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EPIGRAMS, A.D. 1550; NOYCE OF THE LAST TRUMPET, A.D. I:55; PLEASURE AND PAYNE, A.D. 1551; WAY TO WEALTH, A.D. 1550;

AN INFORMACION AND PETICION.

## EDITED



BY

## J. M. COWPER,

EDITOR OF "ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH,"
'tie TIMES' WHISTLE, ETC.

## LONDON:

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OF THE OLD
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ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD.

## CONTENTS.



## INTRODUCTION.

Robert Crole, Croleus, Crowlæus, or Crowley, is said to have been born in Gloncestershire, 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 busimess for about three years, the latest production of his press bearing date 1551.' 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 searce, the more importantwork 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,

[^0]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 hold 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 honse. 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 wilh 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 or?er 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.
${ }^{3}$ Lausd. 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 (1508) 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. "Mis 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]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." ${ }^{2} \mathrm{He}$ 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, ${ }^{3}$ Cripplegate, 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. $9 \mathrm{ff} .157-162$; Ib. 982, ff. 94, 104; Writings of Bradford, Parker Society, ii. 207, n. 3 ; Tyndale's Answer to More, etc., Parker Society, p. 220 ; Fulke's Answers, Parker Society, p. 3 ; Strype's Eecles. Mem. ii. pt 2, pp. 465-472; Wood's Athence 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.

[^2]Taking these tracts in the order in which they stand in this volume we have-
(1.) One and Thyrtic 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 eopy which is known to be in existence.

Why " one and thirty" it is difficult to say, as there are "threo and thirty" in addition to "The Boke to the Reader." First the Abbeys 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 eneouraged 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. Tho 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 Abbeys, 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

[^3]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. Wre 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 convictious 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 officesthe "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 . . . . callyng al estats of

[^4]men to the ryght path of theyrr vocation, etc., printed in 1550 , is a kind of metrical sermon containing twelve lessons adlressed "to twelve several estates of men." Wood' says, "The said [Johu] 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 Loundes. The titlo given by Wood sounds very much like our "Yoice 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 wero 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 ho barks at the faults of men, he is unwilling to bite if he can accomplish any gool by barking. The aim of the Sermon is to inculeate 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 wero 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

[^5]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, speedstill to recreate the mind-were to bo made in shooting, bowling, casting the bar, tennis, tossing the ball, and running base liko men
of war ${ }^{1}$ (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. Covetons of gain and ignorant, he neglected the poor for the sake of the rich. A quarter of a century later, in Newes out of Powles Churchyarde, there was ground for similar charges. In the Newes 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 Newes 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 seventeentl century such athletic games were by no means "beseeming 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 namo 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 modifieation of the ancient game of Base. For further information, see Strutt's Sports and Pustimes.
${ }^{2}$ Neres out of Porles, se., Sat. 3 (1576). ${ }^{3}$ Sat. 2. ${ }^{4}$ p. 42. CROWLEY.

And sure I am when canse 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 Astrea 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 np , 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,

## ${ }^{1}$ Nenes 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 Dodleian copy. And here it may be remarked that, as far as punctuation and the use of capitals are coneerned, 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 plainty taught a most present Remedy for Sedicion, ${ }^{3}$ is the most important of Crowley's works, inasrauch 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 listory of the country during the twenty years which preceled the appearance of the Wr(y) 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; tho 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 punetuation 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 cony. 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 aud 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

[^6]dechare that, though oppressel and troiden maderfont, 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 cvil 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 viears 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. Churchnen were buss, luut it was in obtaining lands for their heirs and finc-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." Teligion 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 mulikely charge to he brought against a body of men who by their virtues and learning had not yet won the esteem of their comntrymen. 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 fur 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 TI. Of the many subjects which will have to be discussed, Crowley can see none demanding speedier attention than the oppressions under which the "pore commones" groaned, clergy and laity uniting to inflict the most ernel wrongs. Religious matters too demanded redress, becanse, 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, reccive 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 honses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of eovetous 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 tyramy" 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 handycrafts 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 thankfuluess 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 aliko 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 suceessful. 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 spinits," 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 enlightemment 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. MI. Cowper.

## Davington Hill, Faversham, 1871.

## N 0 TES.

Sunday drinking, \&e., 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 leauinesse. 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 indgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tanernes, streetes, fielles, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."-The Vnlaufvll Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Binisters, \&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.

## "Attenpted Sutcide thirougil the Stringent City Police Re-

 gulations.-Mery Am 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'sroad, 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 sho said that she was not drunk, she knew what she was about, and that it was her intentiou to commit the act.
"Sir Thomas Gabriel asked her why she did it.
"The Prisonor (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, industrions 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 limself.
"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 couk 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 foree did not permit them to live ontside 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 le 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 le should remand the prisoner, and in the mean time communicate witl 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 Alderınan 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, iu 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 tho City Police. There were model lodging-houses in plenty available as resideuces for policemen and their families; but they were beyond the City boundaries. Inspector Fonlger, 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 polico proper accommodation. Until we hear what Colonel Fraser las said to Sir Thomas Gabriel, and how this wonderful Gordian knot of Blue Tapo 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 hare 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 acconnt of this accident is given in the Anatomie of Abuses (p. 211) and several contemporary writers. See Halliwell's Areh. 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-glorions, 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 seo 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 Englund 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 beanty is greatly decored." -Anatomic of Abuses, 1836, p. 55. See also The Times' Whistle, pp. $24,34$.

Dress, pp. 44, 45. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the Anatomic 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 tho 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 that ${ }^{1}$ myself had late."

Taylor's Works, folio, 280, and note.
Lavyers, p. 82 ; Judges, p. 84. Consult The Utopia, Ballads from MSS, England in the Reign of Henmy VIII., Latimer's Sermons, Newes out of Powles Churchyarde, \&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 Tane. 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 cousult the Geueral Index to the Parker Society's Publications.

Poor in London, p. 116. "There is a certain city in Ailgna ${ }^{2}$ called Munidnol ${ }^{3}$ 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 leads, 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 rarged, shoeless young urchin of about 13 , with long matted hair, and with hands and features almost

[^7]untraceable through the dirt by which they were begrimed, was brought before Mr Yanghan, clarged 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 twelvo o'clock at night. IIe said a chap gave him the box to take to a coffeehouse in Hart-street, but he was walking in the opposite direction.
"It was proved that the box contained cut flowers worth $2 l$. 2s., and had been stolen from a van belonging to Mr Reeve, florist, Acton.
"Mr Vaughau, to prisoner.- Where do you live?
"Prisoner.-I don"t live nowheres.
"Have you no friends in London?-No; I ain"t got no frienils.
"But where do you sleep at niglits?--Under the show-board agin the Lycemm Theatre.
"Mr Vauglan.-What does he say?
"Gaoler.-He says he sleeps under the large posting board in front of the Lyceum Theatre.
"Mr Vanghan.-Do you mean by that you sleep there every night?
"Prisumer.-No, I dun'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 ont 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?--Orer a boot-shop in Red Lion-strect. I don't know the number.
"What is your futher? 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 Sterens, a boy in rags, eleven years of age, was charged under the Iudustrial 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 sinco the Elementary Elucation 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 askerl hin 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 tho New Cut, Lambeth; that his father was 'sometimes an engineer aud
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 usc. 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 gnardianslip, 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 reccived an admonition from the Bench."

The reader may also consult Mr Furnivall's Ballats from MISS., 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 enen our plough boyes know it to be a common practise almost euery 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 nake some rescruation of the tithes and glebeland, as it were a rent, \& many times all these practises be vsed togither, whose rauenous teeth, and also the paiment 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 done, hath brought the churehmen vnto such an chbe, that after their
death their executours doe not blesse them, except it be certaine of them which have sundry benefices."- $A$ Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By Way Of Sepplication, To The IIigh Corrt Of Parliament, For A Learned Ministery. 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 Froulde's Mistory, 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," \&e. This "Informacion and Peticion" 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 II. VIII., c. 9, 1545. See Four Supplications, pp. 82, 84.


## a (1)ne and

thortue 毛pigrammes, $\mathfrak{m b r e c t a}$ ate<br>Groffog toutyro so manv Abuss, that<br>mave and ought to be gut away.<br>Compileo and Emprinter liv<br><br>lyurg in 毛lue rentes<br><br>Anno bominí, 1550.

x. Cor, xiiii.

OWhat ar cuce ge on, let the same be Dome to cotite fonthatl.

ตัula. $\dot{x}^{1}{ }^{1}$
 be the scramunt of Christe.

Orig. vi,
[Leaf 1, Zack, is a blank.]

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## The Boke to the Reader.

I
F bokes may be bolde

If books may reprove faults
The faultes of all menne,boeth hyghe and lowe,
As the Prophetes dydwhom Gods Spirite did moue,

## 4

as the Prophets
did, do not blame
the Author.
Than blame not myne Autor;for right well I knowe8
Hys penne is not tempered vayne doctrine to sowe,
But as Esaye hath bydden, so muste he nedes crye, ..... 12Esai. 58.
And tell the Lordes people of their iniquitie.
Nowe, if I do the worldelinges
He must tell the people of their sins.
If I offend men ..... 16
In that I reproue them
for their wyckednes,
It is a plaine tokenthey wyll not emende.20
I take all the wyse men of the earth to wytnes
To them; therfore mine Autor biddeth me confesse, ..... 24
it is clear they will not amend;
[leaf s , back]
and since they will not, he accounts them brands of hell.

## He has not

 written for such as will not amend,xcept to tell them they will go to the deril,
$:$
but for such as have no delight in wickedness,
[leaf 4]
and such as reform when they hear their faults.

Such will take the warning in good part.
That, sith they be determined styll in their synne to dwell, He accounteth them no better than fire brandes of hell. ..... 28
Wherefore he bade me bid themholde them contente;
He hath not written to themthat will not emende;32
For to the willinge wicked no prophete shall be sente, Excepte it be to tell them that, at the laste ende, ..... 36
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. To suche onely, therfore, I muste his message do, ..... 44
As haue not their delitein wickednes to dwell ;But when they lieare their fault,are sorye they dyd so,48
And louingely imbrace suche men as do them tell ;
Reformynge euermoretheir 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. ..... 56Iohn .viii.He that is of God, heareth theworde of God.Finis.
[leaf 4, back, is a blank]
[leaf 5]

## Of Abbayes.

AS I walked alone, and mused on thynges That have 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 hane found godly prechers, which might well have ladde
The people aright
that now go astraye,
And have fedde the pore, that famishe enerye daye. 76
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 hane,
Nor yet to be prouided for, but styll in vayne to craue. 84
Than sayde I (O Lorde God) make this tyme shorte, For theyr sake onlye, Lorde, Math. 24, that be thy chosen sorte.88

## Of Alehouses.

We must have houses for refreshment.

But in each hamlet and town they have becomo places of waste,
[leaf 6]
and are so placed that a man must pass them on his way to church.

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

A commen. dation of London. ${ }^{1}$ London is not so bad.

In service time alehonses are shut up.

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

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 ;

Iea, and men accompted wyse
and honeste do so.
112

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

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 !
How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende
In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende?
Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe,
Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe.
But he doeth make holye the Sabothe in dede,
That heareth Goddes worde, and helpeth suche as nede.

## Of Allayes.

The one agaynste the lawe, and the other againste kinde.
The firste is where bowlinge forbidden, men vse,
And, wastynge theyr goodes, do their laboure refuse.
But in London (alas!) some men are deuillishelye
Suffered to professe it, as an arte to lyue by.
Well, I wyll saye no more, but suche as lyue so,
And officers that suffer them, shall togither go
${ }^{1}$ Orig. Mat.

Would that the country would do so.

## 124

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

Luke ${ }^{1}$ xiii.
He keeps it best who does works of need.

Two sorts of alleys in Lon-don-
bowling-alleys, in which men waste their goods.144

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,
Exo. xxiii.
Allayes
agaynste
Ryude.

The other sort of alleys make a man weep.

In them are poor beggars innumerable.
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 sanctifie,
In beynge well occupied, and not idlelye.
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 have al thinges prouided aright.
Alas! is not thys a greate ouer syght ? ..... 172
Ye Aldermen and other, that take Allaye rente,
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 tolle;
For the charitie of rich men
is nowe thorowe colde.
And this is a Citye
in name, but, in dede,
It is a paeke 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.

## Of Almes Houses.

AMarchaunte, 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?

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

192
Loke the definition of a Citie, you [leat 8] that be
lerned. The City is a pack of people all seeking gain.

It is a hell without order, where every man is for himself.

A merchant returning to his country
had to pass an hospital,

[^8]so rich that beg-
gars' houses are so fine?"

He soon saw a beggar, who told him they were all turned out.

Rich men had bought the place.

The merchant had never seen such cruelty even in Turkey.
[leaf 9$]$

A Bailiff of the West Country, in serving his writs,
excused those who bribed him.

A pore manne that craued
of hym for charitie. ..... 224
Whye (quod thys Marchaunt)what meaneth thys thynge?
Do ye begge by the waye, and haue a house for a kyng? ..... 228
Alas!syr (quod the pore man) we are all turned onte,
And lye and dye in corners, here and there aboute. ..... 232
Men of greate riches haue bought our dwellinge place, And whan we craue of them, they turne awaye their face. ..... 236
Lorde God! (quod this marchaunt) in Turkye haue I bene,
Yet emonge those heathen none such crueltie haue I sene. ..... 240

The vengeaunce of God
muste fall, no remedye,

Vpon these wicked men,
and that verye shortelye.
244
The vengeaunce of God and ..... 4

## Of Baylife Arrantes.

Of Baylife Arrantes.
A Baylife there was
in the weste contrey,
That dyd as they doin all quarters, men saye.248
He serued with one wrytean whole score or tweyne,And toke in hand to excuse them,252

> Than, by the waye syde, hym chaunced to sehauinge pence for his payne.
And when he should warne a gruest
in sessions to appeare,
He woulde surely warne them
that woulde make hym no cheare;
And then take a bribe
to make answere for them.
But when he mette his frendes,
than woulde he saye but, hem;
But such as had no cheare,
nor money to paye,

## Of Bawdes.

NHe bawdes of the stues
But some think they inhabit al England through out.
[leaf 10] but they may bo found in taverns, if officers would seek them.

It is horrible to fall into the Lord's hands. Mebr. [x.]

Beggars whom need compels ought to have relief,
ut sham ones should labour,
[leaf 10, back]
as befits Chris. tians.

2 Thess. ${ }^{1} 3$. If they refuse, let them fast.

The sick ought to be cared for.

In tauerns and tiplyng 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

An homible thynge it is, for to fall
Into that Lordis handis, that is eternall.296

## Of Beggers.

THe beggars, whome nede
Ought at our handis
some reliefe to haue;
But such as do counterfayt, haueynge theyr strength
To labour if they luste, beyng knowne at the length,304

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

And if they refuse to worcke for theyr meate,
Then ought they to faste, as not worthy to eate.
And such as be sore,
and wyll not be bealed,
Oughte not in any case to be charished.316

I heard of two beggars
that vnder an helge 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 colle ayre ;
For then it loketh rawe, and as redde as any bloud,
I woulde not have 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 ;
Wherfore, 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 thynge I hearde of a begger that was lame,
Muche like one of these, if it were not the same;352

336

Of troe
beggars.
Two beggars sat talking under a hedge.
"My leg is fair," said one;
"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,340
and I should have to work."
"Let us be care-
ful," said the other, " to keep 'em sore."

348

Another beggar
[leaf 11, back]
began to wonder when he should be a husband.

He had gained
18. $4 d_{\text {. }}$, and spent
18. 6 . that day.

Bnt he must drink to make his tongue wag.

But still give to all. If they deceive, you will have your reward.
Who, syttinge by the fire,- wyth the cuppe in his hande,
Began to wonder whan
he shoulde be a good husbande. ..... 356
"I shall neuer thriue" (quod this begar) "I wene; and hane spente eyghtene. ..... 360
Well, let the worlde wagge, we muste neades haue drynke ;
Go fyll me thy's quarte pot, full to the brynke. ..... 364
The tonge muste haue bastynge,it wyll the better wagge,
To pull a Goddes penye out of a churles bagge." ..... 368
Yet cesse not to gyue to all,wythoute anye regarde ;
Thoughe the beggers be wicked, thou shalte haue thy rewarde. ..... 372

## Of Bearbaytynge.

What a folly to
keep a dog and a bear
[leaf 12]
to see them fight!

But they are the biggest fools who have little money

WHat follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger, A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare?
And to thys onelye ende, to se them two fyght,
Wyth terrible tearynge, a full ouglye syght.
And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all,

Whose store of money is but verye smale,

And yet euerye Sondaye
they will surelye spende
One penye or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.
At Paryse garden, celie Sundaye a man shall not fayle
To fynde two or thre hundredes, for the bearwardes vaile.
One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue,
When some haue no more in their purse, I beliene.
Well, at the laste daye, theyr conscience wyll declare
That the pore ought to haue all that they maye spare.
For God hath cemmaunded, that what we maye spare
Be geuen to the pore, that be full of care.

396
and jet give to the bearward every Sunday.
Parise
garden.

392
They give him a halfpenny, and perhaps that is all they have.

The poor ought to have 400 spare. [leaf 12, back]
Eccles. ${ }^{1} 4$.

If you give it, therefore, to se a beare fyght,
Be ye sure Goddes curse wyl vpon you lyght.408

## Of Brawlers.

ABrawler, 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 ou.

[^9]A brawler is like a cur
that sets upon a mastiff,

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and meets with
his master now
and then.
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He is profitable to the surgeon and the gaoler.

If he escape Tybarn he will lang in hell.
He getteth hym hatered of euerye manne;
euer nowe and than. ..... 420
To hurte other menne, he taketh greate payne;
He turneth no manne to profite or gayne ; ..... 424
Except it be the surgian, or the armore,
The baylife, the constable, or the jayler. ..... 428
This is a worthye membrein a commune wealthe,
That to worcke other wowill lose his orme health.432
What other men will iudge, I can not tell ;
But, if he scape Tiburne, I thinke he wyll hange in hell. ..... 436
Of Blasphemous Swerers
The son of Sirach says

$$
E c c l[e] s
$$ [ $x x]$ iii.

a swearer shall be filled with iniquity.
[leaf 13, back]

THe sonne of Syrach wryteth playnelye Of suche menne as do sweare blasphemouselye.440
"The manne that sweareth muche shall be fylled," sayeth he,

"Wyth all wicked maners,
and iniquitie. ..... 444
In the house of that mannethe plage shall not cease;
He shalbe styll plagedeither more or les."448
Christo byddeth all his

Christ told us to
say yea and nas.
affirme and denie, Wyth yea, yea; nay, nay; affirmyng no lye.452"Whatsoeuer ye ad more" (saith he) " cometh of iuell,
And is of the wyeked suggestion of the deuyll." ..... 456
But we can not talkewythouten othes plentye.Some sweare by Gods nayles,hys herte, and his bodye;460And some sweare [by] his fleshe,his bloule, and hys fote;
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 ;
By the crosse of the mouse fote,and by saynte Chyekyn.And some sweare by the Diuell,such is theyr blyndeues;472Math.v.some by the
devil.
Not knowyng that they callthese thynges to wytnes,476
Of their consciences, in that they affirme or denye.
So boeth sortes commitMoste abhominable blasphemie.480

## Of the Colier of Croydon.



It would be well if knights cared no more for coaling than this collier did for knighting, [leaf 14, back]
for since they have sold coals we have paid more and had less.

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

TT is sayde, that in Croydon
there dyd sometyme dwell
A Colier, that dyd all other Coliers excell. 484
For his riches thys Colier
myght hame bene a knight;
but he would not. But in the order of knighthode he hadde no delyght.488
Woulde God all our knightes 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
But sence oure Knyght Colyarshave had the fyrste sale,
We have payed much moneyand had fewe sackes to tale.500
A lode that of late yeres for a royall was solde, 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
And especially the Colyarthat at Croydon doth sell;
For men thyncke he is cosento the Colyar of Hell.512

## Of Commotionars.

$\nabla^{1}$Hen the bodye is vexed, through humors corrupted, To restore it to helth those humours muste be purged.
[leaf 15]
When ill humours corrupt the body

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.
Euen so doth it fare by the weale publyke,
Whych chaunceth to be often diseased and sycke,
Through the mischeuouse malice of such men as be
Desyrouse to breake the publyke unitie.
Eche publyke bodye must be purged therfore,
Of these rotten humours, as is sayed before.
Els wyll it decay, as do the bodyes naturall,
When rotten humours haue infected them ouer all.

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,

524532536540
it must decay, except God give health.

So it is with the
Commonwealth,528
ch is often diseased.

The public body must be purged of its humours,
[leaf 15, back]
etse it will decay.

If it cannot be purged,
That by purgation, no health can be wroght: ..... 548
Then must there be sought
some easjar waye,
To kyl the strength of those humors : 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 kyll
The powr of those rebelles, and let them of theyr wyll. ..... 560
And that must be by cherishyngthe humours naturall,
And by quickenyng agayne of the spirites ritall; ..... 564
Whych, in the commune wealth, are the subiectes trew,
That do alwaye study sedition to escherv. ..... 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 wrll it bytyde of such men as be,580

In the Commune wealth, geuen rato sedition,

When they se they can not finyshe theyr intention.
[leaf 16, back] Their nower lies in the ignorance of the people.

Excepte the tyme be come that the bodye muste dye ;
For than there canne be found no maner remedy.
God graunte that our synne haue not broughte vs so lowe,
That we be paste cure :
God onelye 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.

## Of Commen Drunkardes.

[leaf 17]

1 Saye lamenteth, and sayeth, "oute, alas!
Muche wo shall betide you,
that do youre tyme passe
In eatinge and drinckynge, from morninge to nighte,

| because the Jews rose up early to drink like beasts. | 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 |
|  | But if he were nowe liuyng, and sawe this worlles state, |  |
| If he saw our drunkards he would see they did not rise early, but sat up late. | He wold saye this of our drunkards, that sytte vp so late. | 624 |
|  | For fewe of oure drunckardes do vse to rise earelye ; |  |
|  | But muche of the nighte they wyll drincke lustelye. | 628 |
| i. Cor. $v .{ }^{1}$ | Well, Sainte Paule doeth warne all that be of pure mynde, |  |
| [leaf 17, back] | To anoide drunckardes company, where so euer they do them finde. | 632 |
| 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 driuking. | 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.

Olomon the sage,
in Sapience doeth saye,
That the mouthe that lyeth doeth the verye soule sleye. 644
If the murderer of bodies
be worthye to dye,
${ }^{1}$ Orig. i.

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

## Of Dicears.

EMonge wyttye saiynges, this precept I finde,
To auoid and fle dice (mi son) haue euer in mynde.

Cato advised to flee dice-playing, Cato. 668
For diceynge 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.676

God knoweth to what ende
he suffereth thys thing;

## perhaps to reward them in hell.

At dice both intend to get others' goods.

Prodigality and covetousness reign in both.
[leaf 19]
If dicing is not sinful,
the oaths and the misspent time will be the condemnation of the players.
Perchaunce to rewarde them wyth hel at their endynge. ..... 680
For cloubtlesse those goodes are gotten amisse,
That are gotten from him that prodigall is ; ..... 684
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
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
But thys I dare saye,that though dyceyng were no sin,
Nor the goodis mysgoten,that men do ther at wynne ;704
Yet the othes that they swere,and the tyme myspent,
Shall be theyr damnacion,mnlesse they repent.708
Leaue of your vayne dyceyng, ye dycers, therefore,
For vnlesse ye repent, God hath rengeaunce in store ; ..... 712
And when ye thynke least,then wyl he pour it oute,

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

## Of Double Benificed Men.

THe kynge of that realme, where instice doeth reygne,
Perused olde statutis, that in bokis remayne.
And as he turned the boke, him chaunced to se, That such as haue benifices shoulde resident be ;
And haue theyr abydyng, whyles theyr lyfe shoulde endure,
Emong them, ouer whome God hath geuen them cure.
Then sayed he to him selfe, "I thyncke well there is
No lawe in thys realme worse obserued then this.
Yet can there nothynge My flocke more decaye,
Then when hyrelynges suffer My shepe go astraye."
Then called he his councell And tolde them his mynde,
And wrlled that they shoulde some remedy fynde.
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,728740

God will make
them stoop un-

A certain king looked over some statutes which said benefieed men should be resident.
[leaf 19, back]
724

He thought no
law was so littlo observed.732736

He called his Couneil, should disobey this law.

| [leat 20$]$ | Vnlesse they were founde thorowe wyllynge to amende. | 748 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The visitors <br> found only one <br> priest who would <br> Osee .iiii. | These visitours found many stout priestes, but chieflye one |  |
|  | That hadde sondrye benifices, 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 |  |
| He was brought to the king, and pleaded the royal "grant of a plur:uity | Menne hauing my power? |  |
|  | Syr, what can you saye?" | 760 |
|  | "If it mai like your grace," (quod he) <br> " 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 benifices styll?" | 768 |
| and said if he had right he must keep them for his lifetime. [leaf 20 , back] | "If your grace do me ryghte," (quod he) <br> "I must haue them my life tyme." |  |
|  | "So shalt thou," (quod the kynge) <br> "for to morow by pryme, | 772 |
|  | God wyllynge, thy body shalbe diuided, and sent, |  |
|  | To ech benifice a piece, to make the resident. | 776 |
|  | Away wyth hym" (quod the kyng) " and let al thyngis be done, |  |
| " So shalt thou; for to-morrow thy body shall be divided, and part sent to each bencfice, | As I haue geuen sentence, to morow ere none. | 780 |
|  | For syth thou arte a stout ${ }^{1}$ priest, an example thou shalt be, ${ }^{1}$ stont in original. |  |

## That all stouburne priestes

may take warnyng by the."

## 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
But the ministers of that court dyd longe, and many a daye,
Take brybes to bare with suche men as should forfaytis pay.
At the laste, to the Kyng this theyr falshode was tolle,
By suche as about hym, were faythfull and bolde.
Then dyd the Kyng sende for these ministers ill,
And layde all theyr faltes before them in a byll.
Then were they abashed, and had nought to saye,
But cryed for hys perdon; but he bade, "Awaye;
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 prisone,

796
that all may take warning."

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

The officers took bribes.
[leaf 21]

When the king heard of it he sent for them.

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

## Of Flaterars.

A flatterer is worse than an enemy.
$i i_{.} R e, i i i_{.}$
f Abner had known Joab's heart
he wonld have avoided him.
[leaf 22]

Trust open enemies if you like.

A Flatterynge frende $\begin{aligned} & \text { is worse then a foe; }\end{aligned}$
For a frende is betrusted, when the other is not so. 824
Of an open enimie, a man may be ware;
When the flatteryng frend wyl worcke men much care. 828
For if Abner had knowne what was in Ioabs harte, I do not doubt but he would haue out of his waye sterte; 832
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 adnertise al men to be ware
Of all flatterynge frendis, that bring men to care. 840
As for open ennimies, trust them if ye wryll ;
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 flatterynge and lewde harlot; 852

Whych thynge may at the lengthe be theyr owne decaye;
For if the wynde turne, the flatterars wyll awaye.
The swallowe in sommer wyll in your house dwell ;
But when wynter is commynge, she wyll saye farewell.
And when the short dayes begyn to be colde,
Robinredbrest wil come homs to ye, and be very bolde ;
as the swallow leaves man in wiuter,
[leaf 22, back] and the robin in the summer.

But when summer returneth, and bushes wax grene,
then Robyn your man wyll no more be sene.
So some of your flattera[r]s wyll in prosperitie,
be of your householde, and of your family ;
And some other wyl, when nede doth them payne, you when they are poor.
Sue to do you seruice, tyll they be welthy agayne.876

## Of Foles.

> THe Preachar sayeth thus,
[leaf 23]
Some natural fools understand nothing;
the biggest fools of all think themselves wisest.

They meddle with everybody's business,
and allow no man to speak.
[leaf 23, back]

If you tell them of their faults they'll fight.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { is better then an olde Kynge, } \\
& \text { whose wytte is but badde." }
\end{aligned}
$$

The wyse man in pouertie is ryght honourable, Whan the fole in his ryches, is worthy a bable. ..... 884

Some foles there be of nature, that vnderstande nought;
Some other voderstand thynges, but haue euer in theyr thought, 888
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 doyngesthey wyll euer dyprease,

For other can do nought that may theyr mynde please.900
And, further, they thynckeit becometh them well,
in euery mans matterthem 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
Of theyr owne dedis and goodes,they wyll bragge and boaste,And declare all theyr mishaps,and what they haue loste.912If 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;
And what soener 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.All wise men, take hede,and shumne theyr companye,
For of all other men,they are most vngodly.932
Of Forestallars.
T He fryses of Walis
to Brystowe are brought;But before thei were wouen,in Walis they are bought;936So that nowe we do payefoure grotes, or els more,For the fryse ${ }^{1}$ we have boughtfor eyght pens heretofore.940
And some saye the wouleis bought ere it do growe,And the corne long beforeit come in the mowe.944
And one thyng there isthat hurteth moste of all ;
${ }^{1}$ Orig. "fryfe"


The clerk of the market will punish these engrossers and forestallers.

When he went away his servant told us not to seek our own profit.
i. Cor. $x$.

Reucrsions of fermes are bought long ere they fall.
And ryght so are benifices in euery coaste,
So that persons and vicars kepe neyther sodde nor roste. 952
The pore of the paryshe, whome the person shoulde fede,
Can haue nought of oure tythis, to sucuoure theyr nede. 956
Reuersions 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
Well, let thes forestallars repent them bytyme,
Leste the clarke of the market be wyth them ere pryme.
For he, when he cometh, wyll punysh them all,
That do any nedeful thynge ingrose or forestall. 972
For well I wotte thys, when he went laste awraye,
He sent vs his seruaunt, and thus dyd he saye.976

Se that emong you none scke his owne gayne,
But profyte ech other wyth tranayle and payne.

## Of Godlesse Men.

HOlye Dauid, that was
boeth propheth and kinge,
Sawe in hys tyme
(as appeareth by hys wrytynge)
David in his time saw wicked men,

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.992

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.1000

They are (sayeth he) corrupt, and nought in all theyr wayes,

So now there are men more carnal than ever.


Isaiah would curse them apace for calling evil good, and good Esai. $v$. evil.
leaf 26]

If they find anything in the Bible
they will none of it if it do not agree with their fancy.

They say they lave no souls.

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

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

## Of Idle Persons.

IDlenes hath ben cause of much wyckednes,
As Ecclesiasticus
doeth playnely wytnes,
1056

Idle persons, therfore, 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 wroght, Wythin this lyttle whyle,
By idle men that dyd the commons begyle;
And what haue idle men alwaye 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 seruauntis in London.

1072 [Leaf 27] 1076

1052 1064

1068
and the abbeys.
as was seen in Sodom, 1060

Ecctes, 33.
Idleness causes much wickedness, ,
[leaf 26 , back] and they will find Him strong.

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    -
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Now idle persons hatch conspiracies.
let every man see
for himself.

It is the gate of all mischief.

You masters, keep your families,
[leaf 27, back]
for they are committed to your charge.

Would that magistrates would set men to work!

This realm has three commodities, wool, tin, and lead, which should be wrought at home.

Some men delight to invent news

Let eueri man search his owne houshold well, And whether the thynge 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
Idlenes, therfore, maye ryghte well be named
The gate of all mischiefe that euer was framed. ..... 1092
Ye masters and fathers, therfore, that feare God omnipotent, Kepe youre families, leaste ye be shente ; ..... 1096
For if thorowe their idlenes
they fall into outrage,
Your iudgemente shall be strayght,for they are committed to your charg.1100
Kepe them, therfore, styll occupied,in doynge youre busines,
Or els in readynge or hearynge some bokes of godlines. ..... 1104
And woulde God the maiestrates woulde se men set a-worke, And that within thys realme none were suffered to lurke. ..... 1108
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.Ome 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;
And what thyng the Scottesdo nowe take in hande ;1120What the Kynge and his counsell,do intende to do ;
Though for the most parteit be nothynge so.1124
Such men cause the people,that els woulde be styll,
To murmour and grudge,whych thyng is very ill.
Yea, sometyme they causethe people to ryse,
And assemble them selfein most wycked wyse.
In Plato hys common wealth,such men shoulde not dwell,
For poetes and oratoures
he dyd expell. ..... 1136
Oh ! that these newes bryngarshad for theyr rewarde,Newe halters of hemppe,to sette them forwarde!1132which for themost part isuntrue.
1128 the people murmur.
We save the experience of thys of late.Such men make

Plato expelled all poets and orators from his commonwealth.
To punysh all such men as dyd fautes commit ; ..... 1144
a man was
accused of using
tithes for private
purposes.

He was deprived of all his goods,
[leaf 29]
which were divided among the poor,
Iucob ii.
and then he was hanged.
Then was there a manbefore hyr accused,For tythes that he toke,and priuately vsed.1148
When dewe proufe was had, and the thyng manifeste,
The wyttnesses sworne, and the treaspace confeste; ..... 1152
Then gane the iudge iudgement and these wordes he spake :-
"Se that from this caytyfe ye do all his goodes take ; ..... 1156
For seynge he made that priuate, that commune shoulde be,
by the iudgment of me. ..... 1160
Those pore men, that by the tithesshoulde be releued,Shal haue all his goodesemonge them diuided.1164
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.

So he sent for a preacher.

0F late a leasemongar of London laye sycke, And thynckyng to dye, his conscience dyd him pricke.1172
Wherefore he sayde thuswyth hym selfe secretly,"I wyll sende for a preachar,to knowe what remedy."1176
But whilse he thus laye,he fell in a sloumber,and sawe in his dreamepore folke a greate number,Whoe sayde they had learned thysat the preachars hande,
To paye all wyth patience,that theyr landlordes demaunde.
For they for theyr sufferaunce,in such oppression,
Are promised rewarde
in the resurrection.
Where such men as take leasesthem selues to aduaunce,
Are sure to haue hell- by ryght inheritaunce.1192
Of Marchauntes.

IF Marchauntes wold medle wyth marchaundice onely, And leate 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. ..... 1200But syth they take fermes,to let them out agayne,
To such men as muste hate them, though it be to theyr payn : ..... 1204
And to leauye greate fines, or to ouer the rent,
And do purchayse greate landes,
And do purchayse greate landes,If merehantswould let farmsalone it wouldbe well.1184
beeause they would be re-1188 warded in the resurrection, but leasemongers are sure of hell.

Then he drean ed that poor folks said they had learned to pay what landlords demanded,
[leaf 29 , back]


## They are unprofitable.

They also lend money to young merchants.

What is the remedy?

The Lord will have them in mind,
[leaf 30, back]
and they will get judgment without merey.
Iacob .ii.

> We muste nedes cal them membres vnprofitable, As men that woulde make all the Realme miserable.1212
Howe they leaue theyr trade, and lende oute theyr money,

To yonge marchaunte men,
for greate vsurie ;
1216
Whereby some yonge men are dreuen to leaue all,

And do into moste extreme
pouertie fall, ..... 1220
It greucth me to wryte.but what remedy?
They muste heare theyr faute, syth they be so greedye. ..... 1224
And thus I saye to them,and trewe they shall it fynde,
The Lorde wyll have all theyr iuell doynges in mynde. ..... 1228
And at the laste daye, when they shall aryse,
All shall be layed playne before theyr owne eyes, ..... 1232
Where iudgemente shall be geuen,as Saynte Iames doeth wytnes,
Wythoute all morcyeto suche as be merciles1236
Of Men that haue Diuers Offices.

In Rome ambition was punished with exile,


Han the Citye of Rome was ruled aryght, As aunciente autours do recorde and wryte 1240

Ambition was punished wyth vtter exile;

Yet were there some that dyd venter some whyle.
yet some ven. tured to return.

But we reade not of anye that ener wente aboute,
To have two offices at once, were they neuer so stoute.
But, alas ! in this Realme, we counte hym not wyse,
That seketh not by all meanes that he canne deuise,
To take offices togither, wythoute anye staye.
But Christe shal saie to these menne at the laste daye,
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.

THe sonne of Sirache of women doeth saye,
That theire nicenes \& hordom
The son of Sirach says, a woman Eccles. 26. may be known by wanton looks.

1252

At the last day Christ will de256 Luke .xvi. mand an account of your steward. ship.
[leaf 31]
But none seem to have had two 1248 to have had wo they do here.

By there wanton lokes, And lyftynge vp of eyes,
And their lokinge ascoye,
in most wanton wise.1272
is perceiued alwaye 1268

| Eccles, $x i[x]$. | And in the same |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Iesus Syrach, I fynde |  |
| He also says that the walk and the [leaf 31, back] | That the gate and the garment do declare the mynde. | 1276 |
| dress declare the mind. | If these thynges be trew, (as, no doubt, they be) |  |
| If so what are re to think of the London women? | 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 |
| " If gait and garments show anything, ourwives sarpass all whores. | And if gate and garmentes do shewe any thynge, |  |
|  | Our wiues do passe their whoris in whorelyke deckynge. | 1288 |
|  | I thynk the abhominable whores of the stews |  |
|  | Dyd neuer more whorelyke attyrementes vse. | 1292 |
| Their caps are like a sow's maw; | The cappe on hyr heade is lyke a sowes mawe; |  |
|  | Such an other facion I thynk neuer Iewe sarre. | 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 their hair won't dye they buy new, and lay it out in tussocks, | If theyr heyre wyl not take colour, then must they by newe, |  |
|  | And laye it oute in tussockis: this thynge is to true. | 1304 |
| one on each side as big as a ball. | At ech syde a tussocke, as bygge as a ball,- |  |
|  | A very fayre syght for a fornicator bestiall. | 1308 |

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.
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 dearlye solde. $132 \pm$
Of all their other trifles, I wyll saye nothynge,
Leaste I have but small thanckes, for thys my writynge. 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.styll.

1336
Therr faces are painted, their bosons bare.

Their waists are braced in, 1316
and their bums like a barrel.

Shoes must not touch the dirt.

Rings on fingers.
[leaf 32, back]

All modest matrons will, I hope, take my part.

I have said they are whorelike, and so they are.

## Of Obstinate Papistes.

AN obstinate papiste, that was sometyme a frier,

A friar so desired to wear his friar's coat

## Hadde of his friers cote

so greate a desire,
that he went to Louvain to put it on.
[leaf 33]

Would God all the Papists were with him!

Unless they can burn the Bible they will despair.

God grant that they may take their natural prince for their head, and forsake the Pope.

## Of Rente Raysers.

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

That he stale out of England,
and wente to Louayne,

And gate his fryers cote
on his foles backe agayne. ..... 1344
A wilfull beggarthis papist wyl be,A fole and a fryer,and thus is one man thre.1348
Would God all the papistis, that he lefte behynde,
Where wyth him in fryc[r]s cotis accordyng to theyr kynde; ..... 1352
Or els I woulde they were wyth theyr father the Pope,
For whylse they be in England, thei do but lyue in hope. ..... 1356
And excep[t] they myght getthe Bible boke burned,Into dispeyre theyr hopewyl shortly be turned.1360
God graunte them the gracethis hope to forsake,
And their naturall pryncefor theyr heade to take ;1364
Forsakinge the Pope,wyth al hys peltrye,
Whiche of longe tymethey haue sette so much by.1368
A Manne that had landes, of tenne pounde by yere, Surueyed the same, and lette it out cleare ; ..... 13 I 2

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.
For thys thynge, he sayde, full certayne he wyste,
That wyth hys owne he myghte alwayes do as he lyste. 1384
But immediatlye, I trowe thys oppressoure fyl sicke
Of a voyce that he harde, "geue accountes of thy baliwicke!"1388
Of Vayne Wryters, Vaine Talkers.
and Vaine Hearers.

$0^{r}$F late, as I laye, and lacked my reste,
At suche time as Titan drewe faste to the Easte,
Thys sayinge of Christe came into my minde,
Whyche certayne and true all maner menne shall fynde :-
Of euerye idle worde ye shall geue a rekeninge;
Be it spoken by mouthe, or put in wrytynge.
O Lorde (thought I then) what case be th[e]y in,
That talke and write vaynely, And thinke it no synne?

1396 1392 1400
[leaf 34 ]
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!1404

When he was told it was dangerous to oppress his tenants, he said he could do as he liked with his own.

But he soon died.
Luke .xvi,

I thought I saw three vain men condemned and punished.
[leaf 34, back] The writer's head was opened, and the talker stirred his brains with a stick;
while the writer pulled the talker's tongue out a hand-length;
and the listener's ears were pulled almost up to his eyes.
Than slombred I a little,
and thoughte that I sawe
Thre sortes of vayne menne condempned by Gods lawe. ..... 1408
The one was a wryter, of thynges nought and vayne,
And an other a talker; And thys was theyr payne: ..... 1412
The wryter hadde the crowneof hys heade opened,
Whose braynes wyth a styckethe talker styrred;1416
And he wyth boeth handesdrewe the talkers tonge,
So that wythout hys mouthe it was an handefull longe. ..... 1420
The thirde was an herkenerof fables and lyes,Whose eares were almostdrawen vp to his eyes.1424
Of Vnsaciable Purchasers.

A rich man rode out, and had only a. boy with him.
"Jack, I have bought this ground."
"Marry, men say your purchase is great, but your household small."

AN vnreasonable ryche man dyd ryde by the way, Who, for lacke of menne, hadde wyth hym a boye. 1428
And as he paste by a pasture most pleasaunte to se,
" Of late I haue purchasid thys grounde, Iacke," quod he. 1432
"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 have 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."

## Of Vsurars.

ACertaine man had landes, little thoughe it were; And yet wold faine hane 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 laude that was solde.
Than came there a broker, and sayde if he woulde do
As he woulde aduise hym, he shoulde make of one penye 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 sufficiente ${ }^{1}$ gage alwaye,
Wyth a playne bill of sale; if the day be not kept,
And se that ye do no causis accepte.1468
[leaf 35]
"Why, Jaek, would they have me buy and keep a great house too?"

Luk. xiiii.
"I don't know why they brawlthey say you buy the devil and his dam."

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

A broker came and offered to tell him how to make twopence oi a penny.
[leaf 35, back]
"Lend only for a 'month's day ${ }^{\prime}$ with good security, and a bill of sale.

## Your interest <br> 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 cn $£ 20$ 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 penye for a shyllynge,
and thre pence for three.
1472

So by the yeres ende,
twelue moneths geue twelue pens,

For the vse of a shyllynge.
lo, I haue tolde you all sens." 1476

Than saide this vsurer, "this matter goeth well,
For my twentye pounde lande, that I chaunced to sell, 1480
I shall haue foure hundred pounde rente by the yere,
and make iolye chere." ..... 1484
Than came there a Prophete, and tolde thys manne playne,
That $\mathrm{h}[\mathrm{e}]$ auen is no place for suche vnlawefull gayne. ..... 1488
"Why, sir" (quod this Vsurar) "it is my liuynge."
"Yea, sir" (quod this Prophet) " but it is not youre calling; ..... 1492
You are called to line afier twentye pounde by yere,
And after that rate ye shoulde measure your chere, ..... 1496
Tyll God did encrease you by his mercifull wayes,
By encreasynge youre corne, and youre cattell in the leyes; ..... 1500
Whyche encrese wyth your landes you are bounde to employe,
that do dwell you bye. ..... 1504
Ye are not borne to your selfe,
neither maye you take
That thynge for youre owne,
where of God did you make
But stuarde and baylife,
that shall yelde a rekeninge
At the Daye of Iudgmente
for euerye thyng.

Finis.
ฯ Cum $\mathrm{p}[\mathrm{r}]$ iuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

## （1）h Joure of

the laste trumpet，blowere bug the se－ atenty $\mathfrak{A n g r l}$（as is mentionco in the $\mathfrak{f l e}=$ unuty of tye $\mathfrak{A p o c a l i p s}$ ）rallung al rstats of mon to the rught prati）of thene gocati＝ on，Wubrrin are foutewnio ．xit．Elcssons to twollue sutural rstats of men，whitly if thet learne and folowe，al shall he
＊Sorl，and mothing antis＊ $\sim$＊～

## T The fouce of ane rriunge in the weserte．型uke ．itio．

 pathes strcight．Enterv \｛allou shallue fuls led，and sutry mountaunc and lottle fot shalbe maxe lowe，and thenges that fo $\mathfrak{r a}=$ fird shallue made streught，\＆bard passa＝ grs shalbe turned into plaine fatics，and all flesly shall si the bra［l］ty of $\mathfrak{G o d}$ ．年sait ．xl．
 bert Crownew，Dforllouge in Elic
 f甜国致。

4T Cemm pritulegia ado impri＝ mentum solum．

## The Boke to the Readar.

| It pleased mine autor to geve me of nam[e] | I am named the |
| :---: | :---: |
| The voice of the last trumpe (as S. Iohn doeth wryte) |  |
| Thincking therby to auoyd all the blame | to aroid blame. |
| That commenli chaunceth to such men as wryte | 4 |
| Plainly to such men as walk not upright: |  |
| For truth gette[i]h hatred of such as be yll, |  |
| And wil sufer nothing that bridleth their wil. | 7 |
| If ought do displese you, let me bere the 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 am unwilling to |
| If by this barkyng ought myght be won: | 11 bite. |
| And for thys intent I was firste bigonne, |  |
| That, hearing your fautes, ye myght them emende, And reigne with our master Christ in the end. |  |

## The Contents of this Boke.

| i. The Beggars lesson | ... | ... | (p. 57) |
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## The Beggars Lesson.

Whoso 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.

Fyrste walke in thy vocation, And do not seke thy lotte to chaunge ; For through wyeked ambition, Many mens fortune hath ben straynge.

## THE BEGGARS LESSON.

If God have layede hys lande on the, And made the lowe in al mens syght, Content thiselfe with that degre, And se thou walke therin upryght. 12
If thou, I saye, be very pore, And lacke thine health or any limme, No doubte God hath inough in store For the, if thou wylt truste in hym.

If thou wylt truste in hym, I saye, And continue in patience, No doubt he wyll fede the alwaye By his mercifull prouidence.

Call thou on hym, and he wyll moue The hertes of them that dwel the by, To gene the such thynges for hys loue As serue for thy necessitie.

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.2016

If you are a
beggar, be content.12

## 8

Let those who would have all things well give ear to me.

Walk in your vocation, and don't try to change your lot.
4

And when Elias fled away
[iii. Reg.] From Ahab and quene Iesabel,
${ }_{\text {and Elijah when }} 17$. The rauens fed him by the way, ravens fed him. As the story of Kinges doeth tel.

And as King Dauid doth record,
[Psal.] 147. The rauens byrdes left in the nest, Are, when they cry, fed of the Lord, Though they know not to make request.

Trust thou therfore in God aboue,
[Psal.] .32. And cal on him with confidence, He will move And doubtles he will mens hertes moue men to be benevolent.
[Luk].xii. But if at any tyme thou lacke
${ }_{\text {If }}^{[P \text { sal. are in }}$. iii. Thynges nedeful, yet do not despayre,  want, do not despair.

As thoughe the Lorde did the forsake,
Or ded to the displeasure beare.
But in such case, cal to thy mynd
What plenty God hath to the sent,
$\underset{\text { You will find you }}{[T /] b .}$ And thou shalt wel perceiue \& find
You will find you
have wasted
many things,
That thou hast many thynges mispent.
Then thincke Gods iustyce coulde not leaue
The unplaged, for that thou hast
[Sa]pt. $x i \quad$ Mispente the gyftes thou didst receyue To lyue vpon, and not to wast.

Then must thou nedes give God glorie
$\left[L_{u}\right] k e . x v$. For his vpryght and iust iudgement, for which you must be sorry. And be most earnestly sory, For that thou hast his giftes mispent.

But if thou finde thy conscience cleare,
As few men can I am righte sure, Then let Iobs trouble be thi chere,
$L_{u k}[x x i$.$] \quad That thou mayst pacientlie endure.$
Mat [iv.] Yea though thou shouldest perishe for fode,
Psal [xci.] Yet beare thou thy crosse patientlie; Though you perish, bear it patiently.

For the ende shal turne the to good,
Though thou lye in the stretes \& die.

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.

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

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.
Thou shalt not grudge when thou shalte crane
Of anie man his charitie,
Though at his hand thou canst nought haue,
But shalt praie for him herteli,
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 duetic. ${ }^{1}$
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.
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]

## - The Seruauntes Lesson.

Brother, come hither unto $\mathrm{m}[\mathrm{e}]$ And learne some parte of di[s]cipline;
For I am sent to enstruct th[e,] And teach the some godlie doctryne.
${ }^{2}$ Orig. ouetie.

76
Luk. [xvi.]
Remember
Lazarus and the
rich glutton,
68
Mat. [xvi.]
and take eomfort from them.

## 72

You must not grudge or repine,

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

84 Mat. $x$ [xviii.]
Luke [iii.]
Rom. [ii.]
Actu. i [v.]
88
Remain in your calling,
ii. Tim. [iii.] and at last you will be rewarded.
92 [Sapti.] iii,

I am sent to
96 instruet you,
96 servants, and give you godly doctrine.
I am sent to cal the, I say,
Backe from thy stout \& stubborne mynd :
Take hede therfore, and beare away
Such lessons as thou shalt here find. ..... 100
[Lıik.xvii. Fyrst, consider that thy callyng
Your calling is to 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,
[Ex]odi .i. and remember the Israelites in Egypt,

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.108Remember thou Iacobs kynred,That in Egypt were sore oppreste ;But when they were most harde bested,The Lorde brought them to quiete reste.112They could not cry so sone, but hewhom God heard. Had heard and graunted their requeste :And right so wil he do by thee,And se al thi great wronges redreste.116
[M] at. xxv ..... He will deliver you out of bondage,
He wyl, I say, deliuer the
Out of bondage and seruitude, And bringe to passe that thou shalt be Maister of a great multitude. ..... 120And bicause thou didest walke vpright,Shewyng thy selfe obedyent,and make your Thy seruauntes shall haue styl in sighteservants obeyyou.The feare of God omnipotent.124And like seruice as thou hast done,Thou shalt haue done to the againe :Mat. [ri.] For sence the world was first begonne,and, [rii.] Neuer true seruaunt lost his payne.128
Jacob served 14years, andGen. [xxix]became rich,

Iacob serued full fourtene yere, And dealt truly with his maister, As in the Bible doth appeare, Aud was exceadinge rich after.132

Fourtene yere he serued Laban, Who was made riche be hys laboure; But afterward, Iacob began

To growe to much greater honour.

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

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.

It forceth not what maner man
Thy maister is, so that thou be
In thy seruice a Christian,
Doynge as Christ commaundeth the.
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.
Call to thy mynde good Daniel,
Who serued his prince fayethfully, Notwythstandynge he was cruel, And eke his Lorde Gods enemy. 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.
Se thou serue him as faythfully
As he were thy Lord and thy God;
Not wyth eye-seruice fainedly,
Neithyr for the feare of the rodde;
But for the conscience thou dost beare
To thy Lorde Gods commaundemente ;
That is, for loue, and not for feare
Of any worldly punyshmente.

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.
and put to drudgery,
and kept in slavery.

If yon run away, you will be caught, or get a worse master.

Thou shalt be put to drudgery
Many a daye, maugrea thyne head ;
And be kepte stil in slauery
Al thy life dayes, til thou be deade.
And if thou chaunce to renne awaye,
Either thou shalt be brought agayne,
Or else, when thou doest chaunce to staye,
A worsse master shal the retayne. 184
Once thou shalt be certeine of this,
If you refuse your That, if thou refuse thy callyng, calling, you are sure to come to a bad end.

Of misery thou shalt not mysse,
Though thou escape sodaine fallynge. 188 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, For as thou didest thy maister serue, so shall men do to you.

Besides, God punishes the disobedient,
and He will punish you wondrously.

So shall al thy seruauntes serue the ;
And as thou didest his goodes preserue,
So shall thy goodes preserued be. 196
And beside thys, Gods wrath is bent
Toward the for disobedience ;
Wherfore, onles thou do repent, He wyl adde thereto vehemence. 200
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. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Orig. rgayne.

Repent therfore, I the aduise, And seke thine owne saluation; And then thou must in any wiso Walke stil in thy vocation.

Do thy seruice dilygently, ${ }^{1}$
And shew no disobedience ;
Be thou not stoute, but stil apply
And do all thynges with reuerence.
Refuse nothing that must be done,
But do it wyth al redines;
And when thou hast it once begon,
Then set asyde all slouthfulnes.
Be true, trusty, and tryfle not;
Be gentle and obedient;
And blessyng shal lyght on thy lot, For doyng Gods commaundement.220

To make an ende: haue stil in minde
Thyne estate and condition,
And let thyne herte be styll enclynde
212
Repent, and do jour duty reverently.

To walke in thy vocation.

## The Yeomans Lesson.

Thou that arte borne the ground to tyll, Or for to laboure wyth thyne hande, If thou wilt do nought that is yil, Desyre not idle for to stande.

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
For what doste thou, if thou desyr
To be a lord or gentleman,
Other then heape on the Gods ire And shewe thy se[1]fe no Christian?

You that are a tiller of the ground, must not remain idle,
you must plow, plant, and sow.

| $[J] o h n . x$. | For Christes shepe do hear hys voyce, |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\left[E^{*}\right] x o d i . x x$. | Whych biddith the worke busily |
|  | Sixe days, and in the seuenth reioyce, |
|  | And geue somewhat to the nedy. |


| Beware of the <br> desire to be <br> higher, | It doth also byd the be ware |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | Of the desyre to be alofte: |
|  | For he that doth for honour care |
|  | Falleth in 隹 |

Falleth in Sathans snares ful oft.
Haue minde, therfore, thyselfe to holde
and keep within Within the bondes of thy degre, your degree.

And then thou mayest euer be bold
That God thy Lorde wyll prosper the.
If you have And though the Lord geue the plentye plenty, don't be
Psal. 62 greedy,

Of corne, cattell, and other thynge,
Be thou neuer the more gredy,
Prou. 24 Nor set thy mynd on gatheringe.
But thinke the Lorde doth these thynges sende
To the, as to his stuard true,
but give where That wilt not his goodes wast \& spende, there is need.

But bestow them wher they be due.256

If you get rich, don't set your mind on clothes and dainty food,

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.

Set not (I say) thy minde on pride, Neither upon delicious fare,
but remember the poor, and be contented.

Neither forget at any tyde
To geue the pore that thou mayest spare.
But when thou hast sufficient
Of fode and honest apparrayle,
Then holde thy selfe therwyth contente,
थ. Tim. $v[i$.$] As wyth the wage of thy trauayle.$268

If you have anything left, give it as God commands you.

The reste (if ought remayne vnspent
Upon thyne owne necessity)
Bestowe as he that hath it sent, Hath in hys word commanded the.

And jf thou fynd not written there
That thon mast heape thy chest wyth golde, To bye greate liuelode for thyne hyere,

Inowe darest thou then be so bold

276
How dare you hoard up riches! To heape up so much goulde in store, Out of the due that thou shouldest paye To them that be pore, sicke, and sore?

Wo be to them, sayth Esaie, That heape togither house and lande ; As men that woulde neuer fynde stay, Tyll all the earth were in theyr hande.

What, wil ye dwel alone (sayeth he) Upon the earth that is so wyde? Wyll you leane no parte therof free From your unsatiable pryde?

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. And Moses sayth that thon shalt builde Houses, and nener dwell therin Thyself, nor leaue them to thy chyld, Nor any other of thy kynne.

And why? bicause thou hast no mynd To kepe the Lords commaundement, But sekest euer for to fynde Wrayes to encrease thine yerely rent. 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.

Well, turne agayne I the aduise, And learne to walke in thyne estate, And set Gods feare bifore thyne eies, Lest, when thou wouldst, it bo to late.

All is fish that eomes to your net-you world buy the Devil.

But repent, and walk in your vocation.
i. Cor. [eii.]
f you should not prosper, still thank God.

If your rent is raised, pray for your landlord.

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
But if the Lorde do the not blesse In thy labours wyth greate plenty, Yet thanke thou lyym nener the lesse; Thou hast more then thou arte worthy.316
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.
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 yon will be $\quad$ sef free. set free.

Free from thy landlords tyranny ;
For he dyd neuer yet forget
Any that walked orderly.
336
If yon take the But if thou wylt neds take in hande
remedy into your
own hand, Thyne owne wrong for to remedy,
The Lord hym self wyll the wythstande, And make thy lan[d]lord more gredy.340
worse for you.

it will be all the

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

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 arc.

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.
Yea, though thou se euidently
That he wasteth much more then nede, Iet pay thy duty willyngly,
And doubtles God shal be thy mede.
Now tonching thy religion :
If thy prince do commaunde the ought,
Against Goddes Enangelion, Then praye for him styl in thy thought.

Pray for him styl, I say, that he
Iray haue Godly vnderstanding
To teach Gods word to such as be
Committed to his gouerning.
And se thou do not him dispyse,
But aunswere him wyth reuerence;
And thongh thou mightest, yet in no wyse
Do thou forget obedience.
\&t Take not his swerte out of his hande,
But lay thy necke downe under it,
Iea, thoughe thou mightest liis force withstand ;
For so to do for the is fit.
Thy maister Christ hath taught tike wel 368
and answer him with reverence.
a. miiii.

You musi not talse the sword into your own hand.

IIath 26.
When he would no resistence make:
Neither agaynst the powers robell, When men were sent him for to take.

Yet if the Lord hame geven to the
Such knowledge, that thou art certaine Of thy fayth, knowyng it to be
Of the truth, do therin remaine.

343

Pay all your, taxes, Mat .xii.
and rethember it isn't for you to say what the king shall spend.

Even if you see
his waste, it is you duty to pay.

356
If the king commends you to act contrary to the gospel,
you must still pray for him,

If you are certain of your faith, remain in it.
Math .x. For though man may thy body kyl,
For he can do thy soule none yll : Wherfore be bold, do not dispaire. ..... 384
Be bold to confess Christ-
Be bold, I say, Christ to confesseHe can save youfrom all ill,
Wythout feare of this worldly paine ;
For when thon shalt be in distresse,Christ shal acknowledge the agayne.388
Luke .xxi and will àdinowledge sou, -If thou conquire by sufferyng ; if you conquer. And do thy selfe hereupon stay, That thou must walcke in thy callynge. ..... 392
Int if you lift your hand Ma. xxii 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 Yea, thou maist not grudge or repine
him,
Against thy kynge in any wise,
Though thou shouldst se plaine with thine eien That he were wicked past al sise. ..... 400
Pro.riii. For it is God that appointethremember lie isappointed byGod, and,
Kinges and rulers ouer the route:
And with his power he anointethThem for to be obeyede, no doubte.404if he is eril, to If they be euil, then thinke thy sinnepunish your sins.
Deseruith that plage at Gods hande;And se thou do forthwyth bigynneThyne 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
But what came of their phantasie?
Was not distruction theyr ende?
and were

God dyd distroye them sodenly,destroyed.
Dicause 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 preheminence. 420
If thou do thus, thou shalt be suro
That God thy Lord wyll euer se
That, though thy rulars be not pure,
Yet they shall euer defende the.
Contrariwise, if thou rebell,
Be sure the Lorde wyll the distroye;
Which thyng lath ben declared wel
Wythin this realme very lately. 428
For notwythstanding that oure kynge,
And eke oure rulers cuerychone,
Be mercifull in theyr doynge,
Yet haue the rebelles cause to mone.432

And why? bicause no rebelles shall
Escape Gods hand mpunished ;
For God hym selfe doth princis call Hys Christes and lys annoynted.

Whoso therfore doth them resiste,
The [s]ame resisteth God certayne ;
For God hym selfe doetl them assiste
Agaynst them ouer whom they raygne.
Princes are God's anointed,
and those who resist them resist Him
Rom xi[ii.]

If thou therfore fynde the greeued Wyth men set in Autoritie, Seke thou not to be auenged, But let God take rengeaunce for the.

Let me take vengeance, saith the Lord, And I wyll quyte them all theyr hyre :
Do thus, and seripture doth recorde
That thou shalt haue all thy desyre.
Thou shalt have thy desyre, I saye,
Upon the wicked maiestrate, If thou wylt kepe thy selfe alway
Wy ythin the boundes of thine estate.444
to whom
vengeance
Eccle. [xii.]
belongs.448

Rom. $x$ [ii.]
Keep yourself
within bounds, and you will hare your desire of wicked magistrates.

Tou'il so to hell if you mill change.

Thus leane I the, wrth threatenyng To the thy soulles 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 jou.

TThou that art lemde mythoute Iearnynge, Thom communly men cal syr Iohn,
Gene care, for I wyll saye somethynge Concernyng thy rocation.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
Forz 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 eues.468

For it is plaine in holy wryte,
for none can ofer That none can offer sacrifices
for sin, ${ }_{\text {flebru . }}$. For sinne, either in flesh or sprite, Though he be boeth learned and wjse ;
since Christ was For Christe was once offered for all, offered for all, [H]ebru. ix. To satisfie for all our sjnne, And hath made fre that erste were thral, The faythful flocke of Iacobs kynne.

To offer sacrifice therfor,
Thou arte not called, I tell the playne ;
[ $R$ ] om . . $i$ i. For Christe licueth for euermore, and He ean no And can no more for vs be slayn. 480 Thy state therfore, and thy callyng,
Is none other than for to wyrcke,
[Thr]ene. .iii. And not to liue by forestallyng,
[ $P \cdot \cdot]$ ov $x$. And name thy selfe one of the kyrcke.

If thou therfore wylt lyue for aye, And reigne with Christe for euermore, Desyre no mo masses to saje, But get thy fode wyth laboure sore.

If you desire to iive for ever, don't seek masses. [L] phe .iiii.

Geue over all thy tippillyng, Thy tauerne gate, and table playe, Thy cardes, thy dyce, and wyne bibyng, And learne to walke a sobre тауe.

And if thou have any lyueyng,
So that thou nede not to laboure;
Se thou apply the to learnynge
Wyth all thy busy endeworre.
But to thys ende se thou study,
That, when thon hast the truth learned,
Thou maist profite other thereby,
Whom in tyme paste thou hast harmed.
And se thou go not idelly
From house to house, to seke a place
To saye men a masse scer[e]tly,
Theyr fauoure thereby to purc[11]ase.
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.
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.
Be euer doyng what thon can, Teachyng or learnyng some good thyng;
And then, lyke a good Christian, Thou doste walke forth in thy callynge.

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.

508
If you can do good by teaching ABC, do so.

512
Almays do as much good as yous can.

If you reject labour and knowledge, you are worse than a Jew.
520 Rom. $x$.
©ा Repent therfore, I the aduise,
And take wholsome councell bityme;
And take good hede in any wise,
That knowledge double not thy crime.

## The Scholars Lesson.

Give ear, young Geue eare awhile ; I wil teach the man, How thou shalt walke in thy callynge.
and observe that schools were founded

First mark wherfore scholes were erecte, And what the founders did intende;
And then do thy study directe, For'to attaine vnto that ende.

Doubtles this was al their meaning,
for such learning as the country had need of.

0fome hither, young man, vnto me; Thou that arte brought up in learnynge,

## -

To haue their countrei furnyshed
Wyth all poyntes of honest learnynge, Whereof the publyke weale had nede.

Call thou therfore to memorie

- What knowledg thy contrei doth lacke,

And apply the same earnestly,
By all the meanes that thou canste make. 544
And when thou art determined
deeided what
l:nowledre to get, What knowledg thou wilt most apply,
get it at once, Then let it not be loytered, But'seke to get it spedily.
and do not lale. - Spende not thy tyme in idlenes, Nor in vayne occupation ;
But do thy selfe wholly addres
To ivalke in thy vocation.

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 hint, to haulke, Or on an instrument to play ;
And some whyles to commune and talke, No man is able to gayne saye.

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.

For all these thinges do recreate
The minde, if thou canst holde the mean ; But if thou be affectionate, Then dost thou lose thy studye cleane.568

And at the last thou shalt be founde To occupye a place only As do in Agime ziphres rounde,

And to hynder learnyng greatlye.

For if thou hadst not the lyueing, Another shoulde, that wold apply
Him selfe to some kynde of learnynge, To profyte his contrey therby.

If thou therfore wilte not be founde
Worthy Goddes indignacion,
Make thy stulye perfecte and sounde,
And walke in thy vocacion.
Let not tyme passe the idelly,
572
If you did not occupy your living another would, who might do better.

Make your study

Lose not the fruite of any houre ;
Or else suffer hym to supply
Thy place, that wyll hym endenoure.
Thou doest but rob the commone wealth 584

Of one that would be a treasur;
Better thou were to lyue by stelth,
Then for to worke such displeasure.
perfect.

Do not be idle;
if you are, you
only rob the commonwealth.

For ficld sports and munic no man can blame you.

560
Archery, casting the bar, temnis, and such games,

564
serve for
recreation, if used moderately.

There is no need for you to resign your living,
but you mnst keep yourself [L]uke .xix. exercised,
and must teach others,For a seruant wycked and ill.600

IT Teach them, I saye, that thou dost se Wyllynge to learne thy discipline,
and let your life be as a book before them.

Rom. 14. Let all thy doynges 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.

TThou learned man, do not disdayne, To learne at me, a symple wyght, Thy greate abuses to refrayne, And in thy callyng to go ryght.

Thou arte a man that sittest hye
In the simple mans conscience ;
To lyue therfore dissolntly,
Thou shouldste be vnto them offeuce.

Tf Ofience, I say, for thou shoulde think
All that thou doste to loe godly ;
Wherfore do not at this thynge wynck,
But do emende it spedily.
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 mons syght, 624 Math [xwiii.]

Amend your life and serve as a higint to others.

For it is thy rocation
To leade other the redy wase;
ILowe greate abominotion,
Arte thou then if thou go astraye ?
But herein lyeth the whole matter,---
To know which waye thou shouldest then lead :
Wherfore I wil not the flatter,
But tell the truth wrythouten dreade.
Thou must thy selfe humiliate, And acknowledge thy wycked sinne, And stryue to enter the streyt gate, Where ferre men do fynde a waye in.

If 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.

Thou must humble thy selfe I saye, And not aye seke to be alofte;
For he that walketh in rough waye, And loketh hye, stombleth ful oft.

Thou must acknoledge that thou arte, Through synne, vnworthy thyne estate, And that thy discipline and arte Can not brynge the in at that gate.

Thou must, I saye, stryue to enter,
And not to get promocion ;
Thy lyfe thou must put in venture
You cannot do
i. $\operatorname{Corh}[i c$. If you lead men astray, you are an abomination.

You must humble yourself, and acknowledge your sin. Mat. [vii.]

Jo7n. $x$

You must venture your life 656 for Christ.

You must confess your unworthiness.

How dost thou walke in thys callyng, When thy mynde is earnestly bent
To gather up eche mans falling,
By al the wayes thou canst inuent? 660
Mat .xii.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Geue eare, I saye, therefore thou fole, } \\ & \text { Give ear, } \\ & \text { and forl, lear y our, } \\ & \text { first lesson again, } \\ & \text { And learne thy fyrst lesson agayne: } \\ & \text { Enter into Gods holi schole, }\end{aligned}$
And do not hys doctryne dysdayne.
He wylleth the fyrst to apply
Thy mynde to knowledge, and to take
[ $L$ ]uke . $x \mathrm{i}$. The great beame out of thyne own eye, and take the
beam out of your And thine abuses to forsake. 668
own eye, And then he wolde, that in no wyse
Thou shouldest be slacke or negligente
then you will To pycke the motes out of mens eyes, pick the motes
from other men's

If thou wylt that thei do repente,
[T]ite .ii. Repent thou fyrst, that they maye see That the whole some of thyne intente Is to make them like vnto the.

| If you wish others to repent and forsake their sins, | For, if thou wylt them to refraine |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Mur[t]her, thefte, whoredome, \& inceste, |
|  | If they se these thynges in the raigne, |
|  | They wyl al thy doctryne deteste. |

If thou forbid them gluttononye, And wil them the flesh for to tame,
you must set They wil defie the vtterly, them an example.

If they se the not do the same.
If you speak of If thou tel them of apparayle.
their apparel,
you must be $\quad$ Or of ought wherin is excesse,
you must be
Then wil they say, thou doest but rayle, Unlesse thou be therin faultles.
If you speak of What shouldest thou speake of vsurie, usury or simony,
see that you are When thou dost take vnlawfull gayne?
free. Or rebuke men for Simonie, When nothynge else doeth in the rayne?

Naye not the lay man saufly 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 I, as well as thou, Haue benifices two or thre?
Sens thou hast taught me the wei how
I may kepe them and blamelesse be.
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
I can kepe hospitalitye,
And gene as much vnto the pore
In one yere, as thon dost in thre, And wyl performe it wyth the more. 708
Alas! that ener we should se .
The flocke of Christ thus bought \& solde,
Of them that shoulde the shepherdes be,
To leade them saifly to the folde.
Iा Repent this thyng, I the aduise,
And take the to one eure alone;
And se that in most faythfull wise,
Thou walk in thy vocation.
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.
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. 724
And fyrste, before all other thynges,
Seke thou to fynde good ministers,
And appoynt them honest lyuynges,
To be the peoples instructers.
Take to one cure and be faithful,

716
Alas! that
Christ's floek
should be so bought and sold.
he can give as
much to the poor as you give.
and be faithful,
Pavar,
then none can blame you.

If you are a prelate, look to your office;
seek for good ministers;

728 [i] Tim. ..
have none in whom is any vice.

Let none haue cure wythin thy see, In whome any greate vice doth reigne ;
For where mislynyng curates be,
[Ez]ech .33. The people are not good certayne. 732

If any perish through you, you will have to atiswer for them. [i] Tim. $v$.

Do not trust to any trifler,
arid see that the young are instructed.
you are called to be the prince's counsellor,
be bold to speak the truth,
and exhort him
to leave his sias,
And for them all that do perishe
Through thy defalte, thou shalt answere ;
Wherefore, I do the admonishe
To loke earnestly to thys geare.
Loke vnto it thy selfe, I saye,
And truste not to a tryfelar,
That wyll allowe all that wyl paye Somewhat vnto the regester.740

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.
Now if so be thou be called, To be thy Princes comncelloure, Beware thou be not corrupted Dy the vayne desyre of honoure.

Be not carful how for to holde
Thy selfe styll in autoritie ;
But to speake truth be ener bolde, Accordyng to Goods veritie.752
T. 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.
If thou perceyue him ignoraunt In any parte of lys dutie,
Se thou do hym not checke or taunte, But tell hym wyth sobrietie.
and tell him his faults with all submission.

Tell hym his falte, I say, playnly, And yet wyth all submission ;
Lesse thou do seme to speake vaynly, Forgettyng thy vocation.704

Thus haue I tolde the, as I wouldo Be tolle, if I were in thy place;
To the intent that no man shoulde
Hane cause to tel the to thy face.
Thus do I leaue the wyth wyshyng 768

Thus I have told you your duty.
To the a wyll for to aduaunce Gods glorie by godly learnyng,
And not thy lyuyng to enhaunce.

## The Phisicians Lesson.

$G$eue eare, maister Phisicion, And set asyde thyne vrinall, And that wyth expedition, For I the laste trumpet clo call.

Attend, Master lhysician, and mark my words well.

Geue 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 suceour mans nede,
As Tesus Sirach wryteth playne,
But by due proufe we know in dede
That many thousandes thou hast slaine.
But now am I sent from the kynge
Of powre and domination,
To call the from thy murtherynge,
To walke in thy vocation.
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. 788

God made you to succour man, [Ec]cles. 38

784 but you kill him.

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

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

792
even when he has nothing with mhich to pay.

Cure him for God's sake, and He will reward you.

And if thon 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.

Thys maister of hys doth regarde
[Ma]th. ix. Mercie so much, that he hath tolde
He rewards those who give a cup of water.

If you can cure
the poor, you may be sure of your reward.

If you neglect him because he has no gold, you trust shall fail.

What authority have you for neglecting the poor?

What right have you to charge for looking at water,

All hys that they shal hane rewarde For geuynge water thyne and colde.

And thinckest thon that he wyll not
Rewarde them that geue medicine?
Thou hast no such mistruste, I wot, In hys promise that is diuine.

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

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
Then shew thy writynge if thou can, Wheron thou bearest the so bolle, That thou wylt viset no sicke man That cannot lyne thy pursse with golde.820

Brynge forth thy writyng then, I say,
If thou have any such in store,
Wherby thou maiste require eche daye
A noble of golde or else more.
And shewe by what right thon maist take
Two pence for the sight of water,
When thou knowest not therbi to make
The sicke man one farthinge better.
Yea, if a man should try the wel,
To prone what thy counnyng can do,
when you cannot He should fynde that thou canst not tell tell whether a man is ill or not? Whether the man be sycke or no.

II I graunt the water sheweth somthyng,
But not so much as thon dost crake ;
Neither is thy laboure condynge
That thou shouldest money for it take.
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.

But if thou do but gesse, as locth
The blyndeman that doth cast hys staff; Though thou by chaunce hit on the soth, Thy labour is scase worthy chaffe.

Thou dost but gesse money to wyn, And wyth strang words make men agast;
And yet thou thinckeste it no syme
To cause pore men theyr gools to wast.
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 coutrey.

Let not lucre make the professe
Defore thy knowleege be perfect;
For he that ministreth by gesse,
Shall not so sone heale as infect.
Apply the earnestli therfore
To get phisikes perfection ;
That thou maiste ease the sike and sore, And remedy infection.

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:
For God hymselfe hath promised
To make for them a recompence
Wherfore doubt not to be paied,852856 864
[M]ath. 16.
[ $I$ ] $]$ \%. 10 .
Gol will
recompense you.
Water may show something, but not nuch.

If you only guess, but chance to hit the truth, your labour is not worth much.

You only guess to win money.

Repent, and apply yourself to profit your country.

Strive to ease the sick ind remedy infection.

Lelp the poor and needy, and
Both for thy laboure and expence. CROWLEY.

If you will not listen,
when you die
you will despair of God's mercy.
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
For when cruel death shall the styng, And thy lyfe from the separate, Then shalt thou se thou hast nothyng, Thy silly soule to recrate.876
Wherfore 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.
Let not slyppe this occasion ;
But spedily repent thy cryme, And walke in thy vocation.884

## The Lawiars Lesson.

> Nowe 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 mngodly waye. 888

Thy callyng is good and godly, If thou wouldste walke therin aryght; But thour art so passing gredy, That Gods feare is out of thy syght.892

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, God's mrath is For Gods wrath is agaynst the bent, bent against you.

If thou wylt not my warnyng take.900

Fyrst call vinto thy memorye
For what cause the laws wer fyrst made ;
And then apply the busily
To the same ende to vee thy trade.
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.

Doest thou then walke in thy callyng, When, for to rexe the innocent, Thou wilt stand at a barre ballyng Wyth al the craft thou canst inuente? 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.

Thyne excuses are knowne to well, Thou saist thou knowest not the matter, Wherfore thou sayst thon canst not tel At the firste whose canse is better.

Thou knowest not at the first, I graunt, But whye wyit thou be retained Of playntyfe, or of defendaunt, Before thou hast their cause learned? For such a plea I blame the not, When neither parties right is knowne; But when thou thy selfe dost well wot Thy elient seketh not his owne,

It were a godly way fur the
To knowe the ende ere thou began,
But if that can bi no meanes be,
Tu make shorte sute do what thou can.
If thou be a mans atturney,
In any court where so it be,
Let him not waite and spende money,
If his dispateh do lie in the.

904

They were mado to relieve the oppressed.

908928

Remember why laws were first made. 912

Is it well for you to stand bawling like a beast to get money ?

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916
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Fon say yon don't know whose matter is right;
but why are you retained beture you learn the cause?

I do not blame you for this plea, when neitler party's right is known.
28

Apply his matter earnestly, And set him going home againe, and take no more And take no more then thy dutie; $L u k e x[i c$.$] For God shall recompence thi paine.$940

If you are a counsellor, don't be a trifier;
assist the poor as well as the rich; Leuit. [xix.]
respect no man's person.

If a wrong-doer wishes you to defend him, don't. power, but fear the Lord.

If thou be calde a counseller, And many men do seke thy read;
Se thou be found no triffeller, Eyther for money or for dreade.944

Dut weigh mens matters thorowlie, And se what may be done by right,
And further as well the neadie
As thon woldest do the man of might.
Se thou have no respect at all
To the person, but to the cause ;
And suffer not suche truth to fall
As thon findest grounded on good lawes. 952
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
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.
If you are a judge, beware of bribes,
[i] Parl. 22. Or other courte, let not thy face
Be once turned to the briber.
lest they bind Beware that bribes blinde not thy sight your sight.

And make the that thou canst not se
To judge the pore mans canse aryght,
Deut .xri. When it is made open to the.968

Eeclcs .xx. Why shouldest thou stil admyt delaies
Admit no delays. In matters that be manifest ?
Why doest thou not seke all the wayes
That may be to rid the oppreste ?

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 haue no more to say to the,
But warne the that thou be contente
To lyne only vpon thy fee,
Fearyng the Lorde omnipotente.
And for to see that no man wrest
The lawes, to do any man wronge ;
And that no pore man be oppreste, Nor hane his sute deferred longe.

Now if thou be Lord Chauncelloure,
As censor ouer al the rest;
Se thou do thy best endenour
To see al open wronges redrest.
Leuit. xix
and do justice to all men.

I warn you to be content with your fees,
and to see that the poor are not oppressed.

If you are Lord Chancellor, see all wrongs redressed,
and show no favour.

Beware of such as refuse to abide by the laws.
And yet the iudgement to refuse
When they be like to lose their cause.
Beware of them, and let them not
Abuse thy courte in any wyse,
To werie suche as, by iuste lotte,
To cleim their ryght do enterpryse.
When they shall make peticion
Examine them diligently,
Ancl graunt not an iniunction
To eche false harlot by and by.
1004
Graunt thou not an iniunction
To him that doth nought else entende,
But, by subtile inuention,
His owne falsehode for to defend.

| You may see your <br> duts in God's <br> word. | I nede not to tel any more <br> Of thy duetie; thou maiest it se |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
|  | In Gods sacred and holye worde, |  |

## The Marchauntes Lesson.

Fon who buy and sell may mark my words.

Nowe marke my wordes thou marchaunte man, Thow that dost vse to bie and sell, I wyll 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
The ende why all men be create,
As men of wisdome do agre,
It is to maintain Is to maintaine the publike state the public state. In the contrei where thei shal be. 1028
Apply your trade to profit your country.

If Apply thy trade therfore, 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 have them at thine handes Upon a price reasonable. 1036
Though thou maist thi money forbeare,
Til other mens store be quite spent,
If you do not, Yet if thou do so, that thy ware you will be punished in the end.

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.
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.

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 lyuynge.

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.

So sone as they hane oughte to spare, Besyde theyr stocke that muste remayne, To purchase landes is al theyr care And al the study of theyr brayne.

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.
that you might make necessaries for your country,
1052
and when you have brought any good thing home,

You should thank Him for your prosperity.

But I write in vain.

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

1068
They smell out unthrifty heirs;
they have their spies on every side.

Some think the buying and selling of farms cause white meat to be so dear.

The poor man must now pay double rent, or quit.
The collier and noodranger
say their prices are doubled.

They hane thier spies vpon cche 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
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.

If ye aske of the coliar, Why he selleth hys coles so dere, And rightso of the wodmongar, They say marchauntes hane all in fere. 1092
The wood, say thei, that we haue bought In tymes paste for a crowne of golde, We cannot haue, if it be ought, Uuder ten shyllynges ready told. 1096
I am ashamed of I am ashamed for to tell the abuses among merchants,

Halfe the abuse that all men se, In such men as do by and sell, They be so bad in eche degre.
so I will do what I wyl therfore do what I can
To make plaine desiaratyon,
How thon, that art al marchauntman, Maist walke in thy vocation.

Applye thy trade, as I hane tolde,
To the profyt of thy contrey,
And then thou maiste ${ }^{1}$ eer be bolde
That thy Lord Cood wil guide thy wai.
then you will not Thou shalt not nede to purchase landes, need to take leases of grounds. Neyther to take leases in groundes, That, when thou hast the $m$ in thyne handes, Thou maist for shyllinges gather poundes.

Thou shalt not mede to bie or sel Benefices, which should be fre, To true preachers of Gods gospell, To helpe the $m$ with that helpeles be.

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.

Thon shalt aye have inough in store For the and thine in thy degre ; And what shouldst thou desire more, Or of hygher estate to be?

Let it suffice the to mary Thy daughter to one of thy trade : Why shouldest thou make hir a lady, Or bye for her a noble warde?

And let thy sonnes, euery chone,
Be bounde prentise yeres nine or ten, To learne some art to lyue vpon :
For why shoull they be gentelmen?
There be already men inowe
That beare the name of gentil bloud ; Tell thou me then, what nede haste thou
So vainly to bestow thy good?
For thour canst not promote thy sonne,
But thou must bye him land and rent, Wherby some must neades be vndone,
To bryng to passe thy fonde entent.
Some man, perchaunce, nede doeth compel
To morgage hys lande for money;
And wilt thou cause hym for to sell
The liuelode of his progeny?
Tel me if thou 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?
1136
If you promote your son, you must buy him land.

1140
If a man must mortgage his land-why do you compel him to sell ?
1144
Would you like your son so served?

| $\begin{aligned} & {[M 1] a t . \text { vio. }} \\ & \text { Do as you would } \\ & \text { be done by, } \end{aligned}$ | 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; |
|  | And if any man stande in nede, |

$[L] u k e$. ri.
and lend to the

needs. | Lende hym frely that thon maiste spare, |
| :--- |
| And doubtlesse God wyll be thy mede, |
| And recompence the in thy ware. |

Be just, open, and merciful [MT]ath.v. and God nill increase your store.

Be iuste, playne, and not disceytefull, And shewe mercie vato the pore, And Goul, that is moste mercifull, Shall euermore encrease thy store.1160

And in the ende, when nature shall
Ende thy peregrination,
Thou shalt have ioye emonge them all
That walkt in theyr vocation.
But if you refuse to do as I have told you,

But, if thou do refuse to walke
In thy callyng, as I have 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, yon certainly will Thou shalt be certen, in the ende, be damned in the Mat. vii. end.

To be damned eternally.
For in the worlde ther can not be
More greate abhomination, To thy Lorde God, then is in the, Forsakeyng thy vocation.1176

## - The Gentlemans Lesson.

You that are born
gentlemen, Thou 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

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.

For ignoraunce shall not excuse, When all men shall geue a rekenyng; And the iudge wyll money refuse, And iudge after eche mans doyng.

Fyrst I aduertise the therfore, And require the in Christes name, That of knowledge thou get the store, And frame thy lyueyng to the same.

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.

Thou shalt perceyue thou haste no tyme
To spare, and spende in bankettyng,
For though thou watch tyll it be pryme,
Thou shalt haue inough to doyng.
Thou shalt not fynde any leasure, To diee, to earle, or to reuell, If thou do onee take a pleasure, In rseyng thyne owne callyng well.

For parkes of dere thou shalt not care Neither for costuouse buildyng, For apparell, or for fyne fare, Or any other wortlly thinge.

Thy mynd shal be styll rauished With the desyre to walke vpryghte, And to se al viee punisherl, So much as shal ly in thy myght.

Thou shalt delite for to defendo The pore man that is innocent, And cause the wicked to amend, And the oppressour to repent,1208

1204
bunting, costly building, or apparel.

You must strive to walk upright;

1212
and delight in defending the poor,
and in doing
your duty. allowed to do as [Ro]m. 14 . you like with your own.

Thou shalt haue delite in nothyng
Sauinge in doynge thy duty ;
Which is, vnder Gool and thy kyng,
To rule them that thou doest dwel by.
1220
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
But thou shalt fynd that thou art bound,
And shalt answer much more strayghtly,
[Lu]ke .xii. Then the pore men that tyl the ground, If thou regard not thy duty.

1228
Thou shalt not fynd that thou maiest reise
Thy rent, or leauy a great fine
More then hath bene vsed alwayes ;
For that only is called thyne.
1232
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, therfore, wouldest not thi king
Should take of the more then his due,
Why wilt thon abate the linynge
Of thy tenaunt and cause him rue?
Knowledge rill tell you to do as you would be done by,
Mat. $v i$
and to be content with your inheritance.

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.

She wyl teach the to loe 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 600 .

If thou maye despend 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.
Thou shalt by her learne that thou art
$\Lambda$ father ouer thy country,
And that thou oughtest to play the parte
Of. a father both nyght and day.
Thou shalt by knowledg vnderstand
That thou must suceour the neady,
And in theyr cause such men wythstande
As shew themselues ouer gredy.
In fine, knowledge that is godly
Wyll teach the al that thou shalt do
Bilongyng to thyne owne duty,
And other mens duty also.
1256
You must learn that you are a father to your country,

1260
Psalm 8. and understand that you must aid the needy.

In short,
knowledge will teach you your duty-

1268
Gette the knowledg, I saye, therfore, That thou mayste be worthy thy name ; For wythout hir thou maiste nomore
Be called a ge[n]tleman for shame.
For wythout knowledg thou shalt be
Of all other moste out of frame;
Bicause there is nothyng in the,
That may tly luste chastice or tame.
Wythout knowledg thou wylt folowe
Thy fleshe and fleshly appetyte, And in the luste therof wallowe, Settyng therin thy whole delyte.

Wythout knowledge thou wylt oppresse
All men that shalbe in thy powre;
And when they shalbe in distres,
Thou wylt them cruelly deuoure.
Wythout knowledg thou wilt aray
Both the and thyne paste thy degree,
And eke mayntayne outragiouse playe,
Tyl thou haue spent both lande and fee.
1280
Without
knowledge you will oppress all men whe are in your power, 1284
beeause you have
nothing within
you to subdue
your passions.
and dress and gamble till you 1288 have spent all.

If you have no knomledge jou will be worse than a slave.

Study always to know your duty, and to fear God.
$[P] \operatorname{salm} .33$ Set the Lords feare bifore thy face, To guyde the in all thy doynges, That thou delyte not in trespace. 1300
For he that doth delyte in synne Shall neuer gouerne hys lyfe wel, Nor any godly knowledge wynne ; For wisdoume wyl not with him dwel. 1304
so seek her till you find her. Sapic [ri]

Let the fear of God and knowledge
guide you in all things,
and hare them ever in mind.

Let them rule your family,

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.

Get the knowledg, therfore, I saye And eke the feare of God aboue ; And let thy study be alwaye To knowe what thyng doth the bihoue.1296

But fyrste, bifore all other thynges,

He who delights in sin will never get knowledge,

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
And let them two beare all the swea
In thy doinges, earelye and late ${ }^{1}$;
Let them agre and ende their plea, Before thou do appoint the state.1312

By theyr aduise suruei thy laude, And kepe thy courtes both farre \& nere, And se they do fast by the stande, In thine housekeping and thy chere. 1316
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 all thy familie, And eke enstruct thy childrene yonge ;
That they may thyne office supply
When with hys darte death hath the stong.

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 wase
As well by bryght daye as by nyght.
So doyng I dare the assure
That in the ende thou shalt obteyne
The blisse that shall euer endure, Wyth Christe our Maister for to rayne.

1336

## - The Maiestrates Lesson.

Vhoso 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. When thou arte in autoritie, Anḍ haste the bridle rayne in hande; Then be well ware that tirannie Do not get the wythin hir bande.

Loke not vpon thy swerd alway,
But loke sometyme on thy ballaunce, And se that neither do decay In the tyme of thy gouernaunce. 1348
For to punyshe wyth equitie,
Is, and aye shalbe, bisemeyng;
Whereas to shewe extremiti,
Is founde rather a bloude suckeyng. 1352
If any man be accusede
Se thou hear him indifferently, And let him not be punished, Tyl thou knowe his cause thorowly. 1340

Fou who are called magistrates
and have the bridle-rein in hand,
1344
look at the balance as well as at the sword, equity.

Be impartial in your julbment.

|  | 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 ignorance 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 lit and misse, |  |
|  | When the intent was to do well. | 1368 |
| and that witnesses may lie. | And though the euidence be plaine, |  |
|  | And the accusars credible ; |  |
|  | Yet call to mynde the elders twayne, |  |
| Dani [xiii.] | That Daniell found reproueable. | 1372 |
|  | TI And if thou fynde them false, or vayne, |  |
|  | 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 |  |
|  | Oat of the workes of writers olde, |  |
|  | And, for to prove it the better, |  |
|  | Many late stories might be tolde. | 1380 |
| but I leave it to your study. | But I leaue this to the study |  |
|  | Of them that haue had exercise |  |
|  | In iudgement, in whose memorie |  |
|  | It is as styll before theyr eyes. | 1384 |
|  | I thought mete to tuch it only, |  |
|  | That thou myghtest have occasion |  |
| Your duty is | To call to mynde the chief dutie |  |
|  | Of thy state and vocation: | 1388 |
| to weigh <br> evidence, and examine accusers, | Whych is to scanne the euidence, |  |
|  | And eke to try the accusars all, |  |
|  | Thoughe they be men of good credence, |  |
|  | Leste happly the iuste le made thral. | 1392 |

More ouer it behoneth the, I[f] thou wylt walke in thy callyng, To se that all good statutes be
and to sce the statutes enforced,1396

For to what ende do statutes scrue, Or why should we hold parliamente, If men shall not suche lawes obserue As in that court we shal intuent?

And what thynge shall a realme decay So sone, as when men do neglecte The wholsom laves, as who should sai, They were in dede to none effecte.

For in that realme the mightie shal Worke after theyr fancic and wyl ; For there the pore may crie, and cal For helpe, and be oppressed styl.

Let men know you are set to administer justice.1416Wincke 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.1420For if thou wilt not ministerIustice to them that do oppresse,What are the people the betterFor the when they be in distresse?1424
The heauenly housband man, therfore,
Who planted the, vice to suppresse,
Shall drye thy rote for euermore,
And geue the vp to wyekednes. crowley.1428
your conscience will make you despair.


Ihave more to say yet.

See that you allow no offices to be sold.

Gol will not permit His flock to be devoured of wolves.

Rcmember Pharaoh Exo. xiliio.

Beware of thys vengeaunce betyme, Lest it come on the sodaynly, When thou wouldest faine repent thy cryme, But shalt despeire of Goddes mercy. 1432
For what thing causeth men despeire Of Gods mercy at their last ende, But their conscience, that saieth thei were Told of their fault, \& woulde not mende?1436

If thou therefore doest se this thynge, And wylt wincke at it willinglye, I say that, when death shal the styng, Thou shalt despeire of Gools mercye. 1440
Yet hate I more to say to the Concernyng thy vocation, Which, if it grow styl, must nedes be Double abhomination. 1444
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.
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.
He wyl not aye suffer his flocke
Of wolfes to be so deuoured,
Neither shall they that would hym mocke,
Escape his handes vopunyshed. 1456
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.
He spent not al his power vpon
[Dan.].iiii. The Kyng Nabuchodanozer;
and Nebuchadnezzar,

He shal neuer be found such one,

That he should not haue mighte in store.

Take hede, take hede, I saye therfore, That thou fal not into his hand ; For if thou do, thou art forlore, Thou canst not be able to stand. 1468

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

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

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.

Let it suffice the, to defende Thy limites from inuasion ; And therein se thou do intende Thine owne peoples saluation. 1484
For, marke this: If thou do invade, And get by force commodite, The same shal certenly be made A scorge to thy posteritye.1489

This haue I saycle, to call the backe
From the Philistines stacion ; Trustynge thou wylte my counsell take, And walke in thy vocacion. 14761480
and take heed that you fall not [Helrm] e. . into His hame.

If you profess the Gospel,
yon must not seek power.

Study to rule your own subjects well.

Defend your own country from invasion,
and do not invado other lands.
[i] Reg. xiii.

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.1496

All women should walk in their rocation. 15041508 Anoyde nyce lokes and daliaunce; And when thou doest in the stretes walk, Se thou shewe no lyght countenaunce.1512
Dress according

Let thyne apparayle be honest; to your condition.

Be not decked past thy degre ;
Neither let thou thyne hede be dreste
i. Timo.ii. Otherwyse then besemeth the.

1516
Neither dye your Let thyne haare beare the same coloure hair,
nor paint your face,
but be modest, learn your duties,
and try to please God.

If you have no husband, improve your manners.
i. Cor. vii. In Christen maners to encrease.

If thon be vnder a mestres, Se thou learne hir good qualityes, And serue hyr wyth al redines, Haueyng Goddes feare before thine eies.

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.

Auoyde idle and wanton talke,
If thy state be virginitie, And hast none housband for to please, Then se thou do thyselfe apply

If you have a mistress, serve her readily.

Avoid idle talk and nice looks.

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.

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

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

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

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

But be thou not to them bytter, Wyth wordes lackyng discretion, For thine housband it is fitter
To geue them due correction.
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;
Do thy selfe occupy, I say,
In readinge, or hearyng some thynge,
Or talkyng of the godly way, Wherein is great edifiyng.

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

1552

If you liave a husband,

1536 [i C]or .xi.
let him guide you.

Be industrious,
1544
and keep your children and servants from idleness.1552

But do not be too severe.

1556
If you are above mixing with sour servants,

1560
spend your time in reading.

1564
See that your children are well brought up.

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 Do what thou canst, him to allure your godly living.

To seke God by godly liueing,
And certenly thon 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, Iet shalt thou haue saluation. 1584
you shall be sared if you are obedient, faith.

But if your husband is godly,
learn of him,

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 renerence.1588

But in fayth must all this be done, Or else it docth nothynge auayle ;
For without fayeth nought can be wone, Take thou neuer so greate 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
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 Ti]mo.v. Se thou talke wyth him secretly and to all that Of su[c]h thinges as do the behoue;
he approves.

And se thou obserue thorowlye
[i Tii]mo. v. Al such thinges as he shal aproue.

Scke 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.
Their commynge is alwaye to tell
Some false lye by some honeste man;
They are worsse then the deuell of hell,
If a man would them throughly scanne.
1612

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;

Thow muste swere by Goddes passion,
That long before thou sawest his heade,
Thou hadest cch 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.
For they are the denelles mynysters,
Sent to destroy al honestye,
In such as wyl be their hearars,
And to theyr wyeked reade applye.

| i. Pet. iii. But do you learu 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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gene. sxi. who always obeyed her husband. | She was alway obedyent To hir housband, and cald hym lorde, As the boke of Godes testament |  |
| Follow her, and you will be safe in the end. | Doeth in most open wyse record. <br> Folowe hir, and thou shalt be sure To haue, as she had in the ende, The lyfe that shall euer endure : | 1648 |
|  | Unto the whiche the Lorde the send. | 1652 |

Follow her, and you will be safe in the end.

But thou that arte Sarais daughter, And lokest for saluation, Se thou learne thy doctryne at hir, And walke in thy vocation.1648

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

## 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. 25 Autore eodem Roberto Croleo.

II Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

## 

##   <br> mold all shayl be fucll.

T Compulco bug Nolirte Crobr=


BC Cum priuilegio ad imprimenoum solum.
(T) (1) ge that be mug fathere blessed ones come and posses the knrgoome that foas prepared for nou befor the begiming of the foorlos.

T $\mathfrak{e}$ oe ge cursscis sorte into the eucrlastung fuxe that buas prepared for the fouill ant his gingelles.
dyath, xxG,

# - To the ryght worshypful Lady <br> Dame Elizabeth Fane, wyfe to the ryght worshypfull Syr Rafe <br> Fane Knyghte: Roberte <br> Crowley Wyshethe <br> the Lyfe euer- <br> lastynge 

AFter I had compiled thys litle treatise (ryght vertuouse Lady) I thought it my duty to dedicate I thonght it my 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 thyucke 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 bo possible) from the gredy rakeyng togyther of the treasures 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 endenoure to lyue the gospell which they have of longe tyme talked. In dede it was ne*cessarie that God should styr vp some to plage such emonge his people as had offended enen as he dyd often
cent togither. For so shal they also deserne the Lordis wrath, \& in the ende be plaged by some other that God shal styr vp to renenge the iniurye done to the innocent sorte. Moued therefore wyth the desyre to se the

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 vengeance fall not in our days.
[Page 5] wealth of my contrey by the pacifiyng of Gods ire, which (no doubt) wyl fal vpon this realme very shortly, if oppression and gredye couetise cease not, I hane, 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 alredy crye vnto the Lorde for vengeance. The Lorde work in the hertis of the rych, that this vengeaunce fall not on thys realme in oure dayes, for doubtles it wyl be gret when it cometh. And if the oppression cease not, the rengeance 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.

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 men maye see.
"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 !
"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.
"And at all tymes, when I have 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.

[^10][Page 7] When Christ Mat. xiv. comes to judgment He will call His friends to enjoy what they have been seeking.

7 Mat.vii.

He will bid them come and possess Mat. x.xe. the kingdom prepared for them,
11
[Page 8]
Rom. viii.
becanse when He was hungry they fed Him.

Mat. $x x v$.

They shall remain ever with Him, and see God.
i. Cor. xiii.

Mat. xxv.
When Me was
desolate, they
[Page 9]
took Him in,
and treated Him
courteously.

18

IT "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, So that I myght the colde abycle.
But if you lackt sufficient, Then dyd you my greate lacke lament.

When He was sick and in [Page 10] prison, they com. forted Him, and risited Him, Mat. xxv. and ransomed Him.

When He was naked, they Mat. $x x v$. clothed Him. need?
"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.
And when it chaunced me to be
In prisone, and could not get oute,
To raunsome me you went aboute."
IT Then shall the iuste answere agayne And saye, "O Lorde, when sawe we the In prisone, or in other payne Through extreme nede and pouertie?46
Is He not Lord of Arte not thou Lorde of lande and see ?land and sea?What? Lorde, we knowe that sea and lande
[Page in] Haue euermore bene in thyne hande; ..... 49

1. Cor. iiii.
He gives all
"We know that thou ganeste all thyngethings to all men,and every man isin His hand.To all estates, boeth hygh and lowe.There is no myghty lorde nor kynge,But he is in thyne hande we knowe.53In rayne, Lorde, we might plante and sotre,
If thou gaue vs not frute and grayne,
We coulde haue nought lyfe to sustayne." ..... 56
He orns He gave Then shall Christe saye, "All this is true ; us life and fed us, 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[Pase 12] In all your wayes I was your speede,

国 "Yet all that I lraue sayde before
Is true also ; for when you gave
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."
IT 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 when we gave anything to the sick we gave it to lim.

Mat. $x x v$.

The just will enter into everlasting joys,
[Page 13]
because their
74 hearts were
tender.
Mat. v.
They will live in Paradise.

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

1. Corhi. $x$

84
Csis Then shall these men, wyth faynte herte, saye
"Lorde when dyd we see the in nede?
Thou haste bene Lorle 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."
R5 "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?
[Page 14]
Mat. xxv.
They will answer, "Lord, when did we see thee in need?

Thou art Jesus,

He will answer, "You deaf doorposts,

1. Cohr. xii.

In you nought but flesh doeth appere.
For if my spirite in you had ben,
Me in myne you must nedis haue sene.
[Page 15]
if my spirit had

You did see them weep, but did not help them.

Ezech. 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 toll 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. i. 34
[Page 18] 1 Q ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ ]

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { II "The pore, the pore, and indigent } \\
& \text { Came vnto you ofte tymes ye knowe, }
\end{aligned}
$$

And you sawe them wepe and lament, Yet would ye not on them bestowe ..... 102
The leaste frute that to you dyd growe.
No, no, you were redy to take That other gaue them for my sake. ..... 105
"Your hertis were harder then the flynt-In them no pitie coulde be founde.
Your greedye gutte coulde neuer stynt,Tyll all the good and fruitfull grounde ${ }^{1}$109
Were hedged in whythin your mownde.
You wycked sorte, howe rsed yeThe londis and goodis ye had of me?112
(5) "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,
You sayde the loselles woulde haue all That you had goten paynfully, ..... 123But ye belye them, I know well,And slaunder this my true Gospell.126
4.5 "Emonge all myne there is not oneThat would haue ought more then his owne,As I shall tell you playne anone;
For to me all theyr hertis be knowne. ..... 130They reaped nought that you had sowne,
But wylled you to let them haueThat I gaue you mankyncle to sauc.133

- Orig. nownde.

| "Not one so blynde emonge you all, But he knoweth I made all of nought, |  | You know 1 made all things, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Appoyntynge all thyngis naturall, |  | Psal. viii. |
| To serue mankynde, whome I haue wrought | 137 |  |
| Lyke to my selfe in loueyng thought; |  | Gensis. $i$. |
| Wyllynge that eche should at his nede, |  |  |
| Haue breade and broth, harbour and wede. | 140 |  |
| \& But syth it was expedient That emonge all there should be some |  | that the needs of all might be supplied, |
| Alwaye sycke, sore, and impotent, |  |  |
| I indued you wyth such wysedome | 144 |  |
| As dyd honest stuardis become, |  | [Page 19] |
| Committyng ${ }^{1}$ whole into jour hande |  | Mat. 24. |
| The riches, boeth of sea and lande. | 147 |  |
| "My purpose was that you should hauo Alwaye all nedefull thynges in store |  | and that you might have a |
| To succour such as nedis must crane |  | the needy. |
| Of you thyngis nedefull euermore. I made you rych to fede the pore; | 151 |  |
| But you, lyke seruauntis prodigall, Haue in excesse consumed all. | 154 | Mat. 24. |
| "But when I found you negligent In fedynge of my family, |  | When I found you negligent |
| Then my prophetes to you I sent, Commaundyng that you should yerely | 158 | [Page 20] I sent my prophets to you, |
| Brynge all your tythes diligently |  | Malc. iii. |
| Into my barne, that there myght be |  |  |
| Meate in myne house for poucrtie. | 161 |  |
| "But you gaue to theyr wordis no hedo; You helde all faste, and woulde nought brynge |  | bnt you heeded them not, |
| Into my barne the pore to fede, |  |  |
| But spent all at your owne lykynge | 165 | and spent all in wantonness, |
| In wantones and banketynge, |  | Gene. 32. |
| And in rayment past your degree, |  | and raiment. |
| As men that had no mynde of me. | 168 |  |
| ${ }^{1}$ Cammittyng in original. CROWLEY. |  |  |

[Page 21] I "Yea, some of you were not content To holde fast that ye should haue brought Into my barne, there to be spent;

Iohn . $x$. You begged and bought that which was mine, But gredyly ye begde and bought,
That my true seruantis, as they ought, Dyd at my true prophetis byddynge, Into my barne faythfully brynge.175
and, when once
in my fold, "And when you had once goten in, Into my folde, emonge my shepe, Then you thought it to be no synne Styll in your kennells forto slepe,179
set others to keep Settyng such ones my flocke to kepe,
my flock. my flock.
[Page 22]
Iohn .x. Then to defende his feble dame. 182
Excch. 34. 罗 "Ye robde, ye spoylde, ye bought, ye solde

You spoiled my flock and me.

Yon had the tithes, Ezech. 34.
[Page 23]
and were not sorry to see m y flock and me have need.

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. "Ye had the tythes of mens encrease, That shoulde haue fedde my flocke and me; But you made your selfes well at ease, And toke no thought for pouertie. 193
It dyd not greue you forto se My flocke and me suffer greate nede
For lacke of meate, harbour and wede. 196

If " 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 carried all away.

You dyd by force cary awaye,
And noman durst once saye you naye.

If " Howe can you loke to haue mercie

At myne hande? whome ye would not feede
[Page 21]
Wyth that was myne, euen of dutio
To succoure me and myne at nede?
Syth you myght in the scripture rede,
That suche men shall no mercic hane
As kepe theyr owne when mede docthe craue.
" 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 preaehed me.
And in Iohns Pistle these wordis be:-
' Howe can that man haue Charitie,
That beynge riche sheweth no pitie?'
"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 sherve him succoure: Ryght so he that doeth endeuoure
To be made rych by oppressynge,
Shall leane him selfe (at the last) no thynge.
"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 thynge in store.
This might you reade, and ten tymes more
In the Bible, that holy boke,
If you had had tyme forto loke.
"But such scriptures you coulde not broke
As bade you gene ought to the pore ;
You wyshed then out of the boke, But you were suer to have in store Plentie of scripturs, euermore
To proue that you myght aye be bolde Wyth your owne to do what you woulde.238

224 should not be heard.
What mercy can you expect?

210 Yacob. ii.
Esai. [7]viii

You might have seen in the
214 Scriptures

217 [Page 25]
Prou. xxi.
that he whowould not hear the poor

221
Prou, xxii. -228
[Page 26]
if you had had
time to read.
231 Math. x.

235 But you wished such things out of the Bible.

that you might annoy your neighbow;
[Page 28]
If the poor did die fur want of house and food,
you thought you were blameless,

Math, $x$.
[Page 29]
and that I should not require their blood at your hand.

Iacob. ii. That you haue taken from the pore Ye shall in hell dwell cuermore! 273
${ }^{1}$ Original, slafegard.
"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 ;
Yon shal be damned for euermore :
The bloude of them that dyd amisse, Through your defante is cause of this.
"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.
287
"The sones also, that wyeked were, And wrought after theyr wyeked 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.
"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 ;298

Boeth they and you shall haue your hyre
In hell emonge that wyeked sorte,
That lyue in paynes wythout conforte.
罗 "Infyne, all such as dyd amysse
Through your defaut, what so they be,
Shall lyue in payne that endlesse is,
Because they would not credite me, 305
That am the trueth and verite.
I tolde them if they were opprest,
[Page 32]
and for all who did amiss through you.

I woulde se all theyr wrongis redreste.

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 :
[Page 33]
Ecclcs. vii.

You who are guilty of simony will go to hell.

Worlde wythout ende you shall be stonge
Wythe the pricke of the conscience:
A iuste rewarde for your offence.
"S And you that woulde nedis take in hande
To guyde my flocke, as shepheardis shoulde, Onlye to possesse rent and land, And as much richesse as you coulde,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.
[Page 34]

Genes. 7.

You made your way into the fold like wolves.
"If I should rehearse all at large That in your wycked lyfe is founde, And laye it strayght to your charge, No wyght there were in this world rownde 326
But woulde wonder I had not drownde The hoole earth for your symue onlye, That woulde be called my cleargie. 329
"Firste (wyth Magus) ye made your waye,
Lyke gredy woulves, ${ }^{1}$ into my folde.
Your wycked wyll coulde 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] बा "You dyd prouoke them fyrste to sell, And then they learned forto bye;
And made patrons as bad as yourselves.

Thynkynge that they myght bye as well
As the leadars of the clargie.
And then they founde meanes, by and by,
To catch, and kepe in theyr owne hande,
The tenth increase by sea and lande.बा "Theyr owne chyldren they dyd present,Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wycked kynne,
And put by such as I had sent
To tell my people of theyr synne : ..... 347And youe were gladde to take them in,
Byeause you knewe that they dyd knoweThat youe came in by the wyndowe."Such as woulde haue entryd by me,That am the dore of my shepe folde,
You sayde were not worthy to beAdmitted into my householde :
They presented their children and servants.
Iohn . $x$.
[Page 36]350
Such as would have entered the fold by me were deemed unworthy.354You thought by them you should be toldeOf your moste wyeked Simonie,Your falsehead and your periuric.357
वा "You layde to theyr charge herecie, Act $x x i i i i$Sisme, and sedicion also;
But you dyd them falsely belye,Thynckynge therby to worke them wo,361And doubtlesse ofte it chaunced so:
For many of them you haue slayneWyth most extreme and bitter payne.364
Many of myservants you haveslain.
[Page 37]


Esaie. $x x x$IT "Thus by your meanes my people haueBen destitute of sheperdis good;
They haue ben ledde by such as draueThem from the fylde of gostly foode;368
They beate them backe wyth heauye mode,
And made them fede in morysh grownde,Where neuer shepe coulde be fedde sownde.371
ब "The kyngis and rulars of the earthe,For lacke of knowleclge, went astraye ;And you stopped my seruantis breathe,
That woulde haue taught them the ryght waye; ..... 375You thought your lyueynge woulde decaye,If kyngis and rulars of the landeShould theyr owne duitie vnderstande.378 hands, simony.

blame for this,
and, having my flock in your

Psal. xiiii.
for the ignorance of the people.
[Page 40]

Ezech. iiii

You saw it all, and are guilty of all the faults
[Page 41]
Ier. xxiii arising from

ๆ "For so longe as you kept them blynde, Makynge them thyncke they had no charge, You had all thyngis at your owne mynde,

And made your owne powr wondrouse large. 382
You had an owre in echmans barge;
You bade the princis take no care,
[Page 39]
For you would all the dayngar beare. 385

बा "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 belynde.
The maister could not teach his hynde
How he should worke in his callyng
Fearynge my wrath in euery thynge.
"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
RTsis "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 yon sawe?
And whye dyd you not set them ryght To seke thynges pleasante in my syght? 406
"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 ;
Whych thynge you shall dearely bye,
For wyth Satan you shall be sure, Worlde without ende, styll to endure.413

RT丅 "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 famisshed.

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

For aye ye shal be banyshed
The blysse that:I bought for them all
That folowed me when I dyd call.
"Auoyde from me downe into hell, All ye that haue wronght wyckedly : wyth Lucifer there shall ye dwell, And lyue in paynes eternally. Your wycked soule shall neuer nye, But lyue in payne for euermore, Because ye paste not for my lore.
"Awaye, awaye ye wycked sorte! Awaye, I saye, oute of my syght :
Henseforth you 'sha[11] have no conforte, But bytter mournynge daye and nyght, Extreme darknes wythonten lyghte.
Wepynge, waylynge, wyth sobbynge sore, Gnashyng of teeth for euermore,
"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; The hote vengeaunce of my greate ire
Shall be styll boylynge in your breaste,
So that you shall neuer take reste."
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. None shall confort theyr heauinesse ;
In deadly paynes there shall they lye:
And then they would but shall not dyo.

$$
{ }^{1}(\operatorname{sh} \mathfrak{e})
$$427 438

into the lake of fire and brimstone.441

Mark, ix

431
Depart into darkness and sorrow, [Page 43] Mat. xxv Luke .xiii.

Mat. xiii.

## 445 [Page 44]

The wicked will then fall into kell,
बI 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
[Page 457 Triumphauntely returne agayneTo hys Father, geueyng conforte
Apoc, xxii To such as for hys sake were slayne. ..... 459No 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 That we maye then lyue in that place,with Christ inWyth Christe oure kynge that hath vs bought,
Let vs crie vnto God for grace
To repent that we hane mysse wrought ; ..... 466
And where we haue wyckedly sought
Luke .xix. To be made rych by wyeked gayne, [Page 46] Let vs restore all thynges agayne. ..... 469
let the poor man enjoy his ..... copyhold;
Let the pore man haue and enioye
The house he had by copyeholde, For hym, his wyfe, and Iacke hys boye,
To kepe them from hunger and colde; ..... 473
And thoughe the lease thereof be solde,Bye it agayne though it be dere,Phil. iiii. For nowe we go on oure laste yere.476Caste downe the hedges and stronge mowndes,That you hane caused to be madeAboute the waste and tyllage growndes,Makeynge them wepe that erste were glad;480
[Page 47] Leste you your selfes be stryken sadde,When you shall se that Christe doeth drye
Apoc, xxi. All teares from the oppressedis eye. ..... 483

Restore the fynes, and eke the rent,
That ye haue tane more then your due ;
Else certenly you shall be shent,
When Christe shall your euidence view ;
For then you shall fynde these wordes trew,
You are but stuardes of the lande,
That he betoke into your handes.
And you that haue taken by lease
Greate store of growndis or of houseyng,
Your lyueyng thereby to encrease,
And to maynetayne you loyeterynge,
Fall nowe to worcke for your lyueynge,
And let the lordes deale wyth theyr growndis
In territories, fieldes, and townes.
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.
What though your liueing ly theron?
Shoulde you not geue them vp therfore?
It is abhomination;
And doubtles God wyll plage it sore.
Repent, I saye, and synue no more,
For nowe the daye is enen at hande
When you shall at your tryall stande.
Let not the wealthy lyueynge here (Which can but a shorte tyme endure)
Be vnto you a thynge so dere
That you wyll lose endlesse pleasure,
Rather then leaue the vayne treasure.
O, rather let your leases go,
Then they shoulde worke you endelesse woe.
let all fines and rents be restored;

497

511
and let the leasemongers work for their living.
[Page 48]
494
ii. The. iii

You only heap on yourselves the anger of God.

501
Esaic. v.
[Page 49]

It is an abomination.

Repent, or else you will lose heaven.

that the poor the blind, and the lame,
and true preach ers may live thereon.
[Page 51]

Fou, the men of God, must give up your pluralities.

Betake you to one benifice, And let your lordelyke lyueuynges go,536 For holy wryte teacheth you so. Learne at the laste to be content Wyth thynges that be sufficient.539
you be mete to do sermiceThan medle wyth no benifice ;For certenly no one man can543Do the duitie of moe men thanTo them that geue you wage, you knowe.546

Rob the people no more.

Malac. iii
res And you that have 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.
1 PS And you that by disceyte haue wonne, ${ }^{1}$ [1 Orig. wome.]
Were it in weyght or in measure,
Be sorye that ye haue so donne,
And seke to stoppe Goddis displeasure,
By bestowynge this worldis treasure
To the confort, helpe, and succoure
Of such as be nedie and pore.
II 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, 571
And call to God for his mercie,
To geue you grace forto sustayne
That crosse when it shall come agayne.
To make an ende-let vs repent
All that euer we hane mysse wrought,
And praye to God omnipotent
To take from vs all wyeked thought,
That his glory maye be styll sought
By vs that be his creatures,
So longe as lyfe in vs endures.
581
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,585

As well in herte as name; and then
We shall haue blysse wythouten ende:
Unto the which the Lorde vs sende.588

Amen. 560

564

56771578581

You that have taken usury, make restitution.

Psal xv. [See Psal. xlix. 7.] Phil, iiii.

You that have deceived, be sorry and make recompeuse.
[Page 54]
Luke. iīi

You who have rebelled, repent heartily.

574 Marc. 14
Let all repent, and pray God for mercy.
[Fage 55]

And let each man seek the good of others.
[Page 56, blank]
[Page 57]

The "Trumpet" warned all to walk uprightly.

God is welcome to some men, but they seem to disdain His warnings.
[* Page 58]

## The Boke to the Christian Readars.

1Y brother (the Trumpet) dyd warne you before, That al men shuld walk in their callynge vpryght,
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

R罗 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 rych and the myghtie he doeth nothyng feare, No more doeth he wyth the pore mans falte beare. 602

The "Trumpet" was sent to prepure His way,
(4t 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 glass, 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 have, 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 knyt to the body agayne,613 In heauen or in hell they shall styll remayne:
Of blysse or of payne they shall haue theyr fyllThe good sorte in heauen, and in hell the ill.616
${ }^{1}$ panye in original.

Beholde me, therfore, wyth a gostly eie,
And let me not from your presence departe; For no doubt you wyll all wyckednes defye. therefore, and let me not depart from your presence.
So longe as I shall remayne in your herte, 620
I shall cause you from wyekednes to conuert, So that, in the ende, you shalbe ryght sure To lyue wyth my father in ioye and pleasure. 623

Finis.

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

[Bliss 1066, Bodl. Libr.]

## [front leaf] <br> - Cly celan to <br> 

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- $\mathfrak{C u m}$ príuilcgío à imprí= menount solum.

To lime and good dancs 5 ,
 glone gl or Disceite be. fill from ul mo bo that good is, aid herrof commetly no blame, Eicle thoo for parte biligently, Gluo ther cnsuc the same.
gysulur xxiiiix.

not put afora speoty.<br>Consultatio Robrrt

$$
\text { Crolet } \therefore
$$

ring that al men maye playnely perceine the considering what sedition has done, 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 evil out of this what can be done min be done ensue, if it be not spedely sene vato, it shalbe euery 5 true Englyshmans duty forth-wyth to employe his whole study to the remouyng of so great an enel oute of so noble a realme and commone wealth ; leste, liaply (if thronglie negligence it growe and take deper rote) because if let it be shortly to stronge and more suerly grounded than such deep root, that it maye be rooted onte wythonte the rtter de- that it may be struction of the whole realme. For what can be more kingdom.
true then that whych the Tructh it-selfe hath spoken? 13 "Enery kyngdome" (sayeth Christe) "that *is deuided Mathen .xii. in it-sclfe shall be broughte to nought." Intendynge, therefore, to playe the parte of a irue Englyshman, and to do all that in me shall ly to plucke thys stincking wede rp by the rote, I shal in thys good busines do as, in their enell exercise, the dise-playars (that gladlye 19 woulde, but hane nothynge to playe for) do:-Holde 1 shall hoh the the candle to them that haue wherewyth, and wyll sette lustily to it. And so doyng, I shal be no lesse remedy the matworthy the name of a true herted Englishman then be no less worthy the trumpettar is worthy the name of a man of war, thonghe he do not in dede fyght, but animate and encourage other.

Sedition therfore, beinge a daungerons disease in the bodie of a commen-wealth, muste be cured as the expert Plisicians 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 31 causes wherof they grewe, so is it in the pullinge wp of Sedition. For if the cause be once taken awaye, then by putting away muste the effecte nedes faile. If the rote be cut of the

Intending to act as a true Englishman, and to do all I can to remove so stinking a weed, candle to those who call and will ter, and so shall Engli than a trumpeter that of man of war.

[^11]the branch must die.

37
Do not disdain my advice,
[* A iii] for the matter Daniel .xiii. requires every man's counsel.
If I tell you the tiuth, don't be ashamed to do what I bid. Gene, xxi. Abraham obeyed Sarah;
the Ninerites obeyed Jonah, Jonas .iii. and sat in sackcloth and ashes;
Herod listened to John the Baptist, because what he said Mareke vi. was true; Give ear, then, to me, if you are not prouder than Babylon or more cruel than Herod.
[ ${ }^{1}$ orig. care] If I ask the poor man the cause of the sedition, he will answer,

## [2 orig. buthares.]

"The farmers, graziers, lawyers, merchants, gentlemen, knights, and lords.
Men without a name, because [ $\dagger$ 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
braunch must nedes die. The boughes cannot budde if the tree haue no sappe. And do not disdaine 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 Dabilon perceiued not. Gene eare, I saye, and if I tell you trueth, be not ashamed to do that I lid, thoughe 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 sackecloth \& ashes, because they perceiued that he tolde them the tructh. Yea, cruell Merode 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 Pabilonians, 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 answere. He wonlde tel me that the great fermares, the grasiers, the riche buchares ${ }^{2}$, the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who ; men that have no name because they are $\dagger$ doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon. Men without conscience. Men vtterly voide of Goddes feare. Yea, men that line as thoughe 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 gulles ; yea, men that would eate $\mathrm{y} p$ menne, women, \& chyldren, aro the causes of Sedition! They take our houses ouer
our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, men, women, and they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens! No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng 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 hane al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these rnsaciable beastes have 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 therfore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the French men are in! These idle bealies wil denour 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 crave 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 therfore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age !

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 shoullest 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 sonle \& strengthen thy mind to beare al this paciently, do leaue that alone. If thy
children.
They take our houses over our
heads, huy 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 eity they have all in their hands,84
and have doubled and trebled the
[* A iv]
rents these 12 years past. 88

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

They derour all we get in our youth, and when we are old we must beg, and then they won't give as 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 beceuse yon know not your duty in such tronble.

## 104

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

If your shepherd had been diligent
[* A iv, back] 112
the wolf might have come in nine sheepskins and not have deceived you.

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

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.

Christ would never go beyond the bounds of a private man, as Luke .xii. was seen when He was asked about the inheritance,
shepherde had bene a diligent watchman, \& had espred the woulfe comyng tpon the, before thou hadst beme within his reach, he wold haue stopped *betwene the \& thine enemi, \& enstrueted the in such sort, thut, though he had come in nine shepe skinnes, yet he shoulde not haue deceined thy syghte. The deuell shoulde neuer haue perswaded the that thou myghtest renenge thyne owne wronge! The false prophetes shoulde neuer haue caused the to belcue that thou shouldeste prenaile againste them with the swerde, vnder whose gouernaunce God hath apointed the to be. He would hane told the that to reuenge wronges is, in a subiect, 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 vito 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 Sauioure 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 en133 heritaunce wyth him, he axed who had appointed and in the matter him to be iudge in suche matters? And againe, when of the woman taken in adultery.
[ $\dagger \mathrm{A}$ v] he shoulde not geue sentence $\dagger$ of the lave againste her, 137 but axed hir if any man had condemned hir, and vpon If you had known hir deniall let hir go. If these examples, with the all this, and had John .riii. remembered other examples, Numeri .xri. you would have ii. Reg. xriii. allowed yourselves to be torn in pieces rather than rebel against the king.
called vnto. For no causo 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 But all slepherds while!) all shepeherdes be at this daie, and hath not are neglis, 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 lirelinge, and yours was, and cared for no more but to be fedde with the milcke perrans, a \& fatlinges and cladule with the woule, as the greateste only cared to be numbre of them that beare the name of shepeherde in as the greatest 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

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 deserued all this, and more to. Consider, firste, if thou haue loued thy neighboure as thy self; consider if thon haue done nothing vato him that thou wouldeste not that he shoulde do vinto the. Loke if thou haue not gone about to preuent him in any bargen that thou hast sene him about; loke if thou lhane not craitcly vodermined him to get some thing out of his hand, or to deceiue him in some Zurgein. Loke if thou haue not laboured him oute of his houss or ground. Se if 171 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 seruauntes, which might turne him to displeasure. Consider if thou hane not desired and wished in thine herte to haue his commoditie from him if thou mightest, without blame of the worlde, haue broughte it aboute. For God loketh vpon the herte, and if thine herte have bene infected with ani of these euilles, then haste thou bene abomin-
iIn.e jou not aceree. him falsely, or of raalice? given fulso evidence against lim?
Have you not coreted his goods? And wonl' Tn't you have brought it about if sou could without blame?
God looks on the beart, and if you
have done this you are abomina ble in His sight, and have deserved punish. ment.
And if you are abominable in
[* A vi] jour behaviour to your neighbour, liow do you stand in God's sight ?
God requires
Muth. xxii. your whole heart, mind, and body, and how could you love Him if you loved not your brother?

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194
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How many
hencfits have you received and Leen unthankful, and thought you had won them by your own Fower, as though God had not given them to sou?

By His works you know there is a God. Yet you have not [ $\dagger$ A vi, back] honoured Him, Romaynes.i. Lut have turned Hlis glory into an image like to man, and have gone from place to place to honour a thing of your own making.

$$
203
$$

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

182
Now if you be found ablominable in thy behauioure towardes thy neighboure what shalt thou be founde, trowest 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 lone thy Lord God wyth all thy lyfe, wyth al thy mynd, and wyth al thy. strength." That is to say, ther shal be nothynge 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, and how often hast thou gone whole dayes togither, whole weakes, yea whole yeres, and nener thought once to loue hym aryght? How many and how great benefites hast thou receytued at Goddes hand, and howe rnthanckful 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 labour. But knowynge by thyne owne creacion and bryngyng rp, and also by the yonge fruite that God sendeth the of thy bodi, \& further by the frutes that God sendeth, and causeth yerely to growe out of the earth, that there is a God Almyghty. Yet thou hast $\dagger$ 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 eallinge vpon them in thy nede and paying vnto the $m$ thy vowes, and thancking them for thyne health receiued; doinge them dayly worshipe 216 and reuerence in the temples, and bestowinge thine
alnes vpon them in deckinge them and setting lightes 217 before them! Biside this thou haste put confidence of You lare put saluacion in pardones that thou haste bought, in prayers sallaration in tor that thon hast hiered, or mumbled ip thy selfe in pardons which Masses that thou hast caused to be saide, and in worekes that thou thy selfe haste fantasied ; and haste not thanckefullye receyued the free mercye of God offered vnto the in Christ, in whom onlye thon maiste haue remission of thy sinnes! And therfore Got hath geuen the vp in to a reprobate minde to do the thinge that is not beseminge. 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 plage the wicked. If thon wilt therfore that God shall deliuer the or thy children from the tirannie of them that oppresse the, lament thine ohle simnes, and endeuour emendment of life. And then he that caused King Cirus to send the Iewes home to Terusalem againe, shall also stire rp 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 riners of water, so turneth he it."

Be sure therfore, that if thou kepe thy selfe in obedience and suffer al this oppression patiently, not geucing 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 pointel, be deliuered. Perchaunce God wyl take from thine oppressours their hard stony hertes, \& geve them hertes of fleshe ; for it is in hys

If you wish to bo delivered from oppression you must lament your sins, and strive to amend i. Esidicls .i. your manner of living.
Then King Edward will give liberty again, and give command that none shall oppress you. Prouerb .xxi. 243
edient, and suffer patiently, giving no ear to false propliceies which speak of victory, but listen to Got, Ezerh. xi. and in the end you shall be delivered from all your oppressors, power so to do. Let him alone therfore. Reade the 252

Reade Teremie hys prophecie. and learn your duty in cap-
[ ${ }^{*}$ A vii, back] tivity, how vain to believe prophecies of victory if you deserve captivity.

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.

Don't strive against the streamit 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,
> [ $\dagger$ A viii] 282
who will not leave you destitute of a diligent guide, as your shepherds do now-a-days.

260
prophecie of Ieremie, and especially the seuen and twentie Chapter, the eighte and twentic and the nine and twenti, and therein thou shalte learne thy ductie in captiuitye, and howe vayne a thynge it is to * credite the prophetes that prophecie vyctorie to theym that haue, by their synnes, deserued to be led awaye captyue, 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 comntreie 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 captive. So that, refusing to serve in thine own countrie, thou shalte be made a slate in a strainge contrei. Quiet thy selfe therfore, \& striue not againste the streame. For thi sinnes haue deserued this oppression, and God hath sent it the as a iust rewarde for thy simnes ; \& be thou newer 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 wheu 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. $\dagger$ They shal not come or send .iiii. times in an 82 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 shepeherdes from the, and to commyt the to the kepynge of Dauid hys fayeth-

288 ful seruaunte; that is to saye, to such as wyll be as
diligent in feadyng the, as Danid was in gouernyng the 289
people of whom he had gonemannee.
Gene eare therfore ye shephardes of thys chureh of Englande! Ye Byshoppes, ye Deanes, Archdiacons and Canons ; ye Persons and ye Vicares, what socuer ye be, that reeeyue any parte of the tenth of mens yerelye enerease, or any other patrimony of preachers, gene eare to the prophet Ezechiel! For the same Lord thut bad him speake ruto the sheperdes of Iuda, byddeth hym speake vnto you nowe also. "Thou somne of mame," sayth the 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 deeke youre selues * with the woule, \& the mutton that is fat ye kil to fele vpon, but these silli shepe ye fede not. The soroweful \& pensiue 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 crneltie ye have plaied the lordes ouer them, \&c." I nede not to reherse more of this prophets saiyng vnto you, for ye know where to haue it, and hane 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 behaniour and motherlike honsewifry 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 pimue by them when you be gone. Wel, loke to this geare be tyme, leaste perhappes it brecle a scalbe emonge you.

I woulle not your wines shoulde be taken from you, but I wold you shoulde kepe them to the furtheraunee of Goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheares.

Give ear, ye
bishops, deans, archtleacons, patsons, and vicals, whatsoever हैon are, who receive tenths of men's searly increase, to the Prophet Ezekiel, whom Gorl has commanded to speak to you.

298

E:ech. xxxiiii.
"Woe to the shepherds of England, who have fed them[* A viii, back] selves.
Yon eat the firt, and wear the wool, and kill the best, but these sheep yout feed not. The sorrow ful you have not comforterl; the sick you have not lrealed; the broken you have not bound up; the straying you have not recovered. But with extreme cruelty you have played the lords over Gol's heritage." Nota bene hon prystes nyres ought [ $t$ ]o bchane them selfes $\delta c \& c$. 320

325 Let youre wiues therefore put of theire fine frockes and Frenche hoodes, \& furnishe them selues with al pointes
that they may be
a help, and not a [ ${ }^{*} \mathrm{~B}$ i]
hindrance.
i. Timo. iii. 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, 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 God's word allow you to hold divers offices in divers 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 witlı one living, and do your duty, If Goddes Worde do alow it that one of you shulde be a deane in one place, a canone in an other, a parsone here and a parsone there, a Maister of an house in Oxforde or Cambridge and an officer in the kinges house, and yet to do none of the duities 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 doinges herin. If you can not do so, then geue ouer youre pluralities and make your vnsaciable desires gene place to Goddes trueth. Content your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to 346 be diligente in doinge the duetie therof. But if ye

Your unwortly curates have stirred up the people in the late tumults.

## 357

Where they had a godly teacher the people were quiet.
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 stil your pluralities for your lordlike liweing sake, doubt wyll do neither of boeth, truste to it ye shall heare more of it! Youre checkinge of one or two in a corner can not stop enerye mamues mouth in a matter of trueth, beynge so great an infamie to the Gospel of God which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold $\dagger$ ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde seme to be cleare of. For a great numbre of youre vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that have bene; where as if you had not robbed them of that which thei paye yearely to have a learned and Godly teacher, they had bene better enstructed, as appeared by the quietnes that was emonge them that had such shepeherdes.

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 wholy to the wyll of God. Do thy laboure truly, eal vpon God continually. I meane not that thou shuldest be euer muttering on thy beads, or that thou shouldest lave any beads, but my meaninge is, that thou shouldest euer haue thine harte lifted vp rnto God ; for so meaneth Sainte Paul when he sayeth, "I would men should pray alwayes, and in all places, liftinge vp theire pure handes, \&c." And in all thy doinges let thy desire be that Goddes wil be fulfilled in the, and what so ener God sendeth the, holde the content withal, and render vnto him most hertie thanckes, for that he dealeth so mercifully with the; acknowledginge that bi his iustice he might poure oute ypon the mo plages then euer * were heard of. And, when thou commeste to thy parishe church, if thy cur[a]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 $\mathbb{d}$ 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 vato the, that do thou. But folowe not his examples! Do not as thou seest him do ; but at thy firste entraunce into the chureh, 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 389 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 shoukle 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 edifeed, and lea
necessary for you, and for your sake your curate shall speak plainly, so that you can underActu. ii. stand him.
[* B ii, back] 402

If you are desirous to learm your duty, God will make it plain.
He made the IIebrew tongue plain to all men on the day of Pentecost.

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

If I demand of the " greedy cormorants" what they think is the cause, they will answer,
" Peasant knaves are too wealthy ; provender pricks
[ + 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;
sake God shall make thy curate (that otherwise wold mumble in the mouth \& drounde his wordes) to speake out plainly, or else he shall gene the such a gift that thou shalt vnderstande him plainely. Of suche power is * God, for when the Apostles spake in the Hebrue tonge onlye 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 mito the, though it be not plainlye reade. For he that coulde make the Hebrue tonge (which sowndeth far otherwise then other tonges do) sownd al maner of languages, to euerie 409 man his owne language, can also make thine owne language sownde plaine vnto the, though it were not spoken anye thinge plaine.

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 plage thy former sinne withall. Because thou knewest God bi his creatures and yet didest not honoure him as God, he hath geuen the 418 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!

Nowe if I should demaund of the gredie cormerauntes 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 obelience, they regard no lawes, thei would $\dagger$ hate no gentlemen, thei wold haue al men like themselues, they would hane 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 and have the law kinges! They wrll compel the kinge to grannt theyr in their own requestes! But as they like their fare at the breakefaste They liked the they had this laste somer, so let them do againe. They breakfast they haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better they were well coled if they quiet not them selues. We wyll tech them to know theyr betters. And because they wold 439 haue al commone, we wil leave them nothing. And if we mill leare they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster togither, we wil hang them at their own dores! Shal we suffer the vilaines to disprone our doynges? No, we wil be lordes of our own \& vse it as we shal thinke good!

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 chikens, 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 fanoureth 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 alreadi told them of theires. And for you your faults. asmuch as you be stronge and they weake, I shall 456 desire you to beare with me though I be more ernest in rebuking your faultes, then I was in rebuking theirs.

True it is, the pore men (whom ye cal paisaunte True, the poor knaues) have deserued more then you can deuise to mave deserved laie vpon them. And if enerye one of them were able can lay upon and shoulde sustaine as much punishment as thei al 463 were able to sustaine, yet could thei not sustaine the plages that thei hane deserned. But yet if their offence but if their wer laied in an equall balaunce with yours (as no doubt offence were put the in the sight [ ff God) doult not but your should balance with thei are in the sight [of] God) doubt not but you should yours, you would sone be ashamed of youre parte. For what can you soon be ashamed.

469 laye vnto their charge, but they have had examples of

Are they disobedient? you were first disobedient,

473 al maner of oppression \& extortion, \& that more is contrarie to conscience, the ground of al good lawes, ye
in enclosing the commons, con[* B iv] trary 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 slowed neither obedience nor love of country. If there had been obedience you would have put his laws int 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 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 enclosed frome the pore theire 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 theire rentes. Yea, when ther was a law ratified to the contrary, you ceased not to finde meanes either to compel your tenantes to consent to your desire in enclosinge, 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 grudginge that was emong 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 lone 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 loned your contrei, woulde you not haue preuented the great destruction that chaunced bi the reasone $\dagger$ 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 hertofore had a noble and a valiaunte com-
minalti. But graunt ye were so beastish, yet haue you realm whiel has not lacked them that haue tolde you of it both by had sucha valiaut wordes and writtinges. You haue ben tolde of it I you hare been saye, and haue lad the threatninges of God laied told of all this plainlye before your eies, wherin you must nedes se the vengeaunce of God hanging ouer your heades for your lacke of mercy. Ther is not one storie of the Bible that serueth to deelare how readi God is to take vengeaunce 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 plainly appeare the iustice of Gol 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 have rebelled.

Wittinglye and willinglye therfore ye haue boeth disobeied youre kinge and his lawes, and also broughte youre contrei into the miseri it is in, bi pulling vpon your self that vengeaunce of God whiche of his iustice he can not holde backe from such people as do *wyllinglye and wittynglye 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 benifices, or other spirituall promotions (as you call theym, for ye are ashamed to calle theym ministracions, because ye neyther wyll nor can minister) or beinge priestes haue 538 pluralities of such ministrations. Well I wyl burden I will not burden you no more wyth youre faultes, leaste perhappes you moure faults, CROWLEY.
bnt 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 F, 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?
[ ${ }^{1}$ orig. distrube]

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559
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The king's blood, if he had perished, would have been required at your bands.
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 hame thynges in priuate for that ye let youre tenauntes lyue by you vpon theyre laboure. And thincke not to prospere the better in youre vasatiable desyre, for that you tryumphe so lordelyke ouer the poore caytyfes, that, beynge seduced by the vayne hope of vyctorye promysed theym in pinyshe prophecies *hate 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 therfore that is the occasion of one mans fallyng vnto any kynd of vjce were better hane a mylstone tied aboute hys necke and be cast into the depe sea wythall, what shalbe thought of you that liane bene the occasion of so many mens fallyng into so detestable synne and trespasse agaynste Gorl, as to clisturbe ${ }^{1}$ 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 hane bene required at your handes, as the bloud of al them that have perished shal?

Oh merciful God, were it not that Goddes mercy 564 is more then your synnes can be, ther were no way

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

569

I require you, therefore, to own your offences against the poor, [ + B vi] who are your brothers by religion and nation. 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 wyckel wayes, and, with a constant faith \& sure beleue to obtayne, do call on hym for mercye. I aduertise you, therfore, $\&$ in the name of Christ (whose name jou beare) I require jou, that without delaye ye returne to your hertes \& acknowledge your greuous and manifold $\dagger$ offences, committed in your behaniour towardes the poore members of Christ (your brethren boeth by religion and nacion) whome you have 576 so cruellye oppressed, [and] wyshe euen from the bot-
tome of your hertes, that you hall neuer done it. Be 577 fully determined to make restitucion of that ye haue Be fully determise tare minel to make thynge. For better is a cleare conscience in the hour of deth in a beggars bosome, then 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 striue not to set your children aboue the same, lest God take vengaunce on you boeth sodenly when ye be most hastie to clime. And if for youre worthines God haue called you to offyee 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 restitution, for it is better to clic poor with a clear conscience, than to have mountains 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. godly maners, that they may worthily succede you.

Grudge not to se the people growe in wealth 591

Grudge not to vnder you, neither do you inuent waies to kepe them $\begin{gathered}\text { see the people } \\ \text { grow in wealth, }\end{gathered}$ bare, lest haply it chaunce vito you as it did to Kinge Nabuchodonozer ${ }^{1}$ and hys seruauntes when Exodi.i. they diuised wayes to kepe the Helrues in slauery stil. 597 *They rebelled not, but quietly did theyr labour, refer- [ ${ }^{*}$ B vi, baek] rynge theyr cause to God. They prepared not for lest God scrve warres, neither had any confidence in theyr own You as He did strength, but when the Egiptians thought to haue had a faire day at them, God drowned them al in the Redde Sea, and draue theyr deade bodies on land in such sorte that they, whom they thoughte to kepe styll in slauerye, myght easyly take the spoyle of them. Thincke not therfore, but if the people quiete them spoil. selues in theyr oppression and eal vnto God for deliner- 607 aunce, he wyll by one meane or other geue them the spoile of their oppressours. He is as mighty nowe as He is ns mighty he was in those dayes, and is now as able to slea boeth now as he was you and youres in one night as he was to slea al the Exodi .xiiii.

[^12]612 firste borne of the Egiptyans. And then who shal hate Be warned in the spoile? De warned betime, least ye repente to
time; time;
appoint good ministers; such as are able and willing to instruct the people late! Leaue of your gredie desire to pul away the lineynge from the cleargy, and seke diligentlye to set suche ministers in the churche as be able and wyl enstruct 618 them and they with you may escape the wrath of God Ionas iii. that hangeth presently ouer you both. The kinge is repent as the Ninerites did, if sou would find merey, and be
[* B rii] not ashamed to behave as they dil.

625
Be not ashamed to proclaim a fast, and to show to all men that you ery for mercy. Come to the temples, that men may see you regard Christ's institution ; give bread to the poor, for that is the true fast. citizens of Nenine were not ashamed to sitte in sackecloth and in ashes lamentynge their synnes, and there tpon * founde mercye. Wherefore, if ye wyll fynde mercye, ye muste not be ashamed to do the lyke, for certenlye the greatnes of your simnes importeth as 25 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 rinto God for mercy. Leaue of your communions in a corner \& come to the open temples, that men may se that je regard the Lords institucion. Breake your lread to the pore, that al men may se that ye regard fastyng. For that is the true fast, to refraine the meate \& drinke that accustomably we were wont to take, \& 635 geue the same (or the value therof) to the nedy. So shal you both fele \& know theyr disease, and ease it also.

Don't trust in your warriors,
but remember Holofernes Who would not listen to the adrice of his captain.
Iudeth $\cdot x$.

Trust not to your great number of valiant warriours, neither to your mightye prouisions, but remember what befel to Holofernes the stout captaine of King Nubuchodonozer, when he woulde not harken to the right aduice of Achior hys vndercaptaine. For certenly I say mnto you, God was neuer more redy to deliner his people of Israel from oppression at al
614 times when they, walkinge in his wayes, committed

God is now ready to deliver all Christians who confidently [ +3 vii, back] their cause rnto him, then he is now redy to deliner al Christen men that do wyth lyke confidence eal vpon him. † If you therfore wyl not hearken vnto Achior his
counsel, but determine to torment him, when ye shal triumpth ouer the rest, doubte you not but Iudith shal cut of al your liedes, on after another, \& God shal strike youre retinew with such a feare, that none shalbe so bolde as once to tourne liys face. Yea if there were no men left on line to put them in feare, they should be feared wyth shadowes! And though ther were no gonnes to shote at them, yet the stones of the strete shuld not cease to flye emonge them, hy 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 therfore, \& seke not to kepe the commones of England in slanery, for that is the next way to destroie 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 shal 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, consumynge 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 publique wealth of thys noble realme of Englande, which God hath enriched wyth so manye and so greate commodities, \& as you desyre to rse and enioye the same, and not to be led away captiue into a straynge nacion, or else be cruelly murthered among your wyules, kinsfolke, and children, and finallye to be damned for euer; so loke vpon these causes of Sedicion, and do your best endeuour to put them awaie. You that be oppressed, I say, refer youre cause to God. And you that haue oppressel, lament your so doinge and do the office of your callinge, in defendinge the innocente and fedinge the nelye. Let not couetyse constraine you to robbe the people of that porcion which they paic to
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$\qquad$
call upon Him, but if you will not hearken, the same punishment Iuteth .xiii. and. .xt. shall befall you as befell 11olofernes, and you shall be atraid of sladows if there are no men to make you fear. 656Be warned; seek not to keep the eommons of England in slavery, lest you destroy yourselves. For if they eommit their cause to Gorl, you may be sure He will fight for them.

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G66
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$\qquad$
instruct them in their duty,
but seek for such ministers, and let them have all the people pay.

So shall you escape rengeance, and be rewarded at God's hand with plenty of all good.
[* B riii, back]
If you will not take heed, you shall be more hardened than Pharaoh.

700

May you by repentance
escape the đanger.

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

Thus doinge, ye shall not onelye escape the vengeance that hangeth presentlye ouer you but also be rewarded at Goddes hande, boeth with excedinge plenti of al good thinges in this life, \& also with life euerlastinge *when nature shal ende the same. Where as if ye wyl not take counsell, but remayne styl in your wyeked purpose, Pharao nor the Sodomites were neuer so hardened as you shalbe, neyther is the remembraunce of theyr distruccion so terible to vs , as the distruccion of you shalbe to others that shall come after. The Spirite of GOD worcke in youre hertes, that

јe, beynge admonished of the sword that is commynge, maye
by repentaunce of your syn escape the daunger therof. (4) So be it.

## An informa-

sion and peticion anaunst the appressouts
of the fore Commonts of this Firalme, rompi= Iro and Emprintor for this omerly purpose that amomgrst them tyat fante to dor in tye fatliamente, some godue munder men, may youcat takic orcacion to spatike more in tye matter ther the Gutu thoure fans adile to writt. * sity

## ब Eswue Mriti.

 amontrst you, and leate of goute iole talles: than shal mou fal Gpor the gord and be shal yeat yon, yout shat rete, and lye



## - To the moste honorable Lords of the Par <br> liament wyth the commones of the

 same: theyr moste humble and dayely Oratoure, Roberte Crowley, wysheth the assistence of Gods Holy Spirite.AMonge the manyfold \& moste weyghty mattiers or all mettere (moste worthy counsaylours) to be debated to be divechsed and communed of in this present Parliament, and by the aduise, assent, and consent therof spedily to be redressed, I thynke ther is no 5 one thynge more nedfull to be spoken of then nothing is more the great oppression of the pore communes by the urgent than that possessioners, as wel of Clergie as of the Laitie. No oppression of doubt it is nedfull, and ther ought to bee a spedy redresse of many mattiers of religion, as are these :- 10 The vse of the sacraments and eeremonies; the Religious matters vsurnys of tenthes ${ }^{1}$ to priuate commoditie; the super- also need to be reiressed and fluouse, vnlerned, vndiscret, and vieiouse ministers of reformed, the ehurch, and their superstitious and idolatrous ad- 14 ministracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be a spedy reformacion. For they are now most lyk hastely to brynge vppon thys noble realme the ineuitable vengeannce of God, if they bee not shortly refourmed; 18

[^13]because God has made them known to us.
for asmuch as it hath pleased the almyghty and lyuyng 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 28 instructed by their blinde guydes and by them holden
[leaf 1, back] The ignorant people etill believe
in the snperstitions of their fathers,

For notwythstandyng the Kynges maiesties late visitacion, the ignorant people, whoe haue longe ben fostred and brought rp in the supersticiou and wronge beleue of these thynges, and are jet, no dout, secretly styl in blyndnes, wyll not be perswaded that theyr forfathers supersticion was not the true fayth of Christ, tyl such tyme as they haue continuyng among them 32 such preachars as shall be able, and wyll, by the and will do so till manifeste Scriptures, proue vnto them that both they better ministers are appointed. \& their fathers wer deceiucd \& 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 ven 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.
42 Thys knowledge, I say, wyll not be beaten into the

Ministers now are hirelings and butchers:
they come to be fed, not to feed: heads of the ignorante, so longe as theyr shepeherds be but hyrlynges and folowe lyuynges, 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 doubtles (moste Christen counsaylours) I thinke it not possible to
49 amende this great enormitie, otherwise then by reduceynge the order of choseynge of the ministers rnto the order that was in the primitine church, wherof is men-
Actu. 1.

Jcre. 23. cioned 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
did renne but I sent you not." They shalle be ealled [leaf 2] feedars of feedynge them selues, and not of fedyng 56
the flock. They shall studye to please men \& not to please God. In fine, they shall differ nothynge from they differ the craftes men whyche applye an occupacion to get nothing from theyr lyuynge vppon, and not to the intent to profite the common weale.

The craftes man sueth for the fredom of a Citie, who seek for the not becanse he intendeth to be a maintainer of the City,
Citie, but because he hopeth that he shall lyue so muche the more welthyly hym selfe. And euen for 65
lyk causes do our ministers, and are lyke styll to do because they will be better off. (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.

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

The sacramentes they styll abuse, rseing them as matters of merchaundyee, and chiefly the most worthy memorie of our redemption ; for that they selle boethe 76 to the quycke and to the deade, to the rych and to the poore. None shall receyue it at theyr handes wythout they must be he wyll pare the ordinaric shotte, and so are ther redy paid for, and to serue may have them. to serue euery man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely The priests look and nothynge vppon the mynde. Whether it be taken $\begin{gathered}\text { upon the money } \\ \text { only. }\end{gathered}$ to comfort of conscience or iudgement, they pas not; 82 thei tel the monei, thei loke for nomore. If they wyll They know this 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? Perchaunce they wyll answer that the but excuse themmoney is not payede for the sacrament, but for the iiii $\begin{gathered}\text { selves by saiving } \\ \text { lleafe , back] }\end{gathered}$ offeryng dayes? Then aske I this questian :- the money is not

Why thei appoint not another time to receive it in sar fine fours $\begin{gathered}\text { paid for the } \\ \text { Sor the }\end{gathered}$ then that tyme whyche is to lyttle to bee occupied in onfering days.
collect the money at some other time.

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

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

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

## I fear the op-

 pression of the poor will be passed over in silence,[leaf 3]
unless God move the hearts of the possessioners to sell their lands.

I do not advocate a community of goods.
I mean no such thing.

93

98

103

## 111

declareynge to the people the right vse \& profyte of the sacramentes, \& to instructe them, so that they do not receyue it to theyr iudgment, but to theyr confort and quietnes of conscience, for whych purpose it was first instituted? Vndoubtedli (most Christian counsailours) they can not deny but that they appoynt to receyue it then because they wyll be sure of it.

Theyr doeynges wyll declare it thoughe 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.
These thynges (I doubt not) are so euident and playne rnto you that it nedeth not to troble you wyth manye 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 occacion and can do no lesse but seke a furder redres herof (whych all Chrysten hertes do desyr) in thys present parliament.

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 searsely 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 possessioners 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 thynge. But with all myne herte I woulde wysh that 126 no man wer suffered to eate but such as woulde laboure
in theyr vocacion and callyng, accordynge to the rule
that Paule gane to the Thessalonians.
But yet I woulde wysh that the possessioners woulde consyder whoe gane them theyr possessions, and howe they ought to bestowe them. And then (I doubt not) it shoule not nede to hauc all thynges made commune.

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

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,"It is myne owne; whoe shall warne me to do wyth myne owne as me selfe lysteth?"-it shall not bee 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 mync house then euer he shal be able to paye. Then may I 148 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. 152

If ther were no God, then would I think it leafull if there were no for men to vse their possessions as thei lyste. Or if Ge lavfult to mse God woulde not require an accompt of vs for the bestoweynge of them/, I woulde not greately gaynsaye, thoughe they toke theyr pleasure of them whylse they liued here. But forasmuch as we have 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 162

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

The Philosophers said friends should possess in common:

169
if we haven't more perfect friendship than they we are not true Christians.

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 Philosophers who knewe nothyng of the bonde of frendshippe which Christe our Maister and Redemer lefte amonge vs, affirmed that amonge frendes al thynges are common, meaneyng that frendshippe woulde not suffer one frende to holde frome an other the thynge 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 rayne. Yea if wee haue not a more perfecte frendeshyppe then that whereof the Philosophers speake, wee are but fayned Christians, we beare the name onely 176 and are nothynge 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 rs is declared by the wordes of the Apostle, sayinge, that Christe gane 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 rnderstande onely of the pastors and shep-
John.10. herdes towarde theyr flocke ; because Christ sayth that 192 a good shepherde geueth his lyfe for his shepe. For-

This friendship refers to the laity and clergy,
because both belong to the flock of Christ. soeth if the pastours or shepeherdes onely were the flocke of Christe, then myght thys frendeshyp ryght well be rnderstanded of them onely. But for asmuch as the laie and priuate persons ar as well of the flocke of Christe as the other, thys frendeshyp parteineth vato them no lesse then to the other. And thys causeth
me (moste worthy counsaylours) not to feare the dis- 199 pleasure of men in this behalfe ; knoweynge for cer- This makes me tentie, that the greateste numbre of thys assemble are fear man's n t free from this oppression that I speak of, and that it is far vnlyke that a primate persone, by no meanes worthy to be called to suche an assemble, shoulde be 204 fanow:ably hereade and accepted of them whom God hath callecl to be comnsaylours of a realme; and chiefly in a cause taxynge \& blameyng the indges befor whom it is pleaded. I might well coniecte wyth For speaking in my selfe, that I shoulde in this poynte be compted a may be counted busy body, ${ }^{1}$ and one that renneth before he is sent. 1 aussbody, but But I am redi to suffer, not onli al such report, but euen the verye death also (if it shall please the almightie and enerlyueynge God to laye it vpon me) for youre sakes, most worthy counsaylons, and the resilue, my naturall brothe $[r] s$ of this noble realme.

And here I proteste vnto you all, that the same Spirite that sent Iomas to the Niniuits, Daniel to the I am ready to suffer [leaf 4, back]
anything for your sakes.

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215
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The Spirit that sent Christ asd the prophets. Babilonians, Nathan to Kyng Danid, Achior unto Holofernes, Iulith vato 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 enen the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye Esaie, 58. and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wyekednes ; " cryeth also in my conscience, bydyng me not spare to tell the possessioners of this realme, that rnlesse they repente the oppression wherewyth they vexe the pore commons, and shew themselues, through lone, 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 Christe, the Eldest Sonne
violence done to the poor, you will be cast into outer darkness.

238
[leaf 5]
Esaie. 59. Unless you make the poor to cease from crying, God will not prosper your reformations, but will leave you in the power of the prince of this world.
wyll repent the violence don to the poore and nedy membres of the same, and become as handes, ministryng vuto 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 leane 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

Now hear what complaints are made against you in beaven: owne priuate commoditie.

These thynges hath the Spirite of God spoken. Heauen and earth shal perish, but the wordes of the Spirite shall not perysh, but be fulfylled. Nowe herken you possessioners, and you rich men lyfte vp your ears ; ye stuards of the Lord, marke what complayntes are layede agaynste you in the hygh court of 258 the lyueynge God.
"Lorde" (sayeth the Prophete)" hast thou forsaken vs? Doest thou hyde thy selfe in the tym of our trou-
While the wicked man grows proud [See Psalm x.] the poor are afflicted.

Would God the wicked might feel some of the troubles he invents for others. ble? Whylse the wycked waxe proud the pore man is aflicted and troubled. Would to God the wicked myght feale the same thinges that they inuent for other. For the simnere 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 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 wyll reuenge hym vpon all hys enimies.
"He thynketh thus wyth hym selfe, I wyll not remone frome one generacion vito an other wythout mischiefe. His mouth is full of malediction and enill reporte, frande \& deceyte, and vider his tonge is afliction and iniquitie.
"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 fyexed vpon the pore ; he layeth awayete enen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth awayte to take the pore man by foree, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he onerthrowe the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his herte he saycth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a waye hys face, and wyll nener regarde the oppression of the pore," ete., to the ende of the same Psalme.

What sentence (thinke you) wyll the Lorde gene vpon this euidence? No doubt (most worthey comnsellers) euen the same that we reate in Esaye the Prophet:-"I loked for iulgment and rightouse dealeynge amongeste my people, and beholde there is iniquitie, I loked also for instice, and leholde ther is an outcrye. Wo be vato you therfore, that do ioyne house vito house, \& couple one fielde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorle of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses shall be deserte \& withont inhabitantes; x acres of wynes shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and axx bushelles of sede shal yelde but $x$ bushelles agayne." Beholde, you engrossers of fermes and teynements, beholde, I saye, the terible threatnynges of God, whose wrath you

God will give against those who join honse to house and fielt to field; against such as oipress. instead of lealing justly :Dlany houses shall be desolate, ten acres of vines shall only yiekd one quart, and 30 bushels of see? shall only yield ten.
can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you
CROWLEY.
[neaf 6] haue with money thruste out of house and whome) is 307 well accepted in the eares of the Lorde, and hath
You cannot escape God's threatenings.

The sced of God's Word shall remain barren in your hearts.

314
For conetous, the rote of all yuelles, occupieth that grounde so that the heanenlie 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,

321
and you surveyors, that of tenpound land make twenty.

When you have raised your rents to the highest,

327
you'll die suddenly, and God's grace will be taken from you, steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth you most horrible plages. Ten acres of vynes shal yelde but one quarte of wyne, and xxx bushelles of sede but $x$ bushelles agayne. The sede of Goddes Worde sowen in youre hertes shalbe barrayne and not bringe fourth fruite. 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. He sliall forbyd the cloudes of hys mercy to rayne vpon you wyth the swete dwe of hys grace. And you surueighers ${ }^{2}$ of landes, that of x . li. lande can make xx , you shall not be forgotten in the effucion of thys plage.

For when you haue multiplied your renttes to the higheste, so that se haue made all your tenantes your slaues to labour, and toyle, and bringe to you all that maye be plowen and digged out of youre groundes, then shal death sodaynly strike you, then shall God wythdrawe his comfortable grace from you, then shall your conscience prycke you, then shall you thynke
and you will think yourselves unworthy of mercy, because you have shown no mercy.
[leaf 6, back] with desparat Cain, that your sinne is greater then that it may be forgeuen. For your owne conscience shall iudge you worthye no mercye, because you haue shewed no mercy. Yea the same enimie that hath kendled and docth yet maynetayne in you thys mischenouse, outragiouse, and vnsaciable conetousnes, 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."

[^14]You haue shewed no mercye, howe can you than 341 loke for mercie ? Oh noble counsailours, be mercyfull to your selues. Destroye not your owne soules to enriehe your heires. Enlarge not your earthly possession wyth the losse of the eternall enheritaunce. Learne to knowe the estate that God hath called you ruto, \& to lyne accordinge to your profession. Know that yon 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 $\mathbb{E}$ not to scrape together on heapes. God hath not sette you to surueye hys landes, Do not destroy your souls to enrich your heirs.

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Remember you are ministers in the commonwealth.
Your duty is to distribute, and not scrape together. but to playe the stuarles in his householle of this 353 world, and to se that your pore felow seruantes lacke not theye $[r]$ necessaries.

Consiler that you are but ministers and sermauntes You areonly vnder the Lorle oure Gorl, and that you shal render a servants, and $\begin{gathered}\text { will have to give }\end{gathered}$ streyght accompt of your administracion. Stand not to much in your own conceyte, gloriynge in the worthynesse of your bloude; for we are all one mans chyl- 360 dren, and haue (by nature) lyke ryght to the richesse and treasures of thys workle, 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[1]de, but theit an account of your administrations.
the same cause may be founde in hym also whome you
make your slaue? By nature (therefore) you can claime no thynge but that whiche you shall gette with the swet of your faces. That you are lordes and gonernoures therfore, 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

By nature you can only claim [leaf 7] what you earn.
That you are lords comes by ordinance, not by nature.
372 worlde, but hath charged you wyth the greate and rede multitude.

And if any of them perishe thorowe your defante, if any poor perish through knowe then for certentye, that the bloude of them $\underset{E=c c c h .}{ } 33$.
your neglect, their blood will be required at your hands.

380
If they steal, you are the cause, because you have enclosed all the lands.

Psal. 113.
shalbe required at your handes. If the impotent creatures perish for lacke of necessaries, you are the murderers, for you have theyr enheritaunce and do minister vnto them.

If the sturdy fall to stealeyng, robbyng, \& 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 lyueynge. For as the Psalmiste wryteth :-" All the heauen is the Lordes; but as for the earth hee hath geuen to the

Tou are appointed to give meat to God's household.

394 4 you be foumde faythfull in this littel, then knowe that he wyll preferre you to much greater thinges. But if ye bee founde oppressing your felowe seruauntes, then knowe for certentie, that the Lorde your Maister shall at hys comeynge rewarde you wyth many strypes.
Inke . 12.
Daniel. 4. [leaf 7, back] Remember Nebuchadnezzar, who became a beast,

403
and Pharaoh, whom the Lord drowned in the Red Sea.

The Romans held all Enrope and part of Africa and Asia, and where are their successors ?

Call to your remembraunce the History of Kynge Nabuchodonosor, whoe for his presumption became as a brute beast, fead[ing] vpon grasse and hey as other beastes dyd.

Consyder Pharao with his great armie, whom the Lord ouerwhelmed in the Red Sea for oppresseyng and persecuteyng his people. Yea, consider all the nobilitio that haue possessed the erth, euen from the begynyng ; and then saye howe you bee theyr successours, \& by what title you may cleyme that which was theyrs.

Many hundred yeres sence the noble Romains helde all Europa coad parte of Affrike and Asia in quiete possession ; and where are they that succeade them in theyr impier?

The brutishe Gothes innaded and vanquished the who are the
impier of Rome; and wher are theyr successours?
suceessors of the Goths $\hat{r}$
What shoulde I stande in the rehersale of the 415 greate possessioners that haue hertofore possessed the erth, whose lynial descent can not bo founde? It shall suffice me to remyt you to the wordes of the Lorde rnto Nabuchodonosor, whyche are written in the boke of Daniel the Prophete.

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."

Thus is it euident vnto you (moste worthy counsaylours) that your powre and estate cometh frome aboue ; and that by nature you can eleyme nothynge of the possessions of this worlde, more then that whyche you gette wyth the swet of your faces.

I doubt not therfore but that your conseiences do condesende and agre vnto that which I haue spoken coneernynge your office and ministerie; knoweynge that Goll hath appointed you to minister necessaries to the impotent, and to defende the innocent.

Do not therfore 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 rexed on euery side.

The lande lordes for theyr partes, suruey and make the vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysydes the rnreasonable fynes and incomes, and he that wyll not or ean not geue all that they demaunde, shall not enter, be he neuer so honest, or stancle he neuer so greate neede.

Yea, though he have ben an honeste, true, faythfull

Landlords make the uttermost penny of their grounds, besides fines and incomes;
your duty, but redress this oppression.

453 perishe for lacke of harbour.
and when a tenant's lease runs out they make him pay a great sum, or else he must vacate in haste.

The mischiefs that flow from such oppression to men, women, and children, are feartul.
[leaf 8, back]

Young men garnish the galluws;
young women are made
"Sisters of the Bank,"
and die in the streets.
Universal destruction comes upon our noble realm by the covetonsness of surveyors.
and quicte tenant many yeres, yet at the racation 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

What a sea of mischifes hath floued out of thys more then Turkyshe tyranie! What honeste housholders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest mens tables! What honeste matrones have ben brought to the needy rocke and cardes! What men459 clyyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences, and other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great lacke), have ben compelled to fal, some to handycrafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne theyr parents decrepet age and miserable pouertie! What
464 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 469 to passe oner the days of theyr youth in vngrate seruitude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable ponertie ! What immodeste and wanton gyrles 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 outragious and vnsaciable desyr of the surueiers of landes! I reporte me to you (moste Christian counsayellours) which ar here assembled from all partes of this noble realme, to consulte for the 480 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 obtaynyge ${ }^{1}$ leases in and

[^15]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 pylynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must of necessitie seke habitations at their handes.

That this is true, I report me to my Lorde the Nine-tenths of Maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of London, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the the houses in London are let in this way. [leaf 9$]$ Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I thinke ix of the x partes, of the honses in London bee set and let by them that haue them by lease and not by the owners.

Howe thei polle the pore tenantes would sone be tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rentrolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the greate leasmungers haue greate gains by their leases, for upon the tenants would soon be seen if the leases and rent-rolls the litleons, that hold but a piece of houseing of xx . or xxx s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde and dwell the residue for the whole yerely rent.

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

These things
appear to be trifles which do not concern the nobility and seem to be unworthy of notice by tho Parliament.

510
Even yoa, Christian Councillors, are not all so free from this oppression, but you would rather wink at it ; 515 wyncke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inordinate 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 519
so I shall not wonder if you laugh at my foolhardiness and
[leaf 9 , back] rashness in entering upon this sulject, because men do not agree to such things as will diminish their profits.

What I lave said is for the profit of the whole realm.
meruayle, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue auy 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 membres of the sane.

Trath it is (moste worthy counsailours), I myght well and worthyly be laughed at if I woulde attempte any suche thynge. But the thynge that hytherto I hate spoken of is not to the clisprofite of any, but to the greate commoditie and profite of all the whole 534

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, -

541 realme.

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 vito 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 hane either legges or feete that wyll lette them goe bare, haueynge wher545 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.

Bear in mind that the body without the legs is only like a [leaf 10$]$ hlock, and cannot muve; so you, if

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 able to do theyre ministerie and office accordyngly.

Once remembre, that as the body wythout the inferiour partes is but lame and as a blocke vnweldy, and muste, if it wyll remone frome place to place, creepe vpon the handes ; cuen so you, if ye had not the pore
membres of this realme to tyll the grounde and doe your other drondgery, no remedy, you must nedes do it your selues.

Vse them therfore as the nccessarie membres of the mistical body of this most noble realme, and be not in this poynt mor vnuatural then the heathen Philosophers were.

They in theyr writtynges declare no lesse then I haue here written.

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, enen as farre as the excellencie of the name and religion which we professe passeth theyrs.

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 :-
"What so euer ye do to one of the lest of these litleons that beleue in me, ye doe it vnto me." If you therfore, neither wil your selfes oppresse our Saniour 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 reformacion 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 loueinge Sauiour thus to be oppressed, he wyll forsake you, he wyll leaue you to the spirite of errour. Your reformacions shal take no
you had not tho poor to till the ground, must do it yourselves.

Therefore you must use the poor as members of this realm, else you will be more unnatural than the heathen, 564
whom, as Christians, you ought to surpass.

[^16]570
yron are all members of Clirist's body,574
and Christ esteems what is done to His members as done to Himself.
Mat. 25. If you will not oppress Christ through His members, 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 yon and leave youto a spirit of error.592 place. All your diuises shall be abhominable in his syght, because je haue not purged your handes from the bloude of this oppression.

Let the decres whyeh were establyshed in thys place by a Parliament assembled for a lyke purpose be your president, not to folow, but to berware by them that ye establish not the lyke.

The intent of that assemble was no lesse to refourm 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 against him.

1. ELpist. 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 thynge is well 607 proued by theyr proceadynges in the same Parliament.

615 the spirit of erroure, and not of the Spirite of God;

Articles were established against God's Word, forbidding marriage, and separating the married.

You will, I doubt not, call these articles in question.
[leaf 11]
Christ's poor members are oppressed in other things-I am unwilling to mention them lest 1 should offend with the multitude of words. Some you know : as extortion and usury, authorized by Parliament; For they established Articles euen directly agaynst Gods worde, forbedynge to mary, and commaundynge to put asunder those that God hath ioyned together.

If you wyll call these Articles into question agayne (as in dede you haue inste occacion to do) I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceaded of because the charitie of God was not amonge them in that assemble.

Other thynges therbe wherby the pore membres 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 vinto you, I meane the greate extortion and vsurie that reigueth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these 627 .iii. yeres laste paste.

The Cleargie of the Citie of London hauc, for the elergy orertheyr parte, optayned loy Parliament authoritie to ithe, and for onertenthes euen after the exem[ple] of the landlordes demand dunble and leasemongers, and maye, by the vertue of the acte, 631 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 demanude 636 .ii.s. ix.d, the double. Bysydes this, the exactions that They exact money they take of the pore commons is to much beyoude al reason and conseience. No couple can be maried for marriages, but these men must haue a dutie, as they eal it. No woman may be purified but they and theyr ydle charehings, ministers must hane some duties of hir. Noue ean 642 be buried but they wyl have a slyese. Not thre burials. monethes before the begynyng of this present Parliament, I had iust oceacion to be at the payment of this dutie for the buriyng of an honest pore mau, whose frendes wer willyng to haue hys body renerendly layed in the grounde; and, accordyng to the custome, gaue 648 warnynge to the eurate that they woulde brynge the [leat 11 , back] deade body to the church, desyryng hym that he wolde do liys dutie, and to be ther to receye it, and accordynge to the custome to laye it in the grounde. But 652 this rauen, smellynge ${ }^{1}$ the carion, coulde not but in the City of 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 wythstandynge the 657 Kynges Iniunctions and late visita[t]ion. The frendes when an honest of the deade man refusel all this, and required to haue no mor but the commme 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 was brought to ! Orig. smellydge.
foure pore men to cary the bodye, so that the whole 664 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 669 saye .i.d. to the curate, which he called an heade penye, ${ }^{1}$ and .ri.d. to .ii. clarkes that we had no nede of.

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, enen in the presence of 675 all the $y$ dle ministers of the same church.

This haue I written (most worthy counsaylours) to
I have mentioned this circumstance because I think we ought to have ministers supported by tithes, or else be allowed [leaf 12] to do the duties ourselves.

682 geue you occasion to set suche an ordre in this and suche other thynges, that eyther we may have 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 hane 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 G89 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 reproue it, for men saye it is alowed 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 usuric, was the unsaciable desyre of the usurers, whoe coulde not be contented with usurie vnlesse it wer vureasonable muche. To restrayne thys

[^17]gredy desyre of theyrs, therfore, it was communed and 698 agreed rpon, and by thauthoritie of Parliament decreed, that none should take aboue .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 alowe for leafull any thyng that Gods Worde forbedeth.

Alas, that any
Assembly should allow what God forbids!

Be not abashed (most worthy counsaylours) to call this 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 713 wicked, but them that feare the Lorde he glorifieth and prayseth. He that swereth to his neibour \& deceineth hym not. He that hath not geuen lis money vnto vsury, and hath not taken giftes and rewardes against the innocent."

718
If you (most Christian counsaylours) do glory in the knowledge of Gods Spirite, whoe hath spoken these wordes by the Prophet, how ean you suffer this acte to stande, whych shalbe a wittnesse agaynste you in the later daye that you alowe that which Gods Spirite forbideth?

If he that geueth not liys money to usury shal 725 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 contrary, \& why shoulde not theyr rewarde be also contrary? If the one be receyued in, the other muste bo Usarers must bo shut out. Yea, and you that have made this lawe,
${ }^{1}$ See Supplication of the poore Commons, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 8t, 'Men myghte take x li. by yeare,' \&c.
usnry, unless you vnlesse you do reuoke it and establysh an act to the
revoke 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 therfore, and scanne the wordes of oure
738 Sauioure Christe also, in the vi. of Luke, wher he
Christ bids you lend, looking for nothing again, and you shall be the children of God.

743 I am not ignoraunt what glosses have ben made
Men have wrested this [leaf 13] saying, and made it no precept, but only a counsel of Christ.
What religion do these men profess ?

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:

John. 10.

760
but they who teach that men are at liberty to practise Christ's counsels or not, as they may see fit, are

765
members of the devil and very Antichrists. sayeth thus :-"Do you lende ${ }^{1}$ 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." vpon this place, and howe men haue wrested \& made it no precept but a counsaile of our Sauiour ; \& therfore not to infer necessitie to Christians, but to leaue them at libertie either to do it or leaue it vndone.

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 wyll beare the name of hym and be called Christians, and yet wylbe at libertie to chose whether they luste to folowe hys counsayle or leaue it rndone.

Our shepherd Christe, of whose flocke they boaste them selues to bee, sayeth that hys sheepe heare his royce and folowe hym.

And immediatly before he sheweth the cause why the Iewes dyd not credyt hys wordes, to be none other but that thei wer not his shepe.

And doubte ye not (moste worthy counsaylours) what so euer he is that wyll defende or teach, that any one lytle iote of the counsayles of Christ shoulde be so vaynly spoken that any of hys flocke myght refuse to 5 practise the same in hys lyuynge to the vttermoste of hys power, is nolesse then a nembre of the Deuell, and a verey Antichriste.

[^18]For he that desyreth not in hys herte to practise in 768 his lyueynge all the counsayles of Christe our Maister and Teachar, shall be numbred amonge the obstinate and slaall be numbered with Iewes for none of the flocke of Christ, because he the Jews. heareth not his voice nor foloweth him. Thus I mak
an ende.

773
Wyshyng vinto you (most worthy counsaylours) the May the Spirit same Spirit that in the primitiue church gave vnto the which dwelt multitude of beleuers one herte, one mynde, \& to $\begin{gathered}\text { Church dwell in } \\ \text { [leaf 13, back] }\end{gathered}$ esteme nothyng of this worlde as theyr owne, minis- Actu. 4. trynge vnto euerie one accordyng to his necessities; $\begin{gathered}\text { You tomake a } \\ \text { lav preventing }\end{gathered}$ 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 oppressyng the if men willstill pore membres of Christ, after once or twyse admoni- oppress let such cion, let them no more be named Christians after Christ monists and not whom thei serue not, but Mammonistes after Mammon whose badge they beare. And this reformacion had, no 786 doubt the maiestie of God shall so appere in all your decrees, that none so wieked 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 Dauid shall do omage vito Solomon for 791 his wisedom. Al the Kynges ellristined shal learne at Then all kings you to reforme theyr churches. You shalbe euen the $\begin{gathered}\text { shall learn of you } \\ \text { and } y \text { you shall be }\end{gathered}$ light of al the world. the light of the world.
But, if you let these thynges pas and regarde them If you do not, not, be ye sure the Lorde shal confound your wisdome. yod will confound Inuent, decre, establysh, and authorise what you can; matter what you al shal come to nought. The wayes that you shall 798 inuent to establish rnitie and concorde shal be the oceacions of discorde. The thynges wherby you shal thinke to wyn prayse through all the worlde, shall turne to your vtter ${ }^{1}$ shame; and the wayes that you shall 802

[^19]803 inuent to establish a kyngdome shalbe the vtter subuertion of the same. The mercifull Father of our Lorde Iesus

God give you
His Spirit.
Christe indue you wyth hys
Spirit, that you be not par-
takers of these plages.
Amen.

## GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

Abre, 51/1524, abide, expiate.
Disparage not the faith thou dost not know,
Lest, to thy peril, thou aly it dear. Mid.-Si. N. Di. iii. 2, 1. 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.
Allyes, 132/84, alleys.
Apointe, 137/273, arrange with.
Armore, 18/426, ? armourer.
Ascoye, 43/1271, askew, askince, side-ways.

Babbelars, 103/119. See Aets xvii. 18.

Bable, 32/884, bauble.
Baliwike, 43/1257, the jurisdiction of a bailiff.
Ballyng, 83/27, bawling.
Banck, $166 / 472$, sisters of the Bank, prostitutes, inhabitants of Bankside.
Barre, to east the bar, $73 / 33$. See note, p. xvii.
Base, to run base, 73/35. See note, p. xvii.
Dealies, 132/92, bellies. crowley.

Bearwardes, 17/388.
Beastish, $144 / 50.5$, beastlike, brutish.
Bested, 60/19, cireumstanced. 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, Llear.
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, $173 / \pi 00$, for a year.
Byll, 29/800, bill, a petition.

Candle, to loold the, 130/21, phr. Cardes, 166/458?
Cessions, $94 / 143$, sessions.
Checkinge, 139/348.
Christined, 175/792, christenel.
Cocke and Pye, 19/469, a petty oath. See Mery Wites of TV. i. 1, 1. 316 (Globe ed.).

Coheritours, 159/233, coheirs.
Commone, 155/73, сомmиие.

Commotionars, 22/555, commotioners, men who cause commotions or tumults.
Condynge, $81 / 63$, condign, "that is, aecording to merit, worthy, suitable." Phillips.
Coniecte, 159/208, conjecture.
Cormerauntes, $131 / 69$, cormorants.
Costuouse, 91/30, costly.
Coutise, $26 / 690$, covetousness.
Crake, $81 / 62$, crack, boast of.
Crowmes, 132/95, crumbs.
Days, offering days, $155 / 88$, certain days on whieh offeriugs were made to the Chureh.
Dearlinges, $160 / 249$, darlings.
Destituted, 132/104, made destitute, deprived.
Dirige, 172/666.
Disconforte, 111/81, discomfort.
Disprofitable, 168/527, unprofitable.
Dorepostis, 111/93, door-posts: "deaf as a door-post," a common phrase.
Dyprease, 32/898, dispraise.
Earely, 94/134, early.
Eer, $88 / 91$, ever.
Effucion, 162/324, effiusion.
Emong, 12/239, among.
Entermel, 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, gossips.
Grane maker, 171/662.
Graynges, $161 / 277$, granges.
Gulles, 131/69.
Hadland, 13/266, headland.
Harbour, 113/140, shelter.
Hạulke, $73 / 29$, hawk.
Head penny, 172/669.
Herbour, $8 / 99$, 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 housen, 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, 19/45 $£$, 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.
Litleons, 167/500, 169/579, little ones.
Liuear, 140/378, liver.
Liuelocle, 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 gencrally.
Lyste, 157/154, list, like, choose.
Malt, 114/201.
Mammonists, 175/785.
Markis, 116/251, a Mark was of the value of $13 s .4 d$.
Maugrea, 62/86, mangre, in spite of.
Мате, 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 $6 s .8 d$. See Four Supplications, Glossary in v. roble.
Nownde, 112/110, for mound, a fence or hedge-boundary.

Omage, 175/791, homage.
Other, 172/665, either.
Ouertenthes, $171 / 630$, to overtithe, 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 ruff's then much worn. "Gay gownss and gay kyrtels, and mych waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth partelettes and pastis garneshed
wyth perle." More's Supplycacyon of Soulys, sig. L. ii., quoted in Halliwell's Arch. Dict.
Peltrye, 46/1366. The word pelt is still in use in Keut, signifying rublish, 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, whieh childreu are first taught to read. Phillips.
Prollynge, 144/529, prowling, seareling about.
Prolyng, and poeliyng to get somwhat
At cuery doore lumpes of bread, or meat.
R. Copland's Irye way to the Spyttel Hous.
Prouender, 141/379. "Provender prieketh them," a phrase nsed in Newes out of Powles, Sat. 6 :
Ist meruaile though they cranckly crowe
well lodged iu their eage?
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. Sce 1 Tamb. the Great, ii. 5.

Reade, $32 / 894,84 / 58$, counseì, advice.
Rede, $163 / 373$, ? scattered. Hallisell has Rede (3), to spread abroad.
Regester, 78/12, ? registrar.
Reueynge, 164/381, ravening, taking by force, from the verb to rece.
Rocke, 166/458, a distaff.
Ronte, $91 / 6$, to rule the rout, to rule the common people.
Royall, 20/502, royal, or rial, a eoin 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 11s. 3 d . In the 2nd of Elizabeth rials were coined at loss. In the 3rd of James I. rose-rials of the ralue of $30 s$. were coined, and spurrials at 15 . each. The riul 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 Englund under II. VTII.
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.
Stiek, holy water stick, 172/666.
Stockefyshe, 13/276, stockfish, saltfish dried. For mueh curious information concerning Stochifsh, sec Mr Furnivall's Babees 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, $71 / 33$, tippling.
Tussocke, 44/1303, a heap.
Typpet, a Tyburn tippet, 30/830, a halter.

To weare .
A Tiburne Tippet, or old Stories cap.
This is the high'st degree which they ean take.

Taylor's Works, fol. 287.
Vaile, 17/392, avail, profit, adrantage.
Vitayls, $8 / 90$, victuals.
Vnchristined, 169/568, unchristened, unbaptized.
Vndercaptaine, 147/641.
Vngrate, 166/469, ? unbecoming.
Thweldy, 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. Diet.
Wit, 55/8, blame.
Wodmonger, 88/75, a dealer in wood.

Tuelles, 162/314, evils.
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

[Printed on one side only, to allow of each slip being cut off and gummed in the volume to which it refers.]

## X. ANDREW BOORDE'S INTRODUCTION, \&c.

p. 18, note 7, after day, insert [of August]
p. 44, l. 4. The 'old writer' referred to was Roy, in his Rede me and be not wroth, p. 104-5 of Pickering's Reprint. Tho passage is quoted in my " Ballads from MSS," illustrating the Condition of Tudor-England, p. 82.
p. 57, note 3. 'my lord of chester ' means 'the Abbot of St. Werburgh's.' E. A. Frecman in the Saturday Revien, 10 Feb. 1872, p. 189, col. 1.
p. 116-17. On English changes of fashion, see the Society's Four Supplications, 1871, p. 51.
p. 156, 1. 18. "Argentyne, we suppose, is Argentoratum or Strassburg." E. A. Freeman.
p. 165, note 1. "Andrew Borde does not at all speak as a Saxon heretic, but as a dutiful subject of King Henry the Eighth, who dedicates his book to that King's daughter. In the eyes of such a one the Saxons were praiseworthy in so far as they had cast off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, blameworthy in so far as they had fallen into the heretical innovations of Martin Luther." E. A. Freeman, Saturday Review, 10 Fcb. 1872, p. 189, col. 2.
p. 194, last side-note ; p. 362, col. 1, Emperor ; for Austria read Germany (Charles V.).
p. 287, 1. 6-7. The Hebrecyon, and.Cynomome. This saying is quoted in Cogan's Haven of Health, 1596, p. 109 (N. §. Q.), and is not in the Regimen Sanitatis Salerni (as saith Riley's Dict. of Latin Quotations), in which however is a similar and well-known line, " Cur moriatur homo cui salvia cressit in horto?" Villanova, c. 60. Crokes, Sir Alex. 1830.-C. Innes Pocock.
p. 308, note 1, line 1, for Ocium read Adium.

The short review of Boorde in the North British Revien, No. 106, p. 55961, notes that " his letters of the alphabet representing Hebrew numerals are given instead of the numerals themselves. . . . His Italian geography is full of confusion. He intimates that Jerusalem is out of Asia, and places Salerno [in Italy] in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Writing in 1542, he describes the mosque of St. Sophia as a Christian Church. Then again, his statements, pp. 77, 178, respecting St. Peter's at Rome, will not bear comparison with the graphic account left by his contemporary, Thomas, of the basilica, as it stood in the 16th century, grand and magnificent, though uncompleted. (Ifistorie of Italie, ed. 1549, foI. 40.) Every detail supplied by Thomas, from the ' 30 steppes of square stone, the solemnest that I havo seene,' to 'the newe buildyng [which] if it were finished, wolde be the goodliest thyng of this worlde,' stamps his description as authentic."

## XII. ENGLAND IN HENRY VIII'S TIME.

For Bunfycyal, Bunfycys, Bunfyte, read Benefycyal, etc.

## XIII. FOUR SUPPLICATIONS:

p. vii at foot; p. xiv. Mr E. Arber has since found a titleless copy of Simon Fish's "Summe of the Scripture out of the Dutch," in a little wellknown volume of rare tracts in the British Museum. (See his Preface to his edition of Roy's Rede me \& be not nroth, ed. 1871.) As this volume had been in the hands of most of our profest Bibliographers, the identification of Fish's treatise is no small credit to Mr Arber.
p. xvii. The mislaid Lambeth copy of the "Sheep-tract" was found soon after our print of it went to press.
p. 111, col. 2. Gnatonical : for "gnat-like" (copied unthinkingly by Mr Cowper from an edition of Foxe's Martyr's) read 'Deceitful in words; flattering ; like a smellfeast or parasite.' Bullokar \& Cockeram, in Todd's Johnson.
p. 114, col. 2, line 7 , for thimble read thurible


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## CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Collier, Bib. Cat. i. $489 . \quad{ }^{2}$ 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.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Remains of Abp Grindal. Parker Society, p. 211.
    ${ }^{2}$ Lansd. MSs. 982, f. 104.
    ${ }^{3}$ T. Corser, Collect. Ang. Poet., pt iv. p. 540.
    ${ }^{4}$ Lansd. MSS. 982, f. 104.
    ${ }^{5}$ ITist. Eng. Poct., iii. 187. But Warton was not quite right, for it seems Crowley left off printing about the time of his ordination.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ T. Corser, Callect. Ang. Poct., pt iv. p. 540.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Machyn's Diary, Camd. Soc. pp. 269, 278, 205, 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 Din. 15s8."

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ecc. Mem. ii. pt 2, p. 465-472. The fifteen quoted by Strype are thoso 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 Revien, No. Ixxvii, January, 1871, p. 101; and the Complaynt of Roderyek Mors, to be edited for this Series.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ 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.

[^5]:    ' Athena Oxon., fol. 126.

[^6]:    : "It has been already shown that an essential and principal part of the first hestowal and purpose of those endowments which have now become entirely diverted to ecclesiastical purposes, or engrossed by lay impropriators, 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 rast proportion of what was thus expressly given in trust for the poor. He got it under false pretences [quotes Coke, th 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 frand 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 barlarity, were passed, altered, and repealed. It was attempted -however paradoxical it may sound-to enforce roluntary 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. $2 \breve{3}$, 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," sc.; sec.-The Purish, by Toulmin Smith, 2nd edition, p. 144, 145.

[^7]:    1 "One that eight years sinee bought many houses where I and many poor men dwelt, and presently raised our rents from three pounds to five pounds."Taylor, ib.
    ${ }^{2}$ Auglia.
    ${ }^{3}$ Londinium,

[^8]:    "Is the country

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ecclesiasticus.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Two lines of the original are put into one.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ There are 32 pages. The signatures marked are thess, A .ii., B .i., B .ii., B .iii., B .iiii. " $A n^{\circ} 1550$ " is written on title.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ ? Pharaoh.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. tuthes.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. palge $\quad{ }^{2}$ Orig. surneighers

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. obtaynydge

[^16]:    

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. pedye

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. lenve.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ Orig. vnter.

