a.

618. *drews* MS. 624. *fre]fer* MS.
 630. *wot] w* add. (!) MS. 635. *I]* om. MS.

(57)

He Rawght Torrent soche a Rowght, 645
 Hys stedd^{es} brayne he smot owte,
 So mykyt he began.

Torrent's steed
 is kild.

Torrent tho a good sped
 Ase fast a-bowte an eche *yede* ;
 Ase swefte ase he myght, *he* Ran. 650

He gathyred svm of hys gere,
 Bothe hys schyld and hys spere ;
 Nere hym yod he than.

He drives the
 Giant back

Bacward than be a brow ;
 Twenty fote he gard hyme goo,
 Thus erthe on hym he wana. 655

(58)

Yt solasyd Torrant then,
 When he sawe hyme bacward ren
 Downe be a movnteyn) of Perowne,
 Stomlyng thurrow frythe and fen, 660

into a deep glen,

TyH he com to a depe *glen*,
 Ther myght non hym *stere*.

Torrent wase glad and folowyd fast,
 And hys spere on hyme he brast,
 Good Adyloke yed hyme nere. 665

where he stands
 in water.

The fynd in) the watyr stod,
 He fawte a-geyn, ase he wese wod,
 AH þe day in) fere.

(59)

Tho nere hond wase the day gone, f. 880.
 Torrent wase so werry than 670
 That on hys kne he kneld :

Torrent prays
 God for help.

'Helpe, god, that ah may !
 DesoneH, haue good day !'
 Fro hym he cest hys schyld.

649. *yede*] *went* MS. 650. *he Ran*] *Ryne* MS.
 657. *than* MS. 658. *ren*] *Rond* (!) MS. 661. *glen*] *thorne* MS.
 662. *stere*] *schere* MS. 668. *þe*] *the* add. (!) MS.
 671. *knelyd* *he* MS.

Iesu wold not, he were slayne, 675
 To hym he sent a schowyr' of Rayne,
 Torrent full wyth yt keld. Jesus freshens up
 Torrent.
 The fynd saw, he wase ny mate,
 Owt of the watyr he toke the gate,
 He thought to wyne the fyld. 680

(60)

Thoo wase Torrent ffresse and good ;
 Nere the fynd sore he stod,
 Cryst hym saue and see !
 The fynd fawt *with* an yron' staff, The Giant attacks
 again. 685
 The fyrst stroke, to hym he gaffe,
 He brast hys schyld on thre.
 Torrent vndyr hys staff Rane,
 To the hart he baryd hym than,
 And lothely cry gane he. Torrent runs him
 thro' the heart,
 To the grownd he fell ase tyght, 690
 And Torrent gan hys hed of-smyght,
 And thus he wynnythe the gre. cuts his head off,

(61)

Torrent knelyd on the grownd
 And thankyd god þat ylke stownd,
 That soche *grace* hyme send. 695
 Thus II journeyes in thys woo
With hys handes slow *he* gyantys too,
 That meny a man' hathe schent. f. 80a.
 Torrent forthe frome hyme þan yod,
 And met hyme XXIIII fotte, 700 finds him at ft.
 Ther he lay on the bent.
 Hedles he left hym there,
 Howt of the fyld the hed he bare
 And to the castell he went. long, and goes to
 his Castle.

677. *kelyd* MS. 690. *grownd* MS.
 697. *hc*] *II* MS.

(62)

Torrent goes
to the Giant's

To thys castell he gan far' ;
Ther fond he armor' and other' gare,
A swerd, that wase bryght.
To the towre he toke the wey,
Ther the gyantes bed lay,
That Rychyly wase dyght. 705
At the beddes hed he fond

Castle, and finds a
splendid sword,

A swerd, worthe an Erillys lond,
That meche wase of myght.
On the pomell yt wase wret,
Fro a prynce yt wase get, 715
Mownpolyardnus he hyght.

(63)

The sarten *to sey with-owt lese*,
A scheff-chambyr' he hym ches,
TyH on the morrow day.
To the stabull tho he yed, 720
There he fond a nobyH sted,
and a noble white
steed.
Wase comely whyt and grey.

With the heads
of the Giant and
Dragon, Torrent

The gyantes hed gan he take,
And the dragonnys wold he not forsake,
And went forthe on hys wey. 725
He left mor' good in that sale
Than wase *witli in* aH Portynggall, f. 80b.
Ther ase the gyant laye.

(64)

Tho he Rod bothe Day and nyght,
TyH he come to a castell bryght, 730
Ther ys lord gan dwell.
The kyng ys gone to the gate,
Torrent on kne he fond ther at,
Schort tall for to tell.

706. *gere* MS. 717. *to sey*] om. MS.
718. *he] sche* MS. *chcsys* (!) MS. 720. *yud* MS.

'Haue thou thys in) thyn) hond : 735
 No nother hawkys ther I fond
 At Mawdlenys well.'
 The kyng *quod* : 'Ase so haue I blyse,
 Torrent, I trow, sybbe ys
 To the dewell of heH ! 740

Torrent gives the King the Giant's and Dragon's heads instead of a Falcon.

(65)

'Here be syd dwellythe won on lond,
 Ther ys no knyght, *hys* dynt may stond,
 So stronge he ys *in dede* !'
 'Syr,' he sayd, 'fore sen Iame,
 What ys the gyantes name, 745
 So Euyr good me sped ?'
 'Syr,' he seyde, 'so mvt I the,
 Slogus of Fuolles, thus hyte hee,
 That wyt ys vndyr wede.'

and says the Giant Rychense was Slogus of Fuolles.

(66)

LytyH and mykyH, lese and more, 750
 Wondyr on the heddes thore,
 That Torrent had browght whome.
 The Lordes seyde 'Be sen MyheH !
 Syr kyng, but ye love hyme wyH,
 To yow yt ys gret schame !' 755
 Torent ordeynyd prystes fyve, f. 90a.
 To syng for hys squerys lyve,
 And menythe hym by name.
 Therfor' the lady whyt ase swane
 To Torrant, here lord, sche went than), 760
 Here hert wase to hyme tane.

Desonell gives her heart to Torrent.

738. *quod*] om. (!) MS. 739. *sybbe*] *syllke* MS.
 742. *knyght hys*] *knyghtes* MS. 743. *in d.*] *on ground* MS.
 752. *browght*] *ho* add. (!) MS.
 758. *The*] om. MS. *seyd*] *he* add. MS. *Myhelle*] *my her*, r
 corrected to *he* with paler ink.
 756. *prystes*] V add. (!) MS.

(67)

Lettyrres come ther *withalle*
 To the kyng of Portynggath,
 To ax hys dowghttyr Derre,
 Fro the kyng of Eragon), 765
 To wed her' to hys yongceest son),
 The lady, that ys so clere.
 For Torrent schuld not her' haue,
 For hyme fyrst he here gafe,
 To the messenger', 770
 And hys *way* fast ageyn dyd pase,
 Whyle Torrent an huntynge wase,
 Ther of schuld he not be were.

(68)

On a mornyng, ther ase he lay,
 The kyng to the quene gan sey : 775
 'Madame, for cheryte,
 Thow art oftyn hold wyse ;
 Now wolt ye tell me yowr deuyce,
 How I may governe me :
 The Ryche kyng hathe to me sent, 780
 For to aske my dowghttyr gente
 That ys so feyer' and fre.'
 'Syr,' sche Seyd, 'so god me sauc,
 I Red yow let Torent her haue, f. 206.
 For best worthy ys he.' 785

(69)

He said : 'Madame, were that feyer',
 To make an erlles sone myn Eyer' ?
 I witt not, by sen Iame !
 There he hathe done maystres thre,
 Yt ys *hys* swerd, yt ys not he, 790
 For Hatheloke ys ys name.'

762. *ther withalle*] *hetherward* MS. 769. *For*] *To* MS.771. *way*] om. MS. 773. *ware* MS.775. *The (quene to the) kyng to the quene gan sey* MS.779. *That how* MS. 781. *aske*] *awcke* MS. 790. *hys*] om. MS.

'Lord, he myght full wyll sped,
 A knyghtes dowghttyr wase hyme bed,
 Ase whyt ase walles bane ;
 And yf ye warne hyme Desoneff, 795
 All that ther of here tell,
 Ther of wyll speke schame.'

(70)

'Madam, vnto thys tyd
 There lythe a gyant here be-syd, The false King
of Portugal
 That many a man hathe slayne. 800
 I schaff hyght hym my dowghttyr' dere,
 To fyght *with* that fyndes fere, plots to have
Torrent kild by
another Giant.
 Thus he holdythe hyme in trayne.
 But I schaff make myn commnant so,
 That there schaff non *with* hyme go, 805
 Neyther squyer' ne swayne.'
 'Syr,' sche seyde, 'so mvt I the,
 So sore be-stad hathe he be,
 And wyll commyn a-geyne !'

(71)

Tho the belles be-gan to Ryng, 810
 Vpe Rose that Ryche kyng,
 And the lady *so fre*,
 And aftyr-ward they went to mase, f. 91a. He and his Queen
go to Mass.
 Ase the law of holy chyrge wase, 815
With notes and solennyte.
 Trompettys on the waff gan blowe,
 Knyghtes semlyd on a Rowe,
 Gret joy wase to see.
 Torrent a syd bord began,
 The squyeres nexte hym than, Torrent sits at
the head of a
side table. 820
 That good knyghtes schuld be.

794. *swalles* (!) MS. *bone* MS. 796. *All* *And* MS.
 806. *Neyther*] om. MS. 812. *so fre*] *in ferec* MS.
 815. *nettes* (!) MS.

(72)

The King asks
Torrent if he'll

Ase they sat a-myddes the mete,

The kyng wold not foreget ;

To Torrent the kyng gan sey,

He seyð : 'Torrent, so god me saue,

825

Thow woldes fayne my dowghttyr haue

And hast lovyd her' many a day.'

'Ye, be trouthe,' seyð Torrent than,

'And yf þat I were a Ryche man,

Ryght gladly, *par ma fay* !'

830

do a deed of arms
for Desonell.

'Yf thow durst for her sake

A poynt of armys vndyrtake,

Thow broke her' well fore ay !'

(73)

'Yes,' says Tor-
rent.

'Ye,' seyð Torrent, 'ar I ga,

Sekyrnes ye schaff me ma

835

Of yowr dowghttyr hend,

And aftyrward my ryghtys,

Be-fore XXVII knyghtes.'

And all were Torrentes frende.

'Now, good *seris*,' gan Torrant sey,

c. 91b.

840

'Bere wittnes her of som Daye,

A-geyne yf god me send !'

(74)

Torrent seyð : 'So mvt I the

Wyst I, where my jorney schold be,

Thether I wolde me dyght.'

845

The kyng gaff hyme an answe :
The kyng gaff hyme an answe :'Then go to
Calabria,

'In the lond of Calabur ther'

Wonnythe a gyant wyhte,

822. a] so F. III ; the MS. 825. saue] so F. III ; sped MS.

830. gladly] so F. III ; glad MS.

831. for h. s.] so F. III ; par ma fay MS.

833. broke] so F. III ; breks MS.

834. go F. III ; gan Rage MS. 835. make MS.

839. frenddes MS. 844. be] om. MS.

845. wolde] so F. III ; om. MS.

848. wyhte] so F. III ; whyte MS.

And he ys bothe strong and bold,
 Slochys he hyght, I the told, 850
 God send the that waye Ryght!¹
 Than quod Torrent: 'Haue good day,
 And, or I come a-geyn, I schaff asay,
 Whether the fynd can fyght.'

and fight the
 Giant Slochys.'

(75)

The wold he no lenger' a-byde, 855
 He toke ys wey for to Ryde
 On a sted of gret valewe.
 In to a chambyr' he gas,
 Hys leue of DesoneH he tas,
 Sche wepte, aH men myght Rewe; 860
 He seyde: 'Lady, be styH!
 I schaff come a-geyn the tyH,
 Thurrow helpe of Marry trewe.'
 Thus he worthe on a stede. starts,
 In hys wey Cryst hyme sped, 865
 Fore he yt no thyng knewe!

Torrent takes
 leave of DesoneH,

(76)

He toke hym a Redy wey,
 Thurrow Pervvyns he toke the wey,
 As hys Iorney feH. f. 91a.¹
 TyH the casteH Be the See, 870
 An hy stret heldythe hee,
 Ther the kyng *dyd* dwelle.
 To the porter he gan seye:
 'Wynd in, fellow, I the pray,
 And thy lord than teth, 875

and rides to
 the Caste of the
 King of Provyns.

851. *that w.*] so F. III; *ways* MS. 852. *good*] *goo* MS.
 853. Space left here for an initial letter of the largest size in MS.
 856. *Ryde*] *ryght* MS. 858. *gas*] *gothe* MS.
 859. *tas*] *toks* MS. 862. *the*] *than* MS. 868. *pvys* MS.
 871. *And* MS. 872. *dyd dw.*] *dwellyd* MS. 875. *tyll* MS.

¹ There are two folios 91 in the MS.

Pray hym, on won nyght in) hys sale
 To harburrew Torrent of Portynggall,
 Yf yt Bee ys will!

(77)

The King of
 Provyns
 The porter' Dyd hys commandment,
 To the kyng he ys wente 880
 And knelyd vppon) ys kne :

'God blyse þe, lord, In thy sale!
 Torrent of Portynggale

Thus sendythe me to the ;
 He praythe yow, yf ye myght, 885
 To harburrew hym thys won) nyght,
 Yf yowr will yt bee.'

welcomes
 Torrent, and
 The kyng swere be hym, þat dyed on tre :
 'There ys no man) in) crystyante
 More welcome to me!' 890

(78)

The kyng a-Rose and to the gat yod,
 Lordes and other' knyghtes good,
 That were glad of hys commyng.
 In to the hale he hyme browght,
 feeds him. Ryche met spare they nowght, 895

Be-fore Torrent fore to bryng.
 'Syr,' sayd the kyng, 'I pray the, 915.
 Where be thy men off armys free,
 That *with* the schuld leng ?'

Torrent's sword is
 his only Squire.
 'Syr, to a lord I mvst Ryde, 900
 My squyer hongythe be my syde,
 No man schaff *with* me wend.'

(79)

'Syr,' seyde the kyng, 'I pray the,
 Where schaff thy ded of armys bee,
 Yf yt be thy wyll?' 905

878. *Yf ys wille to Bee* MS. 892. *knyges* MS.
 899. *leng* wynd MS.

'Syr,' he seyde, 'vttirly,
 At Calabur, sekryly,
 I ame all Redy ther tyll
 With a squyer, þat wiþ can Ryde ;
 Fast be the see Sydde 910
 Schuld we pley owur fyle ;
 And wot ye wyll and vndyrstond,
 Ther schall no knyght come nere hond
 Fore dred of denttes yll.'

Torrent says he
 has to fight in
 Calabria.

(80)

The kyngs seyde : ' Be goddes ore,
 I Rede, þat þou come not thore,
 Fore why, I wyll the seye :
 Meche folke of that contre
 Come hether for sokor of me,
 Bothe be nyght and day ; 920
 There ys a gyant of gret Renowne,
 He dystrowythe bothe sete and towyn
 And all þat euyr he may ;
 And ase the boke of Rome dothe tell,
 He wase get of the dewell of hell, 925
 As hys moder on slepe lay.'

915 The King of
 Provyns warns

920
 him against the
 terrible Giant
 there,

(81)

The kyng Seyde : ' Be seynt Adryan,
 I Rede, a nother Jentyll mane
 Be there and haue the gre :
 I haue a dowghttyr, þat ys me dere, 930
 Thow schalt here wed to thy fere,
 And, yf yt thy wyll be,
 Two duchyes in londe
 I wille geve here in hande.'
 ' Gramarcy, syr,' sayde he, 935

f. 92a.
 and offers him
 his Daughter
 and 2 Duchies
 instead.

915. *kynges* (!) MS. 916. *there* MS.

922. *sele*] second *e* corr. out of *a* MS.

929. *the*] so F. IV ; om. MS. *degre* MS.

932. So F. IV ; om. (!) MS. 933. *londe*] *honde* F. IV ; om. MS.

935. *syr s. h.*] so F. IV ; *seyd he thane* MS.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

D

Torrent says he
must keep his
troth.

'With my tonge so haue I wrowght,
To breke my day than with I nowght,
Nedys me behovythe ther to bee.'

(82)

'In goddes name,' the kyng gane sayne,
'Iesu send the with a-geyne,

940

Lord so mekyH of myghte !'
Menstrelles was them a-monge,
Trompettes, harpys, and myrre songe,
Delycyous nottis on hyght.

When tyme was, to bed they wente ;
On the morrow Rose Torrente

945

He starts,

And toke leve of kyng and knyght
And toke a Redy weyye,
Be a see syd as yt laye,
God send hym gattes Ryght !

950

(83)

reaches Calabria,

A hye stret hathe he nome,
In to Calabur he ys come
With in to days ore III ;
Soo come ther folkes hym a-geyne,
Fast folloyng with cart and wayne,
Fro-ward the sytte.

955

'Dere god !' seyde Torrent nowe,
'Leve folkes, what Eylllythe yow,
Soo fast fore to flee ?'

and hears of
the Giant.

'There ys a gyante here be-syde,
In ale thys covntre fare and wyde
No mane on lyve levythe hee.'

960

r. 926.

(84)

'Dere god,' sayde Torrant thane,
'Where schall I fynd that lothly man ?'
Ther they answerd hym anone :

965

947. of] so F. IV ; on MS. 948. toke] so F. IV ; to MS.
951. nome] so F. V ; none MS. 952. come] so F. V ; gone MS.
958. yow] nowe add. (!) MS. 964. lothly] so Hall. ; lovely MS.
965. anone] so F. V ; a geyne MS.

'In a castyH be-syd the see,
 Slongus, soo hyght hee,
 Many a man had he slone.
 We wot wiH wher he doth ly :
 Be-fore the cyte of Hungry ;
 He wiH not thens gone,
 TyH he haue the Rychē kyng'
 To hys presone for to bryngg,
 To be lord of hyme self a-lone.'

970 The Giant Slongus
 is in Hungary ;

(85)

Tho wold he no lenger' a-byd,
 But to the sytte gan he Ryde,
 As fast as he myght fare ;
 Here barys fell and broke downe,
 And the gattes of gret Renowne
 Stondyng' aH baree.
 Men of armys stond hyme a-geyne,
 Mo than fyfty had he slayne
 With gryme wounddes and sare.
 When Torrent of hym had a syght,
 Thowe DesoneH be neuyr' so bryght,
 He will Reue hym hys chaffar.

975

he has broken the
 City gates,

980

and slain 50 men.

985

(86)

Torrent in the storrope stod
 And prayd to god, þat dyed on Rode :
 'Lord, ase thow schalt ale wyld at wyle,
 Gyff me grace to wyn the fyld,
 That thys lothly fynd hym yeld
 A-non to me tyH !

990

Torrent prays to
 Christ for help.

968. *slone*] so F. V ; *slayluc* (!) MS.
 969. *doth ly*] so F. V ; *ys* MS.
 970. *cyte*] so F. V ; *kyngghithod* MS. *Hungry*] so F. V ;
Hongrys MS.
 971. *thens*] *thus* MS.
 986. *hym*] *in* corr. out of s. MS. *chaffer* MS.
 990. *wynd* (!) MS. *vndyr nethe spere and schyld* ald. (!) MS.
 991. *lothly*] om. MS.

A man schaff But onnys Dyee, f. 93a.
 I wiſſ fyght, whiſſ I may Dryee.'

He mad cher' nobyſſ. 995

When he had Iesu prayd of grace,
 He wyscheyd hyme a battell plase,
 Ther as hym lyst welle.

(87)

Torrent hys spere a-say be-gane,
 Bothe schyld and spere than), 1000

That they were sekyr and good.

Torrent
 blows his horn.

Aftyr þat, wiſſ in a throwe,
 Hys good horne gane he blowe.

The gyant sawe, wher' he stodde :

The Giant
 Slongus, of
 Flonthus,

Slonges of Flonthus staryd than) ; 1005

Quod Torrent : ' Yf thow be a gentyſſ man)

Or come of gentyſſ blod,

Let thy beytyng and thy Ermyght be,
 And come prove thy strenghe on me,

Therfor I sowght the, be the Rodde.' 1010

(88)

The gyant sayd : ' Be the Roode,

Dewett of heſſ send the fode,

Hether to seche me :

says he'll wring
 Torrent's nose.

By the nose I schaff the wryng,

Thow berdles gadlyng, 1015

That all heſſ schaff thow see !'

The wey than to hym he toke

And on hys bake he bare a croke,

His Crook is 13 ft.
 long.

Wase X fot long and thre ;

And thow he neuer so gret war', 1020

Torrent thought not fare to fare,

Tyſſ wone of them ded bee. f. 93b.

995. *nobill chere* MS. 998. *welle*] *were* MS.

1008. *Let be thy d. a. t. crm.* MS.

1011. *sayd*] written above the line. 1017. *he*] so F. VI ; om. MS.

1018. *he*] *her* MS. *croke*] so F. VI ; *creke* (!) MS.

1020. *were* MS.

(89)

Thoo wold Torrent no lenger' byd,

TyH the theff gan he Ryde,

Ase fast ase euyr' he may.

The theff had non ey but on,

Soche sawe I neuer none,

Neyther' be nyght *nor* be day.

Thurrow goddes helpe and sent Awsden

The spere *throw ye and herne gan ren.*

God send hym the Ryght wey ;

Than the theff be-gane to Rore.

AH that in' the sytte wore,

Ouyr' the wallys they laye.

Torrent charges,

1025

1030

pierces the Giant's
eye,

(90)

Thow the fyndes ey were owte,

Fast he leyd hym a-bowte

AH þat somyrres nyght ;

He set ys backe to an hyH,

That Torrent schuld not come hym tyH,

So meche þat theff covd of fyght.

He bled so sore, I vndyrstond,

Hys croke felt owt of hys hond,

Hys dethe to hyme ys dyght.

Torrent to hyme Rane *wit* a spere,

Thurrow the body he gan hym bere,

Thus helpe hym god of myght.

1035

1040

1045

then spears him
thro' the body,

(91)

AH that in' the sytte were,

Mad full nobill chere,

That thys fynd wase Dedde.

and kills him.

1024. *the*] *f* add. (!) MS.

1028. *Blyther* (!) MS. *nor*] so F. VI; *and* MS.

1030. *throw—ren*] *anon he toke to hym* MS.

1033. *wore*] so F. VI; *were* MS.

1040. *þat*] *þ* add. MS. 1047. *That alle* MS.

Forthe they Ran *with* stavys of tre, f. 94a. 1050
 Torrent seyð : 'So mvt I the,
 Kepe hole hys hed !
 Yf yt be broke, so god me sped,
 Yt ys wyth the worse to lede.'
 They dyd ase *he* hem bede, 1055
 Mo than thre hunderd on a throng
 Yt ys solas Euyr' a-mong
 Whan that he was dede.

Torrent preserves
the Giant's head.

(92)

Than) the kyng of Calaber ayen) hym went,
 Torrent be the hond he hent, 1060
 To the hañ he gan) hym lede
 And comaundid squiers *two*,
 Of *hys* harnes for to do
 And cloth hym) in another wede.
 Waytes on the wañ gan blowe, 1065
 Knyghtis assemled on a Rowe,
 And sith to the deyse they yede ;
 'Sir,' quod the kyng, 'of whens are ye ?'
 'Of Portingale, sir,' said he,
 'I com heder, to sech my dede.' 1070

The King of
Calabria

feasts him,

(93)

Fuñ curtesly the kyng gan say
 To Torrent on the opure day :
 'Wyth ye wend with me
 A lituñ here be-side to passe,
 There as the Geauntes dwelling was 1075
 His maner now for to see ?'
 To the castelñ gan) they gone,
 Richer saw they never none,
 Better myght none be.

and takes him
to the Giant's
Castle.

1054. *lede*] *Rode*, struck out and *lede* added in paler ink.
 1055. *That seson they* MS. *he hem*] *hyme* (!) MS. *bede*] *bad* MS.
 1057 *put before* 1056 MS. 1062. *two*] *tho* MS.
 1063. *hys*] *her* MS. 1070. *deth* MS.
 1072. *To T.] Torrent said* MS.

'Sir,' he said, 'be god all-myȝt,
For thou hym) slew, þat it dight,
I vouche it saue on the,

1080 The King of
Calabria gives
Torrent the
Giant's castle,

(94)

'I yeve yt the, sir, of my hond,
And there-to, an erledome of my lond,
For soth, ye shaft it haue ;

£ 910.

and an Earldom.

Omage thou shalte none *nor* ffyne,
But euer more to the and thyne,
Frely, so god me saue !'

1085

Lordys, and ye liston wold,
What was clepud the riche hold :

1090 The Castle's name
is Cardon.

The castell of Cardon, *by sawe*.
Two days or thre dwellith he there
And sith he takythe *leve* to ffare,
Both at knyght and knave.

(95)

By the kyng of Pervens he gan gane,
That he had oute of *preson* i-tane
His son vppon a day.

1095

Gentilmen were blith and ffayn),
That he in helth was comyn) agayn),
That they myght with hym) play.

1100

There of herd he, *sertaynle*,
That Desoneft wedid shold be
With an vncouth Ray.

Torrent hears
that Desonell is
to marry a
strange King.

Aud listonyth, lordis, of a chaunce,
Howe he lefte his countenaunce
And takyth hym) armes gay !

1105

1081. *if*] *is* MS.

1083. *yt*] om. MS. *of*] *alle* add. MS. *hond*] *lond* MS.

1084. *my*] om. MS. 1086. *nor*] om. MS.

1091. *by s.*] om. MS. 1092. *there* MS.

1093. *leve*] *the way* MS. 1096. *of preson*] om. MS.

1101. *sertayn* MS. 1103. *unc.*] *a* add. MS.

(96)

The King of
Provyns knights
Torrent.

By-fore the kyng he fell on kne :

'Good lord,' he said, 'for charite,

Yeve me order of knyght !

I wott well, leryd are ye,

1110

My lordys doughter shall wed be

To a man off myght.'

'Sir,' he said, 'I trow, she mone

f. 96a.

To the prynce off Aragon,

By this day sevynnyght.

1115

Swith,' he seith, 'that this be done,

That thou be there and wyn thy shone,

Gete the armes bryght.'

(97)

Torrent has

Sir Torrent ordenyth hym a sheld,

It was ryche in euery ffeld,

1120

Listonyth, what he bare :

an azure shield
with a gold squire
on it;

On azure a squier off gold,

Richely bett on mold ;

Listonyth, what he ware :

and a grinning
dragon of gold
on the crest of
his helmet.

A dragon lying hym be-syde,

1125

His mouth grennyng full wyde,

All ffyghtyng as they were ;

The creste, that on his hede shold stond,

Hit was all gold shynand,

Thus provid he hym there.

1130

(98)

Lordys assemblid in sale,

Well mo than I haue in tale,

Or ellis gret wonder were.

He hears that
Desonell's
marriage is
certain.

There herd *he* tell ffor certan),

That Desoneh wed shold be than),

1135

That was hym selfe ffutt dere.

1110. *ye are leryd* MS. 1111. *be wocd* MS.
1115 and 1118 have changed their place in the MS.
1122. *On*] of MS. 1134. *he*] / MS.

And whan he herd of that ffare,
 Wors tydingis than were thare,
 Might he none gladly here

(99)

He wold not in passe, 1140

TiH at the myd mete was

The kyng and meny a knyght ;
 As they satt at theyre *mete* glade,

In at the haH dur *he* rade

In armes ffeyre and bryght, 1145 Torrent rides into
the Hall where
Desonell is,

With a squier, that is fire ;

Vp to the lady ryduth he,

That rychely was i-dight.

'Lordys,' he said, 'among you all 1150 and challenges
any one to fight
him for her.

I chalenge thre coursus in the haH,
 Or Delyuer *her* me with right !'

(100)

The kyng of Aragon sett her bye,
 And he defendid her nobely :

'I wyH none delyuer the.'

His son said : 'So muste I thryve, 1155 The Prince of
Aragon accepta,

There shaH no man just for my wiffe ;

But yf youre wyH it be,

For her love did I never no dede,

I shaH to day, so god me spede : 1160

Be-hold and ye shaH se.'

'Alas !' said Desonell the dere,

'Full longe may I sitt here,
 Or Torrent chalenge me.'

(101)

Trumpettes blew in the prese, 1165 and the lists are
made ready.

Lordys stond on *the grese*,

Ladyes lay ouer and be-held.

1141. *af*] om. MS. 1143. *mete*] om. MS.
 1144. *he*] *they* MS. 1151. *Delyuer it me* MS.
 1165. *the grese*] *reugis* or *reugis* MS.

torrent The prynce and Torrent then
 Eyther to other gan ren,
 Smertely in that ffeld ;
 Torrent sett on hym so sore, 1170
 unhorses the That hors and man down he bore,
 Prince of Aragon,
 And all to-sheverd his sheld.
 So they tombelid all in ffere,
 That afterward of VII yere
 The prynce none armes myght weld. 1175

(102)

Torrent said : 'So god me saue,
 Other two coursus wyth I haue, *l. 96a.*
 Yf ye do me law of lond.'
 Gret lordys stond styth,
 They said nether good ne yth 1180
 For tynding of his hond.
 and he is carried The prynce of Aragon in they barr'
 indoors.
 With lituff worshipp and sydes sare,
 He had no fote on ffor to stond.
 Thus thes lordys justid aye ; 1185
 Better *they* had to haue be away,
 Suche comffort there he ffond.

(103)

 He wold not in passe,
 At dinner, Tiff they at myd mete was,
 On the other day at none. 1190
 His squiers habite he had,
 Whan he to the deyse yad,
 With oute couped shone,
 Torrent lays And the hede on the bord he laid :
 Slongus's head 'Lo, *sir* kyng, hold this,' he said, 1195
 on the table.
 'Or ellis wroth we anon !'

1167. *than* MS. 1186. *they*] *he* MS. 1187. *found* MS.

They sett stih at the bord,
None of hem spake one word,
But ryght that he had done.

(104)

Torrent at the syde bord stode :
' Lystonyth, lordynges, gentiit of blood,
For the love of god aH-myght :
The kyng heyght me his doughter dere,
To ffyght with a ffendys ffere,
That wekyd was and wight,
To wed her to my wyffe,
And halffe his kyngdome be his liffe,
And after his days aH his ryght.
Lokyth, lordys, you among,
Whether he do me ryght or wrong !'
Tho waried hym both kyng & knyght.

1200

Torrent proclaims
the promise of the
King of Portugal

to give him
Desonell, and half
Portugal, if he
slew Slongus.

1205

[1209]

f. 96b.

1210

(105)

Tho said the kyng of Aragon, i-wys :
' Torrent, I wiste no thing of thys,
A gret maister arte thou !'
The kyng sware be seynt Gryffeu) :
' With a sword thou shalte her wynne,
Or thou haue her nowe :
For why, my son to her was wed,
Gret lordys to churche her led,
I take wittnes of aH you.'
' Kyng Calamond, haue good day,
Thou shalt i-bye it, and I may,
To god I make avowe.'

The King of
Aragon

1215

[1220]

1220

says his son has
wedded Desonell.

He will be
revenged on the
King of Portugal.

(106)

The Emperoure of Rome ther was,
Be-twene thes kynges gan he passe
And said : ' Lordys, as sone,

1225

1198. *They spake nether ylle ne good* add. (!) MS.

1211. *de] ky,* struck out, add. MS.

1220. *you alle* MS.

To settle the
quarrel,

This squier, that hath brought this hede,
The kyng had wend he had be dede,

And a-venturly gan he gone : [1230]

the Emperor
suggests a fight
between 2
Champions.

I rede you take a day of *ryghtes*, 1230

And do it vpon two knyghtes,

And let no man be slow !'

Gret lordys, that were thare,

This talis lovid at that fare

And ordenyd that anon. 1235

(107)

The King of
Aragon sends to
the giant Cate

To the kyng *the thought* com was,

To send vnto Sathanas

For a geaunt, that hight Cate,

For to make hym knyght to his hond [1240]

And sease hym in all his lond ; 1240

The messingere toke the gate. *t. 97a.*

Gret othes he sware hym than,

That he shold ffyght but with one man,

And purvey hym he bad

Iryn stavis two or thre, 1245

to fight Torrent

For to ffyght with Torent ffre,

Though he there of ne watt.

(108)

Than take counseil kyng and knyght,

On lond that he shold not ffyght, [1250]

But far oute in the see, 1250

on an island

In an yle long and brad ;

A gret payn there was made,

That holdyn shold it be.

Yf Cate slow Torent, that ffre ys,

for half Portugal.

Halfe Portyngale shold be his, 1255

To spend with dedys ffre ;

1230. *ryghtes*] *Restys* MS. 1232. *slayn* MS.
1235. *that*] *than* MS. 1236. *the thought* om. MS.
1247. *wott* MS. 1248. *couns.*] *of add.* MS.
1251. *brod* MS.

And yf sir Torrent myght hym ouer-com,

He shold haue halfe Aragon,

Was better than suche thre.

[1260]

(109)

The Gyaunt shipped in a while

1260 The Giant Gate
comes to an
Island.

And sett hym oute in an yle,

That was grow both grene and gay.

Sir Torrent com prekand on a stede,

Richely armed in his wede ;

'Lordyngys,' gan he say,

1265

'It is semely ffor a knyght,

Vppon a stede ffor to ffyght.'

They said sone : 'Nay,

He is so hevy, he can not ryde.

[1270]

Torrent said : 'EviH mut he be-tyde,

1270

Falshode, woo worth it aye !'

(110)

'Sir, takyth houseH and shrefte !'

c. 976.

To god he did his hondys lifte,

And thankid hym of his sond :

'Iesu Cryste, I the praye,

1275 Torrent prays for
Christ's help.

Send me myght and strengith this day

A-yeH the ffend to stond !'

To the shipp sir Torent went,

With the grace, god had hym sent,

[1280]

That was never ffayland ;

1280

All the lordys of that contre,

Frome Rome vnto the Grekys se,

Stode and be-held on lond.

(111)

Whan sir Torrent in to the Ile was brought,

and lands in the
Island too.

The shipmen lenger wold tary nought,

1285

But hied hem sone ageyn ;

1278. This line begins with a big initial letter. *Torent* yode, struck out, add. MS.

1283. On lond stode and be held MS.

The Giant	The Giaunt said : ' So must I the, Sir, thou art welcom to me, Thy deth is not to layn !'	[1290]
knocks Torrent's staff out of his hand,	The firste stroke to hym he yaue, Oute of his hand flew his staff : That thefe was full fayn. Tho <i>sir</i> Torent went nere Cate, He thought, he wold hym haue slayn.	1290
	(112)	
and runs into the sea.	The theff couth no better wonne, In to the see rennyth he sone, As faste as he myght flare.	1295
	Sir Torrent gaderid cobled stonys, Good and handsom ffor the nonys, That good and round ware ;	[1300] 1300
Torrent shies cobble-stones at him,	Meny of them to hym he caste, He threw stonys on hym so faste, That he was sad and sare.	
kills him,	To the ground he did hym fell, Men) myght here the fend yeth Halfe a myle and mare.	1. see. 1305
	(113)	
	Sir Torent scid, as he was wonne, He thankid Iesu, Maryes son), That kyng, that sent hym my;t'; He said : ' Lordys, for charite, A bote that ye send to me, It is nere hand nyght !'	[1310] 1310
and he is towd ashore.	They Reysed a gale with a sayh, The Geaunt to lond for to trayh, Ah men wonderid on that wight.	1315
Torrent is shipt to the mainland.	Whan that they had so done, They went to <i>sir</i> Torent full sone And shipped that comly knyght.	[1320]

1298. *gad.*] *good* add. MS.
1300. *were* MS. 1303. *ore* MS. 1306. *more* MS.

(114)

The emperoure of Rome was there,
The kynges of *Pervens* and of *Calabere yare*, 1320
 And other two or thre.
 They yauē *sir Torent*, that he wan, Torrent is
awarded Desonell,
territory,
 Both the Erth and the woman),
 And said, weñ worthy was he.
Sir Torent had in *Aragon* 1325
 The riche Cite of *Cargon* and the City of
Cargon.
 And all that riche contre ;
 Archbeshoppes, as the law felt, [1330] Desonell is divorst
 Departid the prynce and *Dissonell* from the Prince
 With gret solempnite. 1330 of Aragon.

(115)

For *sir Torent* the fend did fall,
 Gret lordys honoured hym all
 And for a doughty knyght hym tase ;
 The kyng said : ' I vnderstond,
 Thou hast fought for my doughter & my lond, f. 98b.
 And weñ wonne her thou hasa.' 1336 The King of
Portugal
acknowledges
Torrent,
 He gaue to *saint Nycholas de Barr'*
 A grett Erdome and a *simarr'* [1340]
 That abbey of hym *tas*
 For *Iesus* love, moch of myght, 1340
 That hym helpith day & nyght,
 Whan he to the batteñ *gas*.

(116)

Lordys than at the laste,
 Echone on theyre way paste,
 And euery man to his. 1345
 The quene of *Portingale* was flayn), and the Queen is
glad.
 That *sir Torent* was com agayn
 And thankyd god of this. [1350]

1320. *The kynges*] om. MS.
 1321. *other*] *kynges* add. MS. or] *the* add. MS.
 1337. *saint*] *sir* MS. 1338. *simarre*] *marr* MS.
 1339. *tas*] *redith* MS. 1342. *gas*] *yode* MS.

The King of
Portugal bids
Torrent

Than said the kyng : ' I vnderstond,
Thou hast fought for my doughter & my lond, 1350

And art my ward, i-wys,

And I wyll not ageyn the say ;

wait 6 months
and a day for
Desonell.

But abyde halfe yere and a day,

And broke her weyll with blis !'

(117)

Torent said : ' So muste I the, 1355

Sith it wyll no better be,

I cord with that assent !'

After mete, as I you tell, [1360]

To speke with mayden Desonell,

Torrent

To her chamber he went. 1360

The damysel so moche of pride

Set hym on her bed-syde,

And said : ' Welcom, verament !'

Such gestenyng he a-right,

passes a night
with Desonell.

That there he dwellid all nyght 1365

With that lady gent. l. 90a.

(118)

Sir Torent dwellid thare

Twelffe wekys and mare, [1370]

Till letters com hym till

The King of
Norway begs

Fro the kyng of Norway ; 1370

For Iesus love he did hym praye,

Yf it were his wyll,

him to come
and fight a
Giant there.

He shold com as a doughty knyght,

With a Geaunt for to ffyght,

That wyll his londys spyll ; 1375

He wold hym yeve his doughter dere

And halfe Norway ffar and nere,

Both be hold and be hyll. [1380]

(119)

Sir Torent said : ' So god me saue,		Torrent
I-nough to lyve vpon I haue,	1380	
I wyH desire no more ;		
But it be, for Iesu is sake		
A poynt of armes for to take,		
That hath helpid me be-ffore.		
I yeve the here oute of my hond	1385	gives all his land
To thy doughter all my lond,		to the King for
Yf that I end thora.'		Desonell ;
And whan he toke his way to passe,	[1390]	
Mo than ffyfty with hym was,		
That fals to hym wore.	1390	

(120)

S yr Torent to the lady went,		
FuH curtesly and gent :		
' Desonell, haue good day !		
I muste now on my jurnay,		
A kyngis lond for to fend.	1395	
Thes gold rynges I shaH yeve the,		leaves 2 gold
Kepe <i>them</i> weH, my lady ffre,		ryngs with her,
Yf god a child vs send !'	[1400]	
She toke the ryngis with moche care,	1 998.	
Thries in sownyng fett she thare,	1400	
Whan she saw, that he wold wend.		

(121)

Shipp and takyH they dight,		and goes on board
Stede and armour ffor to ffyght		ship with his
To the bote they bare.		sted and armour.
Gentilmen, that were hend,	1405	
Toke her leve at theyre frend,		
With hym ffor to fare.		

1387. *there* MS. 1390. *were* MS. 1393. *Desonelle* MS.
 1397. *them*] om. MS.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

E

Kyng Colomond, is not to layn, [1410]
 He wold, that he cam nevure agayn);
 There fore god yeff hym care! 1410
 So within the fyfty dayes
 He Come in to the lond of Norways,
 Hard Contre ffound he thare.

Torrent gets to
 Norway.

(122)

Thus sir Torrent, for soth, is fare,
 A noble wynd droffe hym thare, 1415
 Was blowyng oute of the weste.
 Of the Coste of Norway they had a sight . . . [1419]
 Of sayling they were all preste.
 So ffeyre a wynd had the knyght,
 A litul be-ffore the mydnyght 1420
 He Rode be a foreste.
 The shipmen said : ' We be shent ;
 Here dwellith a geaunt, verament,
 On his lond are we *kest* !'

The shipmen tell
 him of a Giant.

(123)

The maistershipmon) said : ' Nowe 1425
 I Rede, we take down) sayle & Rowe,
 While we haue this tyde. [1430]
 Sir,' he said, ' be god allmyght,
 The giant lieth euery nyght
 On) the mowntayn) here be-syde ; 1430
 My lord the kyng wyH not ffyght, f. 100a.
 TiH he of you haue a sight,
 On you ys all his pryde !'
 Sir Torrent said : ' Here my hond !
 Sith we be ryven on this lond, 1435
 To nyght wyH I ryde.'

Torrent resolves
 to land.

1424. *kest*] *sett* MS. 1425. *maistershipmen* MS.
 1429. *lieth*] *here* add. MS. 1434. *Torrent* MS.

(124)

Sir Torent armyd hym) anon [1440] Torrent and his
 And his knyghtes euerychone knights arm.
 With sheld and spere in hond.
 The shipmen) said : ' As mut I thryve, 1440
 I Rede, that euery man) other shryve,
 Or that we go to the lond.'
 Sir Torent said : ' As god me spede,
 We wiH firste se that ffede,
 My lord was never failand ! 1445
 Gentilmen, make chere good,
 For Iesu love, that died on Rood, [1450]
 He wiH be oure waraunt !'

(125)

In a forest can) they passe,
 Of Brasill, saith the boke, it was, 1450 They reach the
 With bowes brod and wyde. Forest of B asill.
 Lyons and berys there they ffand
 And wyld bestes aboute goand,
 Reysing on euery side.
 Thes men) of armes, with trayn) 1455 The coward
 To the shipp they flew agayn) knights flee to
 In to the see at that tyde ; [1460] the ship,
 Fast from land row they be-gan),
 A-bove they left that gentilman),
 With wyld beestis to haue kyde. 1460 and leave Torrent
 alone.

(126)

The shipmen) of the same lond
 Ryved vp, I vnderstond,
 In another lond off hold. f. 100b.
 To the chamber they toke the way,
 There the kyng hym) selfe lay, 1465 False tales of
 And fals talis hym) told Torrent are told
 to the King of
 Norway.

1445. *seand* MS. 1446. *make*] *made* MS.
 1451. *bowes*] *browes* MS. 1452. *ffound* MS.
 1460. *k* corrected out of *r*. 1465 put before 1464 MS.

For he wold not the geaunt abyde, [1470]
 For all this contrey feyre and wyde,
 Thou; he yeff it hym wold.

(127)

' Sir kyng, ye haue youre selfe 1470
 Erlis *doughty* be ten) or twelfe,
 Better know I none :

Send youre messingeris ffar and wyde,
 For to ffeH the geautes pride,
 That youre doughter hath tane.' 1475

The King of
 Norway
 wants Torrent
 to come.

' I had lever to haue that knyght;
 With hym is grace of god allmy;te,
 To be here at his bane.' [1480]

FuH lituH wist that riche kyng
 Of *sir* *Torrentes* ryding 1480
 In the forest all alone.

(128)

Thorou; helpe of god that with hym was,
 Fro the wyld bestis gan) he passe
 To an hye hyH.

A lituH while be-fore the day 1485
 He herd in a valey

Torrent
 rides up to
 2 Dragons.

A dynnyng and a yeff. [1490]
 Theder than) riduth he,
 To loke, what thing it my;te be,
 What adventure thare be-feH. 1490

It were two dragons stiff and strong,
 Vppon) theyre lay they sat and song,
 Be-side a depe well.

(129)

Sir Torent said thanne
 To god, that made man) t. 101a. 1495
 And died vppon) a tree :

1471. *doughty* be] om. MS.
 1476. *that*] *ky*, struck out, add. MS.
 1490. *thare*] *that* MS.

‘ Lord, as thou mayst all weld, [1500] Torrent prays to Christ,
 Yeve me grace, to wyn the feld
 Of thes fendys onfre !’
 Whan he had his prayers made, 1500
 Pertely to hem he Rade
 And one thorou; oute bare he. spears the first Dragon;
 Thus sped the knyght at his comyng
 Thorough the helpe of hevyn kyng :
 Lord, lovid muste thou be ! 1505

(130)

The other dragon wold not flee,
 But showith all his myght ; [1510]
 He smote fire, that lothely thing,
 As it were the lightnyng,
 Vppon that comly knyght. 1510
 There fore sir Torent wold not lett,
 But on the dragon fast he bett
 And over-come that foule wight. and then kills the second.
 Tho anon the day sprong,
 Fowles Rose, mery they song, 1515
 The sonne a-Rose on hyzt.

(131)

Torent of the day was full blithe, [1520]
 And of the valey he did hym swith,
 As fast as euer he may.
 To a mowntayn he rode ryght, 1520
 Of a castell he had a sight He sees a Castle.
 With towrys hyze and gay
 He come in to an hyze strete,
 Few folke gan he mete,
 To wis hym the way. 1525

1499. onfre] ontrove MS. 1502. he bare MS.
 1507. shotith MS. 1516. hyze MS.
 1525. wish MS.

(132)

Torrent rides to
the Norse Giant's
castle gates.

To the gatys tho he Rade ;
FuH craftely they were made L 101A.
Of Iron and eke of tree. [1531]
One tre stonding there he ffond :
Nyne oxen of that lond 1530
Shold not drawe the tre.
The Giaunt wrought vp his waff
And laid stonys gret and small :
A lothely man was he.
' Now,' quod Torrent, ' I not, whare, 1535
My squiers be ffro me to fare,
Euer waried they be ! [1540]

(133)

He considers
what he shall do,

' Lord god, what is beste,
So Iesu me helpe, Est or Weste,
I Can not Rede to say. 1540
Yf I to the shipp fare,
No shipmen ffynd I thare ;
It is long, sith they were away.
Other wayes yf I wend,
Wyld bestis wyH me shend : 1545
Falshede, woo worth it aye !
I ffyght here, Iesu, for thy sake ; [1560]
Lord, to me kepe thou take,
As thou best may !'

and resolves to
fight.

(134)

He baite his
steed.

Down light this gentiH knyght, 1550
To Rest hym a lituH wight,
And vnbridelid his stede
And let hym bayte on the ground,
And aventid hym in that stound,
There of he had gret nede. 1555

1526. rode MS. 1529. found MS. 1532. welle MS.
1535. wot MS. 1537. they] thou MS. 1540. say] done MS.
1542. And no MS. I] om. MS. 1558. bayte] hym add. MS.

The Gyaunt yode and gaderid stone
 And sye, where the knyght gan gone, [1570] The Norse Giant
 prepares to fight.
 AH armed in dede ; f. 102a.
 And wot ye weH and not wene,
 Whan eyther of hem had other sene, 1560
 Smertely *they* rerid her dede.

(135)

For that *sir* Torent had hym sene,
 He worth vpon his stede, I wene,
 And *Iesu* prayde he tilH :
 ‘Mary son, thou here my bone, 1565 Torrent prays to
 Christ,
 As I am in venturus stad come,
 My jurnay to fuH-fyH!’ [1580]
 A voys was fro hevyn sent
 And said : ‘Be bliH, *sir* Torent,
 And yeve the no thing yH, 1570 and is cheerd by
 a voice from
 Heaven.
 To ffyght with my lordys enemy :
 Whether that thou lyve or dye,
 Thy mede the quyte he wyH!’

(136)

Be that the giaunt had hym dight,
 Cam) ageyn) that gentilH knyght, 1575 The Giant
 advances against
 Torrent.
 As bold as eny bore ;
 He bare on) his nek a croke, [1590]
 Woo were the man, that he ouertoke,
 It was twelfe ffote and more.
 ‘Sir,’ he said, ‘ffor charite, 1580
 Loke, curtes man) that thou be,
 Yf thy wyH ware :
 I haue so fought aH this nyght
 With thy II dragons wekyd and wight,
 They haue bett me fuH sore.’ 1585

1561. *they*] om. MS. 1566. *and* MS. 1567. *to*] *than* MS.
 1573. *He wyll* *quyte* *the* *thy* *mede* MS.

(137)

The Giant says he'll panish	The Geaunt said : ' Be my fay, Wors tydinges to me this day I myght not goodly here. Thorough the valey as thou cam,	[1600]
Torrent for kill- ing his 2 Dragons	My two dragons hast thou slan), My solempnite they were. To the I haue full good gate ;	1590 L 1022.
and his Brother Cate.	For thou slow my brother Cate, That thou shalte by full dere !' Be-twene the giaunt and the knyght Men myght se buffettes right, Who so had be there.	1595 [1610]

(138)

The Giant's crook cuts through Torrent's shield to his flesh,	Sir Torent yaue to hym) a brayd ; He levid that the aungeht said, Of deth yaue he <i>nought</i> . In to the brest he hym) bare, His spere hede lefte he thare, So evill was hitt <i>bythought</i> . The Giaunt hym ayen) smate Thorough his sheld and his plate,	1600 1605
and sticks there.	In to the flesh it sought ; And sith he pullith at his croke, So fast in to the flesh it toke, That oute myzt he gete it nought.	[1620]

(139)

On hym) he hath it broke, Glad pluckys there he toke, Set sadly and sare.	1610
---	------

1590. *slayne* MS. 1600. *nought*] *no dnynt* MS.
1603. *byth.*] *mynt* MS.
1612. *sore* MS.

Sir Torent stalworth satt,
 Oute of his handys he it gatt,
 No lenger dwellid he thare. 1615
 In to the water he cast his sheld,
 Croke and all to-geders it held, [1630] Torrent throws
 his shield and the
 Giant's crook into
 the water.
 Fare after, how so euer it ffare.
 The Geaunt folowid with all his mayn),
 And he come never quyk agayn): 1620 The Giant goes
 in after them
 and is drowned.
 God wold, that so it ware.

(140)

Sir Torent bet hym there, f. 103a
 Tiff that this fend did were,
 Or he thens wend.
 On hym had he hurt but ane, 1625
 Lesse myght be a mannus bane,
 But god is full hend: [1640]
 Thorough grace of hym, that all shall weld,
 There the knyght had the feld,
 Such grace god did hym send. 1630 Torrent rides
 to the Giant's
 castle,
 Be than it nyed nere hand nyzt,
 To a castell he Rode right,
 All nyght there to lend.

(141)

In the castell found he nought,
 That god on the Rode bought; 1635
 High vppon a toure,
 As he caste a side lokyng, [1650]
 He saw a lady in her bed syttyng, and finds a fair
 Lady there.
 White as lylve floure;
 Vp a-Rose that lady bryght, 1640
 And said: 'Welcom, sir knyght,
 That fast art in stoure!'

1615. *there* MS.

1626. *But lesse* MS.

- 'Damysel, welcom mut thou be!
 Graunt thou me, for charite,
 Of one nyghtis soioure!' 1645
 (142)
- 'By Mary,' said that lady clere,
 'Me for-thinkith, that thou com here, [1660]
 Thy deth now is dight;
 For here dwellith a geaunt,
 He is clepud Weraunt, 1650
 He is to the deviH be-taught.
 To day at morn he toke his croke,
 Forth at the yates the way he toke,
 And said, he wold have a draught; c. 1636.
 And here be chambers two or thre, 1655
 In one of hem I shaft hide the,
 God the saue ffrome harmes right!' [1670]
 (143)
- 'Certayn,' tho said the knyght,
 'That theffe I saw to nyght,
 Here be-side a slade. 1660
 He was a ferly freke in flyght,
 With hym faught a yong knyght,
 Ech on other laid good lade;
 Me thought well, as he stode,
 He was of the fendus blood, 1665
 So Rude was he made.
 Dame, yf thou leve not me, [1680]
 Com nere, and thou shalt se,
 Which of hem abade.'
 (144)
- Blith was that lady bryght 1670
 For to se that *selly* sight:
 With the knyght went she.
1645. *socoure* MS. 1650. *Weraunt* [*werasunt* (?) MS.
 1651. *to*] of MS. 1660. *slate* or *stale* MS. 1663. *lode* MS.
 1669. *abode* MS. 1671. *selly*] om. MS.

When she cam, where the Geaunt lay,
 'Sir,' she said, '*parmaffay*
 I wott weh, it is he. 1675
 Other he was of god aH-myght
 Or seynt George, oure lady kny;t, [1690]
 That there his bane hath be.
 Yf eny cryston man smyte hym down),
 He is worthy to haue renown) 1680 and praises his
 Thorough oute aH crystiaunte.' slayer.

(145)

'I haue wonder,' said the knyght,
 'How he gate the, lady bryght,
 Fro my lord the kyng.'
 'Sir,' she said, '*verament,* L. 104a. 1685 She tells Torrent
 As my fader on huntyng went
 Erly in a mornying, [1700]
 Fore his men pursued a dere,
 To his casteH, that stondith here,
 That doth my hondys wryng, 1690
 This Giaunt hym toke, wo he be !
 For his love he geuith hym) me,
 He wold none other thinge.' that her Father
gave her, as his
ransom, to the
Giant.

(146)

Forth she brought bred and wyne,
 Fayn) he was for to dyne 1695
 This knyght made noble chere,
 Though that he woundid were [1710]
 With the Geaunt strong.

(147)

Sir Torrent dwellid no lenger thare,
 Than) he my;t away fare 1700 Torrent takes
 With that lady bryght. her away.

1688. For MS.

Torrent longs
for Desonell.

'Now, Iesu, that made heff,
Send me on lyve to Desonell,
That I my trouth to plight !'
Tho sye they be a forest syde 1705
Men of armes ffaste ride
On coursers comly dight. [1720]
The lady said : 'So mvst I thee,
It is my fader, is com for me,
With the Geaunt to ffyght.' 1710

(148)

An harood said anon right :
'Yon I se an armed knyght,
And no squier, but hym one :
He is so *big* of bone & blood,
He is the Geaunt, be the Rode !' 1715
Som seith, he riduth vppon.
'Nay,' said the kyng, 'verament, f. 1046. [1820]
It is the knyght, that I after sent,
I thanke god and seynt Iohn,
For the Geaunt slayn hath he 1720
And wonne my daughter, weff is me !
Ah his men are atone !'

(149)

Wott ye weff, with Ioy and blis
Sir Torent there recevid ya,
As doughty man of dede. 1725
The kyng and other lordys gent
Said, 'Welcom, sir Torent, [1830]
In to this vncouth *thede* !'
In to a state they hym brought,
Lechis sone his woundis sought ; 1730
They said, so god hem spede,

1714. *big*] *long* MS. 1722. *at.*] *tanc* MS.
1728. *thede*] *lend* MS.

Were there no lyve but ane,
His life they wyH not vndertane,
For no gold ne ffor mede.

(150)

The lady wist not or than),	1735	The Princess
That he was hurt, that gentilman,		
And sith she went hym tyH ;	[1840]	
She sought his woundus and said thare :		
'Thou shalte lyve and welfare,		
Yf the no-thing evyH !	1740	
My lord the kyng hath me hight,		claims Torrent
That thou shalt wed me, sir knyght,		as her husband.
The fforward ye to fulle fyH.'		
'DamyselH, loo here my hond :		
And I take eny wyffe in this lond,	1745	
It shaH be at thy wyH !'		

(151)

Gendres was that ladyes name.	[1850]	Her name is
The Geauntes hede he brought hame,		Gendree.
And the dragons <i>he brought.</i>	£. 105s.	
Mene myght here a myle aboute,	1750	
How on the dede hedys they did shoute,		
For the shame, that they hem wrought,		
Both with dede and with tong		
Fyfte on the hedys dong,		
That to the ground they sought.	1755	
Sir Torrent dwellid thare		Torrent stays 12
Twelve monythis and mare,	[1860]	months in
That further myzt he nought.		Norway.

(152)

The kyng of Norway said : 'Nowe,	
Fals thevis, woo worth you,	1760
Ferly soteH were ye :	

1749. *he br.] also MS.*

1752. *they] had add. MS.*

Ye said, the knyght wold not com):
 Swith oute of my kyngdome,
 Or hangid shaft ye be !'
 His squiers that fro hym fled, 1765
 With sore strokys are they spred
 Vppon the wanne see, [1870]
 And there they drenchid euery man,
 Saue one knave, that to lond cam,
 And woo be-gone is he. 1770

The King of
 Norway sends
 Torrent's false
 Squires to see,

where all drown,
 save one.

(153)

The child, to lond that god sent,
 In Portyngale he is lent,
 In a riche town),
 That hath hight be her day,
 And euer shaft, as I you say, 1775
 The town) of Peron).
 By-fore the kyng he hym sett, [1880]
 ' Fullt weft thy men), lord, the grett,
 And in the see *did* they drown.'
 Desonell said : ' Where is Torent ?'
 ' In Norway, lady, verament.' 1780
 On sownyng fell she down). r. 1065.

He takes the
 news to the King
 of Portugal,

and tells Desonell
 that Torrent is
 in Norway.

(154)

As she sownyd, this lady myld,
 Men myzt se tokenyng of her child,
 Steryng on) her right syde. 1785
 Gret Ruth it was to tell,
 How her maydens on) her fell, [1890]
 Her to Coner and to hide.
 Tho the kyng said : ' My doughter, do way !
 By god, thy myrth is gone for aye, 1790
 Spousage wyff thou none bide !

She swoons,
 and folk see she
 is big with child.

1774. *hall* (!) MS. 1778. *the*] *they* MS.
 1779. *did*] *are* MS. *drowned* MS.
 1791. *bide*] *lede* MS.

There fore thou shalt in to the see
 And that Bastard with-in the,
 To lerne you ffor to ride.'

The King of
 Portugal declares
 he'll send
 Desonell and her
 Bastard to sea.

(155)

Erlis and Barons, that were good,
 By-fore the kyng knelid and stode
 For that lady free.

1795 His Earls

[1900]

and the Queen

The quene, her moder, on knees fell,
 ' For Iesu is love, that harood hell,
 Lord, haue mercy on me !

1800

That ylke dede, that she hath done,
 It was with an Erlis sonne,

Riche man i-nough is he ;
 And yf ye wyll not let her lyve,
 Right of lond ye her yeve,
 Tilt she delyuerd be !'

1805

pray for mercy
 for Desonell.

(156)

Thus the lady dwellith there,
 Tyll that she delyuerd were
 Of men children two ;

[1910]

She is delivered
 of 2 male children

In all poyntes they were gent,
 And like they were to sir Torent ;
 For his love they sufferid woo.

1810

like Torrent.

f. 106a.

The kyng said : ' So mut I thee,
 Thou shalte in-to the see
 With oute wordys moo.

1815

Her Father says
 she shall be sent
 out to sea.

Euery kyngis doughter ffer and nere,
 At the shaft they lere,
 Ayen the law to do.'

[1920]

(157)

Gret ruth it was to se,
 Whan they led that lady free
 Oute of her faders lond.

1820

She is led from
 his land.

1807. *Thus the*] so F. VII ; *This MS.*
 1808. *Tyll*] so F. VII ; om. MS.
 1810. *all*] so F. VII ; om. MS.

The Queen
bemoans her
daughter's fate.

The quene wexid tho nere wood
For her doughter, that gentill ffode,
And knyghtis stode wepand ;
A cloth of silke gan they ta 1825
And partyd it be-twene hem twa,
Therin they were wonde.

Desonell is sent
to see.

Whan they had shpped that lady ying, [1930]
An hunderid fell in sownyng
At Peron on the sond. 1830

(158)

Whan that lady was downe fall,
On Iesu Cryste dyd she call ;
Down knelid that lady clene :

She prays to
Christ for her
children.

' Rightfull god, ye me sende
Some good londe, on to lende, 1835
That my chyldren may crystonyd bene !'
She said, ' Knyghtis and ladyes gent,
Grete well my lord, sir Torrent,
Yeff ye hym euer sene !'
The wynd Rose ayen the nyght, 1840
Fro lond it blew that lady bryght [1941]
Vppon the see so grene.

(159)

Wyndes and weders haue her drevyn),
pat in a forest she is revyn),
There wyld beestis were ; 1845

She and they
reach land.

The see was eb, and went her ffroo,
And lefte her and her children two 1846
Alone with-oute ffere.

1827. so F. VII ; om. MS.
1828. had sh.] so F. VII ; clopud MS. yeng MS.
1831 f.] so F. VII ; om. MS.
1833. clene] clere MS.
1834 f.] so F. VII ; Iesu Cryste, that com vp here
On this strond, as I wenyd MS.
1836. my ch.] so F. VII ; we MS.
1844. forest] so F. VII ; frest MS. she is] so F. VII ; be they
MS.

Her one child woke and be-gan) to wepe,
 The lady a-woke oute of her slepe 1850
 And said: ' Be stih, my dere, [1951] Desonell stills her
 Iesu Cryst hath sent vs lond ; crying child,
 Yf there be any cryston man) nere hond,
 We shall haue som socoure here.'

(160)

The carefull lady was full blith, 1855
 Vp to lond she went swith,
 As fast as euer she myght.
 Tho the day be-gan) to spryng,
 Foules a-Rose and mery gan syng
 Delicious notys on) hight. 1860
 To a mowntayn went that lady ffree : [1961] goes up a
 Sone was she warr' of a Cite mountain,
 With towrus ffeyre and bryght.
 There fore, i-wys, she was full fayn),
 She sett her down), as I herd sayn), 1865
 Her two children) ffor to dight.

(161)

Vppon) the low the lady ffound and finds an
 An Erber wrought with manns hond, Arbour there.
 With herbis, that were good.
 A Grype was in) the mowntayn) wonne, 1870
 A way he bare her yong son) [1971] A Griffin carries
 Ouer a water flood, off one of her
 Over in to a wyldernes, boys.
 There seynt Antony ermet wes,
 There as his chapeñ stode. 1875
 The other child down) gan) she ly, She puts the
 And on the ffoule did shoute & crye, f. 107a. other down,
 That she was nere hond wood.

1874. was MS.
 TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

1876. *ly*] *lay* MS.
 P

(162)

and sorrows. Vp she rose ageyn the rough,
 With sorofull hert and care Inough, 1880
 Carefull of blood and bone [1981]
 She sye, it myght no better be,
 She knelid down vppon her kne,
 And thankid god and seynt Iohn.

(163)

A leopard takes
 her other boy
 away. There come a libard vppon his pray, 1885
 And her other child bare away,
 She thankid god there
 And his moder Mary bryght.
 This lady is lefte alone ryght :
 The sorow she made there 1890

(164)

The King of
 Jerusalem sees
 the leopard and
 child. That she myght no further ffare : [1991]
 'Of one poynt,' she sayd, 'is my care,
 As I do now vnderstond,
 So my children crystenyd were,
 Though they be with beestes there, 1895
 Theyre liffe is in goddus hond.'
 The kyng of Ierusalem had bene
 At his brothers weddyng, I wene,
 That was lord of all that lond.
 As he com homward on his way, 1900
 He saw where the liberd lay [2001]
 With a child pleyand.

(165)

Each child has
 one of Torrent's
 rings. Torrent had yeve her ringes two,
 And euery child had one of tho,
 Hym with all to saue. 1905

1892. *she s.*] om. MS.1903. *her*] *his lady* MS.

The kyng said : ' Be Mary myld,
Yonder is a liberd wth a child,
A mayden or a knave.'

The men of armes theder went,
Anon they had theyre hors spent,
Her guttys oute she Rave.

For no stroke wold she stynt ;
Til they her slew wth speris dynt,
The child myght they not haue.

f. 107b. The King's men
1910
[2011]

kill the Leopard,

(166)

Vp they toke the child ying
And brought it be-fore the kyng
And vndid the swathing band,
As his moder be-fore had done,
A gold ryng they ffound sone,
Was closud in his hond.

Tho said the kyng of Ierusalem) :
'This child is come of gentilh teme,
Where euer this beest hym ffound.

The boke of Rome berith wytnes,
The kyng hym namyd Leobertus,
That was hent in hethyn lond.

1915 and take the
Child to the King.

1920
[2021]

1925 who christens him
'Leobertus.'

(167)

Two squiers to the town gan flyng,
And a noryse to the child did bryng,
Hym to kepe ffrome greme.

He led it in to his own lond
And told the quene, how he it ffound
By a water streme.

Whan the lady saw the ryng,
She said, with-oute lettyng :

' This child is com) of gentilh teme :

1930 and takes him to
Jerusalem.
[2031]

1935

1915. *yong* MS. 1923. *found* MS.
1929. *grame* MS.

Thou hast none heyre, thy lond to take,
 For Iesu love thou sholdist hym make
 Prynce of Ierusalem.'

(168)

	Now, in boke as we rede,	
St. Anthony	As seynt Antony aboute yede,	1940
	Byddyng his orysound,	[2041]
sees the Griffin	Of the gripe he had a sight,	r. 106a.
	How she flew in a fflight, To her birdus was she bound.	
and Deonnell's first boy,	Be-twene her clawes she bare a child :	1945
	He prayed to god and Mary myld, On lyve to send it down.	
	That man was weþ with god all-myȝt,	
whom the bird lays at his feet.	At his fote gan she light, That foule of gret renown.	1950

(169)

	Vp he toke the child there,	[2051]
	To his auter he did it bere, There his chapeþ stode.	
	A knave child there he fford, There was closud in his hond	1955
	A gold ryng riche and good.	
St. Anthony takes the boy to his Father, the King of Greece.	He bare it to the Cite grett, There the kyng his fader sett	
	As a lord of jentiff blood, For he wold saue it fro dede ;	1960
	A grype flew a-bove his hede	[2061]
	And cryed, as he were wood.	

(170)

	This holy man hied hym tyte	
	To a Cite with touris white, As fast as he may.	1965

1937. *woldist* MS.
 1954. *found* MS.

1951. *thare* MS.
 1958. *sett*] *tett* MS.

HE (ANTONY FITZ-GRIFFIN) IS ADOPTED BY THE KING OF GREECE. 69

The kyng at the yate stode The King sees
 And other knyghtes and lordys good
 To se the squiers play.
 The kyng said : ' Be Mary myld,
 Yonder comyth Antony, my child, 1970 his son Antony,
 With a gryffon gay. [2071]
 Som of his byrdus take hath he,
 And bryngith hem heder to me !'
 Gret ferly had thaye.

(171)

The kyng there of toke good hede, c. 1000. 1975
 And a-geyn his sonne he yede
 And said : ' Welcom ye be !'
 ' Fader,' he said, ' god you saue !
 A knave child ffound I haue,
 Loke, that it be dere to the ! 1980 who asks him to
 Frome a greffon he was refte, [2081] adopt Desonell's
 Of what lond that he is lefte, boy as
 Of gentill blood was he :
 Thou hast none heyre, thy lond to take,
 For Iesu love thy sonne hym make, 1985 his heir.
 As in the stede of me !'

(172)

The kyng said : ' Yf I may lyve, The King of
 Helpe and hold I shaft hym yeve Greece agroos,
 And receyve hym as my son.
 Sith thou hast this lond forsake, 1990
 My riche londys I shaft hym take, [2091]
 Whan he kepe them conl.'
 To a ffont they hym yaue, and has the boy
 And crystonyd this yong knave ; baptized.
 Fro care he is wonne. 1995

1992. *can* MS.

The Boy is
christend Antony
Fitagriffin.

The holy man yaue hym) name,
That Iesu shild hym) ffrome shame :
Antony fice greffoun).

(173)

'Fader, than) haue thou this ryng,
I ffound it on) this swete thing, 2000
Kepe it, yf thou may : [2101]
It is good in euery fight,
Yf god yeve grace, that he be knyght,
Be nyght *and* be day.'
Let we now this children) dwell, 2005
And speke we more of Desonell :
Her song was welaway. 2. 100a.
God, that died vpon) the Rode,
Yff grace, that she mete *wit*h good !
Thus disparplid are thay. 2010

Desonell
lamenta,

(174)

wanders among
wild beaste,

This lady walkyd att alone [2111]
Amonge wyld bestis meny one,
Ne wanted she no Woo ;
Anon) the day be-gan to spryng,
And the foules gan to syng, 2015
With blis on euery bow3e

(175)

and bewails her
lost children.

'Byrdus and bestis, aye woo ye be !
Alone ye haue lefte me,
My children) ye *have* slone.'
As she walkid than) a-lone, 2020
She sye lordis on) huntyng gone, [2121]
Nere hem) she yede full sone.

2002. *fight*] *sight* MS. ?

2004. *Other be* MS. *and*] *or forme of* (!) MS.

2010. *disparlid* MS. 2018. *haue*] *a* corrected out of *e* MS.

2019. *have sl.*] *slough* MS.

This carfull lady cried faste,
 Than she herd this hornes blaste
 By the yatis gone,
 But *ran* in to a wildernes,
 Amongist beests that wyld wes,
 For drede, she shold be slone.

2025

Desonell flees
 from some
 hunters

(176)

Till it were vnder of the Day,
 She went *fro* that wilsom way,
 In to a lond playn.
 The kyng of Nazareth huntid there,
 Among the hertes, that gentill were ;
 There of she was full flayn

2030

[2131]

Into the land
 of Nazareth.

(177)

They had ferly, kyng and knyght,
 Whens she come, that lady bryght,
 Dwelling here a-lone.
 She said to a squier, that there stode :
 ' Who is lord of most jentill blood ?'
 And he answerid her anon :
 ' This ys the lond of Nazareth,
 Se, where the kyng gethe,
 Of speche he is ffult bone ;
 All in gold couerid is he.'
 ' Gramercy, sir,' said she,
 And nere hym gan she gone.

2035

f. 100b.

2040

[2141]

She sees the
 King,

2045

(178)

Lordys anon ageyn her yode,
 For she was com of gentill blood,
 In her lond had they bene :
 ' God loke the, lady free,
 What makist thou in this contre ?'
 ' Sir,' she said, ' I wene,

2050

[2151]

whose Lords
 greet her.

2026. *ran*] om. MS. 2027. *was* MS. 2030. *fro*] *in* MS.

Seynt Katryn I shold haue sought,
 Wekyd weders me heder hath brought
 In to this fforest grene, 2055
 Desonell says that
 her boys are dead,
 and she is left
 alone. And all is dede, I vnderstond,
 Saue my selfe, that com to lond
 With wyld beestis and kene.'

(179)

'Welcom,' he said, 'Desonell,
 By a tokyn I shaft the tell: 2060
 Onys a stede I the sent. [2161]
 Lady gent, ffeyre and ffree,
 To the shold I haue wedid be,
 My love was on the lent.'
 Knyghtis and squiers, that there were, 2065
 They horsid the lady there,
 And to the Cite they went.
 The quene was curtes of that lond
 and welcomed by
 the Queen, And toke the lady be the hond
 And said: 'Welcom, my lady gent! 2070

(180)

'Lady, thou art welcom here, [2171]
 As it all thyn own were, t. 116a.
 All this ffeyre contree!'
 'Of one poynt was my care,
 And my two children crystonyd ware, 2075
 That in wood were reft fro me.'
 Welcom art thou, Desonell,
 with whom she
 stays. In my chamber for to dwell,
 Inough there in shaft ye see!'
 Leve we now that lady gent, 2080
 And speke we of sir Torrent, [2181]
 That was gentill and ffre.

2076. in] the add. MS.

(181)

The kyng of Norway is full woo,		Sir Torrent won't stop in Norway,
That sir Torent wold wend hym ffro,		
That doughty was and bold :	2085	
'Sir,' he said, 'abyde here		
And wed my daughter, that is me dere !'		
He said, in no wise he wold.		
He shipped oute of the kynges sale		
And Ryved vp in Portingale	2090	but goes back to Portugal.
At another hold,	[2191]	
Whan he herd tell of Desonell,		
Swith on sownyng there he fel		
To the ground so cold.		

(182)

The fals kyng of Portingale,	2095	The false King Calamond of Portugal
Sparid the yatis of his sale		
For Torent the ffree ;		
He said : ' Be Mary clere,		tells him that Desonell and her 2 Boys were sent out to sea.
Thou shalt no wyfe haue here,		
Go sech her in the see !	2100	
With her she toke whelpis two,	[2201]	
To lerne to row wold she go.'		
' By god, thou liest,' quod he,		
' Kyng Colomand, here my hond !		
And I be knyght levand,	£. 1100.	2105
I-quytt shall it be !'		

(183)

Torent wold no lenger byde,		
But sent letters on euery side		
With fforce theder to hye.		
Theder com oute of Aragon	2110	Torrent gathers an army.
Noble knyghtes of gret renown	[2211]	
With grett chevalrye.		

Torrent's knights Of *Pervyns* and *Calaber* also
 Were doughty knyghtes meny moo,
 They come all to that crya. 2115
Kyng Calomond had no knyght,
 That with *sir Torent* wold fyght,
 Of all that satt hym bye.

(184)

and he are let
 into the chief
 City of Portugal,
 There wold none the yatis deffend,
 But lett *sir Torent* in wend 2120
 With his men euerychone. [2221]
 Swith a counsell yede they to,
 To what deth they wold hym do,
 For he his lady had alone.
 'Lordis,' he said, 'he is a kyng, 2125
 Men may hym nether hede ne hing.'

and resolve to
 send the false
 King to sea
 Thus said they euerychone.
 They ordenyd a shipp all of tre
 And sett hym oute in to the see,
 Among the wawes to gone. 2130

(185)

Gret lordis of that lond [2231]
 Assentid to that command,
 That hold shold it be.
 In the havyn of *Portyngale*,
 There stode shippes of hede vale 2135
 Of *Irun* and of tree. t. 111a.
 A bote of tre they brought hym be-fforn),
 Full of holis it was born),
 Howsell and shryfte wold he.
Sir Torent said : 'Be seynt *Iohn*), 2140
 Seth thou gaue my lady none, [2241]
 No more men shaft do the !'

2113. *Calaber*] *Cababer* (!) MS. 2123. *To*] om. MS.
 2126. *king*] *heng* MS. 2132. *comland* MS.
 2138. *boryn* MS. 2139. *wold*] *had* MS.

(186)

The shipp-men) brought *sir* Colomond
And sent hym fforth within) a stound

The false king
Calamond is
drownd,

As ffar as it were.

2145

Wott ye weH and vnderstond,
He come never ayen to lond,
Such stormes ffound he there.

Gret lordys of renown)
Be-toke *sir* Torent the crown)

and Torrent is
made King of
Portugal,

2150

To reioyse it there.

[2251]

Loo, lordys of euery lond :
Falshode wyH haue a foule end,
And wyH haue euermore.

(187)

Sir Torent dwellid thare
Fourty days in moche care,
Season) for to hold ;
Sith he takith two knyghtes,
To kepe his lond and his rightes,

2155

That doughty were and bold.

2160

'Madam,' he said to the quene,
'Here than shaft ye lady bene,
To worth as ye wold.'

[2261]

but he gives the
land up to the
Queen,

He purveyd hym) anon),
To wend ouer the see fome,

2165

and resolves to
go to the Holy-
Land.

There god was bought and sold.

(188)

And ye now wiH liston) a stound,
How he toke armes of kyng Calomond,

£ 1110.

Listonyth, what he bare.

On asure, as ye may see,
With syluer shippes thre,

2170

His arms are 3
silver shipe on
an azure field.

[2271]

Who so had be thare.

2161. *He said madam* MS.

2170. This line begins with a big initial letter. *Off* MS.

For love of Desonell,	For Desonell is love so bryght, His londis he takyth to a knyght, And sith he is <i>boun</i> to fare.	2175
Torrent leaves Portugal.	'Portyngale, haue good day For Sevyn yere, parmaffay, Par aventure som) dele mare!'	
	(189)	
	Sir Torent passid the Grekys flood In to a lond both riche and good, Full evyn) he toke the way	2180 [2281]
He besieges the City of Quarell	To the <i>cite</i> of Quarell, As the boke of Rome doth tell, There a soudan) lay. There he smote and set adown) And yaue asaute in to the town, That will the storye say. So well they vetelid were, That he lay there two yere,	2185
for 2 years, and then takes it.	Sith in) the town) went they.	2190
	(190)	
He has its inhabitants kild,	And the <i>sir</i> Torent ffound on) lyve, He comaundid with spere and knyffe Smertely dede to be ; He said : ' We haue be here Moche of this two yere And onward on) the thre.'	[2291] 2195
and shares its booty among his men.	All the good, that <i>sir</i> Torent wan), He partid it among his man), Syluer, gold and ffee ; And sith he is boun to ride To a Cite there be-syde, That was worth such thre.	2200 [2301]

2175. *boun*] *home* MS. 2178. *more* MS.
 2182. *cite*] *see* MS. 2187. *well* MS. *says* MS.
 2190. *And sith in to* MS. 2196. *thrid* MS. 2198. *men* MS.

(191)

There he stode and smote adown
 And leyd sege to the towne,
 Six yere there he lay.

Torrent then
 besieges another
 heathen City for
 6 yere.

2205

By the VI yere were all done,
 With honger they were all alone,
 That in the Cite lay.

All its folk die
 of hunger.

The Soudan sent to sir Torent than,
 With honger that thes people be slan,
 All the folke of this Cite ;

2210

[2311]

' Yf ye thinke here to lye,
 Ye shall haue wyne and spycery,
 I-nough is in this contre.'

(192)

Now god do his soule mede !
 On the soudan he had a dede
 Vppon euery good ffryday.
 Iesu sent hym strength I-nough,
 With dynt of sword he hym slough,
 There went none quyke away.

2215

Torrent kills
 the Sultan,

2220

Down knelid that knyght
 And thankid god with all his myȝt :
 So ought he wele to say.

[2321]

The Cite, that sir Torent was yn,
 Worldely goodis he left ther yn,
 To kepe it nyght and day.

2225

(193)

Sith he buskyd hym to ride
 In to a lond there be-syde,
 Antioche it hight.

goes to Antioch,

f. 112b.

Sevyn yere at the Cite he lay
 And had bateH euery good ffryday,
 Vppon the Sarzins bryght ;

2230

[2331]

and fights every
 good Friday.

2209. *The*] A MS. 2209-14 put before 2208-8 MS.
 2210. *slayn* MS. 2211. *thes* MS.
 2230-32 put before 2227-29 MS.

And be the VII yere were gone,
The child, that the liberd had tane,
Found hym his fiH off ffyght 2235

(194)

The King of
Jerusalem

The kyng of Ierusalem herd tell
Of this lord good and fell,
How doughtyly he hym bare.
Vppon his knyghtes can he call,
'Ordeyn swith among you all, 2240
For no thing that ye spare!' [2341]

sends 50,000
knights,

They buskyd hem oute of the land,
The nombre off ffyfty thousand,
Ageyn Torent ffor to fiare

(195)

and his adopted
son Leobertus
(Torrent's second
boy)

The kyng of Ierusalem said thus : 2245

' My dere son, Liobertus,
That thou be bold and wight !
Thou shalt be here and defend the lond
From that fals traytors hond

And take the ordre of a knyght.' 2250

He yane hym armes, or he did passe : [2351]

Right as he ffound was,

On gold he bare bryght

A liberd of asure bla

A child be-twene his armes twa : 2255

Woo was her, that *se* it myght !

(196)

Sir Torent wold no lenger abyde,

But thederward gan he ride ;

And to the feld were brought

against Torrent. Two knyghtes, that were there in stede ; t. 112a. 2260

Many a man did they to blede, [2361]

Such woundis they wrought.

2243. *thousaid* MS. 2246. *Liobertious* MS.2253. *On] Of* MS. 2254. *blay* (1) MS. 2255. *tway* MS.2256. *fulle woo* MS. *se it m.] it ought* MS.

There durst no man com) Torent nere, Torrent's son
Leobertus
 But his son, as ye may here,
 Though he knew hym nought. 2265
 AH to nought he bet his shild,
 But he toke his fader in the feld, captures him.
 Though he there of evill thought.

(197)

Whan) sir Torent was takyn) than), Torrent
 His men fled than), euery man), 2270
 They durst no lenger abyde. [2371]
 Gret ruth it was to be hold,
 How his sword he did vp-hold
 To his son) that tyde.
 To Ierusalem) he did hym) lede, 2275 is taken to
Jerusalem
 His actone and his other wede,
 AH be the kyngis side ;
 ' Sir,' he said, ' haue no care,
 Thou shalte lyve and welfare,
 But lower ys thy pryde !' 2280

(198)

Fro that sir Torent was hom brought, [2381]
 Doughty men) vppon) hym) sought,
 And in preson) they hym) thronge. and thrust into
prison,
 His son above his hede lay,
 To kepe hym) both nyzt and day, 2285
 He wist weH, that he was strong.
 Thus in preson as he was, where his son
Leobertus hears
him lament a
whole year.
 Sore he sized and said alas,
 He couth none other songe.
 Thus in bondys they held hym thare t. 113a. 2290
 A twelfmonyth and som dele mare, [2391]
 The knyght thought full long.

2281. *kon] hem* MS.

2283. *And and (!) MS. throuye* MS.

(199)

Torrent	In a mornynge as he lay, To hym selfe gan he say :	
	‘ Why lye I thus alone ?	2295
appeals to God	God, hast thou forsakyn) me ? AlH my truste was in the, In lond where I haue gone !	
who once enabled him to kill Dragons and Giants.	Thou gave me myzt ffor to slee Dragons two other thre And giauntes meny one, And now a man) in wekid lond Hath myn) armour and stede in) hond : I wold, my liffe were done !’	2300 [2401]

(200)

His son Leobertus hears him,	His son herd hym) say soo And in his hert was full woo, In chamber there he lay ; ‘ Sir,’ he said, ‘ I haue thy wede, There shaft no man reioysee thy stede, Yf so be, that I may.	2305 2310
and promises to get him freed.	By oure lady seynt Mary, Here shalt thou no lenger lye, Nether be nyzt) ne be day ; As I am) Curtesse and hend, To the kyng I shaft wend, And ffor thy love <i>hym</i> pray !’	[2411] 2315

(201)

Leobertus asks the King of Jerusalem for Torrent.	On) the morow whan) he Rose, The prynce to the kyng gose And knelid vppon) his knee ; ‘ Sir,’ he said, ‘ ffor goddus sonne, The knyght, that lieth in the dungeon), Ye wold graunt hym) me !	f. 114a. 2320 [2421]
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2299. *see* MS. ? 2313. *Neither be day ne be nyzt* MS.
2316. *for thy love and pray this nyzt* MS.

I hard hym say be hym alone,
 Many Geauntes had he slone
 And dragons II or thre.'
 The kyng said : ' Be my ffay,
 Be warr', he scape not away ;
 I vouch hym saue on the !'

2325

The King of
 Jerusalem grants
 Torrent to his
 elder son,

(202)

The prynce in to the prason went,
 Torent by the hond he hent
 Oute of his bondys cold ;
 To the castell he brought hym sone
 And light flettouris did hym vppon,
 For brekyng oute off hold.
 The kyng said : ' Be my ffaye,
 And he euer scape away,
 Full dere he shaft be sold !'
 ' Sir,' he said, ' parmaffay,
 We wyth hym kepe, and we may :
 There of be ye bold !'

who frees him
 from prison,

2330

[2431]

tho' still fettering
 him.

2335

(203)

For he was curtes knyght & free,
 At the mete sett was he
 By the kyng at the deyse.
 ' Sir, thou haste i-bene
 At Iustis and at tornementes kene,
 Both in warr' and in peas :
 Sith thy dwelling shaft be here,
 I pray, that thou woldist my son lere,
 Hys Tynber ffor to asay.'
 ' Sir,' he said, ' I vnderstond,
 After the maner off my lond
 I shaft, with outen delay.'

[2441]

Torrent dines
 with the King,

2345

2350

c. 1146.

[2451]

and promises to
 teach his son
 Leobertus
 spearcraft.

2331. *And toke hym oute MS.*

2348. *I pray] om. MS.*

2352. *delay] lese MS.*

(204)

The jousts at Jerusalem.	The castell court was large with in, They made ryngis ffor to Ren, None but they alone.	2355
	Euery of hem to opure Rade : Feyrer Turnamentes than they made, Men sye never none.	
Torrent's son Leobertus breaks 3 shafts on his Father.	The prynce in armes was full preste, Thre shaftys on his fader he breste, In shevers they gan gone.	2360 [2461]
	Sir Torent said : ' So mvt I thee, A man of armes shaH thou be, Stalworth of blood and bone !'	

(205)

	Harroldys of armes cryed on) hight, The prynce and that other knyght No more juste shaH thay ; But lordys of other lond, Euery one to other ffond, And sith went theyre way.	2365 2370
The jousts last 6 weeks.	Sixe wekys he dwellid there, TiH that all delyuerd were, That in the Cite lay.	[2471]
A Feast is held.	Tho they held a gestonye, With all maner of mynstralsye, TyH the Sevyynth day.	2375

(206)

	Lordis with all other thing Toke leve at the kyng, Home theyre ways to passa.	
Torrent is declared victor.	That tyme they yaued Torent the floure And the gre with moch honowre, As he weH worthy was.	2380 [2481]

2356. *Rode* MS. 2357. *Turmentes* MS. 2378. *lay*] *were* MS.

<p>The kyng said : ' I shaft the yeve Liffe and lyvelode, whiff I lyve, Thyn armour, as it was.'</p> <p>Whan he sye ffeyre ladyes wend, He thought on her, that was so hend, And sighed and said : ' Alas !'</p>	<p>2385</p>	<p>The King of Jerusalem promises to support Torrent.</p>
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(207)

<p>The kyng of Nazareth home went, There that his lady lent, In his own lede.</p> <p>' Sir,' she said, ' ffor goddus pite, What gentilman wan the gre ?'</p> <p>He said, ' So god me spede, One of the ffeyrest knyghtis, That slepith on somer nyghtes Or walkyd in wede ; He is so large of lym and lith, All the world he hath justid with, That come to that dede.'</p>	<p>2390</p> <p>[2491]</p> <p>2395</p> <p>2400</p>	<p>The King of Nazareth</p>
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(208)

<p>' Good lord,' said Desonell, ' For goddus love ye me tell, What armes that he bare !'</p> <p>' Damyself, also muste I the, Syluer and asure beryth he, That wott I well thare.</p> <p>His Creste is a noble lond, A Gyaunt with an hoke in hond, This wott I well, he bare.</p> <p>He is so stiff at euery stoure, He is prynce and victoure, He wynneth the gree aye where.</p>	<p>[2501]</p> <p>2405</p> <p>2410</p> <p>[2511]</p> <p>£ 1155.</p>	<p>tells Desonell that the Victor (Torrent) has an armd Giant as his crest.</p>
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2403. *hc]* *ye* MS.

(209)

The Victor is
a Knight of
Portugal.

Of Portyngale a knyght he ys,
He wanne the towne of Raynes
And the Cite of Quarelle ; 2415

At the last jurney that was sett,
The prynce, my broders son *he mett*,
And in his hond he ffeht.

The prynce of Grece leth nere
There may no juster be his pere, 2420
For soth as I you tell : [2521]

The King of
Nazareth
proclains a
Jousting.

A dede of armes I shafl do crye
And send after hym in hye.
Blith was Desoneht.

(210)

This dede was cried ffar and nere, 2425
The kyng of Ierusalem did it here,
In what lond that it shold be.

The King of
Jerusalem sends
Torrent and his
elder son Leu-
bertus to it.

He said : ' Sone, anon right
Dight the and thy cryston knyght,
For sothe, theder wiht we.' 2430

Gret lordys, that herith this crye, [2531]
Theder come richely,
Everyman in his degre.

The King of
Grece brings the
younger son, An-
tony Fitzgriffin.

The kyng of Grece did *make hym boun*,
With hym come Antony ffy3 greffon, 2435
With moche solempnite

(211)

'The kyng of Nazareth sent me,
That there shold a justynge be
Of meny a cryston knyght,

The Jousting is
for a lady.

And all is ffor a lady clere, 2440
That the justynge is cryed ffar and nere, c. 116a. [2541]
Of men of armes bryght.'

2415. *Quarellis* MS. 2416. *that*] *he* add. MS.
2417. *he m.] was gatt* MS. 2434. *make hym b.] assigns* MS.

Gret joye it was to here tell,
 How thes kynges with the knyghtis fell
 Come and semled to that ffyght. 2445

(212)

There come meny another mon), Many folk come
to the jousts.
 That thought there to haue to done,
 And than) to wend her way.

Whan) they come to the castell gent,
 A Roast ffyght, verament, 2450
 There was, the sothe to say. [2551]

Trompes resyn) on the wall,
 Lordys assembled in the hall,
 And sith to souper yede thay. They sup
 They were recevid with rialte, 2455
 Euery man) in his degre,
 And to her logyng went her way. and sleep,

(213)

The lordys Rosyn all be-dene rise.
 On the morow, as I wene,

And went masse ffor to here. 2460 hear Mass,
 And ffurthermore with-outte lent [2561]
 They wesh and to mete went, and dine,

For to the ffield they wold there.
 After mete anon) right
 They axid hors and armes bryght, 2465
 To hors-bak went thay in ffere. then mount,
 Knyghtis and lordys reuelid all,
 And ladyes lay ouer the castell wall,
 That semely to se were.

(214)

Than) eueryman toke spere in) hond, 2470 and begin to
joust.
 And euerych to other ffond, [2571]
 Smert boffettes there they yeld. r. 1166.

2445. *semled* MS. 2446. *man* MS. 2471. *found* MS.
 2472. *there th. y.] they yeldyd there* MS.

Torrent's 2 Sons
joust. The prynce of Ierusalem) and his brother,
Eueriche of hem) Ran to other'
Smertely in the feld 2475

The younger,
Antony, unhorses
his brother
Leobertus. Though Antony ffigryffon) yonger were,
His brother Leobertus he can down) bere ;
Sir Torent stode and be-held.

(215)

'Be my trouth,' said Torent thanne,
'As I am) a cryston) man 2480
I-quytt shaft it be.' [2581]

Torent be-strode a stede strong
And hent a tymber gret and long,
And to hym) rode he.

(216)

Torrent rides
down his younger
son. Torrent to hym) rode so sore, 2485
That he to the ground hym) bare,
And let hym) lye in) the bent.
There was no man) hyze ne lowe,
That myght make Torent to bowe
Ne his bak to bend. 2490
They justyd and turneyd there, [2591]
And eueryman) ffound his pere,
There was caught no dethis dent.

He and his sons
are the best
jousters. Of aH the Justis, that there ware,
Torent the floure a way bare 2495
And his sonnys, verament.

(217)

And on) the morow, whan) it was day,
Amonge aH the lordys gay,
That worthy were, *par de*,

2483 put before 2482 MS.

2485 f. : *Torrent so sore to hym) rode,**That he bare hym) to the ground MS.*2487. *bent*] *feld* MS.2493. *dynt* MS.2496. *ver.*] *in that tyde* MS.2499. *par de*] *in wede* MS.

DesoneH wold no lenger lend, 2500
 But to *sir* Torent gan she wend [2601]
 And knelid on her kne.
 She said : ' Welcom, my lord *sir* Torent !'
 ' And so be ye, my lady gent !' f. 117a. DesoneH greets
 In sownyng than fell she. 2505 and swoons.
 Vp they coueryd that lady hend,
 And to mete did they wend
 With joye and solempnite.

(218)

Dame DesoneH be-sought the kyng,
 That she myght, with oute lesyng, 2510
 Sytt with Torent alona. [2611]
 ' Yes, lady, be hevvy kyng,
 There shaft be no lettynge ;
 Worthy is he, be seynt Iohn !'
 Tho they washid and went to mete, 2515 All go to Dinner.
 And rially they were sett
 And *seruid* worthely, *echone*.

Euery lord in the hatt,
 As his state wold be-faH,
 Were couplid with ladyes *schone*. 2520

(219)

But of all ladyes, that were there sene, [2621] DesoneH is the
 So ffeire myght there none bene fairest lady.
 As was dame DesoneH.
 Thes two kyngis, that doughty ys,
 To the Cite come, i-wys, 2525 The Kings of
 With moche mayne *emell*. Grece go to the

(220)

To the castell they toke the way, King of Nazareth's
 There the kyng of Nazareth lay, Castle.
 With hym to speke on high.

2502. *And on her kne she knelid* MS.
 2514. *for wille worthy* MS. 2517. *echone*] *verament* MS.
 2520. *schone*] *gent* MS. 2526. *emell*] *om.* MS.

- At none the quene ete in) the hall, 2530
 Amongist the ladyes ouer all, [2631]
 That couth moche curtesye.
 Desonell wold not lett,
 Desonell sits by By *sir* Torent she her sett,
 Torrent. There of they had *envye* 2535
- (221)
- Whan) eyther of hem other be-hald,
 Off care no thyng they ffald, £ 117a.
 Bothe her hertes were blithe.
 Gret lordys told she sone,
 She tells the What poyntes he had for her done, 2540
 Lords how her They be-gan to be blithe ; [2641]
 And how her *fader* in the see did her do,
 Father sent her and her 2 Boys to sea ; With her she had men) childre two ;
 They varied hym) felt sithe.
 ' Sir kyng, in this wildernes, 2545
 My two children) fro me revid wes,
 I may no lenger hem) hide.
- (222)
- The knyght yaue me rynges two,
 Euerich of hem) had one of thoo,
 Better saw I never none. 2550
 A Gryffon) bare the one away, [2651]
 A liberd the other, *parmaffay*,
 Down) by a Roche of stone.'
 Than) said the kyng of Ierusalem):
 ' I found one by a water streme, 2555
 He levith *with* blood & bone.'
- The kyng of Grece said : ' My brother,
 Leobertus and Antony are these boys. Antony my son) brought me anopure.'
 She saith : ' Soth, be seynt Iohn) ?'
2535. *envye*] *wonder* MS. 2542. *fader*] om. MS.
 2546. *was* MS.
 2556. *levilh*] *yet* add. MS.

(223)

The kyng said : 'Sith it is so,	2560	
Kys ye youre fader bo,	[2661]	
And axe hym his blessing !'		
Down they knelid on her knee :		Torrent's 3 Sons
'Thy blessing, ffader, for charite !'		kneel and ask his
' Welcom, children ying !'	2565	blessing.
Thus in armes he hem hent,		
A blither man than sir Torent		
Was there none levyng ;	l. 118a.	
It was no wonder, thouze it so were ;		He rejoices in
He had his wiffe and his children there,	2570	them and their
His joye began to spryng.	[2671]	Mother,

(224)

Of all the justis, that were there,		
A way the gre his sonnys bare,		
That doughty were in dede.		
Torent knelid vppon his knee	2575	and thanks the
And said : ' God yeld you, lordys ffree,		Kings for taking
Thes children that ye haue fled :		care of them.
Euer we will be at youre will,		
What jurney ye will put vs tyll,		
So Iesu be oure spede,	2580	
With that the kyng thre	[2681]	He asks the
In to my lond will wend with me,		Kings to
For to wreke oure stede.'		Portugal.

(225)

They graunted that there was,		All agree to go.
Gret lordys more and lesse,	2585	
Bothe knyght and squiere ;		
And with Desoneh went		
Al the ladyes, that were gent,		
That of valew were.		

2561. *both* MS.2565. *young* MS.

Shippis had they stiff and strong, 2590
 Maistis gret and sayles long, [2691]
 Hend, as ye may here,
 And markyd in to Portingale,
 Their ships arrive at
 Portugal. Whan they had pullid vp her sayth,
 With a wynd so clere. 2595

(226)

The riche quene of that lond
 In her casteñ toure gan stond
 And be-held in-to the see.
 ‘Sone,’ she said to a knyght,
 ‘Yonder of shippis I haue a sight, L. 1186. 2600
 For sothe, a grett meyne.’ [2701]
 The Queen The quene said : ‘ Verament,
 I se the armes of sir Torent,
 I wott weñ, it is he.’
 He answerid and said tho : 2605
 ‘ Madam, I wiñ, that it be so,
 God gefe grace, that it so be !’

(227)

welcomes A blither lady myzt none be,
 She went ageyn hym to the see
 With armed knyghtes kene. 2610
 Torrent and his friends, Torent she toke by the hond : [2711]
 ‘ Lordys of vncouth lond,
 Welcom muste ye bene !’
 and swoons when she sees her daughter Desonell. Whan she sye Desoneñ,
 Swith in) sownyng she fell 2615
 To the ground so grene.
 Torent gan) her vp ta :
 ‘ Here bene her children) twa,
 On lyve thou shalt hem seene !’

2605-7 put before 2602-4 MS.
 2616. *grene*] *kene* MS. 2619. *see* MS.

(228)

In the Castell of Portyngale	2620	
A-Rose trumpes of hede vale,	[2721]	
To mete they went on) hye.		
He sent letters ffar and nere ;		Torrent holds a
The lordys, that of valew were,		great feust,
They come to that gestonye.	2625	
The Emperoure of Rome,		
To that gestonye he come,		
A noble knyght on) hyze.		
Whan) all thes lordys com were,		
Torrent weddid that lady clere,	2630	and weis
A justyng did he crye.	[2731]	Desonell.

(229)

So it fell vppon a day,	r. 119a.
The kyng of Ierusalem) gan say :	
'Sir, thy sonne I ffound	
Lying in a libertes) mouth,	2635
And no good he ne couth,	
Dede he was nere hond :	
Wold thou, that he dwellid with) me,	
Till that I dede be,	
And sith reioyse my lond ?'	2640

(230)

Be fore lordys of gret renown),	[2741]	He gives his son
Torent gaue hym) his son)		Leobertus as heir
The kyng of Grece said : 'Sir) knyght,		to the King of
I yeff thy son) all my right		Jerusalem ;
To the Grekys) flood :	2645	and his son
Wouch thou saue, he dwell) with) me ?'		Antony as heir to
' Yea, Lord, so nut I thee,		the King of
God yeld you) all this good) !'		Grece.

2621. o] om. MS. 2629. ware MS. 2645. flood] I plight add. MS.

For sir Torent was stiff in stoure,
 They chose hym ffor Emperoure, 2650
 Beste of bone and blood. [2751]

(231)

Gret lordys, that there were,
 Fourty days dwellith there,
 And sith they yode her way ;
 He yauē his sonnys, as ye may here, 2655
 Two swerdys, that were hym) dere,
 Ech of hem) one had they.
 Sith he did make vp-tyed
 Chirchus and abbeys wyde,
 For hym) and his to praya. 2660
 In Rome this Romans berith the crown) [2761]
 Of aȝ keryng of Renown):
 He leyth in a feire abbey.

He lies in a
 fair Abbey.

(232)

Now Iesu Cryst, that aȝ hath wrought,
 As he on the Rode vs bought, c. 1194. 2665
 He geve hvs his blessing,
 And as he died for you and me,
 He graunt vs in blis to be,
Lesse and mare, both old and ying! Amen.

May Christ grant
 us Heaven!

Explicit Torent of Portyngale.

2654. *And sith her way they yode* MS.

2663. *leyth* in Rome add. MS.

2669. *Oute of this world whan) we shalle wend* MS.

THE FRAGMENTS.

I.¹

[*The King of Portugal plots Torrent's death.*]

[T] est hym vp	462	Deasonell gives Torrent a Horse
. chent be for to fle		
. ly ivyll he gone	464	
The kynge of Nazareth sent hym me, Torent, I wot-saue hym on the,		which the King of Nazareth had sent her.
For better loue I none !'	467	
Afterwarde vpon a tyde, As they walkyd by the ryvers syde, The kynge and yonge Torent,	470	
This lorde wolde fayne, that he dede were And he wyst nat, on what manere, Howe he myght hym shent.	473	The King treacherously
A fals letter made the kynge And made a messangere it brynge, On the ryuer syde as they went,	476	
To Torent, that was true as stele, If he loued Dyssonell wele, Gete hir a faucon gent.	479	asks Torrent to get Deasonell a Falcon
Torent the letter began to rede, The kynge came nere and lystened, As thoughe he it neuer had sene.	482	
The kynge sayde, ' what may this be ?' ' Lorde, it is sent to me For a faucon shene ;	485	
I ne wote, so God me spede, In what londe that they brede.' The kynge sayde, ' as I herde sayne,	488	

¹ In Halliwell's edition III.

	
	
from the Forest of Magdalen.	In the forest of Maudelayne	491
	II. ¹	
	Than sayde [the] kyn[g] vntrue,	492
	' And ye fynde haw[k]es of great value,	
	Brynge me one with the !'	494
	Torent sayd : 'so God me saue,	
Torrent agrees to do it.	Yf it betyde, that I any haue,	
	At your wyll shall they be.'	497
	To his squyer bade he thare,	
	After his armoure to fare,	
	In the felde abode he ;	500
He rites	They armed hym in his wede,	
	He bestrode a noble stede	
	. . . . .	503
to the Forest of Magdalen,	Torent toke the way agayne	
	Unto the forest of Maudelayne,	
	In a wylsome way ;	506
	Berys and apes there founde he	
	And wylde bestys great plente	
	And lyons, where they lay.	509
	In a wode, that is tyght,	
	It drewe towarde the nyght.	
	By dymmynge of the day	512
	Lysten, lordes, of them came wo,	
gets separated from his Squire,	He and his squyer departed in two,	
	Carefull men then were they.	515
	At a shedyng of a rome	
	Eyther departed other frome,	
	As I vnderstande.	518
	Torent taketh a dolefull way	
	Downe into a depe valay,	
	. . . . .	521

¹ In Halliwell's edition II.

III.¹

[*The King of Portugal sends Torrent to be kild by the
Giant Slogus.*]

.	819	Torrent sits at the head of a side table.
And the good squyres after h[ym],		
That knyghtes sholde be.	821	
As they were a-myddes theyr . . .		The King asks Torrent if he'll
The kynge wolde not forgete,		
To Torente than sayd he,	824	
He sayd : 'so god me saue,		
Fayne thou woldest my dough[ter haue],		
Thou hast loued her many a d[aye].'	827	
'Ye, by my trouthe,' sayd Torente,		
'And I were a ryche man,		
Ryght gladly by my faye.'	830	
'If thou durst for her sake		do a deed of arms for Desonell.
A poynte of armes vndertake,		
Thou broke her vp for ay.'	833	
'Ye,' sayde he, 'or I go,		'Yes,' says Tor- rent.
Sykernes thou make me so		
Of thy daughter hende.	836	
Ye and after all my ryghtes		
By VII score of hardy knyghtes'		
Al they were Torentes frende.	839	
'Now, good lordes, I you praye,		
Bere wytnes of this day		
Agayne yf god me sende!'	842	
Torente sayd, 'so may I the,		
Wyst I, where my jorney shold [be],		
Thyder I wolde me dyghte.'	845	
The kyng gaue hym an answ[e]re,		
'In the londe of Caleb[e]re		'Then go to Calabria,
There wonneth a gyaunte wygh[hte]	848	

¹ In Halliwell's edition VI.

and fight the
Giant Slogus.

.

Slogus he hyght as I the tolde,
God sende the that waye ryghte !'

851

IV.¹

[*Torrent is offerd a Princess of Provyns.*]

The King of
Provyns warns

.

For why I wyll the saye,

917

Moche folke of that countre
Cometh heder for socoure to me,
Bothe by nyghte and by daye.

920

him agninst the
terrible Giant
there,

There is a gyaunte of grete renowne,
He destroyeth bothe cyte and towne
And all that he may.

923

As bokes of rome tell,
He was goten with the deuyll of hell,
As his moder slepyng lay.'

926

The kynge sayde, ' by Saynt Adryan,
I rede, a nother gentyman
Se there and haue the degre.

929

and offers him
his Daughter
and 2 Duchies.

I haue a daughter, that me is dere,
Thou shalte wedde her to thy fere,
And yf it thy wyll be,

932

Two duchyes in honde
I wyll gyue her in londe.'
' Gramercy, syr,' sayd he,

935

Torrent says he
must keep his
troth.

' With my tonge I haue so wrought,
To breke my day wyll I nought,
Nedes me behoueth there to be.'

938

' On Goddes name,' the kynge gan sayne,
' Iesu brynge the saffe agayne,
Lorde, moche of myght !'

941

¹ In Halliwell's edition V.

Mynstralsy was them amonge, With harpe, fedyll and songe, Delycyous notes on hygh[t]e.	944	
Whan it was tyme, to bed they wente, And on the morowe rose Torente And toke leue of kynge and knyght	947	
And toke a redy way.		Torrent starts,
Fragment V. ¹		
By the se syde as it lay, God sende hym gatys ryght !	950	
An hye waye hath he nome, Into Calabre is he come		reaches Calabria,
Within two dayes or thre.	953	
So he met folke hym agayne, Fast comynge with carte and wayne Frowarde the se.	956	
'Dere God,' sayd Torente now, 'Good folke, what eyleth you, That ye thus fast fle ?'	959	
'There lyeth a gyaunte here besyde, For all this londe brode and wyde No man on lyue leueth he.'	962	and hears of the Giant.
'Dere God,' sayd Torente then, 'Wher euer be that fendes den ?' They answered hym anone :	965	
'In a castell in the see, Slogus' they sayd 'hyght he, Many a man he hath slone.	968	
We wote full well, where he doth ly Byfore the cyte of Hungry,'	971	The Giant Slogus is in Hungary.

¹ In Halliwell's edition IV.

VI.¹

[*Torrent fights the Giant.*]

The Giant says he'll wring Torrent's nose.	. . . . . all the wrynge, lynge thou the he toke, bare a croke	1014 1016
His Crook is 12 ft. long.	. . . . . te longe and thre ever so longe were had no fere yd darste thou come nere nte nolengre a-byde	1019 1022
Torrent charges,	. . . . . nte wolde he ryde ghte. one eye but one, neuer none, nor by nyght. lpe of god of heuen,	1025 1028
pierces the Giant's eye,	. . . . . herin euen,	1031
and makes him roar.	. . . . . gan to rore, the cyte wore, ay. es eyen were oute boute	1034 1037

VII.²

[*Desonell bears twins. All are sent out to sea. They reach land.*]

	Thus the lady dwelled there,	1807
	Tyll that she delyuered were	
Desonell is delivered of 2 male children	Of men chyldren two.	1809

¹ Printed in *Englische Studien*, VII. p. 347 f.

² In Halliwell's edition I.

Of all poyntes were they gent, Lyke were they to Sir Torent, For his loue suffred they wo.	like Torrent. 1812
The kynge sayd, ' so mote I the, Thou shalt into the se Without wordes mo.	Her Father says she shall be sent out to sea. 1815
Every kynges doughter fer and nere At the they shall lere, Agaynst right to do !'	1818
Great ruthe it was to se, Whan they led that lady fre Out of hir faders lande.	She is led from his land. 1821
The quene, hir moder, was nere wode For hir doughter, that gentyll fode, Knyghtes stode wepyng ¹ .	The Queen bewails her daughter's fate. 1824
A clothe of sylke toke they tho, And departed it bytwene the chyldren two, Therin they were wonde.	1827
Whan they had shyped that gentyll thyng, Anone she fell in swownyng At Peron on the sonde.	Desonell is sent to sea. 1830
Whan that lady was downe fall, On Iesu Cryste dyd she call. To defende hir with his honde :	1833
' Rightfull God, ye me sende Some good londe on to lende, That my chyldren may crystened be[n].'	She prays to Christ for her children. 1836
She sayd, ' ladyes fayre and gent, Great well my lorde Sir Torent, Yf euer ye hym se[n] !'	1839
The wynde arose on the myght, Fro the londe it blewe that lady bryght Into the se so grene.	1842

¹ wepande.

	Wyndes and weders hathe hir dryuen, That in a forest she is aryuen, Where wylde bestys were.	1845
Desonell and her twin babes reach land.	The se was ebbe and went hem fro And left hir and hir chyldren two [Alo]ne without any fere.	1848
She stille her crying child,	Hir one chylde began to wepe, The lady awoke out of hir slepe And sayde, 'be styll, my dere, Ihesu Cryste hathe sent vs lande, Yf there be any Crysten man at hande, We shall haue socoure here.'	1851 1854
	The carefull lady then was blythe, To the londe she went full swythe, As fast as she myght.	1857
	Tyll the day began to sprynge, Foules on trees merely gan synge Delicious notes on hyght.	1860
goes up a mountain,	To a hyll went that lady fre, Where she was ware of a cyte With toures fayre and bryght.	1863
and site down.	Therof I-wys she was fayne, She set hir downe, as I herd sayne, Hir chyldren for to dyght.	1866

NOTES.

PAGE 1, line 12. Cf. ll. 118, 187, 190, 198, 558, 924, 1924, 2183. So in *Eglamour* (Thornton Romances), l. 408 :

‘The boke of Rome thus can telle,’

and *The Erl of Tolouse*, ed. Lüdtke, l. 1219 :

‘Yn Rome thys geste cronyculyd ys.’

See Halliwell’s and Lüdtke’s notes to these passages. I agree with both of them, that an expression like that does not earnestly refer the reader to a Latin or Italian source of the story ; there is evidently no difference at all between *in Rome* and *in romance*.

p. 1, l. 15. *wyght* has been inserted instead of *dowghtly* in order to restore the rhyme with *hyght*, *knyght*, *myght* ; cf. *Havelok*, ed. Skeat, l. 344 :

‘He was fayr man and wicth.’

p. 1, l. 17 = *Ipomadon*, l. 63. Parallel passages to this hyperbolic expression are collected in Kölbing’s note to this line (p. 364).

p. 1, l. 24. We find the same idea as here, viz. that nobody can resist the will of God, who has power over death and life, in *Sir Tristrem*, ll. 236 ff. :

‘Dat leuedi, noujt to lain,
For soþe ded is sche !
Who may be ogain ?
As god wil, it schal be,
Vnbliþe.’

p. 2, l. 28. I have not met with the verb *fesommen* anywhere else, and it is not mentioned in Stratmann and Mätzner. Halliwell, Dictionary, p. 354, explains it by ‘feoffed, gave in fee,’ doubtless regarding this very passage, although he doesn’t cite it ; might *fesomnyd* not be a corruption from *sesyd* ? cf. *Havelok*, ll. 250 f. :

‘Dat he ne dede al Engelond
Sone sayse intil his hond.’

Hall writes to me on this word as follows : *fesomnyd* is, I am convinced, not a word at all, but a scribe’s error for *festonyd* or *festnyd* = confirmed, fixed. Comp. ‘*And þat ich hym wolde myd trewe siker faste on honde*,’ Robert of Gloucester (Hearne), p. 150. For this use of *fasten*, *fustnen*, comp. ‘*But my forwarde with þe I festen on þis wyse*,’ Alliterative Poems, p. 47, l. 327 : ‘*& folden fayth to þat fre, festned so harde*,’ Sir

Gawayne, p. 57, l. 1783: '*And þis forward, in faith, I festyn with hond,*' Destruction of Troy, p. 22, l. 636. See also Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, ii. p. 216, under *to Fest*.

p. 2, l. 30. I am by no means sure that *fede* is the original reading, but I wasn't able to find a better word rhyming with *dedde, wede*; even the *ne.* 'feed' means *pasture*, and that is what we expect here.

p. 2, l. 31. For my correction cf. Lüdtké's note to *The Erl of Tolouse*, l. 199, sub 2; *Eglam.*, l. 26:

'That was a maydyn as whyte as fome,'

Ib. l. 683:

'Crystyabelle as whyte as fome,'

where the *Percy Folio MS.* reads:

'Christabell that was as faire as sunn;'

Chronicle of England, l. 75 f.:

'Ant nomeliche to thy lemmon,
That ys wyttore then the fom.'

p. 2, l. 50. The alteration of *And* and *bes* into *An* and *see* seemed necessary; *sayment* is like Fr. *essaiement*, Lat. *exugimentum*.

p. 3, l. 59. Cf. l. 1216 f. and *The Lyfe of Ipomydon*, ed. Kölbing, l. 1795:

'If thou hyr haue, thou shalt hyr bye.'

p. 3, l. 77 f. As half of the stanza is lost, it is impossible to make out to whom *they* refers. Nor do I believe that l. 78 is correct, especially as to *chaunce*.

p. 3, l. 79. Cf. *Ipomadon*, ed. Kölbing, l. 8123:

'A myle wyth in the Grekes see.'

p. 3, l. 80. *in an yle* is certainly the correct reading; *mauyle* was introduced by a scribe who supposed it to be the giant's name; but that is mentioned some twenty lines later.

p. 5, l. 136. The correction of *lyght* into *ryght* I owe to Hall, who refers me to the legend of *Sancta Maria Egyptiaca*; cf. f. i. Barbour's *Legends of Saints*, ed. Horstmann, I. p. 143 ff.

p. 6, l. 153. *nowyd* = 'anoyed' gives a poor sense. Hall suggests *nowtyd*; cf. E. D. S., No. 6, Ray's *North Country Words*, p. 59, *note*, to push, strike or soar, with the horn, as a bull or ram, 'ab. A.S. *huitan*, ejusdem significationis. The word might then mean 'spurred.'

p. 6, l. 171 = l. 596. This alliterative binding is a very frequent one; cf. *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Zielke, p. 9.

p. 7, l. 188. The same rhyme, which I have restored here, occurs l. 559 f.

p. 7, l. 190. *Yt tellythe* = *Yt is told*; cf. Lüdtké, note to *The Erl of Tolouse*, l. 1070, and Sarrazin, note to *Octavian*, l. 1749.

p. 9, l. 236. I was about to write, *Crystyn men thou they were*, referring this line to the guardians of the lions; but, no doubt, Hall's reconstruction of the line, which I have put into the text, is far better.

p. 9, l. 237. *Hys browys weze bla*, i. e. he turned pale, he was struck with fear; cf. *bloo askes*, P. Pl., l. 1553, and the German *aschfaul*. Quite a similar expression occurs in *Perceval*, l. 687 f.:

‘Now sone of that salle wee see,
Whose browes schalle blakke.’

Ib. l. 1056:

‘His browes to blake.’

p. 9, l. 245. Though *syghyng* gives no offence, still it may be, that the author has written *syngyng*, and the scribe was wrong in altering it; cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 5424.

p. 9, l. 251. Cf. l. 802, 1204, *Ipomadon*, l. 6481 f.:

‘Your nece of Calabyre, that lady clere,
Ys bovnden wyth a fendes fere.’

Reliquiae Antiquae, i. p. 241:

‘He seith bi nizte and eke bi day,
That hy beth fendes ifere.’

p. 10, l. 265 f. The reading of these two lines is quite destroyed by the careless scribe. My correction is not more than an attempt to restore the rhyme.

p. 10, l. 277 ff. There is nothing in Torrent's words which could lead the princess to a conclusion like that. I think that after l. 276 one stanza is wanting.

p. 11, l. 286-8. As to the contents of these lines, Kölbing refers me to *Englische studien*, vol. IV. p. 133 f., where F. Liebrecht mentions a passage in *Sir Beves of Hamtoun*, according to which a king's daughter,—if she is a pure virgin,—can never be hurt by a lion. Here we have another proof for this remarkable bit of folk-lore.

p. 11, l. 292 = l. 329.

p. 11, l. 303 = l. 342.

p. 11, l. 305. I am not quite sure whether I was right in substituting the prince's name—which is mentioned once more, the first time, as it were, l. 341—for the name of his father's kingdom; but I didn't see any other way of restoring the rhyme.

p. 12, l. 311. Cf. l. 469 and Skeat's note to *Sir Thopas*, l. 1927.

p. 12, l. 334. Instead of *he* I should prefer to read *they*: Torrent has just admonished the prisoners to cheer up.

p. 13, l. 344. There must be something wrong in this line, because the name of the third Earl's son is missing; to write *the third* instead of *of* may not suffice to put the text right; even the names *Torren* and *Berweyne* seem to me very suspicious.

p. 14, l. 379. Cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 4245, for *Crystys dede*; *Crystys* was substituted by Kölbing for *mannes*, which is clearly wrong; he could as well have chosen *godes*.

p. 15, l. 393 ff. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 736.

p. 16, l. 427. Of this allusion to Veland, Halliwell treats in his

edition of *Sir Torrent*, p. vii f. Cf. Zupitza, *Ein zeugnis für die Wielandsage*, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XIX, p. 129 f.

p. 16, l. 429-31. The line which follows l. 429 in the MS. is superfluous; it damages the metre; and the rhyme with l. 430 won't do. The old king wishes to say: 'I have seen the day when, if this sword wielded by me fell on any one, he was considered done for, doomed to death.' Therefore l. 431, *I faught therfor I told* has been corrected into *Fawe they were I-told*. The scribe did not understand the obsolescent word *fawe* or *faye*, so he wrote the nearest word to it to make sense, *I-told* = 'held, considered.'—I. Hall.

p. 17, l. 458. Cf. Breul's note to *Sir Gowther*, l. 410.

p. 17, l. 465. Cf. l. 2061 f.

p. 20, l. 542. The scribe, who evidently didn't know the pretty rare word *clow*, has spoilt it to *colod*, or *colod*; the same rhyme, *clouz*, *drouz*, *anouz* occurs in *Sir Tristrem*, l. 1761 ff. Nor did the scribe know the word *swowe* = 'noise,' and changed it to *swayne*; cf. Hall. Dict., p. 843: *He come to him with a swowe*.

p. 20, l. 543. *Of and on*, off and on, intermittently.

p. 21, l. 555. *schyl* is not to the point here, *Torrent* having only his sword at hand. The scribe has forgotten what he has said himself, l. 526 and 549; cf. l. 652.

p. 21, l. 582-4. We meet with this description twice more in the poem, ll. 1514-16, and ll. 1858-60.

p. 23, l. 640. On the meaning of *theff*, cf. Kölbing's note to *Am. and Amil*, l. 787.

p. 24, l. 659. *of Peroune* is certainly wrong, as it does not agree with the rhymes *stere*, *nere*, *ferre*; but I don't know how to amend the line.

p. 24, l. 662. *schere* gives no meaning; I write *stere* and translate, There might nobody move further, i. e. the giant was brought to a standstill in the glen.

p. 24, l. 665. Cf. ll. 434, 791.

p. 25, l. 688. Cf. *Eglam.*, l. 324:

'And to [the] herte hym bare.'

The weak preterit tense of *berien* is very rare; if *bere* = A.S. *beran* sometimes has the same meaning, i. e. 'to strike,' the reason is that A.S. *beran* and Icel. *berja* are confounded.

p. 25, l. 696. *woo* can hardly stand for *wood*. It seems to me like a last corruption of an old romance phrase, like *worthy inwith wall* (*wooze*); possibly the line was simply so: *Thus in II journeys Torrent so*.—Hall.

p. 25, l. 700. On the use of M.E. *fole* as a plural see Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 598.

p. 26, l. 722. Hall suggests, the original phrase may have been: *pomely whyt and grey*; cf. Chaucer, *C. T.*, Prol., l. 615 f.:

'This reeve sat vpon a ful good stot,
That was al *pomely gray*, and highte Scot.'

p. 27, l. 744. Cf. l. 788. On *St. James* cf. Kölbing's note to *Am. and Amil.*, l. 796.

p. 29, l. 808 f. 'In so dangerous conditions he has been before [and still come back safe], so he will come back even this time.'

p. 29, l. 819. On the meaning of the phrase '*the bord beginne*', cf. Kölbing, *Englische studien*, III. p. 104, and Zupitza, *Anglia*, III. p. 370 f.

p. 30, l. 838. This stanza being incomplete, I think, the lacuna is to be put after l. 838. The missing three lines contained the fact, that the king promises Torrent, before his knights, that, when he has done this deed, he will give him his daughter, and grant him one half of his kingdom during his life, and the whole afterwards; cf. l. 1206 ff. The odd number of XXVII knights is probably due only to the scribe; cf. F. III: *By VII score of hardy knyghtes.*

p. 31, l. 867 f. These two lines are poor, and the rhyme is very bad; l. 868 may have run originally, *Thurrow Percyns, for sothe, it ley*; cf. l. 949.

p. 32, l. 901. *squyere*, although very odd at the first sight, may still be right; Torrent says: 'The only squier that I took with me for this journey, is my sword'; cf. l. 909.

p. 33, l. 922. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Ipomadon*, l. 3344.

p. 33, l. 924-6. On the story of a child, begotten by a devil on a sleeping woman, cf. Breul, *Sir Gouther*, p. 119 f.

p. 34, l. 954 ff. Cf. *Tristrem*, l. 1409 ff.:

'Out of Deuelin toun
De folk wel fast ran,
In a water to droun,
So ferd were þai þan.'

p. 34, l. 963 f. Cf. *Beves of Hamtoun*, l. 187 f.:

'Madame, a seide, for loue myn,
Whar mai ich finde þat wilde swin?'

p. 36, l. 1000. Instead of *sperre* perhaps we ought to read *sworde*.

p. 37, l. 1030 f. If we compare the rests of these lines in F. VI., this reading or a similar one is to be expected. The reading of l. 1029 ff. in the fragments may be completed so: [*Thourgh the he*] *lpe of god of heuen Thorough ys and*] *herin euen God send the sperre the right way.*

p. 36, l. 1033 f. Cf. ll. 1166, 2468 f., and Kölbing's note to *Sir Tristrem*, l. 69 f.

p. 38, l. 1070. 'I came hither to seek my death,' i. e. this expedition was so dangerous, that I expected to die.

p. 38, l. 1076. Cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 239 f.:

'Tyll vncovth contreys will I wende,
The maner wille I see.'

p. 39, l. 1081. *is* was to be corrected into *it*: 'Because you slew him that possessed it.'

p. 39, l. 1086. This line, according to Hall's emendation, means: You owe no homage or feudal due, the manor is yours and your heirs'

for ever; i. e. the manor is in fee simple, and free from any feudal obligation.

p. 39, st. 95. The text would be improved by putting ll. 1104-6 before 1101-3, although this transposition is not absolutely necessary.

p. 39, l. 1105. *lefte* may be a mistake for *loste*; cf. *Gower*, I. 207:
 'Contenaunce for a þrowe
 He loste.'

p. 40, l. 1117. Cf. Ritson's *Met. Rom.*, III. p. 341 f., and Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 436.

p. 40, l. 1121. *he bare* looks rather suspicious, but it is supported by l. 2169. The author is about to describe the figures inlaid on the shield. Cf. *Eglamour*, l. 1030 f.:

'*He bare in azure*¹ a grype of golde,
 Rychely beton on the molde.'

p. 40, l. 1124. This line is hopelessly spoilt; the scribe, careless as he was, has almost literally repeated l. 1121; l. 1125 directly continues the description begun before.

p. 40, l. 1132. Is *than I haue in tale* right? We expect rather: *than I can telle in tale*.

p. 41, l. 1138 f. Cf. l. 1587 f.

p. 41, l. 1143. I thought it necessary to insert *mete*, although Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, II. p. 274, cites this line as the only instance in the M.E. literature for *glad* as a substantive. But even the sense is very poor without this addition.

p. 41, l. 1144. As to a man riding into the hall, cf. Skeat's note to Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, l. 80, and Kölbing's note to *Ipomadon*, l. 6253 f.

p. 41, l. 1150 f. I hope my alterations in l. 1151 are right. It cannot be said that the King of Aragon defends the lady unless somebody has laid claims to her. Torrent wants either three combats or the lady, quite a regular occurrence in mediæval romances.

p. 41, l. 1154. *none*, i. e. *no lady*.

p. 41, l. 1160. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 138.

p. 41, l. 1165. *the gres*, which word is here required by the rhyme, is, in the same way as in this passage, used for 'battle-field,' in *Perceval*, l. 1225 f.:

'Hedes and helmys ther was,
 I telle þow withowttene lese,
 Many layde *one the gresse*,
 And many brode schelde.'

p. 42, l. 1181. *For tynding of his hand* = for fear of (= *for*) the beating (blows) of his hand. Schoolboy slang still keeps the word 'to *tund*' = to beat with something flat.—HALL.

p. 42, l. 1193. On this expression Skeat treats in *Notes to P. Pl.*, p. 3987, to which note I refer the reader. Cf. *Li B. Disc.*, l. 130 f. (Ritson, *Rom.* II. p. 6):

'Hys schon wer with gold ydyght
 And *kopeth* as a knyght.'

¹ So *Percy Fol. MS.*; *aserre* Thornt.

p. 43, l. 1198 f. : 'None of them said a single word, But that Torrent had been right to do so as he had done.'

p. 43, l. 1211. There is an evident contradiction between this line and l. 1199. I suppose the word *waried* to be wrong; but I am not able to give a fairly certain emendation of it.

p. 44, l. 1228 f. : 'The king had supposed he was dead, and, indeed, foolhardy he was to undertake an adventure like this.'

p. 45, l. 1268 f. This fight between the giant Cate and Torrent reminds us in some points of the combat between Guy and Colbrond. Like the old northern *holmganga*, both fights take place on an island, and in both cases the giant declines to sit on horseback, because he is too heavy; cf. *Guy of Warwike*, Edinburgh, 1840, l. 9940 ff. :

'When þai had sworn and ostage founde,
Colbrond stirt vp in þat stounde,
To fyt he was ful felle.
He was so michel and so vnrede,
That no hors miȝt him lede,
In gest as y you telle,
So mani he hadde of armes gere,
Vnneþe a cart miȝt hem bere,
De Englisse for to quelle.'

p. 45, l. 1270. *he* instead of *him* is remarkable; this personal construction, provided that it is right, would offer an analogue to *I am wo* instead of *me is wo*; cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 245.

p. 45, l. 1271 = l. 1546.

p. 46, l. 1307. This line ought probably to run thus :

'*Sir Torrent praid, as was his wonne.*'

p. 47, l. 1337 f. This is SAINT *Nycholas de Barr*, not sir N., as the copyist has put. He was hardly a cleric, or he would have known the Boy Bishop. An English reference for S. Nicholas is Alban Butler, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, etc.*, vol. vii. p. 989, Dublin, 1833. His day is Dec. 6th, consequently he is not in *Acta Sanctorum*; see besides *Altenglische legenden, Neue folge*, ed. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 11—16, and Barbour's *Legendensammlung*, ed. Horstmann, I. p. 229—245. *Barr* is *Bari* in Italy, and Barbour, l. p. 238, l. 601 f., knew it was two syllables (cf. the rhyme *þame be : Barre*). Nicholas was the patron of sailors, and churches on the sea-coast in all parts of Europe were dedicated to him. Now as Sir Torrent had been in peril at sea, he offers to him. It was customary to offer garments at such shrines. See Hampson, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, I. p. 72. Hence I propose for l. 1338 : *A grett Erlidome and a simarr*. *Simarr* is not a common word, which makes it all the more probable here, since the uncommon words are those which are corrupted and lost. See *Prompt. Parv.*, I. p. 75 : '*chymer, abella*,' that is 'abolla, cloak.' M. E. *simar*, Fr. *simarre*.—HALL. I have not hesitated for a moment to introduce this sagacious conjecture into the text; also the correction of *redith* into *tas* I owe to Mr. Hall.

p. 48, l. 1353. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Sir Tristrem*, l. 2508.

- p. 48, l. 1364. We ought probably to read *she* instead of *he*.
 p. 48, l. 1367 f. Cf. l. 1756 f.
 p. 48, l. 1378. Cf. *Sir Tristrem*, l. 2458 :
 'Bi holtes and bi hille.'
- p. 49, l. 1385 ff. Here he addresses the King of Portugal. In l. 1385 *the* is superfluous, and should perhaps be struck out.
 p. 49, l. 1395. *fend* = *defend* ; cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 576.
 p. 51, l. 1443 f. As the existence of *fede* = *fode*, 'fellow' is proved by no other passage, we ought perhaps to write *As spede me god : ffode*, or *As g. me save : knave*, instead of *As god me spede : ffode*.
 p. 51, l. 1445. The alteration of *feand*, which is absurd here, into *failand* is supported by l. 1280.
 p. 51, l. 1446. As to *make* instead of *made*, cf. l. 332.
 p. 51, l. 1463. Cf. l. 2090 f. I am afraid neither of these passages is quite right.
 p. 53, l. 1518. Perhaps we ought to read :
 'And out of the valey he hyd swith.'
- p. 54, l. 1531. I don't believe that the poet used the word *tree* thrice within these four lines ; perhaps he wrote for l. 1531 : *Shold not drawe it, parde*.
 p. 54, l. 1551. Cf. *Guy*, ed. Zupitza, l. 5430 :
 'To reste per horsys a lytull wyght,'
 and Zupitza's note to l. 419.
 p. 55, l. 1570. Cf. Stratmann's note to *Havelok*, l. 1129 (*Englische studien*, I. p. 424).
 p. 56, l. 1592. *To the I have full good gate* means, 'I am fully entitled to kill you.' I don't recollect to have met with any parallel passage.
 p. 56, l. 1600. That *dynt* is wrong, the rhyme shows as well as the meaning. But whether my alteration is right, seems very doubtful, especially as l. 1609 offers the same rhyming word.
 p. 58, st. 142. Rhymes like *dight*, *be-taught*, *draught*, *right* can by no means be admitted. Now, instead of *be-taught* we may be allowed to write *be-teichte* (cf. *Beket*, l. 1827), and l. 1654 may have run :
 'He wold haue a draught, aflight.'
 p. 59, l. 1676. After *was*, *sent* may have been dropped.
 p. 59, l. 1692. *For his love*, i. e. 'As his sweetheart.'
 p. 60, l. 1714. Cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 52 :
 'Begge he wex of bonne and blode.'
- Ib.* l. 1763 :
 'Ryghtte bygge of bone and blode.'
 p. 60, l. 1722 : 'All his men agreed with him,' viz. that this was the knight whom he came to seek.
 p. 62, l. 1774. Is *her day* = A.S. *aerdagas*, cf. *Havelok*, l. 27? The word is very rare, and in this meaning occurs only in the plural.

p. 62, l. 1777. After *king*, on *kne* may have dropped out.

p. 63, l. 1799. Cf. Chaucer, *C. T.*, the Millere's Tale, l. 325 :

'Say what thou wolt, I schal it never telle
To child no wyf, by him that harwed helle.'

Ib., The Sompnoure's Tale, l. 407 :

'Now help, Thomas, for him that hareded helle.'

Perhaps even here, l. 1702, *Iesu, that made hell*, ought to be altered into *I. that harowde hell*.

p. 64, l. 1846. Perhaps we ought to read *ebbyng* instead of *eb*, according to l. 223 ; one can hardly say, that 'the sea is eb.'

p. 68, l. 1961. Instead of *A* I should prefer to read *The*, because this griffon is the same which robbed the child before.

p. 69, l. 1982. *Of what lond that he is left*, i. e. 'Wherever he may be born.'

p. 69, l. 1991 f. Cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 50 f. :

'He sayd : Fro tyme he kepe tham con,
My landes I shall hym take.'

p. 70, l. 2002. *It is good in every fight*, i. e. there is a stone in the ring which heals wounds, if they are touched with it ; cf. Kölbing's note to *Ipomadon*, l. 8018.

p. 70, 2010. Halliwell, p. 306, explains *dispartid* by 'beaten down, destroyed,' a meaning which is not fit for this passage. I read with a slight addition *disparplid* = 'dispersed,' a rare word ; cf. *Stratmann*, p. 156.

p. 71, l. 2026. *But* is probably to be altered into *And*.

p. 72, l. 2053. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 3068.

p. 72, l. 2075. One might be inclined to write :

'That my two children vncrystonyd ware,'

but I don't think that we are obliged to change : 'I cared only for that one thing, That my two children might be christened.'

p. 74, l. 2126. For *hing* instead of *heng* cf. Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, I. 1, p. 292, note to line 675, where *hynge* rhymes with *springes*.

p. 74, l. 2135. *hede vale*, i. e. principal, best choice ; *vale* = *wale*, or perhaps aphetic for *avale* = value.—HALL.

p. 74, l. 2138. *born* seems to me somewhat suspicious, though I cannot propose a better reading ; *and torn* instead of *born* wouldn't do.

p. 75, l. 2152. The imperfect rhyme shows that there is something wrong in this line ; it may be restored thus :

'Loo, lordys good and hende.'

p. 75, l. 2153. *wyll haue* has probably been inserted here from the following line ; we ought to read *has*.

p. 75, l. 2157. *Season for to hold*, i. e. 'in order to hold court.' But I don't know another instance of *season* with this meaning.

p. 76, l. 2174. This line involves a contradiction to l. 2158 f.

p. 76, l. 2185. *smote* means the same as *caste*; cf. *King Horn*, ed. Wissmann, l. 1038:

‘And ankere gunne caste.’

The only question is, whether *ankere* is allowed to be supplied or must be added; cf. l. 2203.

p. 77, l. 2209—2214. The Sultan informs Torrent by messengers, that the inhabitants of the town are starving, evidently appealing to his generosity. Torrent answers him, that if they will lie here, *i. e.* leave the town, they are to have victuals enough. But the Sultan doesn't accept this condition, and so the siege is continued. That seems to me to be the meaning of this half of the stanza.

p. 77, l. 2216 f. *dede* means here, and l. 2400, ‘exploit, battle.’ In the same way Saber, Beves's uncle, once a year on a certain day fights against the Emperor; cf. *Sir Beves*, l. 2917 ff.:

‘& eueri ȝer on a dai certaine
Vpon þemperur of Almaïne
He ginneþ gret bataile take,
Beues, al for þine sake.’

It agrees very well with the religious feelings of the Middle Ages, when they thought it a merit to fight against the heathens on Good Friday; cf. here l. 2230 ff.

p. 77, l. 2224 ff. I am afraid there is something wrong in these lines; the copyist seems to mean, that Torrent didn't bereave the inhabitants of their worldly goods, their treasures; then we must write *them* for *it*. But what we really expect here is, that he leaves in the town some trustworthy men to keep it. Accordingly, the fault lies in *Worldely goodis*. Besides, l. 2224, *did wyn*, instead of *was yn*, would improve the rhyme.

p. 77, l. 2232. *bryght* is a rather odd epithet to *Sarȝins*.

p. 78, l. 2233 ff. Fifteen years have past since Torrent began to fight against the infidels: he besieges the first town two years (cf. l. 2189), the second, six years (cf. l. 2206), the third, seven years (cf. l. 2230). Meanwhile, the education of a young man being finished at the age of fifteen (cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 287), his son had become just old enough to win his spurs.

p. 78, l. 2240. I doubt whether *ordeyn* can be allowed to stand without an object, such as *your folk*, or *your ships*; cf. *Robert of Glo'ster*, ed. Hearne, p. 139, l. 19:

‘He bigan to ordeyne ys folk, & to batail aȝen drow.’

p. 78, l. 2256: ‘Woebegone was she, that must see that,’ viz. that ‘le leopard took away her sone.’

p. 78, l. 2259 f. The meaning of these two lines is not quite perspicuous, and they may be corrupt; only this one thing is clear, that these two knights are Torrent and his son, who belong to different parties.

p. 79, l. 2269 ff. It may be that ll. 2269-71 and ll. 2272-74 are

to be transposed, but I don't think it necessary: Torrent's men flee when they see that their chief has surrendered.

p. 80, l. 2302. *wekid* = wicked, mischievous. But I don't recollect to have met with this adj. as an epithet to *land* or *country*.

p. 80, l. 2304. Cf. *Tristrem*, l. 88, Kölbing's note to that passage, and *York Plays*, p. 438, l. 155:

'For, certys, my lyf days are nere done.'

p. 80, l. 2316. The alteration of this line is rather a radical one; but there was no other way to restore the rhyme; I think that first, *day* and *nyzt* had changed their places in line 2313, and then the copyist, in order to get a rhyme to *nyzt*, spoilt the latter line.

p. 81, l. 2335. *be my faye* and *parmaffay* in the same stanza, and both in the rhyme, are rather poor; one of these lines may have run thus:

'Be god of heven, the king gan say.'

p. 82, l. 2357. The same confusion between *turment* and *turnament* occurs in *Ipomadon*, l. 2868; cf. Kölbing's note to this line.

p. 83, l. 2392. Cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 3958:

'A mercy, syr, for Crystes pitte,'

and Kölbing's note to this line.

p. 83, l. 2395 f. Cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 3064, where he cites an interesting parallel passage to this line from *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Zupitza, l. 4707 f.:

'ȝyt þou art the frewest knyght,
That euer alepyd in wynturs nyght.'

p. 83, l. 2405. *and* is perhaps miswritten for *an* or *on*.

p. 83, l. 2407. This line, as it stands, is rather odd; perhaps it ought to be identical with l. 1128.

p. 84, l. 2420. *juster, jouter*, means here a knight who joins in a joust or tournament: in the only other passage where it is known to occur, *Alis.*, l. 1400, it is a horse for tourneying.

p. 84, l. 2433 = l. 2456; cf. *Ipomadon*, l. 8830:

'Every man in there degre.'

p. 85, l. 2450. On *roial*, cf. Kölbing's note to *Ipomadon*, l. 64. To a *roall fyght* may be compared Shakespeare's *A royal battle* (*Rich. III.*, IV. iv.).

p. 85, l. 2461. *with oute lent* = 'without fasting'? I have not met with this expletive phrase anywhere else.

p. 86, l. 2493. It was not superfluous to mention this fact, because knights were very often killed in tournaments; cf. Niedner, *Das deutsche turnier im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1881, p. 24. See also R. Brunne's *Handlyng-Synne*, ed. Furnivall, 1862, p. 144-6.

p. 87, l. 2518-20. As to the meaning of *couplid*, cf. Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, I. p. 491. These lines evidently mean that gentlemen and ladies sit alternately, what one calls in German, *bunte reihe machen*.

Cf. A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben Zur Zeit der Minnesänger*, I. p. 330, and P. Pietsch, Bunte Reihe, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. xvi. Halle, 1884, p. 231, who cites from *Biterolf*, l. 7399 ff.:

‘Do hiesens under mine man
Ir ingesinde wol getân
Sich tellen in dem palas,
Daz kein mîn recke dâ was,
Ern sêze zwischen magedin.’

p. 87, l. 2526. *emell* was added by Hall in order to restore the rhyme with *Desonell*.

p. 88, l. 2535. For this correction, cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 600.

p. 90, l. 2593. After *marked, them* may have dropped; cf. *Layamon*, l. 5642 f.:

‘And heom markede forð,
Toward Munt-giu heo ferden,’

instead of which lines the later MSS. writes:

‘Hii nome riht hire way
Toward Muntageu.’

p. 90, l. 2597. On *castelleitoure* cf. Kölbing's note to *Tristrem*, l. 158.

p. 91, l. 2636. Cf. Kölbing's notes to *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 1019, and to *The lyfe of Ipomadon*, l. 506. Here the expression, *no good he ne couth* means, he was quite feeble and strengthless.

p. 92, l. 2658. *up-tyed* = so limited by the deed of foundation that they (the churches and abbeys) could not be diverted to any other purpose.—HALL.

p. 92, l. 2661. Cf. *Eglamour*, l. 1339, Lincoln MS.:

‘In Rome this romance crowned ea.’

The Cambridge MS. reads instead:

‘In Rome thys geste cronyculd ya.’

I am inclined to think that *crowned* is nothing else but a misreading for *cronyculd*. Afterwards, considered to be correct, it has originated expressions like those we find here.

GLOSSARY.

Abydde, 2/41, *vb.* to endure.
a-bye, 21/569, *vb.* to pay for.
actone, 79/2276, *sb.* a jacket of quilted cotton. Cf. Skeat's Glossary to *Wars of Al.*, s. v.
ago, 3/65, *pp.* gone.
a-right, 48/1364, *pt.* a prepared, served up.
assent, 48/1357, *sb.* proposal.
asstyt, 23/640, *adv.* at once.
auter, 68/1952, *sb.* altar.
avented, 54/1554, *pt.* a *refl.* recovered his breath.
aventorres, 2/39, *sb. pl.* adventures.
aventurly, 44/1229, *adv.* boldly.
axithe, 10/260, *pr.* 3 *sg.* asks.

Balle. 15/400, *sb.* bale.
bane,* 29/794, *sb.* bone; 52/1478, *sb.* destruction, death; 59/1678, *sb.* over-comer.
bare, 53/1502, *pr.* a stabbed.
barys, 35/978, *sb. pl.* bars.
bayle, 54/1553, *vb.* to pasture.
bed, 29/793, *pp.* offered.
bent, 25/701, 86/2487, *sb.* battle-field.
berales, 36/1015, *adj.* beardless.
bere, 37/1045, *vb.* to stab.
be-stad, 29/808, *pp.* sore bestad = distressed.
bet, 57/1622, *pt.* s. beat.
be-taught, 58/1651, *pp.* surrendered, delivered.
bett, 55/1585, *pp.* beaten; 40/1123, *pp.* ornamented.
be-tyde, 45/1270, *vb.* to befall; cf. the note to this line.
beytymg, 36/1008, *vb. sb.*, baiting.?
bla,* 9/237, *adj.* pale, wan; cf. the note.
blo,* 13/351, *adj.* blue.
blynd, 4/87, *pr.* s. conj. blind.

TORRENT OF PORTYNGALE.

bode, 18/498, *pr.* s. ordered.
boffettes. 85/2472; *buffettes*, 56/1596, *sb. pl.* blow, dint.
bone, 55/1565, *sb.* prayer.
bord, 29/819, 42/1194, *sb.* table.
bowes, 51/1451, *sb. pl.* bough, branch.
bought, 21/556, *sb.* bend.
brayd, 56/1598, *sb.* sudden attack.
broke, 30/833, 48/1354, *vb.* to enjoy.
browz, 24/654, *sb.* rising ground, hill.
byddythe, 18/500, *pr.* s. waited, remained.
byght, 22/605, *vb.* to bite.
byne, 2/46, *vb.* to be.
byrlyd, 11/292, 12/329, *pr.* s. to pour out.

Castell toure, 90/2597, *sb.* castle tower.
chaffare, 35/986, *sb.* bargain.
challenge, 41/1150; *pr.* s. 41/1163; *pr.* s. conj. challenge.
cheff-foster, 21/574, *sb.* chief-foster.
ches, 26/718, *pr.* s. close.
chyrg, 29/814, *sb.* church.
clarkys, 1/12, *sb. pl.* clerks.
clere, 3/62, *adj.* clere of, renowned for.
clow,* 20/542, *sb.* clough.
cobled, 46/1298, *adj.* cobled stones = cobblestones.
comely, 26/722, *adv.* in a comely manner; cf. the note.
countenance,* 3/75, *sb.* countenance, presence of mind.
cord, 48/1357, *pr.* s. accord.
coueryd, 87/2506, *pr. pl.* *Vp* they *coueryd* = They recovered.?
countenance, 39/1105, *sb.* countenance.
couped, 42/1193, *pp.*; cf. the note.

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- coupled, 87/2520, *pp.* coupled; *cf.* the note.
courses, 41/1150, 42/1177, *sb. pl.* courses.
couth, 46/1295, 91/2636, *pr. s.* knew.
craftely, 54/1527, *adv.* skilfully.
crest, 40/1128; *creste*, 83/2407, *sb.* crest.
croke, 36/1018, 37/1042, 55/1577, 56/1607, 58/1652, *sb.* crook.
- Dalle*, 21/562, *sb.* valley.
delyuer, 41/1154, *vb.*; 41/1151, *imp.* to deliver up; *delyuerd*, 63/1806, 1808, *pp.* delivered of a child; *delyuerd*, 82/2372, *pp.* released?
dent, 2/41, *sb.* blow.
departid, 47/1329, *pr. pl.* divorced.
dewe, 4/88, *sb.* dieu.
deyr, 2/37, *adj.* dear.
deyse, 38/1067, 42/1192, *sb.* dais.
dight, 39/1081, *pr. s.* built.
disparplid, * 70/2010, *pp.* dispersed; *cf.* the note.
doug, 61/1754, *pr. pl.* dung, beat.
dourst, 3/81, *pr. s.* darest.
draught, 58/1654, *sb.* draught.
dryee, 36/994, *vb.* endure.
duchyes, 33/933, *sb. pl.* duchies.
duifful, 19/519, *adj.* troublesome.
dynnynng, 52/1487, *sb.* roaring.
dyypisyst, 2/47, *pr. s.* 2 *sg.* despisest.
- Eb*, 64/1846, *sb.* ebb; *cf.* the note.
ebbyd, 8/223, *pp.* ebbing.
ech, 92/2657, *pron.* each.
eche, 24/649, *sb.* oak.
endentyd, 9/227, *pp.* indented, adorned.
erber, 65/1868, *sb.* garden of pleasure.
ermyngh, 36/1008, *sb.* ?
eyllythe, 34/958, *pr. s.* 3 *sg.* ails.
- Fall*, 47/1331, *vb.* to fell, kill.
fame, 2/31, *sb.* foam.
fare, 44/1234, *sb.* at that fare = under these circumstances.
farly, 2/44; *ferly*, 69/1974, 71/2035, *sb.* wonder.
fawe, * 16/431, *adj.* destined to death.
fede, * 2/30, *sb.* feed, pasture ground; *cf.* the note.
ffede, 51/1444, *sb.*; *cf.* the note.
fell, 85/2444, *adj.* strong, able.
- fell*, 1/21, 4/90, *vb.* to fell, kill;
fellythe, 3/82, *pr. s.* 3 *sg.* fella.
fere, 3/69, 4/98, 4/102, 33/931, 85/2466, *sb.* companion.
feomnyd, 2/28, *pr. s.*; *cf.* the note.
fet, 12/309, *pp.* fetched.
ffettouris, 81/2333, *sb. pl.* fetters.
fyng, 67/1927, *vb.* to hasten.
fyngyng, 14/378, *p. prs.* hastening.
fode, 36/1012, *sb.* food; *ffode*, 64/1823, *sb.* child, wight.
ffont, 69/1993, *sb.* font.
forsake, 26/724, *vb.* to leave behind.
fforward, 61/1743, *sb.* agreement.
fraye, 23/638, *sb.* attack.
freke, 58/1661, *sb.* warrior.
frethe, 6/161, *sb.* forest.
fyle, 33/911, *sb.* fill.
ffyne, 39/1086, *sb.* fine.
fytte, 17/458, *sb. pl.* feet.
fytyng, 7/1731, *p. prs.* fighting.
- Gadlyng*, 36/1015, *sb.* vagabond.
gale, 46/1313, *sb.* galley.
gas, 4/103, *pr. s.* 3 *sg.* goes.
gestonye, 82/2374, 91/2625, 91/2627, *sb.* banquet, feast.
gethe, 71/2042, *pr. s.* 3 *sg.* goes.
glemyrryng, 16/426, *p. prs.* glimmering.
governe, 28/779, *vb. refl.* to behave.
greme, * 67/1929, *sb.* grief, sorrow.
grennyng, 40/1126, *p. prs.* distorting, gaping.
gruffon, 69/1971; *greffon*, 69/1981, *sb.* griffin.
grype, 68/1961, *sb.* griffin.
- Harood*, 60/1711, *sb.* herald; 82/2365; *harroldys*, *sb. pl.* heralds.
harood, 63/1799, *pr. s.* distracted.
hed, 17/444, *sb.* heed.
hede, 74/2126, *vb.* to behead.
hede-vale, 74/2135, 91/2621, *sb.* principal value; *cf.* the note to l. 2135.
hedles, 25/702, *adj.* headless.
hende, 4/106, *adj.* courteous.
herne, * 37/1030, *sb.* brains.
heved, * 14/371, *sb.* head.
hight, 65/1860, *sb.* height.
housell, 45/1272; *howsell*, 74/2139, *sb.* housel.
howge, 20/548, *adj.* huge, enormous.

howt, 25/703, *adv.* out.
hurt, 57/1625, *sb.* hurt.

I-bye, 43/1222, *vb.* to pay for.
i-wysse, 15/391, *adv.* surely.
juster, 84/2420, *sb.* jousting knight.

Kene, 2/47, *adj.* brave.
kerpyng, 92/2662, *vb. sb.* talking.

Lade, 58/1663, *sb.* load, i. e. a lot of blows.

lay, 6/165, 52/1492, *sb.* grass land, bank.

lede, 2/36, *sb.* country.
lemyred, 11/291, *pr. s.* glimmered.
lenage, 18/491, *sb.* lineage, family.

lende, 1/9, *prs. pl.* go.

leng, 32/899, *vb.* to stay.

lent, 85/2461, *sb.* lent?

leryd, 40/1110, *pp.* informed.

lifte, 45/1273, *vb.* to lift.

lothly, 34/964, 35/991; *lothely*, 53/1508, 54/1534, *adj.* loathsome.

love, 59/1692, *sb.* love, sweet-heart.

lyst, 1/7, *vb.* to listen.

lythe, 13/337, *vb.* to listen.

lyvelode, 83/2384, *sb.* livelihood.

Maistershipmon, 50/1425, *sb.* captain.

mall, 12/322, *sb.* hammer, club.

markyd, 90/2592, *pr. s.* directed.

mate, 25/678, *adj.* faint, exhausted.

maymercy, 16/435, *sb.* banquet, feast.

maysstry, 8/212, *sb.* mastery; *mays-tres*, 28/789, *sb. pl.* = *maysstries*, exploits?

meche, 10/270, 20/531, 26/713, 37/1040, *adj.* much, great.

met, 25/700, *pr. s.* measured.

moche, 49/1399, 76/2195, *adj.* much, great.

myd mete, 41/1141, 42/1189, *sb.* the middle of the dinner.

mylle, 3/79, *sb.* mile.

myrre, 11/293, 34/943, *adj.* merry.

myster, 21/581, *sb.* need, want.

Nonyys, 46/1299, *in phr.* for *þe nones*, for the once, for the occasion.

noryse, 67/1928, *sb.* nurse.

not,* 54/1535, *prs. ne wot*, don't know.

nowyd, 6/153, *pp.* annoyed? cf. the note.

Of-smyght, 25/691, *vb.* to cut off.

omage, 39/1086, *sb.* homage.

onfre,* 53/1499, *adj.* unnobla.

on-harnes, 11/302, *vb.* to unharness.

ordor, 2/51, *sb.* order.

ordurres, 2/48, *sb. pl.* knighthood, dub.

ovyr-ryde, 2/40, *vb.* to ride over, to overcome?

Payn, 44/1252, *sb.* fine, mulct.

persewyd,* 17/462, *pp.* pursued.

pertely, 53/1501, *adv.* openly, plainly.

pluckys, 56/1611, *sb.* strokes; cf. Halliwell, Dict., p. 633.

pomell, 26/714, *sb.* pommel.

poynt, 17/445, 88/2540, = *poynt of armys*, 3/68, 30/832, 49/1383, *sb.* exploit.

prekand, 45/1263, *prs. p.* pricking.

preste, 50/1418, *adj.* ready.

preve, 10/275, *adj.* privy.

pyll, 21/573, *sb.* rock?

Ragyd, 7/194, *adj.* ragged.

raught, 24/645, *pr. s.* gave.

red, 7/178, *sb.* counsel.

reioyse, 75/2151, 80/2309, 91/2640, *vb.* to enjoy.

rerid, 55/1561, *pr. pl.* reared, tried to bring on.

rene, 35/986, *vb.* to bereave, to rob.

reuelid, 85/2467, *pr. pl.* revelled, feasted.

revid, 88/2546, *pp.* robbed.

rewe, 31/860, *vb.* to rue, to pity.

reysed, 46/1313, *pr. pl.* raised, made ready; *reysing*, 51/1454, *prs. p.* rising, starting up.

rially, 87/2516, *adv.* royally.

rialte, 85/2455, *sb.* royal state.

rightfull, 64/1834, *adj.* rightfull.

roall, 85/2450, royal.

rome, 19/516, *sb.* cross-way?

rore, 37/132, *vb.* to roar.

rough, 66/1879, *sb.* wood, copse.

rouwe, 50/1426, *prs. pl.* row.

rought, 24/645, *sb.* stroke, blow?

rude, 58/1666, *adj.* rude.

ryd, 2/44, *pr. s.* rode.

- ryde-way*, 22/598, *sb.* spur-way, horse-way.
ryngis, 82/2354, *sb.* ring, arena.
ryved, 73/2090, *pr. s.* ryved up, landed, disembarked; *ryven*, 50/1435, *pr. p.* landed.
Sare, 4/97, *adv.* sorely.
sarten, 26/717, *adj. sb.* the sarten = the truth.
sayment, 2/50, *sb.* trial, exploit.
scape, 81/2327, *pra. subj.* escape.
schedyng, 19/516, *sb.* separation.
scheff-chambyr, 26/718, *sb.* chief-chamber, first rank-chamber.
scheld, 21/578, *vb.* to shelter.
schere, 21/556, *vb.* to shear, to cut.
schope, 21/567, *pr. a.* created.
schout, 21/570,
shoute, 61/1751, 65/1877, *s.;* *schuot*, 22/594, *vb.* to shout.
season, 76/2157, *sb.* court.
see-fome, 75/2165, *sb.* sea-foam.
sege, 77/2204, *sb.* siege.
sekyrnes, 30/835, *sb.* surety.
semled, 85/2445, *pr. pl.* assembled.
sete, 33/922, *sb.* city.
seth, 74/2141, *conj.* since.
sett, 41/1152, *pr. s.* sat.
sewe, 4/89, *vb.* to look at.
shipped, 46/1260, *pr. s.* 46/1318, *pr. pl.* shypped, *pp.* embarked.
shone, 40/1117, *sb. pl.* shoes.
side lokyng, 57/1637, *sb.* side-glance.
sized, 79/2288, *pr. s.* sighed.
smarr, * 47/1338, *sb.* cloak; see the note.
slade, 58/1660, *sb.* slade.
slon, * 16/458, *sb.* sloe.
smote, 76/2185; *smote adown*, 77/2203, *pr. s.* cast anchor.
solasyd, 24/657, *pr. s.* solaced, comforted.
solemnite, 56/1591, *sb.* pride.
sotell, 61/1761, *adj.* subtle, sly.
sowmyng, 49/1400, 62/1782, 90/2615, *sb.* swooning.
sparid, 73/2096, *pr. pl.* barred, blocked up.
sped, 3/70, *pra. conj.* speed.
spent, 67/1910, *pp.* lost.
sperryd, 14/364, *pr. s.* barred, shut up.
sperryys, 5/127, *sb.* spire, tree.
spousage, 62/1791, *sb.* spousage.
sprent, 7/181, *pr. s.* lept.
spryt, 7/181, *sb.* pole.
stad, * 65/1566, *sb.* stead.
state, 60/1729, *sb.* chair of state.
stere, * 24/662, *vb. refl.* move.
steryng, 62/1785, *p. pra.* stirring, moving.
stomlyng, 24/660, *p. pra.* stumbling.
storrope, 35/987, stirrup.
strake, 2/42, *pr. s.* struck.
styl, 18/477, *sb.* steel.
swathing band, 67/1917, *sb.* swath.
swowe, * 20/548, *sb.* noise; cf. the note.
sybbe, * 27/739, *sb.* kinsman.
Takyll, 49/1402, *sb.* tackling.
tall, 26/734, *sb.* tale.
tene, 3/73, *sb.* grief, sorrow.
the, 2/49, *vb.* to thrive.
thede, * 60/1728, *sb.* people.
thefe, 46/1292; *theffe*, 58/1659, *sb.* villain.
theves, 61/1760, *sb. pl.* villains.
thole, * 17/460, *vb.* to suffer.
throng, 38/1057, *sb.* crowd, troop.
thronge, 79/2283, *pr. pl.* thronged, pressed.
tombelyd, 42/1173, *pr. pl.* tumbled.
to-sheverd, 42/1172, *pr. s.* shivered in pieces.
trast, * 17/455, ? *vb.* to trust.
trayll, 46/1314, *vb.* to trail.
trayn, 29/803, 61/1455, *sb.* treachery, deceit.
trompettys, 29/816, 34/443,
trumpettes, 41/1164, *sb. pl.* trumpets.
trovyld, 17/452, *pr. s.* travailed, exerted himself.
trou, 21/572, *pr. s.* believe.
trusse, 13/354, *vb.* to truss.
trussyd, 14/371, *pr. pl.* trussed.
tyed, 92/2658, *pp.*; cf. the note.
tyght, 22/589, *adj.* tight.
tyght, 25/690, *adv.* in phr. *ase tyght*, at once.
tymbyr, 2/40, 81/2349, 86/2483, lance.
tynding, 42/1181, *sb.* beating; cf. the note.
Vale, *s. hede.*
venturus, 55/1566, *adj.* adventurous, dangerous.

- vetelid*, 76/2188, *pp.* supplied with provisions.
victours, 83/2411, *sb.* victor.
vndrydeled, 64/1552, *pr. a.* unbridled.
vnder, 71/2029, *sb.* noon.
vndyr-nethe, 20/542, *prep.* underneath.
vndertane, 61/1733, *vb.* to undertake.

Walloynng, 7/189, *prs. p.* wallowing.
wanne, 62/1767, *adj.* wan, dark.
ward, 48/1351, *sb.* warden.
waried, 43/1211, 88/2544, *pr. pl.* cursed; *waried*, 64/1537, *pp.* cursed.
warne, 29/795, *prs. a.* deny, refuse.
water fflood, 66/1872, *sb.* water-flood.
watt, 44/1247, *prs. 3 sg.* knows.
wax, 3/73, *pr. a.* became.
wede, 2/33, *sb.* garment, dress.
wekid, 80/2302, *adj.* wicked; see the note.
were, 67/1623, *vb.* to get tired.
were, 28/773, *adj.* aware.
wet-saffe, 17/466, *pr. a.* vouchsafe.
wexe, * 9/237, *pr. pl.* became.
wyght, 64/1551, *sb.* white.
wilsom, 71/2030; *wyld-som*, 20/535; *wyldsom*, 19/506, *adj.* wild, desert.
wis, 63/1525, *vb.* to show.
wod, 14/377, *adj.* mad.
won, 4/94, *adj.* one.
wonande, 1/14, *p. prs.* living.
wondyr-thyng, 2/53, *sb.* wondrous thing.
wonne, 46/1295, *sb.* custom, expedient.
wonne, 46/1307, *pp.* wont? cf. the note.
wonne, 65/1870, *p.* dwelling, living?
wonne, 69/1995, *pp.* won.
wrought vp, 64/1532, *pr. a.* built up, raised.
wyght, * 1/15, 3/60.
wyt, 27/749,
wyhte, 30/548, *adj.* wight.

Yare, * 7/177, * 14/369, 47/1320, *adv.* wholly, yarely.
yatis gone, 71/2025, *sb. pl.* footpaths.
yell, 46/1305, *vb.* to yell.
yell, 52/1487, *sb.* yell.
yf, 61/1740, *imp. s.*
yff, 70/2009, *prs. conj. s.* may give.
ylke, 25/694, 63/1801, *pron.* same.

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Adolake*, 434, the name of a sword ;
Adyloke, 665 ; *Hatheloke*, 791.
Adryan, 927, St. Hadrian.
Amyas, 345, a young prince.
Antioche, 2229, Antiochia.
Antony, 1874, 1940, 1970, 2558, St. Antony.
Antony fice greffoun, 1998, 2435, 2476, *Torrent's* son.
Aragon, 1114, 1152, 1182, 1212, 1257, 1325, 2110 ; *Eragon*, 765.
Awsden, 1029, St. Austin.
- Be-gm-mese*, 101, a giant.
Berweyne, 344 ; see *Jakys*.
Brasille, 1450, a forest on the Norwegian coast.
- Calabur*, 847, 907, 952, 1059, 1320, 2113, Calabria.
Calamond, 1221, King of Portugal ;
Calomond, 2116, 2168 ; *Colomand*, 2104 ; *Colomond*, 1408, 2143.
Cardon, 1091, a town in Calabria.
Cargon, 1326, a town in Aragon.
Cute, 1238, 1254, 1293, 1593, a giant.
- Desonelle*, 109, 382, 446, 450, 478, 673, 795, 859, 985, 1102, 1135, 1161, 1359, 1393, 1703, 1780, 2006, 2059, 2077, 2092, 2173, 2401, 2424, 2500, 2509, 2523, 2533, 2587, 2614 ; King *Calamond's* daughter, *Torrent's* spouse ; *Dissonelle*, 1329 ; *Dysonelle*, 32.
- Elyoner*, 347, daughter of the King of *Gules*.
- Flonthus*, 1005, *Slonges of Flonthus*, a giant.
Fuolles, 748, *Slogus of Fuolles*, variation of the former name.
- Gales*, 346, 408, 417.
Gentres, 1747, daughter of the King of Norway.
George, 1677, St. George.
Grece, 2419, 2434, 2557, 2643, Greece.
Grekes, 79, 1282, 2179, 2645, Greeks.
Gryffen, 1215, St. Griffon.
- Hungry*, 970, Hungary.
- Jakys*, 344, *Jakys of Berweyne*, a young prince.
Jame, 744, 788, St. James.
Jerusalem, 1897, 1921, 1938, 2236, 2245, 2275, 2426, 2473, 2554, 2633.
Jesus, 134, 274, 537, 540, 675, 996, 1340, 1371, 1382, 1447, 1539, 1564, 1702, 1799, 1937, 1985, 1997, 2218, 2580 ; *Iesu Cryst*, 206, 529, 1275, 1832, 1852, 2664.
John, 1884, 2140, 2514, 2559, St. John.
- Katryn*, 2053, St. Catherine.
- Leobertus*, 1925, 2246, 2477, *Torrent's* son.
- Marre*, 85, 624 ; *Mary*, 136, 1308, 1565, 1646, 1888, 1906, 1946, 1969, 2098, 2311 ; *Marry*, 61, 259, 863.
Mawdeleyn, 489 ; *Mawdleyn*, 505, 737, Maudlin, name of a forest.
Mounpolyardnus, 716, the name of a sword.
Myhelle, 753, St. Michael.
- Nazareth*, 465, 2032, 2041, 2389, 2437, 2528.

- Norway*, 1370, 1377, 1412, 1417, 1759, 1781, 2083.
Nycholas de Barr, 1337, St. Nicholas de Bari; see the note.
- Peron*, 1776, 1830; *Perowne*, 659; *Perroun*, 412, a town in Portugal.
Pervens, 420, 1095, 1320; *Pervyns*, 868, 2113, Provence; *Provyms*, 397, 413.
Portingale, 1069, 1346, 2090, 2095, 2593; *Portyngale*, 1772, 2134, 2176, 2413, 2620; *Portynggalle*, 13, 25, 374, 399, 727, 763, 877, 883, 1255, Portugal.
- Quarelle*, 2182, 2415, a town in Syria.
- Raynes*, 2414, a town in Syria.
Rochense, 637, a giant.
Rome, 12, 118, 187, 190, 198, 558, 924, 1224, 1282, 1319, 1924, 2183, 2626, 2661.
- Samson*, 95, Samson.
Sarzins, 2232, Saracena.
Sathanas, 1237, Satan.
Slochys, 850; *Slogus*, 748; *Slonges*, 1005; *Slongus*, 967, a giant.
- Torrayne*, 26, Touraine.
Torren, 343.
Torrent, 34, 46, 49, 61, 91, 133, 148, 181, 200, 203, 217, 224, 230, 252, 280, 295, 302, 314, 392, 399, 432, 466, 470, 477, 480, 495, 504, 519, 528, 540, 556, 577, 585, 591, 621, 634, 642, 645, 648, 663, 670, 677, 681, 687, 691, 693, 699, 733, 739, 752, 768, 772, 819, 824, 825, 828, 834, 839, 843, 862, 877, 883, 896, 946, 957, 984, 987, 999, 1006, 1021, 1023, 1039, 1044, 1051, 1060, 1072, 1119, 1163, 1167, 1170, 1176, 1200, 1256, 1263, 1270, 1284, 1298, 1414, 1434, 1480, 1535, 1699, 1756, 1838, 1903, 2081, 2485, 2630; *Terrant*, 142; *Terrent*, 85; *Torent*, 157, 205, 756, 784, 1246, 1254, 1278, 1293, 1307, 1317, 1322, 1325, 1331, 1347, 1355, 1367, 1379, 1391, 1437, 1443, 1494, 1511, 1517, 1562, 1569, 1598, 1613, 1622, 1724, 1727, 1780, 1811, 2084, 2097, 2107, 2117, 2120, 2140, 2150, 2155, 2179, 2191, 2197, 2209, 2224, 2244, 2257, 2263, 2269, 2281, 2330, 2362, 2380, 2478, 2479, 2482, 2489, 2495, 2501, 2508, 2511, 2534, 2567, 2575, 2603, 2611, 2617, 2642, 2649; *Torrant*, 70, 76, 103, 241, 253, 364, 380, 657, 760, 840, 963; *Tyrrant*, 18.
- Velond*, 427, Veland the smith.
Verdownys, 305, 341, 410, son of the King of Provence.
- Weraunt*, 1650, a giant.

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